



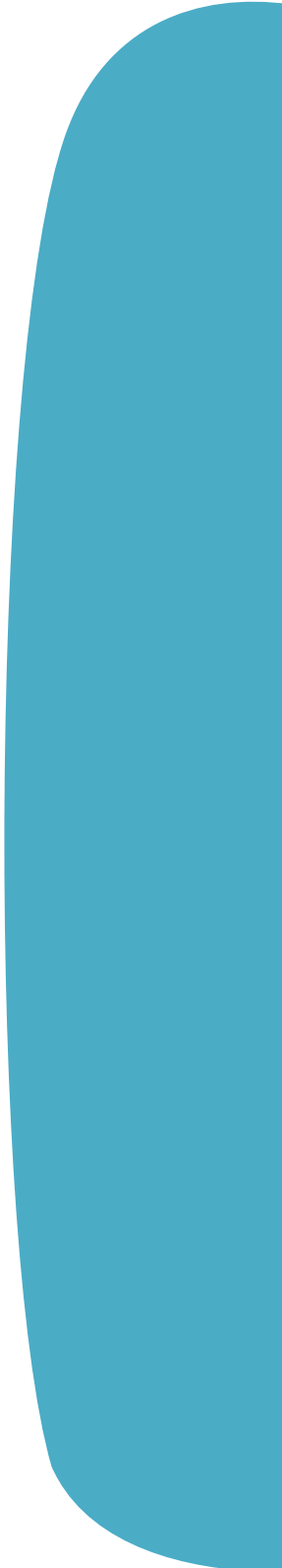
Internet Celebration for
Adriana Belletti 60th Birthday

Edited by:
Carla Contemori, Lena Dal Pozzo, Simona Matteini



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This project would not have been possible without the help of those who, in different ways, have been supporting and guiding us from the very beginning. We would like to warmly thank Elisa Di Domenico, Cristiano Chesi, Valentina Bianchi and Luigi Rizzi. We are particularly grateful to Liliane Haegemann, for the opportunity she gave to present this Celebration during a very special occasion, such as the Cartography Workshop held at Ghent University from 4th to 6th June 2014. Finally, thanks to the authors who, with their contributions, have helped to make this booklet a very special greeting card for Adriana.

Carla Contemori
Lena Dal Pozzo
Simona Matteini

Foreword

There's a special talent of Adriana Belletti which has always touched me, since the time I was a student of hers, a long time ago in Geneva: her talent to create a school. Where by talent I mean not only a gift, but also the strong, generous energy with which this gift is fed, a school for me is not only a multitude of students who have been taught what she knows. A school is where students' intuitions are respected, left a space and guided to find a way to grow into ideas or to prove wrong. A school is where students feel (a long-lasting feeling, I can witness) part of a group an ever changing and ever widening group, as the years go by, a group which does not only include the students themselves but many scholars they are encouraged to interchange with: an exciting, lively, unique humus for linguistic research to fruitfully grow.

This Celebration includes 37 contributions by 57 junior and senior linguists mostly connected to the Siena years of Adriana's school. Almost all of the contributions are abstracts of papers which will be published in two different volumes, comparable for the quality of the contributions and for the balance of junior and senior linguists contributing. All are meant to express one and the same wish: Happy 60th birthday, Adriana!

Elisa Di Domenico

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¹ The papers related to most of the abstracts will appear in: *Inquiries into Language Acquisition and Linguistic Theory. Papers offered to Adriana Belletti*. C. Contemori and L. Dal Pozzo (eds), CISCL Press: Siena; *Structures, Strategies and Beyond. Studies in honour of Adriana Belletti*. E. Di Domenico, C. Hamann and S. Matteini (eds), John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

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Disentangling responses to Wh-questions: TOM and syntactic abilities*

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Dearest אדריאנה, with thanks for collaboration that we both enjoyed and learned from, and hope for continued collaboration, and friendship. אין כמור!

Several different abilities are involved in answering a Wh question like "Which linguist did the conference attendees celebrate birthday for?". Among them are the syntactic ability to understand who did what to whom in a sentence that involves Wh-movement and intervention, and the ability to convey the response in a way that the person who asked the question would be able to identify the reference of the answer.

Correspondingly, the answer "Adriana Belletti" would be correct, but an answer that reveals that the hearer thought that the linguist is celebrating a birthday to the conference attendees would be incorrect for syntactic reasons: the Wh dependency caused confusion as to the agent and theme in the question. A different type of response – "she" or "the linguist who draws syntactic trees" would also be inappropriate, but for other reasons: such response reflects a ToM (Theory of Mind) difficulty, causing inability to provide an answer that would allow the person who asked the question to identify the person referred to in the response.

Thus, answering a Wh question involves, among other abilities, the syntactic ability to understand who did what to whom in a sentence that involves Wh-movement and intervention (Friedmann, Belletti, & Rizzi, 2009; Belletti & Rizzi, 2009; Belletti & Contemori, 2010), and the ability to convey the response in a way that the person who asked the question would be able to identify the reference of the answer.

Difficulty in comprehending and producing object Wh-questions (in which the object crosses the subject) is characteristic of syntactic impairment in various populations: children with Syntactic-SLI (Specific Language Impairment), children with hearing

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impairment and patients with agrammatic aphasia (see, Friedmann, 2001; Friedmann, & Haddad-Hanna, 2014; Friedmann, & Novogrodsky, 2011; Friedmann, & Szterman, 2011).

The same kind of *Wh*-questions place a different kind of demand on the ToM ability of the replier. The ToM task that these *Wh*-questions pose is the need to tailor an answer that meets the informational requirement of the hearer (Ariel, 1990; Sperber & Wilson, 1986). ToM impairment occurs in various populations, one prominent group is people after right hemisphere brain damage (Apperly, 2011).

The question we ask in the current study is whether patients that were identified as having ToM impairment, as speakers, show a reduced ability to represent their hearers' mind in answering *Wh*-questions. The ToM difficulty was expected to be expressed in a difficulty in choosing the appropriate differentiating feature in accordance to its accessibility in the mind of their hearer. We did not expect these participants will show any syntactic difficulty in answering these questions.

This approach was tailored to the aim of disentangling the grammatical aspects from the TOM related aspects of *Wh*-question understanding (for more on this disentangling approach see Balaban, Friedmann, Belletti, & Rizzi, submitted).

Seventeen right hemisphere brain damaged (RBD) patients took part in the study. Their mean age was 49;1 years (ranging between 25-64 years SD = 10.9) and a control group of 6 non brain damaged adults was also tested. Their mean age was 51;3 years (ranging between 27-66 years SD = 15.8. The aTOMic battery (Balaban, Friedmann, 2010; Balaban, Friedmann, Ariel, & Ziv, submitted), a comprehensive test of Theory of Mind, was administered to all the participants. Ten of the right-hemisphere damaged participants had a severe aTOMia (ToM deficit).

The three groups of participants (RBD patients with aToMia, RBD patients without aToMia and a control group) were presented a sentence-picture matching task. Each picture included three figures. The first figure in each picture was performing an action on the second, and the second figure was performing the same action on the third figure, which was of the same type as the first one (for example, a red haired boy was feeding a clown with a spoon while the clown was feeding another boy with a spoon). We asked two *which* questions about each picture, a subject and an object question.

The answers were coded twice: an answer was coded syntactically correct if the participant chose the appropriate figure in answer to the *Wh*-question. The same answer was also coded as ToM-appropriate if the participant mentioned a feature that differentiated between the characters.

The results showed that the three groups demonstrated good performance in the syntactic aspects of the *Wh*-questions task. Importantly, the aToMic participants often failed to provide a differential description that would allow their hearer to pick the right reference. For example, when shown the picture with a clown and two boys, described above, one of the RBD aToMic participants replied "the disappointed boy", where both boys seemed with a similar facial expression.

Using t-test for correlated samples we found the TOMic group performed significantly better in producing syntactically appropriate answers than producing appropriate differentiating description in answer to the *wh*-questions ($t(9) = 2.42, p = .002$). The non-aTOMic brain damaged patients and the age matched control group performed close to

100% correct on both aspects and no difference was found in either groups (non aTOMic: $t(6) = 0.42, p = 0.35$; controls: $t(5) = 0.5, p = .50$).

The findings support a disentangling approach to Wh-questions responses. The results show that the ability to correctly assess the conversational partner's informational needs and her point of view regarding the situation is a distinct crucial component in the ability to produce appropriate answers to wh-questions. These findings join a wider disentangling approach, led by Adriana Belletti, suggesting that syntactic and TOM abilities interact in various language domains, but can be disentangled, for example, in cases of aTOMia.

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Gender in L2 German*

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“Thanks for your support and for having believed in my potentiality.”

This paper deals with the mastery of gender in German by adult Italian native speakers who are learning German as their second language. Data support the idea that gender is a struggling phenomenon to be acquired for the L2 learners but eventually L2ers can perform native-like. Furthermore, the data show that *feminine* is the favorite gender to be chosen by Italian native speakers and *transfer* cannot be the sole phenomenon that justifies the choices of the Italian L2ers in German.

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A PP/DP asymmetry in extraction*

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“She is the person [of whom] [papers t] influenced us most...”

0. The problem

Chomsky (1986, 32) attributes to Adriana Belletti the observation that unexpected PP vs. DP asymmetries emerge in cases of apparent extraction from islands. In this work we are concerned with extraction from preverbal subjects, where stranding the preposition *of* – (1a) – yields a more deviant result than pied piping it – (1b):

- (1) a. the man who [pictures of t_{DP}] are on the table
b. he is the person of whom [pictures t_{PP}] are on the table
(Chomsky 1986, (61a), (64))

This contrast is mysterious if preverbal subjects are absolute islands, as in the classic CED account (Huang 1982) and its recent minimalist reinterpretations (Takahashi 1994); as a matter of fact, this contrast has been either ignored or explained away as involving only apparent extraction (Longobardi 1991, Jurka 2010). We argue instead that (1b) is a real instance of *wh*-extraction, since it is sensitive to the nature of the subject: it is only possible to extract out of non-presuppositional subjects of stage-level predicates, but not out of presuppositional subjects of individual-level predicates (Bianchi & Chesi to appear, building on Ladusaw 1994).

1. A solution

Despite its subtlety, the pied-piping vs. P-stranding opposition is quite robust, as shown by Jurka’s (2010) experiments. We refined this evidence by testing grammaticality judgment with stage- vs. individual-level predicates, both with pied-piping and P-stranding. Two main effects emerge: (i) pied-piping vs. P-stranding is

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strongly significant ($F(1, 22) = 22.204$ $p < 0.01$); (ii) non-presuppositional subjects of stage-level predicates are much more transparent for extraction than the categorical subjects of individual-level predicates (Paired t-test on pied-piped items: $t = -2.8089$, $df = 21$, $p = 0.01$). This suggests that a real grammatical constraint is involved. Unfortunately, the standard bottom-up view of the syntactic derivation gives us no hint of what the relevant constraint could be.

We show that the DP/PP asymmetry in extraction follows if we assume a top-down, left-to-right derivation (Chesi 2012; Bianchi & Chesi 2006, to appear), in which a moved phrase is first computed in the ‘displaced’ (non-thematic) position, it is subsequently stored in a memory buffer, and it is re-merged in the structure as soon as a selectional requirement is computed which triggers the projection of the corresponding thematic position. The main points of the analysis are the following:

- i. Preverbal subjects are absolute islands: this is because they constitute computationally nested phases, and as such, they cannot inherit a wh-dependency from the memory buffer of the containing (matrix) phase.
- ii. The acceptability of extraction is contingent upon the possibility of delaying the completion of the subject DP until after the latter has been re-merged in the thematic position (this is our reinterpretation of “reconstruction”): the phase in the thematic position is not computationally nested, and can inherit the wh-dependency of the matrix phase, allowing for re-merge of the extracted wh-PP.
- iii. P-stranding within the preverbal subject DP is incompatible with delayed completion: this accounts for the robust prohibition against P-stranding.
- iv. Delayed completion, however, is only allowed when the subject receives a thematic interpretation (cf. Ladusaw 1994), i.e. it is the non-presuppositional subject of a stage-level predicate, which is totally reconstructed and is ultimately interpreted within the predicative nucleus of the clause (Bianchi & Chesi to appear).

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Questions (and experimental answers) about Italian subjects.

Subject positions in main and indirect question in L1, attrition and L2*

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“La clef de toutes les sciences est sans contredit le point d’interrogation, nous devons la plupart des grandes découvertes au : Comment ? et la sagesse dans la vie consiste peut-être à se demander à tout propos : Pourquoi ? (Honoré De Balzac)”

Abstract

A well-studied property of Italian syntax is that subjects can appear both pre-verbally (e.g., “Mario ha mangiato”) or post-verbally (e.g., “Ha mangiato Mario”). In her seminal work, Belletti (2001, 2004 and much related work) showed that subject inversion is not free in Italian. Post-verbal subjects convey a narrow information focus interpretation under certain circumstances, while in other case they are right-dislocated topics.

A related issue concerns the information value of post-verbal subjects when the pre-verbal subject position is not available due to adjacency requirements. Rizzi (2001), in fact, showed that in main wh-questions like “when” and “where” require adjacency to the main verb; the occurrence of a pre-verbal subject engenders ungrammaticality (e.g.,*“Dove Mario mangia”). This contrasts with elements like “why”, which allows the subject to occur in a pre-verbal

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position (e.g., “Perche’ Mario ride?”). When the pre-verbal subject position is structurally unavailable in these structures, the post-verbal position is not necessarily associated with a specific information structure import (narrow information focus, Belletti, 1999; right-dislocated topics, Cardinaletti, 2001; 2002). Relatedly, it is currently unclear whether and to what extent the pattern observed in main wh-questions holds in other wh-contexts like (a) embedded questions (Poletto, 2000; Rizzi, 2001) and (b) free relatives.

In this paper, we experimentally investigate the extent to which, in broad focus information contexts, the pre-verbal subject position is similarly available in main, embedded questions and free relatives and the extent to which this availability is modulated by different syntactic elements (why, when, if). In two separate experiments, native speakers of Italian were asked to choose between structures with pre-verbal and post-verbal subjects (Experiment 1) and to judge the acceptability of structures with pre- and post-verbal structures (Experiment 2). The syntactic structures tested in the experiments were either yes/no or main why- and where-questions (Experiment 1) and embedded questions and non-interrogative structures (Experiments 1-2) introduced by either if, why or where.

Taken together, the results of the two experiments show that the pattern observed for main questions generalizes to embedded questions and non-interrogatives structures. Given a broad focus interpretation, a pre-verbal subject is preferred and rated more highly for “if” and “why” structures, regardless of clause-type. By contrast, in where-structures, the pre-verbal subject position is highly dispreferred regardless of clause-type (free relatives, embedded and main questions) and the post-verbal subject position were preferred and rated more highly in such broad focus contexts. These empirical results confirm Belletti’s insight that not all post-verbal subjects are born equal: when only the post-verbal position is available by virtue of independent factors, this position is not associated with a specific information structure interpretation.

Having established this generalization concerning the distribution of post-verbal subjects in Italian, we investigate the extent to which it can be influenced by the properties of a competing grammar (i.e., English), such as native speakers of Italian who use English as their main language in everyday life and second language learners.

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Locality Effects in Italian Verbal Morphology*

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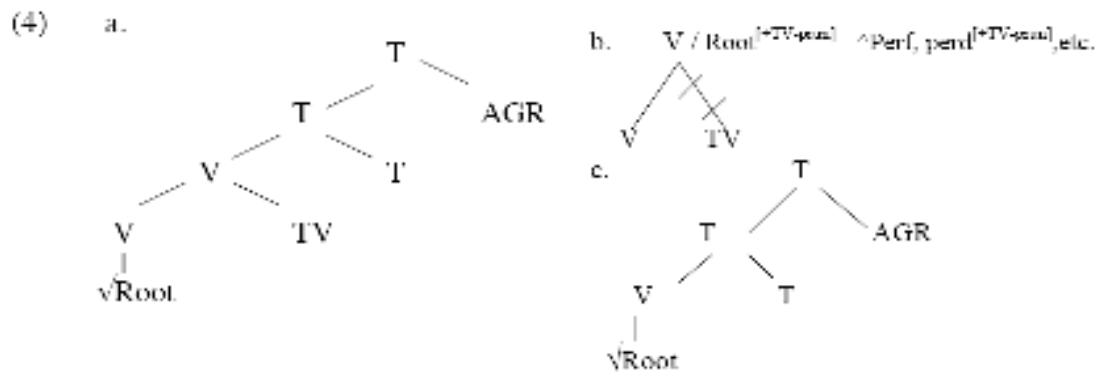
*“Ad Adriana, una grande linguista e per me una grande amica,
con affetto e profonda gratitudine”*

This paper argues that some of the basic properties of Italian verbal morphology can be understood only if the hierarchical and linear position of morphemes within the verbal forms is taken into consideration. In particular, it shows that morpheme-to-morpheme interactions in Italian verbal morphology can occur only when the morphemes are in positions that are (hierarchically and linearly) local to each other, as proposed by Embick (2010, 2013).

The paper deals with the irregular morphology in Italian perfect and past participle forms. In these forms one observes a correlation between presence vs. absence of regular morphology and presence vs. absence of thematic vowels. Specifically, irregular morphology, which crucially requires access to specific root information, occurs only when the thematic vowel is absent.

- (1) a. **Irregular:** vs. b. **Regular:**
[[[[*pérd*]_{root} ___]_V -s-]_I] *i*]_{AGR} [[[[*part*]_{root} -**i**_{TV}-]_V -Ø-]_I-*sti*]_{AGR}
pérsi ‘lose-Perf-1sg’ *partisti* ‘leave-Past-1sg’
[[[[*pérd*]_{root} ___]_V -s-]_I] *o*]_{AGR} [[[[*batt*]_{root} -**i**_{TV}-]_V -t-]_I-*o*]_{AGR}
*pérs**o* ‘lose-PastPart-MscSg’ *partit**o* ‘leave-PastPart-MscSg’
Athematic **Thematic**

* The related article will be part of Di Domenico, E., C. Hamann and S. Matteini (eds.) (to appear) *Structures, Strategies and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Adriana Belletti*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins Publishing Company.



Traditional analyses of verbal irregular morphology postulate that stress plays a crucial role in the selection of the irregular stem allomorph (irregular stems/roots are inherently stressed). The same postulation, or a variation of it, is found in the most recent accounts of Italian verbal morphology (cf. Burzio (1998), Maiden (2010), Pirelli and Battista (2000), Vogel (1994). However, as discussed by Oltra-Massuet and Arregi (2005), Calabrese (2012), the position of main stress in verbal forms is always predictable from the morpho-syntactic composition of the string. Specifically in the cases relevant here, if the thematic vowel is present, then it is stressed. If it is absent, stress falls on the root. The predictability of verbal stress crucially undermines analyses such as those mentioned above, which require idiosyncratic assignment of stress to stems/roots—other arguments will be provided in the paper against them.

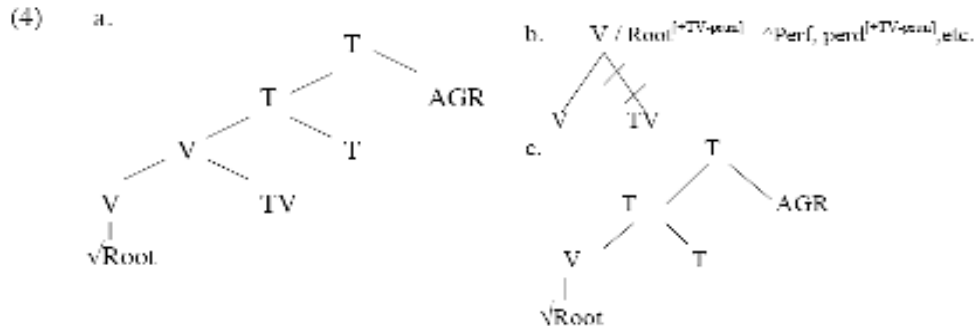
The analysis proposed in this paper is set in the Distributed Morphology framework. Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle & Marantz 1993) crucially incorporates hierarchical structure into the morphology; essentially, it assumes the input to morphology to be syntactic structure. Features (or feature bundles) are distributed over nodes forming morphemes, which in turn are subject to Vocabulary Insertion rules that add phonological material (exponents) to these morphemes. Contextual allomorphy is accounted for by vocabulary insertion on one hand and through the application of readjustment rules, morpho-syntactically conditioned phonological rules, on the other.

Allomorphic interactions are constrained by the manner in which Vocabulary Insertion operates, and by the interaction of *linear* and *cyclic* locality conditions. Two different conditions are relevant in this paper. The first of these conditions (2) enforces “inside out” cyclicity (e.g. Halle and Marantz 1993, Bobaljik 2000); the second one (3)(see Embick (2010)) specifies a linear condition on contextual allomorphy:

- (2) VI proceeds cyclically from the lowest element in the structure outwards
- (3) Contextual allomorphy (involving access to morpho-lexical features) requires concatenation (linear adjacency).

The paper proposes the following analysis. After verb raising (Belletti (1990)) and other morphological operations discussed in the paper, Italian verbal forms have the morpho-syntactic structure in 4a) where the TV is the thematic vowel. In athematic forms the thematic vowel is pruned by the operation in 4b)—a readjustment rule triggered

by root information—thus resulting in 4c) (where T also includes aspectual features insofar as T and ASP undergo fusion):



The reason for the correlation between absence of thematic vowels and irregular morphology is the following. Irregular VIs crucially require access to root information, cf. the VI for the exponent /-s-/ in (4)a). However, given the two conditions in (2) and (3), the presence of the thematic vowel prevents application of such VI. In fact, when the cyclic application of vocabulary insertion reaches T, root information cannot be accessed because the root is not linearly adjacent to T due to the presence of the thematic vowel. Hence, (3) blocks application of (4)a). If the TV is present, only regular VIs such as those in (4)b) or c) can be inserted.

The Vocabulary Items relevant for the verbal forms in (1) are as follows:

- (4) a. s <--> [+Perf, (+Part)]_T / Root^S ^ __ {Root^S = perd, etc.}
 b. /-Ø-/ <--> [+Perf]_T
 c. t <--> [+Part]
 d. /-i/ <--> [+Auth, -Pl]_{AGR}
 e. /-o/ <--> [+Masc, -Pl]_{AGR}

Notice that if /-s-/ is inserted, as in athematic verbal forms, Readjustment Rules may apply, for example, (5) which triggers deletion of the coronal stops [d] before /-s-/.

- (5) [-continuant, +coronal] --> Ø / __ ^ [s]_T

In this way, both the Passato Remoto and the Past Participle of irregular verbs can be readily derived from their underlying roots, which appear in other—thematic— forms of these verbs such as the imperfect or the infinitive. The notion of morphological locality is fundamental to achieve this result.

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On the comprehension and production of passive and relative clauses by dyslexic University students*

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“Per Adriana, con grande stima e affetto”

0. Introduction

The term Developmental Dyslexia (DD) is normally used to identify a phonological deficit which compromises the ability of decoding written language, despite normal intelligence levels. Phonological abilities and working memory is where dyslexic subjects differ from matched controls (Stanovich 1988, Siegel 1999). It is reported in the literature that dyslexic subjects display difficulties in processing rapidly presented auditory information (Richardson 1996), and differ from controls in a number of syntactic comprehension tasks presented orally (Guasti 2011, Talli et al. 2011). This phenomenon has raised the issue of the possible comorbidity of dyslexia and Specific Language Impairment.

Normally, the presence and the level of the deficit are investigated through the administration of standardized tests providing a general assessment of their linguistic competence. This type of assessment could be not sufficient in adult dyslexic subjects who might have developed strategies to cope with their reading difficulties, or have not been diagnosed at a younger age. Focusing on University students, another issue is raised. They have to confront with the formal register of the language, both in written materials and in oral classes. It is therefore useful to elaborate tests which assess the comprehension of constructions occurring in complex texts, such as (object) relative clauses and passive sentences.

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1. The experiment

1.1 Participants

The experimental sample is composed of 10 dyslexic University students ranging in age from 20 to 25 years (DD group), all living in Milan or in the area near it. Their performance in relative clauses was compared to two groups of individuals with no impairment (16 adolescents, age range: 14;1-17;5, 16 adults, age range: 20-34). Their performance in passive sentences was compared to a group of 17 University students (age range: 20-23).

1.2 Materials

The comprehension of relative clauses was assessed by using a referent selection task (Volpato, 2010), in which the participants had to select the correct referent out of four possible choices. We tested subject relatives (SR: *Il topo che colpisce i conigli* ‘The mouse that hits the rabbits’), object relatives with preverbal embedded subjects (OR: *Il topo che il coniglio colpisce* ‘The mouse that the rabbit hits’), and object relatives with postverbal embedded subjects (ORp: *Il topo che colpiscono i conigli* ‘The mouse that hit the rabbits’). The production of relative clauses was tested using a preference task through which participants were forced to produce subject or object relatives. The comprehension of passive sentences was assessed by using a picture matching task (Verin 2010), in which the subjects had to select the correct picture out of three options. The production of passive sentences was assessed by using an elicitation task. We tested actional passives (*Marco è baciato da Sara* ‘Marco is kissed by Sara’) and non-actional passives (*Marco è visto da Sara* ‘Marco is seen by Sara’). All participants were assessed individually through the oral modality.

2. Results

Table 1 and 2 show the percentage of accuracy obtained by each group in each sentence condition of the relative clause comprehension and production tasks:

Table 1: % of accuracy in relative clause comprehension.

	Dyslexic	Adolescents	Adults
SR	93%	100%	100%
OR	77%	92%	100%
ORp	81%	94%	100%

Table 2: % of accuracy in relative clause production.

	Dyslexic	Adolescents	Adults
SR	98%	100%	98%
OR	1%	0%	0%

In the comprehension task, dyslexic’s performance is lower than adolescents’ and adults’ in all sentence conditions. Also in the production task, the dyslexic students behave slightly different. Indeed they produce some object relatives, which are never found in adolescents and adults.

Table 3 and 4 show the percentage of accuracy obtained by each group in each sentence condition of the passive sentence comprehension and production tasks:

Table 3: % of accuracy in passive sentence comprehension.

	Dyslexic	Adults
Actional	100%	100%
Non-actional	95%	100%

Table 4: % of accuracy in passive sentence production.

	Dyslexic	Adults
Actional	86%	99%
Non-actional	64%	65%

With actional verbs, dyslexic students' performance in the comprehension task is comparable to adults. In the production task, some students experienced difficulties with actional passives. Most participants showed a quite high level of performance with rates of accuracy above 90%.

3. Discussion

Overall, the analysis of performance showed that the group of dyslexic student had more difficulties in dealing with (object) relative clauses than with passive sentences.

The asymmetry we found in the acquisition of relative clauses and passive sentences is also found in previous studies on English (Stein et al., 1984). From a linguistic point of view, the two structures differ with respect to the type of chain (A in passive sentences vs. A' in relative clauses) which is built between the merge position and the surface position of the moved element. We suggest that the participants experience considerable difficulties in the interpretation of A' chains, while A chains are more preserved. The two constructions also differ with respect to the computation load asked to the memory system to be interpreted. In dyslexic children, the deficit might be attributed to their inability to keep in mind linguistic information, analyze, organize and reproduce it (Cornoldi 1999). This phenomenon would account, on the one hand, for the difficulty found in the comprehension of relative clauses, which are characterized by long-distance syntactic dependencies and are problematic for the language computational system; on the other hand, it would explain the better accuracy in the comprehension of passive sentences which are composed of shorter sequences and dependencies, and are therefore easier to memorize and process.

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Subject Intervention in Free Relatives *

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Subject intervention for A'-dependencies has been one of the most investigated topic in language acquisition studies and in the theory of syntax in recent years, due to the seminal paper by Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi (2009) and subsequent work by Adriana Belletti and colleagues. Our starting point in this paper is the observation that subject intervention in A'-dependencies is observed in adult grammar as well. One well-known case is the degradation created by a preverbal subject in direct questions in several Romance varieties. The case we focus on here is free relatives. As pointed out by Greco (2013), in Italian there is a contrast between the subject free relative in (1) and the object free relative in (2),

- (1) Chi ha colpito Gianni è finito all'ospedale
 who has hit Gianni is finished in the hospital
 'the person who hit Gianni ended up in the hospital'
- (2) ?? Chi Gianni ha colpito è finito all'ospedale
 who Gianni has hit has finished in the hospital
 'the person Gianni hit ended up in the hospital'

However, Italian object pronominal relatives like (3) do not show any clear subject intervention effect.

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- (3) Ciò che Gianni ha fatto è orribile
this that Gianni has done is horrible
'What Gianni did is horrible'

Moreover, in other languages, including English, free relatives display no subject intervention effect whatsoever, cf. (4):

- (4) What John said is horrible

In this paper we will try to answer the following questions:

- (i) Why do subject intervention effects emerge in direct questions and in free relatives in Italian, French (and other Romance varieties)?
(ii) Why don't they arise in pronominal relatives?
(iii) Why don't they arise in free relatives in languages like English?

The answer to these questions will capitalize on the concept of Gross Minimality developed by Cecchetto and Donati (in press: chapter 5). An important observation that can help to explain the contrast between English and Italian is that Italian free relatives are modeled after direct questions while English free relatives are modeled after indirect questions.

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There are three main issues that are problematic for this view. The first is that wh-words in language after language (Latin, Slovenian, Chinese,...) double up as (polarity sensitive/epistemic) indefinites. The following is an example from Slovenian:

(3) Janez mora koga poklicati

John must wh call 'John must call someone'

The view sketched in (1) assumes that wh-words are (interpreted as) λ -abstractors. If so, how come they wind up being construed/interpreted so often as epistemic indefinites?

Second, the approach in (1) makes no prediction on the relation between which wh-words show up in Qs and which in FRs. Depending on whether one or the other (or both) of the shifts in (1) is partial, one would expect finding languages in which the wh-words in Qs are a subset of those found in FRs, or viceversa, as well as languages in which they overlap. However, the extensive cross-linguistic analysis of FRs in Caponigro (2003) shows that this is not so. The pattern attested in English (where, for example *which N* or *why* are fine in Qs but out in FRs) appears to hold crosslinguistically: the wh-words found in FRs systematically are a proper subset of those found in Qs.

Third, again as noted by Caponigro, maximality in FRs sometimes fails. While, e.g., (4a) would be false if there is something on John's plate I didn't throw away, (4c) wouldn't be false if I failed to go to some of the places where I could find help:

(4) a. I threw away what was on John's plate → all the things that were on J's plate

b. I went where I could get help → some of the places where I could get help

In other words, the FR in (4a) must be interpreted maximally/universally, while the one in (4b) can be, and typically is, interpreted non maximally/existentially. It is not easy to understand why, on the approach outlined in (1).

There is a different take on the relation between FRs and Qs that can be schematically illustrated as follows:

(5) [FR[Qwhat John left on his plate]]

The idea is that FRs are in fact derived from Qs. They denote, essentially, what constitutes a short answer to Qs. This very simple switch (whose consequences on D&C's analysis, or, for that matter, any labeling algorithm for FRs, need to be explored) can explain the phenomena observed above. First, a canonical Karttunen-style analysis for wh-words (in which they are treated indeed as indefinites) can be maintained for (5). Second, if the shift that takes us from Q meanings to FR meanings is partial, one would immediately explain Caponigro's generalization (as the wh-words in FRs would never stand a chance at being anything but a subset of those in Qs). Third there is a striking correlation between the distribution of maximality in FRs and that of answers to Qs. A case in point is constituted by 'Mention Some' Qs. The answer to (6a) has to be construed maximally/exhaustively as specifying all the things on John's plate; the one in (4b) doesn't have to be (which is what is known as the MS phenomenon):

(6) a. What did John leave on his plate? An asparagus and a piece of potato exh

b. Where can I find help? Right at the corner

non exh

If FRs are derived much like short answer to Qs are construed, the phenomenon of non maximal FRs would receive a principled account.

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Problems of Projection: Extensions*

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“With gratitude for many years of scholarly achievement and warm friendship”

I assume here the minimalist research program, which I think is well-motivated on grounds of learnability, explanatory success, and the very limited information on origin of the human language faculty. In particular, I assume the conclusions of Chomsky (2013), including the abandonment of the endocentricity stipulation of X-bar theory and its descendants, and the separation of projection (labeling) from the principles of construction of expressions. A labeling algorithm, keeping to minimal search, assigns labels to expressions {X,Y} constructed by iterated Merge (external EM or internal IM); labeling yields no new category. If one of X,Y is a head, labeling is trivial: minimal search yields the head as a label. If neither is a head, labeling is possible only if search of X and Y yields agreeing heads, meaning that if one or the other was raised it is now in its *riterial position* in Luigi Rizzi’s sense. Assume further that at the CI interface, and for the rules of externalization, syntactic objects must be identified (labeled). It follows that IM is successive-cyclic leading to a criterial position, and is forced to ensure labeling.

A further question is what Rizzi calls “the halting problem”: why is there no further movement from a criterial position? A simple solution is outlined that keeps to the minimalist assumptions just sketched. Further questions arise about special properties of subjects of CP: the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) and the Empty Category Principle (ECP). These are unified under the labeling theory assumed. The analysis extends to the second phase v*P, where the object that is raised under the analogue of EPP – in accordance with the object-raising analysis of Saito and Lasnik (1991), tracing back to work of Paul Postal’s – is in a structural position analogous to subject of CP. ECP is violated for v*P, and sometimes for CP (escape from the “that-trace filter”). The reason for these apparent violations is the same, under the analysis presented, which also entails a revision of standard approaches to head-raising and sharpening of notions of phase-based memory. Work tracing back to Rizzi (1982) has shown that null-subject languages apparently differ in these properties, the parametric difference relating to “rich agreement.” The basic distinctions also fall into place under the presented analysis. Several other anomalies of earlier proposals are also discussed and overcome.

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On the order of diminutive, endearment, augmentative and pejorative heads^{*}

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“This article is dedicated to Adriana Belletti, a dear colleague and friend from the early days of the generative enterprise in Italy (though she is much younger)”

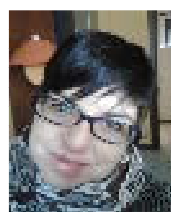
In this paper evidence will be provided that diminutive, endearing, augmentative and pejorative morphemes are rigidly ordered with respect to one another, pointing to the existence of diminutive, endearing, augmentative and pejorative functional heads correspondingly ordered within the extended projection of the nominal phrase. The evidence will primarily come from the relative order of the diminutive, endearing, augmentative and pejorative suffixes of Italian, but also from the order of the corresponding bound and unbound morphemes of other languages.

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Resolving pronominal anaphora in real-time: a comparison between Italian native and near-native speakers*

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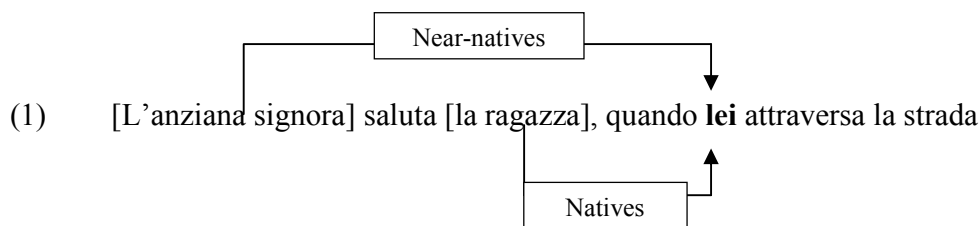


“Toivotamme sinulle oikein hyvää syntymäpäivää!(We wish you a very happy birthday)”

“Una vita senza ricerca non è degna per l'uomo di essere vissuta.”(Socrate)

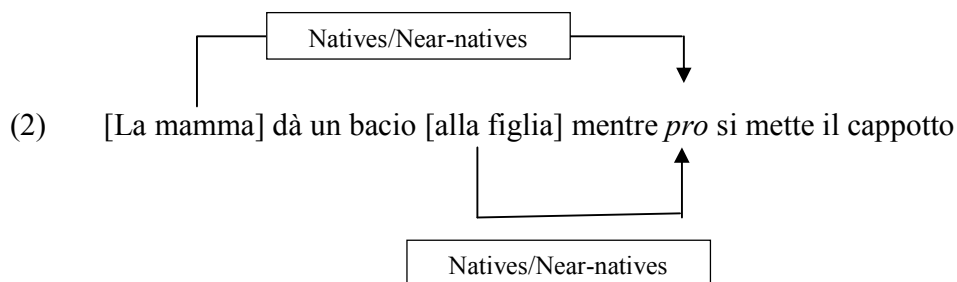
In this study we aim at investigating the interpretation of overt and null subject pronouns in English near-native speakers of Italian through an on-line experiment, thus contributing to an issue raised in Belletti, Bennati & Sorace (2007) a.o.. The authors, besides observing different answering strategies adopted by near-native speakers when dealing with the production of null subjects/VS order, also found diverging interpretation patterns in anaphora resolution contexts between Italian native speakers and near-native speakers whose L1 is a non-null subject language (English). Specifically, the findings reveal that near-native speakers tend to interpret the overt subject pronoun as co-referential with the lexical matrix subject significantly more than the native speakers:

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‘The old lady says hello to the girl, when she is crossing the road’

Interestingly, no difference between natives and near-natives emerged in the interpretation of *pro* in forward anaphora resolution contexts: for both groups *pro* in the subordinate clause could co-refer with either the subject or the object of the matrix clause:



‘The mum kisses the daughter, while *pro* put on the coat’

Such discrepancy has been attributed either to different constraints on discourse options imposed by the L1 grammar (Belletti, Bennati and Sorace 2007) or to a more general indeterminacy in the processing strategies that are responsible for establishing a link between pronouns and antecedents, regardless of (non) null subject nature of languages (Sorace and Filiaci 2006).

Differently from previous studies, in the present research, results of the on-line experiment are compared with data obtained through an off-line task (a picture verification task) administered to the same group of experimental subjects (n.14 Italian native speakers, n.12 English near-native speakers of Italian). The contrast between off and on-line processing data is particularly revealing in that it suggests that divergent patterns between L1 and near-native speakers might be attributed to competition for processing resources between languages, rather than specific processing difficulties.

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A note on parallels between agreement and intervention*

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“Adriana, muitos parabéns/tanti auguri! É um grande prazer poder associar-me a esta homenagem pelo testemunho que dás do que é ser linguista e fazer linguística. Um exemplo para todos!”

Adriana Belletti’s contributions to our knowledge on the details of how the syntax of natural languages functions are hard to list, because they are many and come from different sources (comparative syntax, L1 acquisition, L2 acquisition, studies with different types of language impairment). She plays a major role in determining the abstract configurations underlying many different phenomena in different languages. This paper addresses two of the topics she developed work on: agreement and intervention effects in acquisition. In a very exploratory way, I show that most of the constraints operating on agreement configurations are found in intervention effects in acquisition. If the parallelism is true, this opens up the question of whether the two phenomena may be explained in similar terms.

In the first part of the paper, I recall some properties of a case of subject-verb agreement in European Portuguese studied in Costa and Pereira (2013): agreement with the pronoun *a gente*. This pronoun is particularly interesting since it has 3rd person singular grammatical features, although it refers to a 1st person plural semantically. It will be shown that this pronoun provides very clear evidence for a featural approach to agreement, and for the syntactic locality constraints operating on agreement relations.

The second part of the paper summarizes results on intervention effects in acquisition. Intervention effects are found whenever children experience difficulties in the production or comprehension of a syntactic dependency because of an intervening constituent with a (partly) similar feature constituency (Grillo 2007, Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi 2009), as illustrated in (1)

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(4)DP_i DP ec_i

A configuration like (1) emerges, for instances, in a headed object relative clause, as in (2):

(4)Show me the girl that grandma kisses.

In this sentence, a dependency is established between the DP *the girl* and the empty object position after the verb. The complication with this type of structure appears because of the presence of the intervening DP *the grandma*, which shares features with the antecedent. In the second part of the paper, I show that these intervention contexts share most properties of agreement configurations, drawing a parallelism between agreement and intervention.

In the conclusions, I illustrate the potential of the exploration of these similarities between agreement and intervention effects.

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Some notes on clefting and fronting*

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*“Ad Adriana,
con gratitudine e riconoscenza per avermi guidato nei primi passi da linguista: il tuo
lavoro continua ad essere per me una grande fonte di ispirazione”*

1. Introduction

In her (2008) paper, Adriana Belletti refines her analysis of cleft sentences (Belletti 2005) by proposing that different kinds of focalization lead to two distinct CP structures (see also Belletti 2009, 2012, 2013, 2014). Based on the assumption that left peripheral focalization involves contrastive/corrective focus (Rizzi 1997), while the Focus projection within the vP periphery specializes for new information focus (Belletti 2004), she claims that subject clefts that may be used as an answering strategy (e.g. in French) exploit the latter position, while non-subject clefting corresponds to left peripheral focalization. She speculates that “this clear distinction should not hold in languages where both new information focus and contrastive focus are realized in the left periphery of the clause. Should languages of this type exist, all other things being equal, in these languages both subject and non subject clefts should qualify as possible answering strategies to questions of information”. She leaves “the development of this parametrical option open for further study” (Belletti 2008: 198), but, in a footnote, she mentions Hungarian and Sicilian as two languages worth investigating in this perspective.

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In this paper I put the predictions of this conjecture to the test by examining the distribution of the cleft construction (CC) in a language where focus fronting (FF) to the left periphery is not limited to a specific contrastive/corrective interpretation, namely, Sicilian. I will discuss the results of an experiment specifically designed to test the acceptability rate of CC in comparison and in correlation with FF. In order to test the distribution of information focus and contrastive focus in both CC and FF, I took into account two contexts: answers to questions (to elicit information focus) (cf. 1), and contrastive environments (to elicit contrastive/corrective focus) (cf. 2). The target sentences were further distinguished according to the grammatical category of the focus constituent (subject, object, and PP), and each sentence was presented in four versions, obtained by combing the two structural conditions [\pm CC] and [\pm FF].

(1) CONTEXT

Maria aviva accattatu na buttiglia di vinu bona p'a purtari a festa di compleannu di n'amica, ma un sapi siddu nni ddra casa vivunu vinu. Allora ci addumanna all'amica [Mary had bought a good bottle of wine to bring it to the birthday party of a friend of hers, but she doesn't know if they drink wine in that family. So she asks her friend]

A: Cu s'u vivi u vinu dintra nni tia?
'Who drinks wine in your house?'

- B1: **Ma maritu** jè ca s'u vivi. (+CC, +FF)
my husband is that it drinks
- B2: Jè **ma maritu** ca s'u vivi. (+CC, -FF)
is my husband that it drinks
- B3: **Ma maritu** s'u vivi. (-CC, +FF)
my husband it drinks
- B4: S'u vivi **ma maritu**. (-CC, -FF)
it drinks my husband
'My husband drinks it'

(2) CONTEXT

Au ristoranti a Mariu ci portanu un piattu di calamari friùti, ma iddu u(g)n'è cuntentu [At the restaurant they bring Mario a dish of a fried squids, but he's not happy]

- B1: **U pisci spata** jè ca ordinavu, no i calamari friùti. (+CC, +FF)
the sword fish is that I-ordered, not the squids fried
- B2: Jè **u pisci spata** ca ordinavu, no i calamari friùti. (+CC, -FF)
is the sword fish that I-ordered, not the squids fried
- B3: **U pisci spata** ordinavu, no i calamari friùti. (-CC, +FF)
the sword fish I-ordered, not the squids fried
- B4: Ordinavu **u pisci spata**, no i calamari friùti. (-CC, -FF)
I-ordered the sword fish, not the squids fried
'I ordered sword fish, not fried squids'

2. Experimental results

The analysis of the experimental results confirms an interesting correlation between fronting and clefting. Languages resorting to FF as a generalized focus strategy only marginally admit CC (Lambrecht 2001). Further results can be summarized as follows (see Tables 1 and 2 for the acceptability scores on a scale of 0 to 100):

a) In answers to questions, Sicilian native speakers never accept clefts (not even reduced clefts, which are possible in the same context in Italian, cf. Belletti 2005). With contrastive focus, instead, CC obtained scores above the threshold of marginality, but only when the clefted constituent was the subject, and when a past tense was used. Non-cleft focalization is decisively preferred in any case, thus representing the main strategy adopted by native speakers to mark narrow focus, to the expenses of alternative structures such as CC.

b) A syntactic possibility that is generally overlooked is the fronting of the focus constituent in CC (i.e. [+CC, +FF]). This option is possible in Sicilian, although limited to the contexts described in (a).

c) FF (i.e. [-CC, +FF]) and postverbal focalization (i.e. [-CC, -FF]) obtained almost identical scores. FF is preferred only when an additional interpretation of surprise or unexpectedness is intended or is triggered by the discourse conditions (this interpretation however was not directly tested in this experiment).

d) FF and postverbal focalization are not sensitive to the focus type: both information and contrastive focus are possible in the left periphery of the sentence, as well as in the clause-internal focus projection. Clefts, on the other hand, have specialized for a contrastive focus with a strong specificational function (mainly, with respect to the subject).

These results show that the association of a given focus-marking construction with a specific interpretation and pragmatic environment must be language-specific. On the one hand, the interpretive distinction posited for Italian in Belletti's analysis does not seem to extend to Sicilian; on the other, these data endorse the necessity, at the basis of Belletti's analysis, to distinguish between subject and non-subject clefts as two different structural types.

Table 1: Average of acceptability rate in answers to questions

	+CC,+FF	+CC,-FF	-CC,+FF	-CC,-FF
Subject	27.81	20.43	86.85	81.22
Object	21.21	17.06	83.16	86.03
PP	27.8	23.7	84.47	85.91
TOT.	25.60	20.39667	84.82	84.38

Table 2: Average of acceptability rate with contrastive interpretation

	+CC,+FF	+CC,-FF.	-CC,+FF	-CC,-FF
Subject	55.68	59.61	72.88	68.94
Object	37.36	40.52	73.5	77.87
PP	39.78	52.48	76.47	73.3

TOT.	44.27	50.87	74.28	73.37
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Exhaustivity operators and fronted focus in Italian^{*}

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“Une idée forte communique un peu de sa force au contradicteur”
Ad Adriana con stima ed amicizia

Abstract

In this contribution we present an original analysis of Fronted Focus (FF) in Italian (contrastive/corrective focus in the terminology of Belletti 2004), based on the insight that alleged FF is not a variant of the discourse-level category of *Focus* but rather instantiates a combination between the semantics associated with the discourse-level category of *Contrast* and the kind of Exhaustivity Operator involved – crosslinguistically – in the interpretive mechanism of ‘Association with Focus’ and in the computation of grammaticalized implicatures.

Building on work on focus constructions by Belletti, we further argue that the different varieties of alleged focus-movement in Italian can be amended to an analysis according to which the trigger for movement is an attracting Q-feature in the clausal left-periphery, on strict parallelism with focus-movement in Hungarian. In order to elucidate the comparative/parametric dimension of this analysis, we propose that the difference between Italian and Hungarian can be derived from the properties of lexical endowment of the (phonologically empty) Exhaustivity Operator *Exh*, together with the fact that the latter ‘associates’ with *Focus* in Hungarian and with *Contrast* in Italian. We also present an explicit semantics for the mechanism of ‘Association with Contrast’, arguing that the notion of *Contrast* is strictly

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intertwined with the grammatical computation, on strict analogy with the notion of *Focus*.

The paper is structured in four sections.

In the first section, we introduce the basic ingredients of the semantics of *Focus*, clarifying the role played by exhaustivity operators in different languages and in different constructions.

In section two, we develop the basic insight that *Fronted Focus* in Italian is interpreted as a mechanism of ‘association with Contrast’, and defend this claim on empirical and conceptual grounds.

Section three contains an explicit presentation of the interpretative mechanism of ‘association with Contrast’. Although the semantics proposed strongly resembles that of ‘association with Focus’, the procedure of selection of both the Asserted Value and the set of (propositional) alternatives is quite different. The Asserted Value is added to the set ALT of alternatives, whereas the latter is identified with the set containing the proposition that is ‘corrected’ and the proposition involving the contrastive constituent.

The last section presents some important conceptual refinements (mainly inspired by Belletti’s analysis of focus constructions and Bianchi’s observations on the different interpretation of FF with respect to ‘Contrastive Focus *in situ*’) that allow us to conveniently elucidate the emerging issues at the syntax/semantics interface and the (possibly parametric) dimension of the attested typological variation. More particularly, we address two puzzles emerging from the proposed analysis: (i) If Contrastive Focus (both *in-situ* and *ex-situ*) is a consequence of the fact that an exhaustivity feature is expressed on the focused constituent, why are the *in-situ* and *ex-situ* variants interpreted differently? (ii) If presuppositionality is the source of this interpretive difference, why can the *in-situ* variant be indifferently interpreted presuppositionally and non-presuppositionally? We show that there is a unitary and elegant solution to both (i) and (ii), according to which when exhaustivity triggers movement, it does so as a consequence of discourse-linking, and that this solution may be taken to confirm the correctness of Belletti (2008)’s analysis of object cleft-sentences.

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Transferring Strategies and the Nature of Transfer^{*}

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Jantar Mantar, Jaipur, Rajasthan, India

Jantar Mantar, Jaipur impressive observatory, is now a wonderful open-air museum: though built in the first half of the 18th century, it is based on the Ptolemaic system. To Adriana, who constantly shows through her work how fundamental is grounding data, and their collection, on a good theory.

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Abstract

Through a number of papers written by Adriana Belletti during the first decade of the third millennium, an interesting picture gradually emerges.¹

She notes that different languages adopt different ways to answer the same question requiring the identification of the subject, and that these different ways are amenable to basically three patterns (VS, clefts, SV with DP internal focalization) which are followed by different, apparently unrelated, languages. She gives an analysis of these patterns, which she calls (answering) strategies, i.e. ‘formal options that are both grammatically and pragmatically constrained’ (Belletti 2009: 264). Furthermore, she observes that in the L2 acquisition of Italian, the L1 (French, German, English) strategy is characteristically transferred, even in speakers at a very advanced level, i.e. in near natives.

How are strategies transferred? Is the transfer of strategies based on the same mechanism as the transfer of parameters values? Why is their transfer protracted?

In order to answer these questions, in this work I will outline a model of transfer which accounts in a unitary fashion for the transfer of strategies and of parameters values, where the latter are assumed to be properties of the elements of the functional lexicon (along the lines developed in Rizzi (2011)), and transfer may occur, derivationally, when a property is not acquired. This, in turn, might be due to the fact that the property is complex, as implicitly assumed by the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace and Filiaci 2006), but not by other models of transfer proposed in the literature, such as the Full Transfer/ Full Access model (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996). Crucially, however, in line with Belletti and Leonini (2004), I will argue that the problematic property underlying the transfer of answering strategies is not an interface property *per se*. What I assume for the cases at stake is that, although the Null Subject Parameter (i.e. a feature of the T/AgrS head, which governs the Spell-out properties of its Spec) is correctly set, properties of *pro*, a new element in the subjects’ L2 functional lexicon, are not (yet) set, nor can they be transferred since there is no equivalent of *pro* in the subjects’ L1. So *pro* is left syntactically inert: it does not trigger the doubling derivation necessary to allow the lexical subject occupy the clause internal focus position, and the L1 strategy is, derivationally, adopted. This analysis is finally extended to account for the protracted overuse of overt pronouns in L2 Italian, another finding of (a. o.) Belletti, Bennati and Sorace (2007).

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¹ We refer in particular to Belletti (2005), (2007) and (2009). Belletti and Leonini (2004) and Belletti, Bennati and Sorace (2007) give the necessary experimental evidence, while Belletti (2001) and (2004) give the pre- requisites for the development of the picture, in that in these works VS structures in Italian are first analyzed as instances of low, vP internal, focalization of the subject.

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Effects of parametric change and active/inactive alignment: the case of C-omission*

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Grazie Adriana, per quello che mi hai insegnato, per avermi trasmesso la passione per la ricerca e la curiosità intellettuale. Grazie per avermi spronata ad andare avanti con il tuo entusiasmo, il tuo sostegno e le tue critiche sincere. Ti auguro uno splendido compleanno.

This paper deals with the diachrony of complementizer omission (C-omission) in Italian. C-omission is restricted to [-*realis*] clauses in Modern Italian (1), and to some types of declarative clauses in Modern Florentine (Cocchi & Poletto, 2005), i.e. to clauses in which the inflected verb of the subordinate clause is preceded by a functional head (e.g. negation, clitic pronoun) and no preverbal lexical subject or functional adverbial is merged, cf. (2).

- (1) a. *Penso (che) venga anche Pietro* (Modern Italian)
Think.1SG that come.SBJV;3PL also Peter
'I think (that) Peter is also coming'
b. *Maria dice *(che) viene anche Pietro*
Mary says that come.3PL all.PL

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‘Mary says that Peter is also coming’

- (2) a. *Dice __ lo porta* (Modern Florentine)
say.3SG ACC;3SG take.IND;3SG
‘He says he will bring it’
b. *?*Dice __ porta il libro*
say.3SG take.IND;3SG the book
‘He says he will bring the book’
c. **Maria m’ha detto __ Gianni un ha portato il libro*
Mary DAT;1SG has said John not has.IND brought the book
‘Mary told me John has not brought the book’
[Cocchi & Poletto, 2005, 12, 13, 15]

In Old Italian, which has V-to-C in main clauses, (cf. Benincà 1984, 2006, Benincà & Poletto 2010, a.o.), C-omission is highly restricted. Instead, the complementizer *che* (and its variants *ch’*, *ke*, etc.) may be doubled, as in the example below (cf. Vincent 2006).

- (3) *Trovò **che**, [chi continuo mangiasse nove dì*
Found C who continuously ate.SBJV nine days
*di petronciani], **che** diverrebbe matto*
of eggplants C become.COND crazy
‘He found out that whoever ate eggplants for nine days in a row would
become crazy’ [Novellino, 35, 208, 2]

C-omission is by contrast much more pervasive in the Renaissance period (Wanner 1981, Scorretti 1991) and invests basically all types of subordinate clauses. The present study concentrates on C-omission in Renaissance Italian relative clauses, which is attested in both subject, (4), and non-subject extractions, (5).

- (4) *...Che è faccenda __ tocca a noi*
that is issue touch.3SG to us
‘That is an issue we have to deal with’ [AMS, Wanner 1981]
- (5) *Se la divisione __ fece coi viniziani di Lombardia...*
If the division made.3SG with.the Venetians of Lombardy
‘If the division of Lombardy he made with the Venetians...’ [P, 4, l. 26]

A corpus study reveals that there is a quantified asymmetry in the frequency of C-omission in subject/non-subject relative clauses, which is analyzed as the result of the combination of the active/inactive alignment that characterizes both Old and Renaissance Italian (Ledgeway 2012 and ref. therein, a.o.), and the loss of V-to-C. More specifically, a closer examination reveals that C-omission in relative clauses is attested only in presence of inactive antecedents.

The active/inactive distinction is attributed to the presence of a strong (*) feature on the low-phase head, Voice*, which requires morphologically overt Merge (Chomsky 1995, Lasnik 1999, Biberauer & Richards 2006) and creates a low phase boundary in active but not in inactive structures (cf. Franco & Migliori 2014). The presence of * on Voice imposes a visibility requirement for recoverability at the

higher phase, once the EA undergoes relativization, which explains the absence of C-less relative clauses with active antecedents.

The fact that C-omission is attested in Renaissance, but not in Old Italian, is explained in relation to another parametric change, which affects the higher phase head. Specifically, the loss of V-to-C is attributed to a parametric change from Fin* to Fin, which permits the C-form to be non-overt in contexts in which syntactic visibility is not imposed otherwise (e.g. by a requirement on Voice or on another C-head). The argument is corroborated by further comparative facts from Old Occitan and Old French. These languages, despite some microparametric differences concerning the C-forms, share the same properties of Renaissance Italian and allow for C-omission in the same (inactive) contexts.

The hypothesis presented in this paper generates some predictions with respect to the distribution of C-omission, which are borne out by facts. Specifically, C-omission is unattested (=ungrammatical) in headless relative and interrogative clauses in which C is a pronoun and has a [+human, SA/A] value, as well as in headed relative clauses in which the extracted argument is [+human, SA/A].

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Split Nominal Constructions in Italian*

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*“The year you were born marks only your entry in the world.
Other years where you prove your worth, they are the ones worth celebrating”*

(J. Kintz)

It's great when you can celebrate the second on the occasion of the first!

This is the case, Adriana, and it's a pleasure to participate.

Abstract

In this paper interface evidence is provided for an analysis of Split Nominal constructions which excludes extraction of the dislocated phrase from the NP containing the Focus. Based on formal and semantic considerations, it is argued that Split Nominals imply a *kind*-construction implemented by the dislocated element, which is merged as a G-Topic in the left periphery of the DP containing the Focus. Crucially, the latter is not a modifier, but a predicate within the SC selected by the relevant DP, which has a *pro* in subject position.

Following recent proposals, it is then argued that the subject *pro* in the SC is interpreted through an Agree relation with the local (possibly silent) AS-Topic, representing a high copy of the <*kind*> G-Topic in the D-domain. This analysis is supported by intonational evidence, showing that the dislocated constituent can be overtly realized as any type of Topic, depending on the context; when it constitutes an overt AS- or C-Topic in the C-domain, the DP-internal G-Topic is a silent low copy.

This analysis provides a novel approach to Split Nominal constructions, which can be profitably applied in future analyses on Split constructions in different languages.

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Relatively easy relatives: Children with syntactic SLI avoid intervention*

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אדריאנה יקרה, בתודה על שנים של עבודה משותפת שהיא תמיד תענוג, ושהפכה לחברות אמיצה.

1. Introduction

One of Adriana Belletti's many virtues is her ability to tie strong theoretical analyses with the world, and harness linguistic theory to improve the quality of people's lives. In this paper we show how Adriana's theoretical work predicts and explains the difficulties children with syntactic specific language impairment (SySLI) have in the production of relative clauses.

School-aged children with SySLI show difficulties in the comprehension and production of relative clauses, and especially in headed object relatives. This difficulty has been demonstrated in their poor comprehension in tasks of sentence-picture matching and written sentence paraphrases, in relatively few correct relatives produced in spontaneous speech, as well as in low rates of correctly-produced relatives and high error rates in elicited production of relatives.

In a recent line of work (Friedmann, Belletti, & Rizzi, 2009; Belletti et al., 2012), Belletti and colleagues tied the difficulty that children show in object relatives during early stages of language acquisition to Relativized Minimality and intervention. The main thrust of this approach is that the intervention of the embedded subject in the dependency between the head of the relative and its base-generated merge position is what makes headed object relatives hard for children. According to this approach,

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object relatives are harder than subject relatives for children acquiring syntax because whereas Wh-movement of the subject to the head position of subject relatives does not cross the object, the object, in its movement to the head position of object relative, crosses the embedded subject. This idea also explains why young typically developing children perform worse in object relatives that include two full DPs in the moved object and embedded subject positions, compared with object relatives in which only one of the DPs is lexically restricted, or when the features relevant for movement of the two DPs differ.

The current study tests whether this approach can be extended to account for the difficulties children with syntactic SLI (SySLI) show in relative clauses. For this aim, we elicited subject- and object relatives in 175 children with SySLI, and analyzed the rate of grammatical productions of subject- and object relatives and the types of errors they made when they attempted to produce object relatives. Specifically, we asked whether their errors indicate avoidance of intervention.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The participants were 175 monolingual Hebrew-speaking children with SySLI aged 7;4-16;6 ($M = 11;2$, $SD = 2;3$). All of them were diagnosed with learning disability and deficits in reading comprehension prior to the study, and had normal IQ. We included children in the SySLI group only if they failed in at least two tests of comprehension and repetition of sentences with Wh-movement (most participants took part in 5 or more syntactic tests, other took part in three).

The control participants were 87 monolingual Hebrew-speaking children with typical language development and without any diagnosis of learning disabilities, aged 7;4-17;0 ($M = 9;6$, $SD = 2;4$, at least 20 participants in each age group, 7;4-8, 8-9, 9-11, 11-17).

2.2. Material and procedure

To elicit right-branching headed relative clauses we used a preference task (developed and reported in detail in Friedmann & Szterman, 2006; Novogrodsky & Friedmann, 2006). In this task, the experimenter described two children in two situations, and asked the participant to choose which child he would prefer to be. The task was constructed in a way that the choice would have to be formed as a subject relative (1) or an object relative (2) clause. To ensure a relative clause response, the experimenter requested the participants to reply to each question starting with "I would rather be...".

(1) Elicitation of a subject relative:

There are two children. One child gives a present and one child receives a present. Which child would you rather be? Start with "I would rather be..."

Target answer: (hayiti ma'adif lihiyot) ha-yeled she-mekabel matana

(would-Isg prefer to-be) the-child that-receives present

(I would rather be) the child who receives a present.

(2) Elicitation of an object relative:

There are two children. The father drives one child and the grandfather drives one child. Which child would you rather be? Start with "I would rather be..."

Target answer: (hayiti ma'adif lihiyot) ha-yeled she-aba masia

(would-1sg prefer to-be) the-child that-father drives

(I would rather be) the child who the father drives.

3. Results

The results indicated, first, that the SySLI children had a severe deficit in the production of relative clauses, and that this relative clause elicitation task proved very sensitive for detecting syntactic impairment in these participants: 163 (93%) of the children who were diagnosed with SySLI according to these other criteria performed significantly poorer than the control group on this elicitation task. The SySLI group's production of object relatives (36.5% correct) was significantly poorer than their production of subject relatives (76.6% correct), $t(162) = 19.1$, $p < .0001$, and did not improve with age, neither for the object relatives, $r = .02$, $p = .78$, nor for the subject relatives, $r = -.05$, $p = .51$: even the participants in ninth and tenth grade in this group still showed a severe difficulty in the production of both subject and object relatives.

We then analyzed the pattern of responses that the SySLI participants produced when they tried to produce sentences with object relative clauses. This analysis further supported "relativized relatives" approach to the syntactic impairment in SySLI. The SySLI participants mainly used three paths to avoid the production of object relatives in which the movement to the head position of the object relative crosses the embedded subject:

- a. **Avoid movement:** simple sentences or embedded sentences without Wh-movement: 32.2% of the SySLI responses to object relatives, vs. only 1.2% such responses in the control group.
- b. **Avoid intervention configuration:** subject relatives: 22.1% in the SySLI group, vs. only 2.5% such responses in the control group.
- c. **Avoid two lexically restricted NPs in the intervention configuration:** producing only one NP or only one lexical NP: 15.4% of the object relatives responses the SySLI produced, compared to only 4.8% such responses in the control group.

4. Discussion

The pattern of production of the 175 children and adolescents with syntactic SLI indicates that the Friedmann, Belletti, and Rizzi (2009) approach to normal acquisition of syntax may also account for the pattern of syntactic impairment of children with SySLI. The results of our current study, as well as results from other studies indicate that it is: The first supporting evidence for an intervention account for SySLI is the significantly better production of subject relatives compared with object relatives. The second evidence is that SySLI children avoid Wh-movement altogether, by producing sentence that are not relative clauses, avoid intervention configuration by producing subject relatives instead of object relatives, and, when they produce object relatives with an intervention configuration, they **avoid the production of two lexical NPs**, by omitting the head of the relative clause, using a non-lexically restricted pronoun relative head, omitting the NP within the relative clause, or produce an arbitrary pro as the embedded subject.

To conclude, this study, encompassing the detailed examination of 175 children and adolescents with syntactic SLI, indicated that there are some relatives that are relatively easy for individuals with syntactic SLI: sentences that do not include two lexical NPs in an intervention configuration.

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Person features and the acquisition of clitics*

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“For Adriana, with memories of our excursions in Lisbon, Kourion and other places”

In her paper on participle agreement, Belletti (2006) showed how some person specifications give rise to obligatory participle agreement while others do not. The contrast is exemplified in (1) for Italian.

- (1) a. L’ho vista/*visto.
3sg.cl have.1sg seen-fem-sg/*seen-masc-sg
‘I have seen her.’
b. Mi/ti ha vista/visto.
1sg/2sg.cl have.3sg seen-fem-sg/seen-masc-sg
‘S/he has seen me.’

In Romance varieties with less pervasive participle agreement than Italian, such as peninsular Catalan, third person may display participle agreement, but agreement is banned with first and second person object clitics:

- (2) a. L’he vista/vist.
3sg.cl have.1sg seen-fem-sg/seen-masc-sg
‘I have seen her.’
b. M’/T’ha *vista/vist.
1sg/2sg.cl have.3sg *seen-fem-sg/seen-masc-sg

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‘S/he has seen me.’

We assume that participle agreement is the spell out of an operation that eliminates an uninterpretable feature in ν P. The presence of such an uninterpretable feature triggers movement of the associate of the clitic to the specifier of ν P. The Unique Checking Constraint analysis of clitic omission in early child grammar capitalises on this operation (Wexler 1998, Gavarró, Torrens and Wexler 2010). Under that analysis, double feature checking by a given DP is subject to maturation. If a clitic derivation involves only elimination of one uninterpretable feature at CIP, as in e.g. Spanish or Romanian, no participle agreement is found and no clitic omission occurs in early production. If the derivation requires two instances of feature elimination, at ν P and CIP, participle agreement takes place, but double feature elimination conflicts with the Unique Checking Constraint (UCC) and early clitic omission is found. This is, by hypothesis, what happens in Italian, French and Catalan with third person object clitics.

A straightforward prediction of this hypothesis is that first and second object clitics will be omitted if participle agreement occurs in the language with those clitics, but should be unproblematic otherwise. This is the prediction we aim to test with Catalan.

We designed an elicitation task replicating that of Silva (2008) for European Portuguese. We tested 44 children (sixteen 2-year-olds, nineteen 3-year-olds, nine 4-year-olds) and 10 adult controls, all native speakers of the varieties of Catalan in which no participle agreement is found with first/second person clitics. Subjects were tested on 8 items, counterbalanced for person; we did not elicit plural clitics, since previous work, including Silva (2008), indicated that extralinguistic issues rendered elicitation unrealistic. The results appear in Table 1. Adults produced a 100% clitics (either with finite and non-finite verbs).

Table 1: Results for clitic production/omission of first and second person object clitics (absolute numbers and percentage in parentheses)

age group	cl +fin	om +fin	cl –fin	om –fin	DP –fin	non-valid
2-year-olds	36 (28.13%)	2 (1.56%)	46 (35.94%)	18 (14.06%)	9 (7.03%)	17 (13.28%)
3-year-olds	79 (51.97%)	11 (7.24%)	26 (17.11%)	22 (14.47%)	1 (0.66%)	13 (8.55%)
4-year-olds	34 (47.22%)	0	34 (47.22%)	4 (5.56%)	0	0
adults	54 (67.50%)	0	26 (32.50%)	0	0	0

First and second person clitics are collapsed in the results since the statistical analysis reveals that there is no statistically significant difference between first and second person for any age group. Nor do we find any significant difference (in terms of omission rate) between 2 and 4-year-olds, a result we interpret as meaning that the performance of 2-year-olds is close to adult-like. The high rates of clitic production and low rates of omission reported are consistent with those found in spontaneous production in Catalan and other languages without a null object option (Romanian, Coene and Avram 2011).

Importantly to evaluate the hypothesis put forward, we compared omission and production of first/second person clitics with those for third person clitics investigated in Gavarró, Torrens and Wexler (2010). Omission is significantly higher for third person clitics (Estimated Means of omission are 0.34 (CI_{95%} = (0.22, 0.48)) for third person clitics, but only 0.14 (CI_{95%} = (0.08, 0.21)) for first/second person) and, at age 2, there is a significant difference between omission with third person and omission with first/second person (Estimated Means of omission are: 0.18 (CI_{95%} = (0.09, 0.31)) for first/second person and 0.77 (CI_{95%} = (0.52, 0.91)) for third person). This contrast between first/second and third person falls within the predictions of the UCC underpinning clitic omission and production.

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Relative Clauses in Cimbrian*

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In this work we intend to provide an analysis of the left periphery of relative clauses in the Cimbrian variety of Luserna, a linguistic island located in the North-East of Italy, in the Trentino region. Cimbrian has recently attracted attention in syntactic studies because, although it is a Bavarian variety, nonetheless generally displays VO and at the same time has typical properties of an asymmetric V2 language. In Grewendorf and Poletto (2011) we analyzed its complementizer system reaching the conclusion that Cimbrian has two types of complementizers; one (such as *ke*) that is located in such a high position in the left periphery so that it has no influence onto the internal structure of the embedded clause, which thus behaves as a normal root clause. The second type (represented by *az*) is located in a low position of the left periphery, where it blocks movement of the inflected verb to the C-domain, as is generally the case in asymmetric V2 languages. Independent empirical evidence for a split complementizer system comes from several empirical domains. We mention here only the three major ones: a) the fact that clitics are attached to the right of the verb in main clauses (and *ke*-clauses) while they are enclitic on complementizers of the *az*-type; b) the fact that the negative marker is preverbal in *az*-type clauses but postverbal in main and *ke*-type clauses; c) the fact that prefixes are always postverbal in main and *ke*-type clauses, but can be preverbal in *az*-type clauses.

Since movement in relative clauses often targets a high position in the left periphery, as shown by Rizzi (1997), the question arises which of the two complementizer

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systems Cimbrian makes use of in restrictive and appositive relative clauses. Furthermore, the sentential particle *da*, which behaves like clitics (i.e. it attaches to the right of the inflected verb in main and *ke*-type clauses but to the right of the complementizer in *az*-type clauses) has a rather peculiar distribution in relative clauses. Bidese et alii (2012) report that restrictive relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer of the *az*-type *bo* (etymologically related to Bavarian *wo* through a regular phonological process) followed by the particle *da*, while appositive relative clauses can either be introduced by *bo-da* as well as by the complementizer *ke* without *da*. While they analyze the distribution of the two possible complementizers, we will concentrate on relative clauses introduced by *bo-da* (cf. (1)):

- (1) a. Dar libar bo da ze lesan herta
 the book that prt. they read always
 ‘The book that they always read’
- b. Dar Giani und dar Peter bo da die Maria hot gerueaft,
 The Giani and the Peter that prt. the Mary has called
 ‘Giani and Peter, whom Maria called’

Furthermore, we will also investigate free relative clauses, where the particle *da* is also present, as shown in (2), although the complementizer *bo* is not:

- (2) Ber-da votart vorimen is a stock
 Who.prt. votes for.him is a stupid
 ‘Who votes for him is stupid’

We will first show that *bo* in fact behaves like a complementizer, since it can neither be inflected nor can it be combined with a preposition. Then we will show that the complex form "bo da" introduces a non-V2 clause like complementizers of the "az"-type on the basis of the tests already proposed in Grewendorf and Poletto (2011). Given that the particle *da* is reported by Bidese et alii (2012) to be obligatory in restrictive relative clauses when the subject is a full DP but impossible when the subject is a pronoun, we will examine its distribution with respect to all pronoun types (clitic, tonic and weak pronouns) in restrictive, appositive and free relative clauses to pin down its exact syntactic position and function in the left periphery and its relation with respect to the subject and clitic pronouns.

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Be careful how you use the left periphery*

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*“West Flemish Happy Birthday
Gratulerer med dagen!”*

The paper starts by discussing the main properties of gapping in English, including two left peripheral analyses of gapping: One cartographic analysis, and another analysis, which aligns the left peripheral movement of gapping with fronting for contrastive effects. There are problems for these analyses, in particular the fact that the movements postulated for gapping diverge quite strongly from other well-established information structure driven movements. The paper ends by arguing that an analysis according to which the movement for gapping targets a vP related periphery may overcome at least some of the problems that this paper raises.

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Intervention Effects in the Spontaneous Production of Relative Clauses in (A)typical Language Development of French Children and Adolescents*

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“To our wonderful friend Adriana, with whom we share the excitement of the linguistic experience”

0. Abstract

Our study investigates spontaneous production of 4 groups of typically developing French speaking children (TD6, TD8, TD11, TD14) and a group of French children with SLI. We focus on the production of different types of relative clauses and on the occurrence of intervening elements and avoidance strategies. Our data complement much of Adriana Belletti’s recent work in that intervention is avoided in the choice of the relative subject, which is very frequently a pronoun and mostly animate and because we do not find subject relatives with passive in spontaneous speech.

In investigating the type of relative subjects (PRO, pronouns, quantifiers or DPs with an NP-restriction) and the types of relative heads, we also notice that in some cases the relative subject lacks specificity, a situation which calls for further restriction and modification thus prompting the use of a relative clause and demonstrating the interaction of grammatical features and discourse choices. This, and also the distribution of the animacy feature on relative heads and relative subjects (see table

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1), indicates that it is not just a question of similarity of gaps, fillers and intervening elements that make a computation more complex as some cognitive approaches suggest (Gordon et al. 2001), but that only certain features in certain constellations contribute to such complexity,(Belletti et al. 2012, Rizzi 2013).

Table 1: Animacy of RC head and RC subject in object relatives (% of ORs)

	+ Animate Head + Animate S	- Animate Head - Animate S	+ Animate Head - Animate S	- Animate Head + Animate S
<i>SLI 10-12</i>	30 (3/10)	0	0	70
<i>TD6</i>	0 (0/12)	0	0	100
<i>TD8</i>	9.1 (1/11)	0	0	90.9
<i>TD11</i>	17.9 (6/28)	7.1	3.6	71.4
<i>TD14</i>	29.4 (5/17)	0	0	70.6

In a previous investigation of the same spontaneous data, we have shown that depth of embedding is a factor contributing to computational complexity when intervention is kept constant (Hamann and Tuller, under revision). Additionally, we argue that investigation of spontaneous speech naturally controls for discourse factors, such as topichood and specificity, and allows to uncover patterns in the feature specifications of relative heads and relative subjects that are relevant for theoretical descriptions of intervention.

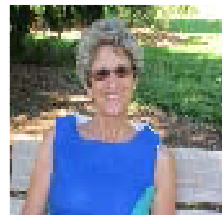
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Minimality Effects in Children's Passives*

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“Tanti auguri per il tuo sessantesimo!”

In many studies of children acquiring English, adult-like performance on clear, unequivocal verbal passives is not reliably present until sometime after age 4;0 (Bever 1970 ; Horgan 1976 ; Maratsos et al. 1985 ; de Villiers & de Villiers 1985 ; Borer & Wexler 1987 ; Meints 1999 ; Orfitelli 2012). Yet, other studies find fully adult-like performance (O'Brien et al. 2005; Crain et al. 1987/2009; Pinker et al. 1987). In this paper we provide an explanation for these disparate results in terms of minimality (Rizzi 2004; Grillo 2008).

We assume that the English verbal passive requires A-movement (of the logical object) across an intervening A position (occupied by the logical subject), as in Collins 2005. Our hypothesis is that the general strategy (whatever it might be) that adult English-speakers use to overcome the resulting minimality violation is unavailable to young children.

In previous work (Hyams & Snyder 2005, Snyder & Hyams 2008), we followed Collins 2005 in assuming that adults escape a minimality violation through ‘smuggling’, and we proposed *The Universal Freezing Hypothesis*, viz. that young children are ‘frozen’, unable to effect the smuggling operation (either for maturational or processing reasons) (1) - (cf. also Nevins 2002 and Orfitelli’s 2012 *Argument Intervention Hypothesis*).

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- (1) *Universal Freezing Hypothesis (UFH)*. For the immature child (at least until age four), the Freezing Principle *always* applies: No subpart of a moved phrase can *ever* be extracted.

But what about the studies that find adult-like performance? In this paper we offer a new proposal, namely that the studies in which children succeeded are those where the experimental task introduced a discourse-related/quantificational feature, typically +Topic or +WH, on the derived subject. Under newer versions of Rizzi's Relativized Minimality (RM; Rizzi 2004; Starke 2001; Grillo 2008), this has the effect that the underlying object can move past another argument without incurring an RM violation. Our general idea is that children obey RM, but do not have smuggling. The UFH thus enforces a strict version of RM by blocking children from using smuggling as an escape hatch. So they do well on A-movement precisely when there is no RM violation.

A test case for our proposal is provided by certain formally reflexive-clitic constructions (FRCCs) found in French and Italian. In these languages many transitive verbs can be combined with a reflexive clitic to obtain a mediopassive or inchoative/anticausative meaning (2a). FRCCs form a near-minimal pair with the verbal passive (2b):

- (2) a. Les pommes se vendent bien ici.
 the-PL apple-PL REFL sell-Pres.3.PL well here
 'Apples sell well here.'
- b. Les pommes ont été vendues.
 the-PL apple-PL HAVE-Pres3PL BE-Perf sell-Perf.F.PL
 'The apples have been sold.'

The crucial difference between the FRCC and the verbal passive is that the former never has any form of overt or implicit external argument (viz. the FRCC can never take a 'by'-phrase, nor can it control into a purpose clause). As argued by Sportiche (2010, et seq.), FRCCs are clearly unaccusative. In (2b) the derived subject has to move past an implicit (PRO) subject, and without the benefit of smuggling (or whatever trick the adults are using), this should create a minimality violation. In contrast, the object-to-subject movement in (2a) does not cross over an implicit (PRO) subject, because there is none. We therefore predict that children should have no difficulty with FRCCs. This prediction is strongly supported by spontaneous-speech data from several children (cf. Snyder et al. 1995, Hyams & Snyder 2005): two-year-olds acquiring French or Italian are already using fully adult-like FRCCs, long before the age when a child would be expected to produce a verbal passive.

In summary, we propose that "immature" children do not have access to the smuggling strategy that adults use to avoid a minimality violation in passives (2b), and so for them the intervening argument reliably blocks object promotion. We further propose that children obey RM (cf. also Friedmann et al. 2009, Belletti et al. 2012). Hence, they do vastly better on passives when the moved argument bears a feature belonging to a class not present on the intervener, specifically, a +Topic or +WH feature, in other words, when movement does not violate RM.

In closing we briefly discuss languages such as Sesotho (Demuth 1990) and Zulu (Suzman 1997) in which children succeed on passives quite early in their grammatical development. Our explanation for this precocious development is based on the topic orientation of these languages and follows from our RM analysis.

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Once and Twice*

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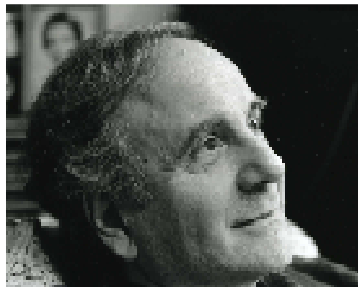


Photo by Cynthia Munro Pyle 2007

The study of English *once* and *twice* yields evidence that both are complex phrases containing two visible morphemes and one silent one, rather than simple lexical items. The *-ce* morpheme is akin to a postposition, despite English being primarily prepositional.

The silent element is a silent counterpart of *time*, represented as TIME. Evidence is discussed that favors taking this instance of TIME to be singular, even in the case of *twice*. There appears to be a link between TIME and the syntax of classifiers (cf. Kayne (2003), Cinque (2013)).

The presence of silent TIME with *once* and *twice* (and in other cases discussed) indirectly provides evidence for the presence of other antecedentless silent (nominal) elements in the human language faculty such as NUMBER.

Silent elements of this sort are not visible (even via an antecedent) in the primary data available to the learner. Their properties, for example their singularity or plurality and their licensing conditions, therefore provide us with a privileged window onto the invariant core of the language faculty itself.

The presence of silent elements such as TIME and NUMBER in various cases in one language or another can itself be traced back to a principle of decompositionality (Kayne (2005a, Appendix)), to the effect that the human language faculty imposes a maximum of one interpretable syntactic feature per lexical item.

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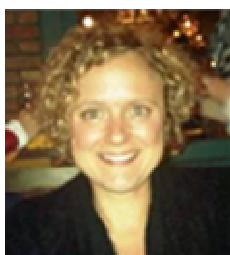
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A case of focal adverb preposing in French*

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“Dear Adriana, thanks for your cartographic ideas about subject inversion and the structure of clefts, which profoundly inspired my recent research. Thanks also for your warm welcome when I came to Siena for a visiting stay in Spring 2012. I wish you a lot of happiness, both inside and outside linguistics!”

In linguistic literature a lot of attention has been given to so-called main clause phenomena (see Haegeman 2012 for an overview). It has been noted that similar constructions, which involve NP, PP or VP preposing, also exist in French (see Authier & Haegeman 2014a/2014b for an overview). In this article I discuss preposing of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ (1), which occurs in written French, and which, as far as I can tell, has not yet been identified as a main clause phenomenon:

- (1) *Il [Alexandre] écrivait avec une sorte de distraction concentrée, comme on crayonne sur le bloc du téléphone: on écoute de moins en moins et c'est le dessin qui s'impose.*

‘He [Alexander] wrote with a kind of concentrated distraction, like when you doodle on a phone notepad: you listen less and less and it’s the drawing which takes over.’

... *Ainsi* écrivait Alexandre, ...
... in this way wrote Alexandre,
‘That’s how Alexander wrote, (...)’
(Pennac, Frantext)

Preposing of focal *ainsi* occurs in contexts where the whole sentence summarizes the preceding discourse: the whole propositional content is given, and the function of proposed *ainsi* is to re-assert that it is in that specific way that the event took place.

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This construction displays specific properties. First, in spite of its anaphoric nature, preposed *ainsi* is clearly focal, as is shown by the fact that (1) can function as answer to (2a) but not (2b). Moreover, just as other instances of focus preposing, for instance in Italian (Belletti 2008/2009/2011/2012/2013), preposed focal *ainsi* triggers subject inversion, of the nominal (1) and the pronominal subject (3):

- (2) a. *Comment écrivait Alexandre?*
 ‘How did Alexander write?’
 b. *Que sais-tu à propos d’Alexandre?*
 ‘What do you know about Alexander?’
- (3) [Same context as (1)] ... *Ainsi écrivait-il.*
 ... in this way wrote-he

Note that the surface string [*ainsi* – S – V] is grammatical. In this case, however, *ainsi* does no longer mean ‘in this way’, but functions as a sentence adverb with meanings similar to ‘by consequence, thus, hence, for instance’ (Molinier 2013).

The sentence-initial position of focal *ainsi* is clearly the result of focus movement, since it creates unbounded dependencies (4a-b) and is sensitive to strong islands (4c-4d). Moreover, the fact that *ainsi* in the main clause can license NP subject inversion in the embedded clause (4a) is a sign of successive cyclic movement (Kayne & Pollock 1978). As expected, preposing of focal *ainsi* is incompatible with *wh*-movement (5).

- (4) [same context as (1)]
 a. *Ainsi je vous dis [qu’ écrivait Alexandre].*
 in this way I to-you say that wrote Alexander
 b. *Ainsi je vous dis [qu’Alexandre écrivait].*
 in this way I to-you say that Alexander wrote
 c. **Ainsi, il n’y en a pas beaucoup [qui écrivent].*
 in this way there are not a lot who write
 d. **Ainsi, je ne sais pas [qui d’autre écrit].*
 in this way I don’t know who else writes
- (5) **Quand ainsi écrivait Alexandre?*
 when in this way wrote Alexander
 ‘When was it in this way that Alexander wrote?’

I argue that preposed *ainsi* moves to Rizzi’s (1997) left peripheral Foc position. An important piece of evidence in favor of this is attested examples such as (6), which show that *ainsi* can move out of the focus of a cleft (see Haegeman et al. 2013 for similar examples in English). If the latter occupies a low IP-internal focus position (Belletti 2008/2009/2011/2012/2013), then *ainsi* must occupy a higher focus position.

- (6) *Bon sang mais comment elle fait ?! (...)*

‘Dammit but how does she do it?’

... *ainsi était-ce* __ *que commentait Kumiko sur ce qu’elle avait vu.*

... in this way was it that commented Kumiko on that what she had seen

‘It was in this way that Kumiko commented on what she had seen.’

(<http://dragonball-evolution.forumactif.com>)

We thus argue that [focal *ainsi* – V – S] is derived as in (8a-b), with the postverbal subject being in the vP peripheral topic position advocated for by Belletti (2004). If then, in terms of featural Relativized Minimality, *ainsi* carries a feature Q (by virtue of the operator-variable relation created by its preposing, see above), then this correctly predicts that this adverb cannot be crossed by the movement of other operators, which are present in central adverbial clauses and complement clauses of factive verbs (Haegeman 2012) (7c) and, hence, that [focal *ainsi* – V – S] is a main clause phenomenon (7d):

- (7) a. [_{SpecTP} pronominal S [_{T°} verb [_{SpecMannerP} *ainsi* [_{Manner°} [_{SpecvP} nominal S [_{v°} t_{verb}]]]]]]]
- b. [_{SpecFocP} *AINSI*_Q [_{Foc°} verb [_{SpecTP} pronominal S [_{T°} t_{verb} [_{SpecMannerP} t_{ainsi} [_{Manner°} [_{SpecTopP} nominal S [_{SpecvP} t_{nominal S} [_{v°} t_{verb}]]]]]]]]]]]]]
- c. * [_{CP} *quand/si* *OP*_Q [_{SpecFocP} *AINSI*_Q [_{Foc°} verb [_{SpecTP} pronominal S [_{T°} t_{verb} [_{SpecMannerP} t_{ainsi} [_{Manner°} [_{SpecTopP} nominal S [_{SpecvP} t_{nominal S} [_{v°} t_{verb}]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
- d. * *Quand* *ainsi* *écrivait Alexandre, il oubliait tout.*
when in this way wrote Alexander he forgot everything

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Ne-attachment (Ne-tuke) on the Truncated Sentences*

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“For Adriana on her 60th birthday: A girl playing ‘For Elise’ with a Pearl Broach”

Children at around the age of two produce the main declarative in a non-finite form or Root Infinitives (RI) and Root Infinitive Analogues (RIAs). They are elegantly explained by Truncation Hypothesis (Rizzi 1993/1994), but there is apparently counter-evidence to the hypothesis. That is, very young children learning Japanese produce the sentence-ending discourse particles at the stage of RIAs.

In this paper, we focus on Japanese and argue that (i) discourse particles are not T/C-elements in both child and adult Japanese, and (ii) the descriptive findings of Japanese acquisition rather supports the Truncation Hypothesis.

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Eliciting clitics in French: against the Generalized Null Object Stage*

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“Dear Adriana many thanks for all I’ve learnt from you. The little Arianna is grateful too, for she is not even one-year-old and she’s already on the paper! Happy birthday from all of us!”

Abstract

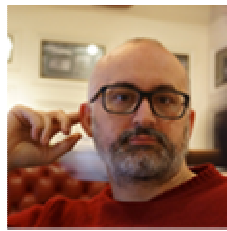
In many Romance languages, children’s and adults’ grammar vary in the distribution of null objects. To explain this difference, many previous studies argued in favor of a correlation between the presence of clitics in the target language and object omissions. Recently, Pérez-Leroux et al. (2008) suggested that this correlation might be weaker than previously thought and that object omissions are not restricted to pronominal contexts alone. In order to investigate the role of the discursive context, a new experiment has been designed. We manipulate the discourse in order to disentangle anaphoric contexts from the non-anaphoric ones. The result is a significantly higher rate of null objects in the anaphoric contexts, a result that does not support the existence of a stage (the Generalized Null Object Stage) in which children omit the object in both pronominal and non-pronominal contexts.

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Clausal extraposition and syntactic doubling: *pro*-legomena^{*}

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“Ad Adriana, che mi ha insegnato linguistica e resistenza.”

The relationship between an expletive and its sentential associate happens via doubling in pro-drop languages. In non-pro-drop languages doubling is also an option, unless the expletive is inherently a full argument (Dutch *het*, French *cela*), in which case the expletive is generated as an argument and the clause is generated in a non-argumental position. The emerging grammaticality patterns follow naturally from well-known constraints on sub-extraction. If the [expl [clause]] doubling structure is generated in a licit extraction domain (typically object position), then sub-extraction of the expletive is grammatical; when the clause is a bona fide extraposition structure, then extraction of the expletive yields ungrammaticality. Certain hypothetical-looking structures are amenable to the same analysis.

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The negative marker that escaped the cycle: some notes on *manco**

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*“To Adriana,
whose straight and insightful way of doing linguistics
has been a constant source of inspiration through the years
and a driving force in keeping formal syntax
anchored to its empirical foundations”*

The evolution of the negative markers known as the Jespersen cycle has recently received much attention in the literature of both Romance and Germanic (see among others Breitbarth (2014), van Gelderen (2011), van der Auwera (2009) and (2010)). In general, both Germanic and Romance display a clitic-like negative marker which is then substituted by a low negative marker through the well known stage of doubling of the two negative markers, which first starts out in so called “emphatic contexts” and then generalizes followed by a last stage where the originally negative marker is entirely lost and negation is represented by the original “reinforcer”. Looking at both Romance and Germanic, the change in the position of the negative marker seems to be an in-built property of the Jespersen cycle: van der Auwera considers it from a typological perspective and notices that even in the Bantu family, the substitution goes with a change in the position similar to the one of Romance.

In this work we will first take into consideration cases of alternation between a preverbal and postverbal position of the “new” negative marker *mica* in Central and Southern Italian varieties: while in Northern Italian dialects, the minimizer *mica* occurs in postverbal position and doubles the preverbal negative marker, Central and Southern dialects have preverbal *mica*, which however alternates with the usual preverbal negative marker *non*. This seems to indicate that in order for the doubling

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effect starting the Jespersen cycle to apply, the two negative markers have to be located on the two sides of the inflected verb, at least in Italian varieties. We will then concentrate on the dialect of Rionero in Vulture, which represents a case where one negative marker substitutes for another without changing its position and more notably, without triggering any doubling effect as usually found in more typical cases of the Jespersen cycle. In this Basilicatan dialect, the adverb *manco*, probably etymologically related to the verb *mancare* ‘lack’, has entirely substituted for the original negative marker *non/n*, so that *non/n* is not used anymore in this variety. However, it has not apparently changed its position, except that for the fact that it does not have the typical behavior of a clitic. This adverb is rather widespread in Southern Italian dialects as a sort of emphatic negative marker meaning ‘not even’, but in Rionero in Vulture the emphatic meaning has completely disappeared as sentences like the following show:

- (1) Vivə spessə se mankə vu carè malatə
 Drink.imp often if not want.2sg fall.inf ill
 ‘Drink a lot if you do not want to get ill’

The emphatic meaning (generally referred to as presuppositional meaning since Cinque’s (1976) study of standard Italian *mica*) is expressed by the element *mikə*, as shown in (2):

- (2) Mikə ie fess, ie solə ca mankə studə
 Not is stupid, is only that not learns
 ‘He is not at all stupid, it’s just that he does not study enough’

Notice that in both cases the negative marker is preverbal, i.e. it occupies the same position, which is higher than all clitics but lower than the subject. This brings us to the conclusion that a) there is no specialized position in the clause for so-called presuppositional negation, (as also shown by Haegeman (2009) for spoken Belgian Dutch, i.e. Tussentaal, where a preverbal clitic marker has the same semantic import as postverbal standard Italian *mica*), b) the change in the negative marker can also occur in a different way with respect to the “usual” one of the Jespersen cycle, where the additional negative adverb/noun is usually located lower than the original negative marker, c) judging from the distribution of *manco* in the Southern dialects in general, Rionero in Vulture has never undergone a stage where *non* was doubled by *manco*, hence, even doubling is not a necessary stage of the Jespersen cycle. Furthermore, what we generally see from the evolution of negation in French, Northern Italian dialects and Germanic, is that the new negative marker (at least in the first stage in which it finally gets rid of the original negative marker) does not tolerate negative concord. There are clues that a further stage of evolution is that the new negative marker starts accepting negative concord (as it is the case of Piedmontese, but not of Milanese, and of creole languages with a French basis). However, also in this respect *manco* is different, as it requires negative concord just like *non*:

- (3) Manc am fatt nint
Not have. 1pl done nothing
'We did not do anything'

We can conclude that the evolution of negative markers does not necessarily go through the three usual stages which go under the label of Jespersen cycle, but can also find other ways to change the form and properties of the negative marker.

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Notes on labeling and subject positions*

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“Dopo tanta strada percorsa insieme, è bello potersi voltare indietro, e subito dopo tornare a guardare avanti. Come sempre, g”.

The study of subject positions has illuminated different aspects of syntactic theory as well as the study of the interface with meaning and discourse. For instance, the analysis of the constraints on subject movement has nourished much research on locality, leading to various versions of the Empty Category Principle (Chomsky 1981) and to the subsequent study of freezing effects; and then the discovery that “free subject inversion” in Romance is in fact local movement of the thematic subject to a low focus position (Belletti 2001, 2004) has profoundly modified the study of the Null Subject Parameter (with consequences for the general conception of the parametric approach), and has contributed to establish the transparent view of the syntax – pragmatics interface which is congenial to cartographic studies. In this paper I would like to address some properties of subjects which interact in significant ways with a key ingredient of syntactic computations: the algorithm that assigns labels to the structures created by merge. I will first adopt a version of the approach proposed in Chomsky (2013), according to which the assignment of labels is essentially a matter of locality. The functioning of the system will be illustrated on the basis of the implementation proposed in Rizzi (2013), in connection with the fact that subjects typically must undergo movement and vacate the thematic position. This raises a “halting problem” for subject movement: under what conditions can it stop? Where does it have to stop, giving rise to a freezing configuration? Can freezing

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effects on subjects be amenable to a “further explanation” in terms of fundamental computational ingredients such as labeling? This will lead us to address the properties of the different stopping points for subjects: the clause final low focus position, which will be shown to give rise to observable freezing effects, and the canonical, clause initial position, giving rise to familiar that-trace type effects which are also amenable to forms of freezing. The final part of the paper will be devoted to the proper categorial status of the head responsible for the “subject criterion”, in an attempt to capture the case of “quirky” subjects with psych-verbs (Belletti & Rizzi 1988). This will lead to a discussion of different kinds of strategies to avoid the freezing effects and make further subject movement possible. A brief outline of the general consequences of the labeling approach for the movability of complements and specifiers will conclude the paper.

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Some remarks on arbitrary pronouns^{*}

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The interpretation of indefinite, or arbitrary pronouns, is an important topic in both syntax and semantics. This became an important aspect of the analysis of Italian impersonal/mediopassive *si* constructions after Cinque (1988), which built on the pioneering work of Belletti (1981). In this short paper, I focus in particular on one aspect of the syntax of these elements that was observed in Jaeggli (1986) and Cinque (1988) (see also Borer 2005): the fact that certain readings of arbitrary pronouns, what Cinque calls the “quasi-existential” reading, are restricted to external arguments. I propose a new account of this restriction, based on two ideas: first, that arbitrary pronouns have two potential licensors in structurally distinct positions in the clause and, second, the locality condition imposed by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). I will try to show how this approach accounts for the interpretations of the arbitrary readings associated with Italian *si*-constructions, those of implicit arguments of passives in English and Turkish, and “arbitrary PRO”, *you* and *one* in English.

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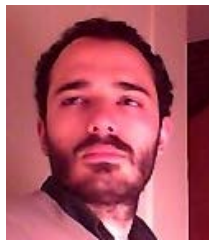
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Polarity particles in interrogative tags*

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“Grazie di tutto, Adriana!”

1. Particle tag questions in Italian

Most generally, a tag question is a discourse move effected by means of a sentence with declarative syntax (henceforth, the *anchor*) immediately followed by a fragment with interrogative intonation (henceforth, the *tag*). These tags belong in a small class including predicates translating *true* or *right*, their negated counterparts, and responding particles (the equivalents of *yes* and *no*).

I will follow Farkas and Roelofsen (2012) and borrow their notion of the discourse commitment set of a speaker X , DC_X . While CG (the common ground) includes the propositions that have been jointly committed to by all the discourse participants, DC_X includes the propositions that the speaker X has committed to. In the most refined typology, DC_X is further subdivided with respect to two dichotomies: (a) whether they are *actual* or *conditional*; (b) whether the speaker presents herself as having epistemic authority over her assertion (she presents herself as a *source*) or not (she presents herself as a *dependent*):



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Italian exploits a number of invariant tags. The most relevant contrast is between *no?* and *sì?*. Imagine a context in which the speaker is not in a position to assert that *p*, while the addressee can:

- (2) [The addressee is eating ice-cream, the speaker is not.]
- a. #È buono, no?
is-it good no
 - b. È buono, sì?
is-it good yes

All other things being, (2a) is unacceptable, while (2b) is just fine.

For a tag question whose propositional content is *p*, one can formulate the discourse effect of *no?* and *sì?* as in (8) and (9), respectively:

- (3) Add *p* to $DC_X^{c,s}$.
 (4) Add *p* to $DC_X^{c,d}$.

By means of tag questions with *no?* and *sì?*, the speaker express a conditional commitment to *p*. With *no?*, the speaker presents herself as a source for the commitment, and invites the addressee to express herself as a source herself. With *sì?*, the speaker presents herself as dependent on the addressee's commitment as source, i.e., as not being in a good epistemic position to justify the commitment.

Syntactic diagnostics give hints about the structure of particle tag questions and reveal that the anchor does not c-command the tags. Very roughly, then, the syntactic structure of particle tag questions must conform to the following:

- (5) [_{XP} [_{YP} ANCHOR] *no?*]

2. Disjunctive tags

Disjunctive tag questions divide into two subclasses. Nuclear disjunctive tag questions (NDTQ) have falling intonation on the anchor, an intonational break and rising intonation on the disjunctive tag. As mentioned above, disjunctive tags must have opposite polarity with respect to their anchors:

- (6) a. Magda viene a cena, o no?
Magda comes to dinner or no
Lit. 'Magda is coming to dinner, or no?'
- (7) b. Magda non viene a cena, o sì?
Magda not comes to dinner or yes
Lit. 'Magda is not coming to dinner, or yes?'

The discourse properties of NDTQ seem to be close to the *no?*-type. NDTQs are unacceptable in a scenario in which the speaker has low epistemic authority on the matter:

- (8) [The addressee is eating ice-cream, the speaker is not.]
 a. #È buono, o no?
 is-it good or no
 b. #Non è cattivo, o sì?
 not is-it bad or yes

The discourse effect of NDTQs shall then be formalized as above:

- (9) Add p to $DC_X^{c,s}$.

Postnuclear disjunctive tag questions (PNDTQs) have a rising intonation on the anchor, with a peak on the last tonic syllable, and a second rise on the particle, the intonational break is perceptually less prominent:

- (10) Magda viene a cena o no?
 Magda comes to dinner or no
 ‘Magda is coming to dinner or not?’

In our stock contexts, PDTQs diverge from NDTQs:

- (11) [Both the speaker and the addressee are eating ice-cream.]
 a. È buono o no?
 is-it good or no
- (12) [The addressee is eating ice-cream, the speaker is not.]
 a. È buono o no?
 is-it good or no

I will argue in favour of an analysis of PDTQs as unbiased alternative questions on polarity.

As for the syntax of NDTQs and PNDTQs. I will propose that they are the result of two different kinds of disjunctive coordination, respectively at the level of speech acts and at clausal level, with ellipsis of the second disjunct.

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What I learned about Hebrew null subjects by talking to Adriana Belletti in Siena in the summer of 2009

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As is fairly well known, referential null subjects in Hebrew root clauses can only be first or second person. Landau (2004) shows that this *person restriction* does not hold in complement clauses so that third person null subjects are possible, but only if the complement verb is future tense and the matrix verb a member of the class which cross-linguistically selects for subjunctive mood. In this environment, a null subject is possible but it is not referentially free - it must have an antecedent in the matrix clause. Less well known in the narrow in the syntactic literature is the fact that referentially-dependent null subjects are also grammatical in non-complement clauses (Ariel 1990; Gutman 2004; Melnik 2007). As the examples below illustrate, they are licensed in relative clauses, (1a), clausal complements to nouns, (1b) temporal and conditional adjunct clauses, (1c,d) and comparative clauses, (1e), a.o.

- (1) a. Dani pirsem et ha sefer še ___ katav be šana še 'avra.
Dani published acc the book that ___ wrote on year that passed
'Dani published the book that he wrote last year.'
- b. Dani maxa 'al ha ciyun še ___ qibel.
Dani protested about the note that ___ got
'Dani protested about the note that he got.'
- c. Dani yaca mi ha bayt axarey še ___ gamar le 'exol.
Dani went out from the house after that ___ finished to eat
'Dani left the house after he finished eating.'

- d. Lod hayta zoxa ba turnir 'im / 'ilu ___ hayta menacaxat
 Lod would have won in-the series if ___ had beaten

et Haifa.

acc Haifa

'Lod would have won the series if it had beaten Haifa.'

- e. Gil yoter gavoha mi ma še ___ xašav.
 Gil more tall than what that ___ thought
 'Gil is taller than he thought.'

The descriptive generalization here is **that null subjects** (of the non-*Landau* variety,) **are possible in clauses which otherwise disallow long subject extraction.** The distribution of referential (third person) null subjects in Hebrew is inversely correlated with the extractability of subjects. This generalization renders unlikely an explanation of the distribution of these null subjects in terms of (*sideward* or otherwise non-canonical) movement – proposed for partial pro drop in Brazilian Portuguese by Ferreira (2009) and Rodrigues (2004). Another explanation should be sought for.

The explanation I suggest proceeds in several steps. First, I argue that Hebrew null subjects lack a [person] feature (which is why they cannot be employed referentially but only as expletives or quasi-referential pronouns, see Shlonsky (2009)).

Second, the null subjects are moved to the left periphery of the clause in which they are externally merged. In a left-peripheral, phase-edge position, they are accessible to binding by an antecedent in the matrix. Binding by a matrix argument supplies pro with the missing [person] feature but imposes co-indexing and hence obligatory co-reference with the antecedent.

Movement to the left periphery must be triggered. I argue that the null subjects are attracted to the left periphery *qua* topics. Null topics, familiar from other languages, are only interpretable at the root. But since the Hebrew null topics are bereft of [person], and the identification of the topic from the discourse is not a syntactic process by means of which a missing feature can be assigned, root null topics in Hebrew are ungrammatical.

The Hebrew null topics may remain in a subordinate left periphery and never reach the root only when they are syntactically barred from doing so. Thus, null topics are only possible in environments which bar subject extraction to a higher clause, (1). In languages with fully featured null topics, null topics trapped inside such islands would fail to be discursively identified but, in Hebrew, precisely because they have a missing feature that is supplied by a matrix argument, they can be properly identified without (root) access to the discourse.

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Relative Clauses

Head Raising Only

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“A Adriana, pour la complicité intellectuelle et les goûts en partage, théoriques et au delà.”

It is argued that headed (restrictive) relative clauses are only derived by head raising (Vergnaud, 1974, Kayne, 1994) thus disallowing an additional matching derivation (Sauerland, 2000). In so doing we argue that a number of postulated mechanisms are not needed: Late Adjunct insertion (Lebeaux, 1991, 2009), Late NP Insertion (Lebeaux, 1991), Wholesale Late merger (Takahashi and Hulsey, 2008), Minimize operator restriction (Chomsky, 1995), PF subject Raising (Sauerland and Elbourne, 2002).

It is first shown that the coexistence of the two relative clause derivations as they need to be construed lead to serious explanatory gaps, particularly concerning why matching relatives have to

- Involve matching of meaning but not of form (as is required by the existence of secondary crossover effects, cf. Safir, 1996)
- Relative clause internal movement
- Elision of Relative clause internal copies

These gaps immediately disappear under a head raising analysis.

Secondly, the motivations for postulating the matching derivation are critically examined and alternative explanations are explored for three properties underlying the need for matching relatives:

(i) Since Late Adjunct Insertion of a relative clause is unavailable under a head raising analysis, the complement / adjunct asymmetry leading to Lebeaux’s 1991, 2009 postulation of Late Adjunct Insertion must be reanalyzed.

Dispensing with Late adjunct insertion is done in two steps. First, a detailed examination of of-nominal and clausal adnominal complements (based on Kayne's 2010 and Stowell, 1981) show that they are not plausibly complements but rather must be analyzed as predicate headed (small) relative clauses derived by head raising. The second step simply notes that the very argumentation for the existence of head raising relatives requires that copies generated under movement need not all to be interpreted, a conclusion independently supported by cases of total reconstruction under A-movement (pace Sauerland and Elbourne, 2002, see Thoms 2009) or A-bar movement. Thus Chomsky's 1986 Principle of Full Interpretation (PFI) as it applies at the LF interface – must be understood as not requiring that all copies of a Syntactic Object be interpreted. The complement/adjunct asymmetry is then shown to follow from:

- (a) This Interpretation of the PFI allowing in principle a (pied piped) adjunct to be interpreted in one or more of any of the position in which it appears.
- (b) The independently justified properties (however they are derived) that
 - Moved predicates obligatory reconstruct at LF (Heycock, 1995, Huang, 1993, Takano, 1995)
 - Predicates must be locally saturated by their arguments at LF (fundamentally the interpretive justification for trace theory).

Such a theory handles without further assumptions the properties of extraposition discussed in Fox and Nissenbaum, 1999, (and possibly those of result clauses doing away with Late merger of result clauses postulated in Bhatt and Pancheva, 2004).

(ii) A second problem is the apparent violations of movement constraints needed to generate some relative clauses under head raising leading e.g. Bhatt 2002 to accept instances of matching relatives.

As head raising involve NP- rather than DP- movement, it is to be expected that head raising should be subject to Phase based locality (Chomsky's 2008 PIC) as well as Rizzi's 1990 Relativized Minimality (RM) intervention effects by NPs. It is argued that

- the very existence of pied piping can be understood as a way to avoid violating such movement constraints
- that attempts to circumvent these constraints via pied piping but leaving the to-be-raised head too deeply embedded within the pied piped constituent from the relative clause periphery displays typical movement properties (PIC effects, RM effects) including Coordinate Structure Constraint effects (plausibly distinguishing movement from Agree).

(iii) The question/relative clause asymmetry found with respect to condition C of the binding theory has been taken to mean (Hulsey and Sauerland, 2006) that both cannot always be treated as movement respectively of a wh-phrase, or of a raised head, thus justifying an analysis in terms of matching of meaning but not form.

It will be shown that this asymmetry with respect to Principle C is in fact also found among movement types: A-movement can behave so as to suggest that under certain circumstances, copies of moved phrase can be partially deleted, an option which by default falls out of the needed construal of the PFI mentioned above. It is

however argued that unlike total deletion of a copy, partial deletion is subject to a restriction: a copy can be partially deleted – call it Vehicle Change - (so a DP like [the [man]] can become [the [e_{+human}]] = him) only if another, undeleted copy is found in the same spell out domain (this restriction is needed to derive the A/A-bar movement asymmetry under reconstruction). The relative clause/ question asymmetry can now be argued not to arise from the raising /matching difference but from the fact that relative clauses tolerate in some cases a derivation akin to A-movement (in the crucial cases) thus allowing A-movement like Vehicle Change (reminiscent of Safir, 1999). It is last argued that the A-like derivation found in relative clause formation is overtly exhibit in languages such as Vata (Koopman, 1984) or Nez Perce (Deal, 2014) and is akin to A-scrambling (Mahajan, 1990), predicting various differences between short and long relatives.

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Bilingualism and Specific Language Impairment: Similarities and Differences*

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*"Adriana has been a teacher, a colleague
and a source of inspiration in many different ways"*

* The related article will be part of C. Contemori and L. Dal Pozzo (eds.) (to appear) *Inquiries into Linguistic Theory and Language Acquisition. Papers offered to Adriana Belletti*, Siena, CISCL Press.

It is known that bilingual or Early L2 individuals (EL2), both children and adults, perform more poorly than monolinguals in specific language domains, such as in vocabulary, lexical access and morphosyntax (Bialystok 2008, 2010, Gollan and Kroll, 2001, Serratrice et al. 2004, Sorace 2011). Moreover, similarities are found between their language characteristics and those shown by children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI), making it difficult to distinguish properly between these populations.

Aim of this study is to provide further insights in this discussion, analyzing the performance of Early L2 (EL2) children in those areas that are known to be particularly challenging for Italian SLI children, such as the production of direct object clitic pronouns and the repetition of nonwords, which are considered two of the most sensitive clinical markers for SLI in Italian (Bortolini et al. 2002, 2006, Arosio et al. 2014).

An experimental protocol was administered to 120 preschool Italian EL2 children and a control group of 40 age-matched monolingual Italian children.

Results show that, similarly to SLI children, EL2 learners underperform in comparison to their monolingual peers in the production of clitic pronouns, even though they display a different error pattern: the most frequent error displayed by our EL2 children is producing an incorrect clitic, committing agreement errors, whereas SLI preschool children typically omit the pronoun.

For what concerns nonword repetition no significant differences have been found between the two groups.

To conclude, our research revealed that EL2 children present a linguistic profile which is qualitatively and quantitatively different from that typically shown by SLI children both in clitic production and in nonword repetition, suggesting the possibility to discriminate properly between the two populations.

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Variable verb placement in embedded clauses: comparing English and Norwegian children*

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“Dear Adriana – We wish you all the best on the occasion of this milestone in your life!”

This paper reports on two priming studies focusing on embedded word order in English and Norwegian, more specifically on subject-auxiliary inversion (SAI) in embedded questions in English and verb-adverb order (V2) in *that*-clauses in Norwegian. While the adult languages typically disprefer SAI or V2 in embedded contexts, spontaneous data show that these word orders are produced to a certain extent in specific contexts. Research on child language has shown that children go through a stage where these word orders are relatively frequent. A priming experiment was carried out in both languages, eliciting data from both adults and children. As priming is assumed not to affect ungrammatical structures, we expected there to be priming in the child data, indicating that these word orders are part of the child grammar, but potentially not in the adult data. The results show a clear and reliable priming effect in the English child data, but no priming in the Norwegian experiments.

* The related article will be part of C. Contemori and L. Dal Pozzo (eds.) (to appear) *Inquiries into Linguistic Theory and Language Acquisition. Papers offered to Adriana Belletti*, Siena, CISCL Press.

To finish with...

Happy birthday, Adriana! It has been wonderful to be with you both professionally and personally. Although you were already an established linguist when we first met you, we now feel that you are one of our best friends. We remember with fond memory the dinner our families had together near MIT in 2005. And it has been an honor and a pleasure to work with you over the years on the linguistic consortium between Siena and Nanzan, established in 2006. In addition to the fruitful work, it was so much fun to visit the old temples in Kyoto, to have a relaxing afternoon in the old center of Siena, and to walk on the Great Walls of China together.

We wish you the best and look forward to more collaboration and happy times together.

Mamoru Saito and Keiko Murasugi

