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Abstract

This dissertation deals with the syntax of the Tyrolean dialect Mòcheno, a language spoken in three villages of the Fersina valley (Eastern Trentino, Northern Italy) by the descendants of settlers who moved from different areas of South and North Tyrol between the XII and the XIV centuries (Rogger 1979). Several aspects of the grammar of this dialect have been paid attention to (among others the articles collected in Pellegrini 1979 and Rowley 1982, 2003), but its syntax has never been studied before (except for the MA thesis by Togni 1990). In this work, focusing on the variety of Mòcheno spoken in the village of Palù del Fersina, which is the most conservative variety from the syntactic point of view, I consider the characteristics of two core syntactic phenomena: the V2 rule and OV/VO word orders, which differ in several respects from the same phenomena in standard German. The thesis defendend in this dissertation is that in Mòcheno these two phenomena are one and the same phenomenon in the two phases of the clause: V2 affects the higher phase and movement of the finite verb, whereas V2 in the lower phase involves movement of the past participle above verb arguments as a consequence of the same mechanism operative in the higher phase. This idea, empirically supported by the fact that in all sentences involving an operator (interrogative wh-element or focus) only VO word order is possible, will be captured in terms of interaction between high left periphery (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004) and low left periphery above VP (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006) and will be shown to lead to positive results also in the analysis of main declarative clauses, where the presence of both OV and VO orders was always assumed to be due to optionality. This dissertation is of relevance for the theory of language variation and language change, since it offers new solutions to phenomena that were present in the diachronic change of many languages, such as Old English and Old High German, and might lead to a reconsideration of data in a different light. Also from the point of view of theoretical linguistics (theory of phases, Chomsky 2001) and of the cartographic approach this dissertation brings new contributes to the study of the high left periphery and to the structure of the lowest portion of the clause, in particular with respect to past participle movement.

Riassunto

Argomento di questa tesi è la sintassi del dialetto mòcheno, una varietà di ceppo tedesco meridionale parlata in un'isola linguistica nella valle del Fersina (Trentino) dai discendenti di coloni che si insediarono in valle tra il XII ed il XIV secolo (Rogger 1979). Questo dialetto è parlato oggi in tre paesi, le cui varietà sono state oggetto di vari studi (tra gli altri i contributi raccolti in Pellegrini 1979 ed i lavori di Rowley 1982, 2003), tra i quali manca, tuttavia, un lavoro dedicato alla sintassi (se si esclude la tesi di laurea di Togni 1990). Nella mia tesi, prendendo in esame la varietà più conservativa di mòcheno, quella parlata nel paese di Palù del Fersina, illustrerò le caratteristiche di due fenomeni sintattici: la sintassi del V2 e gli ordini OV/VO, che, diversamente da quanto si verifica in altre varietà parlate nelle isole germanofone italiane, sono ancora conservati in mòcheno, seppur con caratteristiche profondamente diverse da quelle del tedesco standard. Basandomi sull'osservazione descrittiva che in mòcheno alcuni tipi di frase, come le frasi interrogative dirette con parola interrogativa e le frasi con costituente focalizzato in prima posizione, hanno obbligatoriamente un solo tipo di ordine sintattico, quello VO, proporrò che in mòcheno V2 e sintassi OV/VO sono due in realtà due manifestazioni uno stesso fenomeno, la regola del V2, in due fasi diverse. Nella fase alta, la regola del V2 interessa CP e verbo finito, in quella bassa mostrerò che è invece il participio passato a doversi muovere esattamente negli stessi contesti individuati per la fase alta. Per rendere conto di questa chiara relazione tra le due porzioni della frase mi servirò dell'idea che le esistano due periferie nella frase: una periferia alta (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004) ed

una periferia bassa sopra VP (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006) e che la loro interazione sia responsabile della sintassi di tutte le frasi del mòcheno. In questo modo eliminerò l'opzionalità nella descrizione dei fatti linguistici del mòcheno e mostrerò come i diversi ordini sintattici possibili siano la manifestazione di un solo sistema nei quali i diversi tipi di sintassi si sono specializzati per funzioni diverse. Questa tesi può essere rilevante per la teoria della variazione linguistica e del cambiamento linguistico, in quanto offre nuove risposte a fenomeni presenti anche nella diacronia delle lingue, come antico inglese e antico alto tedesco, e potrebbe stimolare a guardare i dati delle lingue con sistema misto da un'altra angolazione. Da un punto di vista teorico, questo lavoro offre prove empiriche a favore di una derivazione sintattica per fasi (Chomsky 2001) e contribuisce alla cartografia della periferia sinistra e della porzione bassa della frase, in particolare alla sintassi del participio passato.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims of the study

In this dissertation I take into consideration the syntax of the Tyrolean dialect Mòcheno, a language spoken in three villages of the Fersina valley (Northern Italy, Eastern Trentino), focusing on the variety spoken in the village of Palù del Fersina by around 180 people. The dialect of Palù is the most conservative one from the syntactic point of view (Rowley 20003, Cognola 20006) among the varieties of Mòcheno; this is why it has been chosen as object of research.

The main topics of this work are the V2 phenomenon and the distribution of OV/VO word orders. These two phenomena have been chosen since the Mòcheno is the one of the few German varieties spoken in the so-called linguistic islands of Northern Italy that has maintained them, whereas Cimbrian (among others the articles in Bidese et.al. 2005, Bidese 2008) and Walser dialects (Dal Negro 2004) have lost them.

The properties of the V2 and the distribution of OV word orders is of course not comparable with the one of standard German, since for the case of Mòcheno they seem to be mainly optional phenomena, which coexist with a different syntax, which has been considered the manifestation of a Romance grammar (among others Zamboni, 1979:90, Heller 1979:119, Togni 1993:172, Rowley 2003:289,291), whose syntax entered the system due to the role of contact.

In this work I will show that the hypothesis that word orders that diverge from standard German cannot be made sense of assuming that they are the result of the presence of a new Romance grammar in free variation with the original German system, but that the grammar of Mòcheno is an original system in which characteristics typical of Germanic and Romance coexist, but that have completely different properties from German and contact Romance. This is not shown in one particular chapter, but is a sort of implicit aim of the work, which has to be thought as a sort of long-distance discourse with the idea that all orders divergent from standard German depend on contact. In order to show that this is not true, I do the only that can be done, I try to describe Mòcheno in the best possible way, showing that the asymmetries with respect to the models are only apparent.

Therefore, this dissertation aims first to be a detailed and complete description of the syntax of Mòcheno, in spirit of Weinreich (1953[2008:44]), who claimed that influence from one language on another language can only be determined if the two systems are described in the same way. For Mòcheno a detailed syntactic description was missing.

Mòcheno data are also relevant for the theory of language change and language variation, since in this dialect phenomena that are considered typically Germanic, such as V2 and OV word order, coexist with other syntactic phenomena typical of Romance languages, such as split CP and VO

word order. This is variation within one single system is problematic for the linguist that seeks for the rules and the regularities behind variation, but once these rules are found, it is immediately clear that Mòcheno is an amazing object of research, in which the small steps of language change and language variation can be seen.

These steps can of course only be captured if one abandons the idea that some phenomena are typically Germanic and other typically Romance, but thinks in terms of a universal underlying syntactic structure in which different languages can activate different options that lead to the differences in superficial word order. A language such as Mòcheno, in which phenomena of two different language families coexist, is the ideal object of research where the predictions of the theories made on the basis of standard and stable languages can be tested.

In this dissertation, I will show how such a detailed work on the structure can be made for the case of Mòcheno and provide an explanation to OV/VO word orders in terms of movement of the past participle from its base-position to the edge of the vP periphery. One crucial syntactic phenomenon such as OV/VO word orders can be derived by simply assuming past participle movement (as in Cinque 2006), and Mòcheno also tells something important with respect to the reason why the past particle can move or has to move.

Therefore, I think that some of the results that I will reach in this dissertation can be of relevance for the study of diachronic language change and might lead to a reconsideration of similar phenomena also in the diachronic development of Germanic languages. In fact, the situation of "mixed" language that is typical of Mòcheno, was common to older stages of other Germanic languages, for instance Old English, that were changing their system and finally lost some characteristics such as OV word orders and the V2 rule. The only difference is that Mòcheno is still a spoken language and can help shed light on the question why such redefinitions of the system take place and what they depend on.

The last aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the cartographic project, by bringing new data on the structure of the high left periphery, on the lowest portion of the clause (vP periphery) and on the interaction between the two and to provide evidence in favour of a derivation by phase proposed by Chomsky (2001).

1.2 Presentation of the study

The data presented in this dissertation are the result of the fieldwork that I have carried out over the last three years in the village of Palù del Fersina.

For the collection of data I have used only one informant and this choice was determined by several reasons.

From the practical point of view, when I started my project on Mòcheno I was looking for a person willingly to have meetings once a month and that could take part to the project for three years: this was not an easy request for the population of a village of 180 inhabitants, among them many older people. Therefore, I asked the Office encharged of promoting the Mòcheno language (Istituto Mòcheno) and they put me in contact with a person of Palù who could take part to the project. This person is a 43-year-old man, that has always lived in Palù; he has attended secondary school and at present works now for the Istituto Mòcheno. He has always spoken Mòcheno in his family (the father is from Palù, the mother from Lajon, Bolzano) and is bilingual Mòcheno-Trentino/regional Italian as all inhabitants of Palù.

This person was supposed to be my main informant and then the plan was to ask more people. This has not taken place, except for some interviews, because of the complexity of Mòcheno syntax which apparently allows for optionality in all syntactic environments considered; it was extremely

difficult to find coherency in data and to identify a pattern of regularities and I think that this would not have been possible if I had added more speakers, especially in the light of the differences between families that have been reported in the literature (Togni 1990).

What I could do was to test some clear aspects of Mòcheno syntax, such as word order patterns in wh-main interrogatives, with other speakers of different ages and belonging to different families of Palù. The result was that the syntax that I will describe in this work seems to common to the middle-aged speakers, whereas both older and younger people have different systems. This is though only a preliminary result and will not be discussed in the dissertation.

Finally, my informant has turned out to be an excellent informant, able to think about the slightly differences between two constructions and to always reason on the single piece of data; therefore, I thought that it would be more productive to work in detail on some phenomena with him, that consider superficially the same phenomena with several informants.

On the basis of these facts, this study can be considered a qualitative study, whose results can be tested with other informants in the future.

Coming to the collection of data, I started my study with a questionnaire written in Italian to be translated into Mòcheno, but I immediately realised that this was not a good way to collect data in a language due to variation and optionality, since some phenomena come up only if the informant is asked and not in written questionnaires. So, I decided to collect data through interviews that took place in Palù del Fersina in the Istituto Mòcheno. I have interviewed the informant 26 times over the last three years (2007: 8th March, 30th March, 16th April, 21st May, 3rd July 16th July, 25th September, 26th October, 10th December; 2008: 4th January, 21st January, 4th March, 27th March, 11th April, 9th May, 26th May; 2009: 13th February, 19th February, 15th April, 18th May, 22nd May, 3rd July, 18th September, 6th October, 11th November, 29th December); when I was in Tromsoe in 2008, I collected data through two written questionnaires sent by e-mail; some telephone called followed.

Interviews lasted about one hour and about thirty sentences per interview were asked, but the number varied in the single interview, especially if several possibilities one and the same sentence had to be discussed. In one interview I tested three phenomena, sentences were mixed, and in order to have the complete pattern for one phenomenon such as role of constituent heaviness three interviews were needed. Most of the interviews have been recorded. Several e-mails and phone calls followed after many interviews.

In this dissertation I have used a small part of the data that I have collected, since for some facts I still do not have an explanation and I have decided to consider only the data can be considered reliable. All the Mòcheno sentences present in this dissertation have appeared in several interviews, in different moments of time and all the alternative have been checked. I have not decided to give percentages, since this would have sense only for some phenomena, such as word order in main declarative that is obligatory VO. I decided then not to give percentages because it seemed useless to me: the informant has never produced a wh-main interrogative with OV word order[1], when asked he judges OV ungrammatical and therefore, I think that I have enough evidence for considering VO word order the only word order in wh-main interrogatives.

This is a case in which the judgement of the informant is clear and data are massive; there are though other cases in which one piece of data is present only once in the corpus and it is difficult to judge whether it is reliable. In this work, I discarded all examples that appeared only once in one interview, and in the case it was very important to find more out, I asked other examples, in order to verify the reliability of the piece of data. Sometimes it happened that one data that appeared once

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[1]Except for those contexts in which OV is possible, as in why-interrogatives and in interrogatives involving a negative QP, see below.

in one of the first interviews was then considered ungrammatical in all other interviews, therefore, I did not consider it for my analysis.

On the basis of these considerations, I think that my data are reliable and have been collected in the right way; I have always tried to listen to the informant's opinion and judgements in the most honest way, even though when it was evident that the hypothesis I was testing was turning out to be wrong; I tried to take variation seriously, even when it seemed to me that the sentence he was saying contradicted a similar sentence he had produced before. Except for few cases, this has never occurred and all his apparent contradictions turned out to be the coherent manifestation of a complex system in variation.

1.3   Organization and main achievements

The dissertation is composed of five main chapters in which I developed my analysis of the V2 rule and OV/VO word orders.

Chapter 2, is an introductory chapter, where I focus, on the one hand, on the theoretical accounts of V2 (den Besten 1983, Tomaselli's (1990) Platzack 1986, 1987, Holmberg and Platzack 1986, 1995, Haegeman 1997, Roberts/Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004), and on the other, I discuss the V2 phenomenon in languages with a split-CP (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli/Hinterhoölzl 2007), concentrating on the best-known cases, such as Old Romance (Benincà 2006), Old English (Roberts 1996) and Rhaetoromance Poletto (2002).

This is not a complete selection of contributions to the analysis of V2 and to the structure of the high left periphery, but is what I considered relevant for the discussion of Mòcheno data. The main goal of the discussion of the theoretical accounts of V2 is to introduce the phenomenon in terms of a property of the head of FinP, to which it is associated an EPP feature responsible for movement of one XP to the Spec of CP in V2 languages, such as German. Then, I will show that V2 coexists also with a split-CP and that leads to a reconsideration of the abstract properties of V2 that is not to be considered as a condition on the linear position of the finite verb, but rather a requirement imposing the verb to raise to CP. The important division between topics and foci in the high periphery will be introduced and the different behaviour of the two constructions with respect to V2 will be hinted at.

In chapter 3, I introduce the V2 phenomenon in Mòcheno by discussing the hypothesis whether in a language with split CP such as Mòcheno subject-verb inversion can be taken to be a good test in order to detect V2, intended as a requirement imposing the finite verb to raise to CP in all sentences. In order to provide evidence in favour of the idea that in Mòcheno the finite verb raises to CP in all sentences, even though this is not visible due to the lack of subject-verb inversion, I will take into consideration the syntax of subject pronouns. I will identify through syntactic test (Cardinaletti/Starke 1999) three classes of subject pronouns: weak, clitic and strong and analyse their distribution in Mòcheno showing that weak and clitic pronouns have specialised for the realization of the features connected to the syntactic subject (relation with the tensed verb in TP), whereas strong pronouns can only realise the subject when this is pragmatically marked as a focus or as a topic. We will also see that the three classes of pronouns have distributional restrictions: clitics have to appear in enclisis in any sentence involving the *Wackernagelposition*, that is in main declarative clauses beginning with an XP different from the subject and in embedded clauses; weak can only appear in sentence-initial position if it is not preceded by any XP and strong pronouns can appear in postverbal position only in the doubling construction (where the clitic is obligatory).

In order to make sense of the distribution of subject pronouns, and rejecting the idea of the

presence of FinP, I will provide evidence in favour of the idea that weak and clitic pronouns are hosted in Spec and head position of a projection that I call SubjP and is found at the border between CP and IP. This area is the area assumed by Sportiche (1997) to host all clitic copies in doubling constructions and is linked to specificity. This is an A-position. The distribution of weak and clitic subject pronoun will be made sense of assuming that i) the finite verb has to move to CP in all sentences; ii) the XP in first position saturated Spec,SubjP on its way to CP.

Chapter 4 is one core chapter of the dissertation whose aim is to provide evidence for the derivation proposed for the syntax of subject pronouns by giving a complete theoretical analysis of the left periphery of Mòcheno and of the interactions between finite verb movement and constituents hosted in the periphery.

In the first part of the chapter, I will discuss the notion of EPP, which has been assumed in the literature to be associated with Fin^0 and to be responsible for attraction of one XP to Spec,FinP after the finite verb has moved to FinP. Since in my account of Mòcheno I reject the presence of FinP, I will intend the notion of EPP as a Spec-head configuration that finite verb and one XP in first position have to create. In order to find out what constituents can create a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb in CP, I will consider all constructions hosted in the left periphery and see how they interact with the finite verb, that is if i) material can intervene between finite verb and XP and ii) if enclisis of the pronominal subject is obligatory. Through this test, I will be able to distinguish between two main types of constituents hosted in the left periphery: XPs that can be pragmatical subjects (wh-elements, foci and topicalizations) and XPs that cannot (hanging topics and left dislocations).

Then, I will consider the relative order of the different constructions in the left periphery, proposing a cartography of the lowest portion of Mòcheno left periphery and sketching a proposal of derivation of the V2 rule, which capitalises on the idea that V2 in this language is a rule imposing the finite verb to form a Spec-head configuration with the pragmatical subject. It will be shown that two pragmatical subjects are ruled out in the same sentence, both for syntactic and pragmatical reasons.

In the last part of the chapter, I will take into examination the syntax of contrastive foci, proposing a refinement of the theory of Mòcheno V2 and completing the cartography of the left periphery of this language. In the last section, I reconsider the syntax of DP subjects and show that also they syntactic behaviour fits into the thery that I propose for Mòcheno.

Chapter 5 is an introductory chapter where I introduce the second topic of this thesis: the syntax of OV/VO word orders in Mòcheno. In the first part, I consider some of the theoretical accounts that have proposed in order to make sense of base word orders, focusing on the proposals put forth within the Antisymmetric framework (Kayne 1994, Cinque 2006, 2008, Hinterhölzl 2006). Again, this introduction is not meant to be a complete presentation of the literature on OV/VO, but only a discussion of the main problems and of the solutions discussed with respect to base word orders. All the technical devices discussed in the first part of this chapter will come up when dealing with Mòcheno.

In the second part of the chapter, I take into consideration the most influencing proposals that have been put forth in the literature in order to make sense of language change and language variation, focusing on the double-base hypothesis (Kroch 1989) and on the role of information structure (Hinterhölzl 2009, Hinterhölzl/Petrova 2009, Taylor/Pintzuk 2008, 2009) and showing that none of hem allows to fully capture Mòcheno facts. Therefore, a new proposal will be put forth.

In chapter 6, I illustrate OV/VO word oder patterns of Mòcheno showing that in this language the position of the past participle seems to depend on the type constituent in first position and will propose that this descriptive generalization is predicted within the original account of German V2

given by den Besten (1983), with the only difference that in Mòcheno the interaction between V2 and base word order can be seen also in main declarative and not in the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses, as in standard German.

On the basis of this descriptive generalization, I put forth the idea that theoretically the facts of Mòcheno can be captured by a theory that assumes that OV/VO word orders are the result of the interaction between the two portions of the clause, in particular between high and low left periphery, assumed to have the same structure. I will show that this hypothesis leads to positive results as far as the syntax of sentences involving an operator is concerned since it allows to make sense of i) the fact that the past participle has to raise when an operator is extracted; ii) the distribution of adverbial PPs in the post participial position and iii) the discourse properties of sentences involving an operator.

In the last part of the chapter, I try to use the proposed analysis also for main declarative clauses, in order to show that also in these sentences optionality has to be captured assuming that the past participle can either move to the edge of the vP periphery or stay in its base position and these two options lead to two different types of information structure.

Chapter 2

V2 and the left periphery

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this introductory chapter is twofold: first introducing the properties of V2 and discussing how the V2 phenomenon can be made sense of within a split CP hypothesis; secondly discuss what the triggers for V2 are.

In the first section I discuss the main characteristics of V2, taking into examination the classical study of den Besten (1983) based on Dutch and German, comparing the description of V2 given in this work with data from Scandinavian (Bentzen et al 2007) and Old Romance (Benincà 2006).

This comparison will show that the two correlates of V2 found in continental Germanic by den Besten (1983), that is i) asymmetry between main and embedded clauses and ii) possibility of only one single XP to show up in first position, are not common to all V2 language. In particular we will see that in Scandinavian no asymmetry between main and embedded clauses is found and in Old Romance V2 is compatible with a split-CP.

On the basis of these comparative facts, I will propose that the core property of the V2 phenomenon has to be considered subject - verb inversion, whereas the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses and the lack of multiple access to CP are correlates of only the V2 system of standard German and Dutch.

The conclusion coming from the comparison among different V2 languages that the V2 system of continental Germanic is only one type of V2 system leads to the second issue that I will discuss in the first section, that is the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli/Hinterhoölzl 2007), according to which CP is not made up of only one projection, but has to be thought of as a layer composed by several projections, just like IP. This hypothesis is crucial in order to make sense of the data concerning the distribution of V2 in languages different from continental Germanic.

In the second section, after having introduced the structure of the left periphery, I will discuss the most relevant theoretical proposals put forth in the literature in order to capture the V2 phenomenon, focusing on the relation between nominative-case assignment (among others Platzack 1986, 1987, Koopman 1984, Olsen 1985, Holmberg and Platzack 1986, 1995) and on the relation between V2 and the EPP (Haegeman 1997, Roberts/Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004). I will discuss in detail Tomaselli's (1990) analysis of V2 in terms of *pro-drop* licensing, which will be crucial in the following chapter, where I will tackle the nature of the V2 rule in Mòcheno. Finally, I will take into consideration Roberts' (1996) analysis of Old English V2 and Poletto's (2002) account of V2 in a Rhaetoromance dialect, in order to show that V2 might be a phenomenon in variation even inside one and the same language.

2.2 On the V2 phenomenon

In this first section I will illustrate the characteristics of V2 in continental Germanic (den Besten 1983) and will compare them with the properties of Scandinavian and Old Romance V2, in order to show that the two correlates of the V2 phenomenon found in German and Dutch, that is i) asymmetry between main and embedded clause and ii) restriction to only one XP in CP, are not shared by all V2 languages cross-linguistically. In particular, I will focus on the characteristics of Old Romance V2, illustrating how subject - verb inversion can coexist with a multiple access to the CP layer.

In the second part of this section, I will introduce the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997) and discuss the most relevant proposals on the structure of the left periphery (Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli 2000, 2004 and Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007). With this detailed structure, reconstructed on the basis of the syntax and the semantics of the different constructions hosted in CP, I will go back to Old Romance and discuss Benincà's (2006) account of Old Romance V2 within the split-CP hypothesis.

2.2.1 German and Dutch V2

The descriptive formulation of the V2 constraint in generative terms[1] is due to den Besten (1983), who shows that this phenomenon can successfully be analysed as a root transformation involving the left-most area of the clause: CP. According to den Besten's analysis, V2 languages are characterised by having in all clauses an active CP layer; this means that in V2 languages all sentences have the same structure as marked sentences involving CP (such as wh-main interrogatives) in non-V2 languages.

The languages considered in den Besten's analysis are Dutch and German and the phenomena made sense of through this single transformation rule are the main correlates of V2 in continental Germanic: i) subject-verb inversion (XP-V-subj), ii) presence of only one XP in first position; iii) asymmetry between main declarative clauses (V2) and embedded clauses (OV).

The first characteristic of the V2 phenomenon in continental Germanic, that is subject-verb inversion, is illustrated in (87) with examples from German. In a declarative sentence of German the V2 constraint imposes that the finite verb has to always show up in second position: this is illustrated in (87a), where the constituent in first position is the subject. If the constituent appearing in first position is not the subject, the finite verb has to show up in second position and the subject has to follow the verb (87b,c)

(1)   **a.** *Hans hat gestern ein Buch gekauft*
        Hans has yesterday a book bought
        b. *Gestern hat Hans ein Buch gekauft*
        yesterday has Hans a book bought
        c. *Ein Buch hat Hans gestern gekauft*
        a book has Hans yesterday bought
        'Yesterday Hans bought a book'

The subject generally follows the finite verb in inversion contexts, but as pointed out to me by Cecilia Poletto (p.c.), adjacency between finite verb and subject is not obligatory, since topicalised XPs can intervene in standard German between the finite verb (or the complementiser) and the

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[1]Traditional grammarians had already identified and described the V2 phenomenon, see for German Erdmann (1886), quoted in Haider (1985:49) and for Old Romance Belardi (1984), quoted in Benincà (1994:89).

inverted subject. These cases have been studied in several papers by Frey, who points out that subject-oriented adverbs (Cinque 1999:11ff) such as *glücklicherweise, anscheinend, wahrscheinlich, sicherlich*, that is "fortunately, apparently, possibly, surely" can intervene between the finite verb or the complementiser and the NP subject. Below two examples from Frey (2004).

(2)   **a.** *Heute wird <u>wahrscheinlich</u> Ronaldo von Anfang an spielen*   *Frey (2004:7)*
today AUX-FUT possibly Ronaldo from beginning on play
'Ronaldo might possibly play from the beginning of the match today'
b. *Eva las über Paul, dass <u>wahrscheinlich</u> dieser fähige Kandidat gewinnen wird*   *Frey (2004:17)*
Eva read on Paul, that maybe this capable candidate win AUX-FUT
'Eva read about Paul that he is likely to win since he is a capable candidate'

Frey (2004) makes sense of the order [finite verb/complementiser - subject-oriented adv - subject] in standard German assuming that i) subject-oriented adverbs have a fixed position (along the lines of Cinque 1999); ii) above subject-oriented adverbs there is a TopicP; iii) the NP subject can either remain in Spec,AgrSP, that is below subject-oriented adverbs, or move above them into a TopicP. The claim that the position above sentential adverb is actually dedicated to topics finds confirmation in the following example from Frey 2004, in which it can be seen that the direct object *den Hans* has to precede subject-oriented adverbs in the case it is a topic (aboutness topic in this case).

(3)   *Da wir gerade von Hans sprechen*
We are talking about Hans
a. *Nächstes Jahr wird den Hans <u>erfreundlicherweise</u> eine vornehme Dame heiraten* Frey 2004:8
next year AUX-FUT the Hans-ACC fortunately a fine lady-NOM marry
b. # *Nächstes Jahr wird erfreundlicherweise den Hans eine vornehme Dame heiraten* Frey (2004:8)
next year AUX-FUT fortunately the Hans-ACC a fine lady-NOM marry
'Luckily a fine lady will marry Hans next year'

I do not consider these facts problematic for the idea that the main property of V2 is subject-verb inversion, since the subject follows the finite verb (or the complementiser) also in absence (due to discourse properties) of adjacency between finite verb (or complementiser) and NP subject. What had really weakened the hypothesis, would have been the possibility for the subject to precede the finite verb, which is though not attested.

Now, going back to the characteristics of continental Germanic V2, in (89) below I show that subject-verb inversion is found also in marked sentences involving CP, such as wh- main interrogatives; this is expected under den Besten's hypothesis that in V2 languages CP is active in all clauses.

(4)   **a.** *Was hat Hans gestern gekauft?*
what has Hans yesterday bought
b. **Was Hans hat gestern gekauft*
what Hans has yesterday bought
c. **Hans was hat gestern gekauft?*
Hans what hat yesterday bought
'What did Hans buy yesterday?'

In (5), I illustrate the second property of continental Germanic V2: the possibility of having only one XP before the finite verb: a sentence with two XPs preceding the finite verb and the inverted subject is ungrammatical.

(5)   **a.** *Gestern ein Buch hat Hans gekauft*
yesterday a book has Hans bought
b. *Gestern Hans hat ein Buch gekauft*
yesterday Hans has a book bought
'Yesterday Hans bought a book'

The last correlate of the V2 phenomenon in continental Germanic is its root nature. As shown in the examples in (6a,b), the V2 rule does not work in an embedded sentence introduced by a complementiser; the only grammatical order in this case is OV (6c) with the finite verb following the non-finite verb form.

(6)   **a.** *Ich habe gehört, dass Hans hat gestern ein Buch gekauft*
I have heard that Hans has yesterday a book bought
b. *Ich habe gehört, dass ein Buch hat Hans gestern gekauft*
I have heard that a book has Hans yesterday bought
c. *Ich habe gehört, dass Hans gestern ein Buch gekauft hat*
I have heard that Hans yesterday a book bought has
'I heard that Hans bought a book yesterday'

All the three properties of the V2 phenomenon in continental Germanic are nicely captured in den Besten's (1985) approach, which starts out from the idea that in V2 languages the CP layer is always active and all sentences have basically the same structure as marked clauses of non-V2 languages. The structure of CP assumed by den Besten is given in (7).

(7)
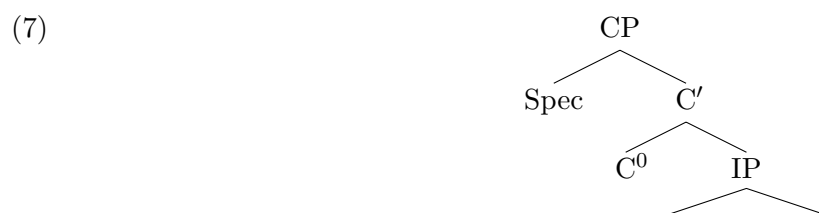
According to den Besten, in continental Germanic in all sentences an XP has to move to the Spec of CP, just as in a wh-main interrogative clause, for which it is standardly assumed that the wh-element moves to SpecCP (Chomsky 1977); the subject follows in either a TopicP (see discussion above based on Frey 2004) or in IP. I illustrate this in (8), where I give the structure according to the idea (valid when den Besten wrote and discussed in chapter 5) that German is underlying OV[2].

---

[2]Here I give a simplified derivation, where I do not consider AgrOP and where I assume that the auxiliary verb is generated in TP (as predicted under Cinque's 1999 analysis of auxiliary as functional heads). I also assume that the subject is in Spec,AgrSP.

(8)
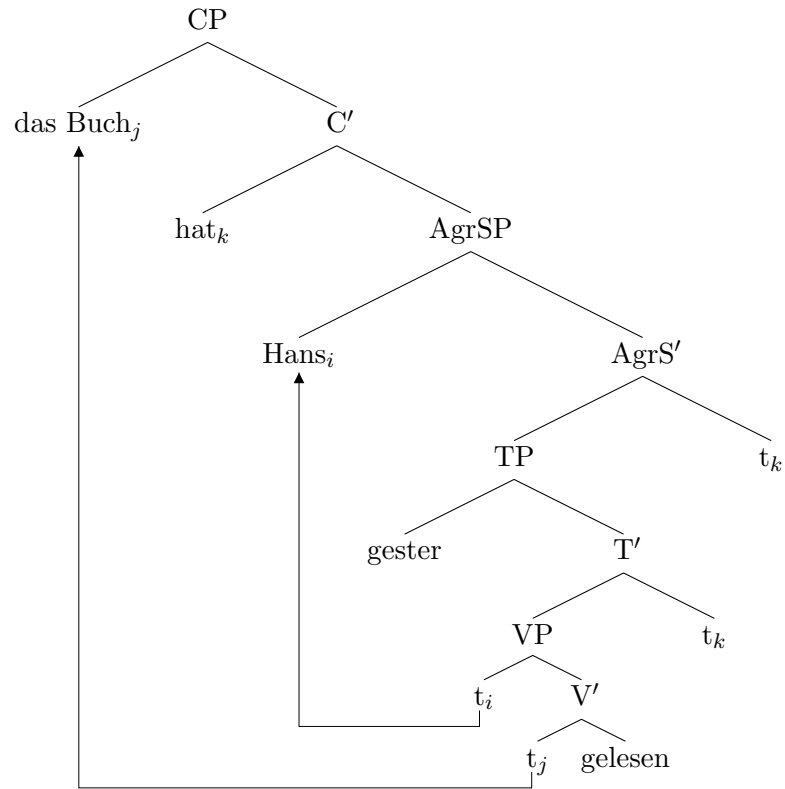
Movement of an XP to SpecCP is blocked when a complementiser is inserted, since complementiser and finite verb compete for the same structural position, that is the head of CP. When the complementiser is present, the auxiliary verb cannot raise to the head of CP and remains in its base position in VP, giving rise to OV word order[3]. This is shown in (9).

---

[3]There are only a few contexts in which embedded V2 is possible in German: in sentences with reported speech requiring a verb in *Konjunktiv I*, or with bridge verbs. Crucially, the possibility of embedded V2 in these contexts disappears when the complementiser is inserted. For asymmetries between main and embedded clauses involving wh-elements not expected under this account, see Reis (1985).

12

(9)

```
                          CP
                 ┌────────┴────────┐
                Spec              C′
                         ┌────────┴────────┐
                        dass            AgrSP
                                 ┌────────┴────────┐
                               Hans_i           AgrS′
                                          ┌────────┴────────┐
                                         TP               hat_k
                                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                 gester         T′
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                         VP            t_k
                                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   t_i         V′
                                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                                     ein Buch       gelesen
```
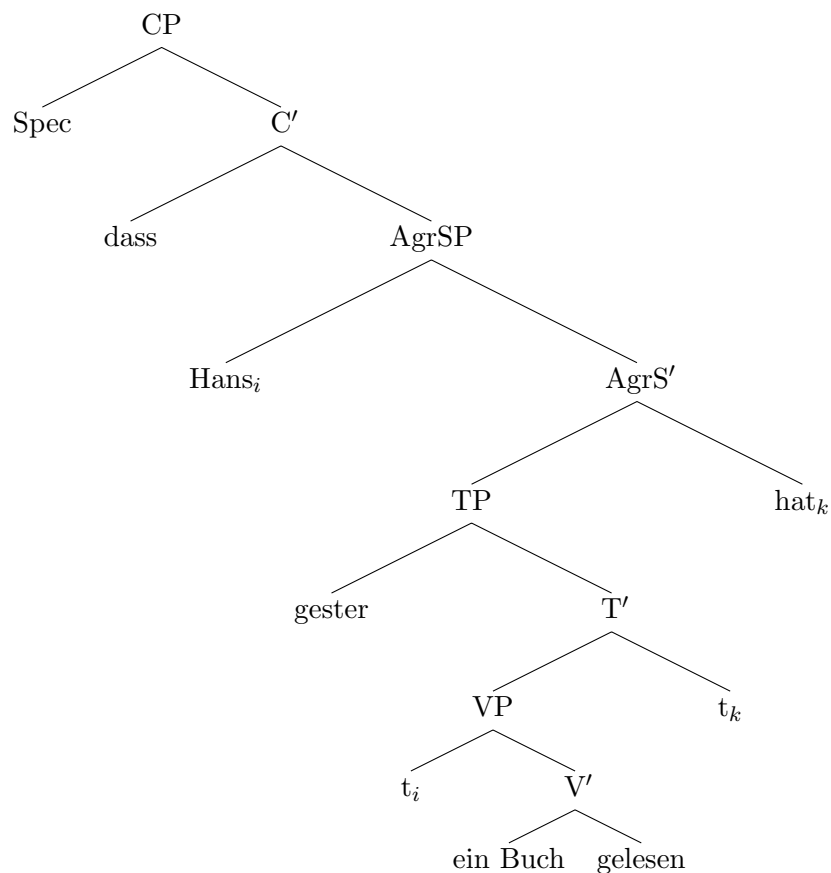
In den Besten (1985:55) it is explicitly assumed that also a sentence beginning with the subject has to be analysed as involving V2, even if it is not immediately visible that CP is involved in this type of sentence, for which it could be assumed that linear order is the result of the subject showing up in SpecAgrSP and the finite verb showing up in the head of AgrSP[4].

In (10), I give the structure of a sentence beginning with the subject.

---

[4]The analysis of sentences beginning with the subject has been a matter of disagreement in the theoretical literature on the V2 phenomenon. Travis (1984) and Zwart (1997) assume that in sentences beginning with the subject, the subject shows up in InflP, whereas in cases of subject-verb inversion also the CP layer is involved. Santorini (1995) proposes a similar idea for Yiddish. Recently, van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007), have provided evidence, coming from the distribution of the object clitic in a Dutch dialect, that sentences beginning with the subject actually involve CP. As for German, if we consider Frey's work pointing to the presence of a TopicP above subject-oriented adverbs, the idea that a sentence beginning with the subject involves only IP has to be rejected, at least for those cases in which the subject precedes an adverb belonging to this class, which according to Frey (2004) is an instance of topicalization. I will come back to this central issue when I discuss Mòcheno data.

(10)

```
                              CP
                    _____
                   /                \
                Hans_i               C'
                              _____
                             /                \
                          hat_k              AgrSP
                                       _____
                                      /                \
                                    t_i              AgrS'
                                               _____
                                              /                \
                                            TP                 t_k
                                       _____
                                      /                \
                                   gester              T'
                                               _____
                                              /            \
                                            VP             t_k
                                       _____
                                      /            \
                                    t_i            V'
                                             _____
                                            /            \
                                       ein Buch        gelesen
```
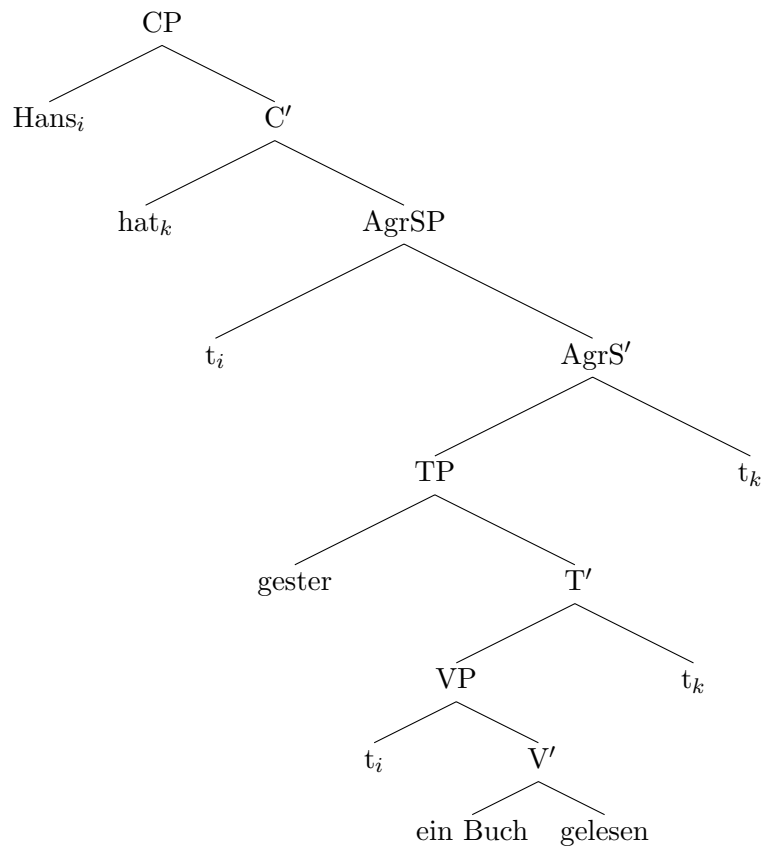
The core of den Besten's (1985) theoretical account of German and Dutch V2 can be summed up in the two basic points in (11), which are the two "moments" in which the V2 rule is instantiated[5].

(11)   **a.** one Verb Preposing rule moves the finite verb to the complementizer in root sentences;
         b. two or one root transformations transferring a constituent into the left-most position of COMP.   (den Besten 1985:60)

The V2 rule composed of two different moments, that is i) movement of the finite verb to the head of CP and ii) movement of one constituent to Spec,CP and stated in (11), captures the core property of V2, that is subject-verb inversion, which is a consequence of (11). As we will immediately see, the other two correlates that is i) the possibility of preposing only one constituent in CP and ii) the root-embedded asymmetry are specific for continental Germanic.

Beginning with the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses, it is well known (among others, Vikner 1995, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Julien 2006, Bentzen et.al. (2007), Wiklund et.al. (2009)) that Scandinavian languages, which share with continental Germanic i) V2 and ii) lack of multiple access to CP, display embedded V2 under certain conditions[6]. In (12), I give two examples from Swedish illustrating embedded V2: in (12a), the subject is topicalised, whereas in (12b) the direct object shows up before the finite verb forcing subject-verb inversion. To be noticed

---

[5]Tomaselli (1990:242) explicitly assumes that movement of the finite verb to CP is primary, whereas movement of an XP to Spec,CP is secondary. According to her account, which I will deal with in the second section of this chapter and in the next chapter on Mòcheno V2, the finite verb moves to the head of CP in order to legitimate pronominal agreement feature in CP.

[6]The general view is that the property triggering embedded V2 is "assertion", so that "[...] the more asserted (the less presupposed) the complement is, the more compatible it is with V2 (and other root phenomena)" (Bentzen et.al. (2007:95).

is the fact that, differently from German embedded V2, Scandinavian embedded V2 is compatible with the complementiser.

(12) **a.** *Han sa att Lisa* **hade** *inte läst boken* (Swedish: Bentzen et.al. (2007:96))
he said that Lisa had not read book-the
b. *Han sa att den här boken* **hade** *Lisa läst* (Swedish: Bentzen et.al. (2007:96))
he said that this here book-the had Lisa read
'He said that Lisa had read this book'

The data from Scandinavian seem to point to the fact that den Besten's (1983) analysis cannot be applied as such to all V2 languages and in particular that finite verb and complementiser are not always in complementary distribution, as predicted by his analysis, but can also co-occur.

In the next subsection, I will take into examination the second correlate of V2 in den Besten's (1983) analysis - the availability of one projection in CP - showing on the basis of the Old Romance V2 system, that non all V2 languages allow for only one preposed XP. This will lead to the discussion of the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997), which will be central in the next chapters, where I will consider Mòcheno V2 system.

2.2.2 Old Romance V2

It has been shown in several studies (among others Benincà 1983, 1995, 2006 Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà 1985, Adams 1987, Vance 1989, Salvi 1990, Fontana 1993, Ribeiro 1995, Hirschbühler and Junker 1988) that Old Romance languages were V2 languages until at least the beginning of the XIV century.

In Old Romance languages the V2 phenomenon manifested itself via subject-verb inversion - taken to be an instance of the verb being in CP - and correlated with two other properties: i) the possibility of multiple access to CP and ii) an asymmetry concerning the distribution of pro-drop[7], which is more frequent in embedded clauses that in main clauses (Benincà 1983, Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà 1985, Adams 1987)[8].

The fact that Old Romance languages were V2 is shown in the following examples (from (13) to (15)), all taken from Benincà (2006:66,f.,her examples (19) to (23)) that illustrate subject-verb inversion in Old French (13a,b) and in Provenzal (13c,d).

(13) **a.** *Autre chose* **ne pot** *li roi trouver* *Old French, (Artù,101)*
other thing NEG could the king find
'The king could not find anything else'

---

[7]According to Benincà 1983 and Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà 1985, the distribution of pro-drop in Old Romance has to be put into relation to the position of the finite verb: if the finite verb is in CP, as in main clauses, pro-drop is possible; if the finite verb cannot move to CP due to the presence of a complementiser, pro-drop is ruled out, as in embedded clauses. This is, though, an abstraction of data, since, as pointed out to me by Paola Benincà (p.c.), there are some types of embedded clauses, such as embedded interrogatives, in which free-inversion of the subject is obligatory. Therefore, the syntax of the subject and the distribution of pro-drop do not only correlate with the position of the finite verb, but also with the type of embedded clause. I will not go into the detail of this, but see next chapter for a parallel with Mòcheno.

[8]Tomaselli (1990:197ff) puts the V2 phenomenon in relation to pro-drop, in particular its first "moment", that is movement of the finite verb to the head of CP, which according to her i) is independent of the movement of one constituent to Spec,CP and ii) is due to the necessity to license pronominal agreement features in CP. In the next chapter, I will explore for Mòcheno the relation between pro-drop and V2 relying on Tomaselli analysis and showing that her hypothesis for German allows to capture the Mòcheno facts, in particular the distribution of subject clitic pronouns in V2 contexts.

 b. *Un pou aprés eure de prime* **fu** *Mador venuz a cort*   *Old French, (Artù,103)*
a bit after hour of first was Mador arrived to court
'Mador arrived to court a little after the hour of first hour (i.e., 6 AM)'
 c. *Mal cosselh* **donet** *Pilat*   *Provenzal, (Venjansa,106)*
bad advice gave-3SG Pilatus
'Pilatus gave bad advice'
 d. *Si* **sai** *eu la meillor razon*   *Provenzal, (Gaucelm Faidit,47)*
so know I the best reason
'So I know the best reason'

In (14a) an example of V2 in Old Spanish and in (14b) of V2 in Old Portuguese.

(14)   **a.** *Este logar* **mostro** *dios a Abraam*   *Old Spanish, (Fontana 1993:64)*
    this place showed God to Abraham
    'God showed Abraham this place'
    b. *Con tanta paceenca* **sofria** *ela esta enfermidade*   *Old Portuguese, (Ribeiro 1995,114)*
    with so-much patience suffered she this disease
    'She suffered this disease so patiently'

Finally, in (15) three examples of V2 in Old Northern Italian varieties.

(15)   **a.** *Bon vin* **fa** *l'uga negra*   *Old Milanese, (Bonvesin,96)*
    good wine makes the-grape black (subj)
    'Black grapes make good wine'
    b. *Et così lo* **mis** *e' co*   *Old Venetian, (Lio Mazor,31)*
    and so it-put-1SG down
    'And so I put it down'
    c. *Ciò* **tenne** *il re a grande maraviglia*   *Old Florentine, (Novellino,Tale 2)*
    this held the king to great marvel
    'The king was astonished at that'

In (16) below, I give other examples (all taken from Benincà 2006:81, her 31,35, 36,) of objects in first position without clitic resumption from Old French (16a,b), Old Portuguese (16c) and Old Italian (16d,e); "[...] pragmatically, these objects can have various interpretations: they can represent an emphatic, or an unmarked focus, a "relevant" theme, or an anaphoric theme. They do not seem pragmatically marked, as in modern Italian and other modern Romance languages" (Benincà 2006:81). Notice that clitics and the negative marker can intervene between the XP in first position and the finite verb, giving rise to cases of V3[9].

(16)   **a.** *La traison* **li a conté** *que li vasals a apresté*   *Old French, (Enéas,23-24)*
    the treason him has told that the vassal has prepared
    'He told him about the treason that was planned by the vassal'
    b. *Mes Lancelot* **ne connut** *il mie, car trop estoit enbrons*   *Old French, (Artù,11,3)*
    but Lancelot NEG recognized he NEG, because too-much was sullen
    'But he did not recognise Lancelot, as he was too sullen'
    c. *Questa obedientia de morire* **reguiriva** *lo Padre a lo Fiolo*   *Old Milanese,*
    (Elucidiario,123)

---

[9]Cases of V3 with pronominal elements were possible also in Old High German, see Tomaselli 1993.

this obedience of to-die demanded the Father to the Son

'The Father exacted this submission to die from the Son'

d. *una fertra* **fei** *lo reis Salomon … Las colones* **fei** *d'argent e l'apoail* **fei** *d'or; li degrai per unt hom i montava covrì de pur pura* Old Piedmontese, (Sermoni subalpini,232)

a sedan-chair made the king Solomo... The columns made of-silver and the-support made of gold; the steps through which man there mounted covered of purple

'King Solomon made a sedan chair. He made the columns of silver and the support of gold; he covered the steps on which one climbed up with purple'

So far we have seen that in Old Romance a V2 rule similar to the one stated in (11) for modern Dutch and German was operative and that it forced subject-verb inversion with both pronominal and DP subjects. We have also seen that direct objects could be preposed without clitic resumption and with no pragmatic restrictions.

Now, in Old Romance it was also possible to have preposed direct objects with clitic resumption, as in modern Romance left-dislocation; differently from modern Romance, though, in this construction the clitic could only be enclitic if no material intervenes between the XP in first position and the finite verb[10], as shown in (17, from Benincà 2006:82, her 40, and Benincà 1994:240, her 29b).

(17) **a.** *Lo primo modo$_j$ chiamo-lo$_j$ estato temoruso* (Old Umbrian, Jacopone)

the first mode call-1SG-it state timorous

'I call the first type (of love) timorous state'

b. *A voi [le mie poche parole ch'avete intese]$_j$ ho-lle$_j$ dette con grande fede* (Old Florentine, Schiaffini, 282)

to you the my few words that have-2PL heard have-1SG-them said with great faith

'The few words that you heard from me I pronounced with great faith'

c. *a los otros$_j$ encomendó-los$_j$ a dios* (Old Spanish, Fontana 1993,153)

to the other commended-3SG-them to god

'He commended the other to God'

d. *O trigo que eu como, guanco-lo per meu trabalho* (Old Portuguese, Huber 1933)

the corn that I eat, gain1SG-it though my work

'The corn that I eat, I get through my work'

Let's consider now the second main property of Old Romance V2, that is the multiple access to CP. This phenomenon is found in all Old Romance languages, but is consistent especially in the Old Italian varieties. Some examples are given in (18, from Benincà 2006:76, her 49).

(18) **a.** *Et [chi facesse contra]$_j$ [la prima volta]* **gli$_j$ sia imposta** *penitenca, e la seconda sia cacciato* Old Florentine, (Testi fiorentini,46)

and who should act contrarily, the first time to him be imposed a penance, and the second be expelled

'And anyone who may act contrarily, the first time should be fined, and the second time he should be expelled'

b. *[A lè] [per tug li tem]* **me rend** *e me consegno* Old Piedmontese, (Sermoni Subalpini,238)

to her for all the times me surrender and me deliver

'I surrender and submit myself to her forever'

---

[10]In this case the lowest XP is a focus, see the discussion below.

c. *E [Perp Capel] [en la fiata]* **branchà** *uno uiger de pes Old Venetian, (Lio Mazor,35)*
and Pero Capel immediately sized a hamper of fish
'and Pero Capel immediately sized a hamper of fish'

The multiple accessibility to CP cannot be considered a late development of Old Italian, since it is already present in the oldest Italian text, the *Placitum* from Capua, 960 (cited from Benincà 2006:78).

(19)   *Sao ko [kelle terre per kelle fini que ki contene]$_j$, [trenta anni] le$_j$ possette parte Sancti Benedicti*
know1SG that those lands for those boundaries that here contains thirty years them owned party of Saint Benedict
'I know that the party of Saint Benedict owner for thirty years those lands between the boundaries that are here contained'

In this subsection I have shown that also Old Romance languages obeyed a V2 rule, whose main properties were: i) asymmetry between main and embedded clauses in the distribution of pro-drop; ii) subject-verb inversion; iii) possibility of preposing variously pragmatically marked direct objects without clitic copy (as in English but differently from modern Romance); iv) possibility of having topicalised direct objects with enclitic resumptive pronoun; v) cases of V3 and V4 (especially in Old Italian varieties).

In order to capture the regularities behind this pattern of variation, I will adopt the split-CP hypothesis, according to which CP is not made up of only one projections but has to be thought of as a layer composed by different projections encoding different features. On the basis of this detailed structure, I will go back to Benincà's (2006) hypothesis on Old Romance V2.

2.2.3   On the split CP hypothesis

We have seen so far that the highest portion of the clause is generally thought to be involved in the V2 phenomenon and that languages differ with respect to the number of preposed constituents allowed in CP.

Now, the purpose of this subsection is to explore the structure of the CP layer with a twofold goal: i) introduce the notions of finiteness and force, which will be relevant in the discussion of what the triggers for V2 are and ii) introduce the characteristics of topics and foci, which will be relevant for the discussion of the Old Romance V2 system (and for any V2 system allowing for multiple preposing in CP, such as the one of Mòcheno).

The research on the structure of CP has been initiated by researchers working on Romance languages, in particular on Italian (Cinque 1977, 1990, Benincà 1988) and focusing on marked constructions involving the highest portion of the clause. In these first studies it was already pointed out that two classes of pragmatically marked constituents are hosted in the left periphery: on the one hand, wh- elements and focused items, which display operator properties; on the other, left-dislocated/topicalised items, which show mixed A and A' properties. These elements can co-occur.

In these works (for other proposals in the same direction, see, among others, Rizzi (1997:327,fn2), Alber 1994, Guidolin 2009 on Germanic languages and Haegeman 1997 on West Flemish and Dutch) it was already clear that the Italian empirical facts could not be made sense of within a theory that assumes that CP is made up of only one X-bar projection, and that it was necessary to decompose also the highest layer of the clause, just like IP (Pollock 1989), into single functional projections, each encoding one feature.

The Fine Structure of CP: Rizzi 1997

The first attempt to construct a detailed map of the constituents showing up in the Italian CP was made by Benincà (1996), who gives a first cartography of the positions of exclamative and interrogative wh- elements, complementisers and topicalised and focused DPs in the CP layer.

Rizzi (1997) further pursues this line of research and proposes his influential fine structure of the left periphery. The former CP layer is decomposed in two main articulations: the force-finiteness system, which hosts complementisers, and the topic-focus system, dedicated to XPs.

As for the complementiser system, Rizzi (1997:283) assumes that its role is to act as an interface system "[...] between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause). As such, we assume the C system to express at least two kinds of information, one facing the outside and the other facing the inside" (Rizzi 1997:283).

Complementisers "facing the outside" mark the clausal type (Cheng 1991); Rizzi (1997:283) assumes that the clausal type (to be realised by the complementiser or by an operator) is encoded in a position connected to the "Force" of the clause. The second type of information realised by complementisers in the left periphery faces the inside, that is IP, and is related to "agreement rules" (Rizzi 1997:283) between C and I, according to which, in English, a complementiser such as *that* requires a tensed verb, whereas *for* needs an infinitive. Rizzi (1997) notices that in Romance and Germanic the temporal features encoded in the left periphery and expressed by the complementiser system are very rudimentary, so that the relevant notion does not seem to be "tense" in general, but rather finiteness. If the finite feature is realised by the complementiser, then the selected IP has the "[...] familiar characteristics of finiteness: mood distinctions, subject agreement licensing nominative case, overt tense distinctions" (Rizzi 1997:284). The finiteness relation between left periphery and IP layer can be expressed, according to Rizzi (1997), in different ways according to languages; some German varieties, in particular, replicate subject agreement (Haegeman 1992, Bayer 1984).

The second articulation found in the left periphery is the topic-focus system. The notions of topic and focus are familiar from studies of information structure (Gundel 1974, 1989) and semantics (Reinhart 1981). In this approaches the clause is thought to be articulated in two main articulations according to the nature (defined in terms of information structure) of the preposed constituent. If this is a topic, as in (20, from Rizzi (1997:285)) below, the articulation involved is topic-comment: the XP in first position has been "[...] set off from the rest of the clause by "comma intonation" and generally expressing old information, somehow available and salient in previous discourse; the comment is a kind of complex predicate, an open sentence predicated of the topic and introducing new information" (Rizzi 1997:285).

(20)   *Your book, you should give t to Paul (not to Bill)*

If the preposed XP is a focus, as in (21, from Rizzi (1997:285)), the articulation involved is focus-presupposition: "[...] the preposed element, bearing focal stress, introduces new information, whereas the open sentence expresses contextually given information, knowledge that the speaker presupposes to be shared with the hearer" (Rizzi 1997:285).

(21)   *YOUR BOOK you should give to Paul (not mine)*

The Italian counterparts of the English examples in (20) and (21) above are given below (22).

In this language, the topic-comment articulation is expressed through a thematization[11], that is in a construction in which an XP pragmatically marked as old information shows up in the left periphery and is doubled by a clitic in IP (22a); the focus-presupposition articulation is expressed in the same way as English (22b).

(22)   **a.** *Il libro per Gianni$_j$ lo$_j$ compro domani*
        the book for Gianni ACC CL buy-1SG tomorrow
        'The book for Gianni I am buying tomorrow'
        b. *IL LIBRO PER GIANNI ho comprato oggi (non quello per Maria)*
        the book for Gianni have-1SG buy today (not that for Maria)
        'It was the book for Gianni that I bought today, not the one for Maria'

Rizzi assumes that the two articulations are expressed by an X-bar schema and are hosted in the high periphery.

The topic-comment articulation has the following structure (23, from Rizzi (1997:286)), where XP is the topic and YP is the comment.

(23)

```
            TopP
           /    \
         XP     Top'
                /   \
             Top⁰    YP
```

The Topic head is, according to Rizzi's proposal sketched in (23), a functional head of an A' projection defining "[...] a kind of "higher predication", a predication within the Comp system; its function is analogous to the function of AgrS within the IP system, which also configurationally connects a subject and a predicate" (Rizzi 1997:286).

The focus-presupposition articulation has the structure given in (24, from Rizzi (1997:287)), where ZP is the focus, and WP is the presupposition.

(24)

```
            FocP
           /    \
         ZP     Foc'
                /   \
             Foc⁰    WP
```

Now, Rizzi (1997:287) explicitly claims that any XP bearing Topic or Focus features has to show up in the left periphery in a Spec-head configuration with the topic and focus heads respectively and obey the Topic and Focus criteria. Under this view, movement is then "last resort" and takes place to satisfy a criterion, or to check a feature.

The two systems outlined so far, the complementiser system and the topic-focus system, are organised in the left periphery as shown in the structure in (96): the topic-focus articulation shows up between ForceP and FinP.

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[11]There are two ways of thematising a constituent in Italian: either through a left-dislocation or through a hanging-topic; here I do not commit myself in precisely defining the construction in (22a), since, as pointed out by Benincà (1988, 2001:40,fn3) and as we will see below, in Italian the hanging-topic construction and the left-dislocation cannot be distinguished in the case of a bare noun.

(25)

```
                          ForceP
                         /      \
                      Spec      Force′
                               /      \
                           Force⁰     TopicP
                                     /      \
                                  Spec      Topic′
                                           /      \
                                       Topic⁰     FocusP
                                                 /      \
                                              Spec      Focus′
                                                       /      \
                                                   Focus⁰     FinP
                                                             /    \
                                                          Spec    Fin′
                                                                 /    \
                                                              Fin⁰    IP
```
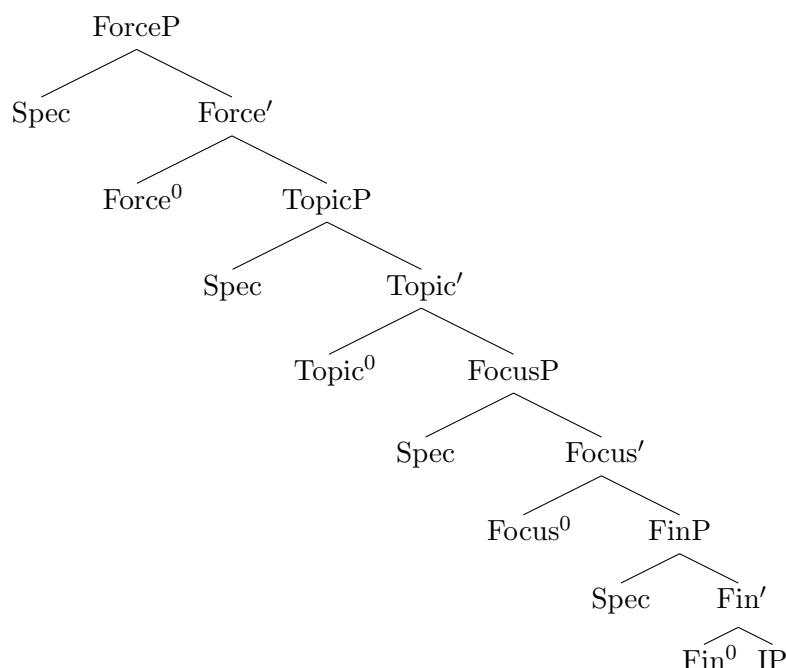
Evidence in favour of an organization of the left periphery as the one sketched in the structure in (96) comes first of all from the distribution of complementisers in Italian, which are thought to realise FinP or ForceP. Rizzi (1997:288) shows that if one tries to combine a thematised XP with the two Italian complementisers *che* and *di*, it turns out that in the only grammatical position of the former one is above the theme (26a,b), whereas in the case of *di* the theme can only precede the complementiser (26c,d).

(26)   **a.** *Credo che il tuo libro$_j$, loro lo$_j$ apprezzerebbero molto*
        believe-1SG that the your book they ACC CL would appreciate much
        b. **Credo il tuo libro$_j$ che loro lo$_j$ apprezzerebbero molto*
        believe-1SG the your book that they ACC CL would appreciate much
        'I believe that they would appreciate your book a lot'
        c. **Credo di il tuo libro$_j$ apprezzarlo$_j$ molto*
        believe to the your book appreciate-ACC CL much
        d. *Credo il tuo libro$_j$ di apprezzarlo$_j$ molto*
        believe the your book to appreciate-ACC CL much
        'I believe to appreciate your book a lot'

The distribution complementisers with respect to a theme illustrated in (26) is taken by Rizzi as evidence in favour of the idea that the two projections encoding clause type and finiteness are found at the two edges of the left periphery and are realised in Italian by *che* and *di* respectively. The syntax of complementisers also shows that the topic and the focus projections are found between FinP and ForceP.

After establishing that the force and the finiteness of the clause are encoded in two projections located at the two edges of the left periphery, Rizzi (1997) further explores, mainly relying on Cinque (1990), the syntactic properties distinguishing topics and foci in Italian.

As already mentioned, a topicalised item can be resumed by a clitic (obligatory under certain conditions to be examined below) in IP, which is ruled out with a focus. This is illustrated in (110).

(27)   **a.** *Il libro per Gianni$_j$ l$_j$'ho comprato ieri*
the book for Gianni ACC CL have-1PS bought yesterday
b. **Il libro per Gianni ho comprato ieri*
the book for Gianni have-1SG bought yesterday
'Yesterday I bought the book for Gianni'
c. *IL LIBRO PER GIANNI ho comprato, non quello per Maria*
the book for Gianni have-1SG bought non that for Maria
d. **IL LIBRO PER GIANNI$_j$ l$_j$'ho comprato, non quello per Maria*
the book for Gianni ACC CL have-1SG bought non that for Maria
'It was the book for Gianni that I bought, not the one for Maria'

The second difference between topicalised and focused items is that the former never give rise to weak cross-over effects (111a, from Rizzi 1997:290), whereas a focus does (111b, from Rizzi 1997:290).

(28)   **a.** *Gianni$_j$ sua$_j$ madre lo$_j$ ha sempre apprezzato*
Gianni his mother ACC-CL has always appreciated
'John his mother has always appreciated'
b. *??GIANNI$_j$ sua$_j$ madre ha sempre apprezzato t$_j$ (non Piero)*
Gianni his mother has always appreciated not Piero

Another asymmetry between topicalization and focalization concerns the type of constituents that can enter one of the two constructions. As shown in (113a,c, from Rizzi 1997:290), a quantifier cannot be thematised, but can only show up in the left periphery as a focus (113b,d, from Rizzi 1997:290)[12].

(29)   **a.** **Nessuno$_j$ lo$_j$ ho visto*
no one ACC CL have-1SG seen
b. *NESSUNO$_j$ ho visto t$_j$*
no one have-1SG seen
'I saw no one'
c. **Tutto$_j$ lo$_j$ ho fatto*
everything ACC CL have-1SG done
d. *TUTTO$_j$ ho fatto t$_j$*
everything have-1SG done
'I did everything'

What is more, in Italian there can be more than one topic (119a) in the left periphery, but only one focus (119b); topic and focus can co-occur (119c).

(30)   **a.** *A tuo fratello$_i$i il libro$_j$ Mario glie$_i$lo$_j$ ha già comprato*
to your brother the book Mario DAT CL-ACC CL already bought
'Mario has already bought your brother the book'
b. **A TUO FRATELLO IL LIBRO ha già comprato (non a Maria la penna)*
to your brother the book has-3SG already bought, not to Maria the pen
c. *A tuo fratello IL LIBRO ha già comprato, non la penna*

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[12]The only exceptions (possible only with some classes of quantifiers) are those cases in which the quantifier gets a d-linked reading, see Cinque (1990) on this.

to your brother the book has-3SG already bought not the pen

'It was the book the he has already bought for your brother, not the pen'

The last property distinguishing topic and focus in Italian is that a topic is compatible with a wh-element in the order topic-wh, whereas a focus cannot co-occur with a wh-element.

(31)   **a.** *A tuo fratello cosa hai comprato?*
        to your brother what have-2SG bought
        b. **Cosa a tuo fratello hai comprato?*
        what to your brother have-2SG bought
        'What did you buy for your brother?'
        c. **A TUO FRATELLO cosa hai comprato? (non a Maria)*
        to your brother what have-2SG bought not to Maria

Rizzi (1997) shows that all the above-mentioned differences distinguishing topic and focus can be reduced to the fact that only foci are actually quantificational A' dependencies (in the sense of Lasnik and Stowell 1991), whereas topics are not; this means that only the former type of A' dependency can bind a variable, whereas the latter type of A' dependency can bind a null epithet or a null constant.

How are cases of topicalization in English, which do not involve a clitic, made sense of? Rizzi assumes, following Cinque (1997), that the English construction involves a null non-quantificational anaphoric operator identified by the topic, as shown in (32).

(32)   *Your book [OP [I bought t]]*

The topic-comment articulations of English and Romance differ then in the fact that in the former language the connection between the topic and the open position in the comment is established by a null operator, whereas in the latter this connection is realised by a clitic pronoun.

Rizzi (1997:293,f.) discusses in this respect two German constructions, which is worth mentioning since they will be relevant in the analysis of Mòcheno left periphery.

The first one, illustrated in (33a) below, is the null-topic construction (known also as topic-drop, see Koster 1978) which instantiates the pattern of English topicalization, in which a null operator can bind a trace in the sentence. In the German construction, the discourse-bound null operator can trigger subject-verb inversion. The second construction, the so-called *Linksversetzung*, "left dislocation" (33b), illustrates the inverted pattern, namely the case in which the null operator of English is realised in the left periphery by a D-pronoun.

(33)   **a.** *Op habe ich schon t_j gesehen*
        have-1SG I already seen
        'I have already seen it'
        b. *Den Hans$_j$, den$_j$ kenne ich t seit langem*
        the Hans, that know-1SG since long
        'I have known Hans since a long'

On the order of Topic and Focus: Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004

In what follows I will explore the last big issue concerning the left periphery of Italian, that is the order constraints affecting constituents in the left periphery. Two issues will be dealt with: the nature of the thematizations (topicalizations) of arguments and the position of TopicPs.

Beginning with topicalizations, Benincà (1988, 2001) and Benincà/Poletto (2004) show that two constructions involving topicalization of an argument resumed by a clitic in IP are to be distinguished: the hanging-topic construction (HT) and left dislocation (LD). The two constructions are both pragmatically and syntactically very similar and can be distinguished only when a PP is involved.

As shown in (115, from Benincà 2001:44), a PP can show up in the left periphery both with a preposition or without it: in the former case the resumptive clitic in IP is obligatory (115a,c), whereas in the latter case the clitic copy is optional (115b,d). This different syntactic behaviour has to be taken as a hint of the presence of two different constructions involving the thematization of an argument: in the former case we have to do with the hanging-topic construction and in the latter with a left dislocation.

(34)   **a.** *Mario$_j$, non *(ne$_j$) parla più nessuno*   *HT*
        Mario NEG PART CL speak-3SG anymore no one
        'Mario, nobody talks of him anymore'
        b. *Di Mario$_j$, non (ne$_j$) parla più nessuno*   *LD*
        of Mario NEG PART CL speak-3SG anymore no one
        'Of Mario, nobody talks (of him) anymore'
        c. *Mario$_j$, gli amici *(gli$_j$) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo*   *HT*
        Mario the friends DAT CL have-3PL made a bad joke
        'Mario, his friends made him a nasty trick'
        d. *A Mario$_j$, gli amici (gli$_j$) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo*   *LD*
        to Mario the friends DAT CL have-3PL made a bad joke
        'To Mario, his friends made (him) a nasty trick'

In standard Italian, HT and LD are impossible to distinguish when a direct object or a subject are involved, since the direct object always requires a clitic copy and the subject cannot be doubled by a clitic.

Another property distinguishing HT and LD is the type of resumption admitted by the two constructions: as shown in (124a,c), a HT can also be doubled by an epithet or by a tonic pronoun, whereas these two types of resumptions are ruled out by LD (124b,d).

(35)   **a.** *Gianni$_j$ ho incontrato ieri [quel cretino]$_j$*
        Gianni have-1SG met yesterday that stupid
        b. **A Gianni$_j$ ho parlato ieri [a quel cretino]$_j$*
        to Gianni have-1SG spoken yesterday to that stupid
        'As for Gianni, I met that stupid thing yesterday'
        c. *Gianni$_j$ sono uscita ieri [con lui]$_j$*
        Gianni am-1SG gone yesterday with him
        d. **Con Gianni$_j$ sono uscita ieri [con lui]$_j$*
        with Gianni am-1SG gone yesterday with him
        'As for Gianni, I went out yesterday with him'

The last asymmetry between HT and LD regards the number of arguments that can enter the two constructions; as shown in (52) below (both adapted from Benincà/Poletto 2004:69), there can only be only one HT in a sentence (52a), whereas LD is recursive (52b).

(36) **a.** *Gianni$_j$ questo libro$_i$, non ne$_i$ hanno più parlato a lui$_j$*
Gianni this book NEG PART CL have-3PL anymore spoken to him
b. *A Gianni$_j$ di questo libro$_i$, non glie$_j$ne$_i$ hanno più parlato*
to Gianni of this book NEG DAT CL-PART CL have-3PL anymore spoken to him
'They have not talked to John about this book anymore'

Let's sum up the main syntactic characteristics of the two constructions used in Italian in order to thematise verb arguments. A HT i) cannot be a PP[13]; ii) is not recursive; iii) resumption is obligatory; iv) resumption can be realised by a clitic, a tonic pronoun or an epithet. In LD i) both DPs and PPs can be left-dislocated; ii) it is recursive; iii) resumption is not obligatory; iv) resumption can only be realised by a clitic.

Now, I will discuss the last property allowing to distinguish between LD and HT, which is in relation to the order of thematised XPs showing up in the left periphery.

As shown in (117), a left-dislocation has to precede a focus (but see discussion below); in (116) above we saw that LD has to precede also a wh-element.

(37) **a.** *Alla mamma$_j$ il libro$_i$ LA ZIA deve darglie$_j$lo$_i$, non la nonna*   *LD-focus*
to-the mum the book the aunt must-3SG give-DAT CL-ACC CL, not the grandmother
b. *LA ZIA alla mamma$_j$ il libro$_i$ deve darglie$_j$lo$_i$, non la nonna*   *focus-LD*
the aunt to-the mum the book must-3SG give-DAT CL-ACC CL, not the grandmother
'It is the aunt who has to give the mum the book, not the grandmother'

In (120) is shown that HT has to precede LD in Italian.

(38) **a.** *Mario$_j$, fuori dalla chiesa *(gli$_j$) ho portato un libro*   *HT-LD*
Mario, outside the church DAT CL have-1SG brought a book
b. *Fuori dalla chiesa, Mario$_j$ gli$_j$ ho portato un libro*   *LD-HT*
outside the church Mario DAT CL have-1SG brought a book
'I brought Mario a book in front of the church'
c. *[Gli anni passati]$_j$, con gli amici la nonna non *(ne$_j$) parla più*   *HT-LD*
the years past with the friend the grandmother NEG PART CL speal-3SG anymore
d. *Con gli amici [gli anni passati]$_j$, la nonna non *(ne$_j$) parla più*   *HT-LD*
with the friend the years past the grandmother NEG PART CL speal-3SG anymore
'The grandmother does not speak of the past anymore with her friends'

A HT has to precede both a wh-element (121a,b) and a focused item (121c,d).

(39) **a.** *Gianni$_j$ quando ne$_j$ avete parlato?*   *HT-wh*
Gianni when PART CL have-3PL spoken
b. *Quando Gianni$_j$ ne$_j$ avete parlato?*   *wh-HT*
when GianniPART CL have-3PL spoken
'When did you speak of Gianni?'
c. *Gianni$_j$ IERI ne$_j$ ho parlato (non oggi)*   *HT-focus*

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[13]This restriction will be better defined in the next chapter in relation to Mòcheno.

Gianni yesterday PART CL have-1SG spoken
d. **IERI Gianni_j ne_j ho parlato (non oggi)*   *HT-focus*
yesterday Gianni PART CL have-1SG spoken
'It was yesterday that I spoke of Gianni, not today'

Benincà/Poletto (2004:72) provide evidence, coming mainly from the distribution of scene setters in the left periphery of main and embedded clauses of the Rhaetoromance dialect of San Leonardo di Badia, in favour of the fact that non-focused scene setter adverbs showing up in the left periphery occupy a dedicated position, which is higher than the one hosting left-dislocated arguments and lower that the one of HT. As shown in (122), a scene setter has to show up below a HT also in Italian.

(40)   **a.** *Gli anni della guerra, ieri con la zia la nonna ne ha parlato ancora*
          the years of the war, yesterday with the aunt the grandmother PART CL has-3SG spoken
          again
          b. **Ieri gli anni della guerra con la zia la nonna ne ha parlato ancora*
          yesterday the years of-the war with the aunt the grandmother PART CL has-3SG spoken
          again
          'Yesterday granny spoke again of the war with our aunt'

The order derived in this way is by Benincà/Poletto (2004) is given below in (41).

(41)   HT - Scene setter- LD - LD- focus/wh

Before giving the complete map of the left periphery, I have to discuss another relevant issue, that is the position of TopicPs with respect to FocusP.
     Rizzi (1997:297) assumes TopicPs to be recursive and to possibly occur both before and after FocusP, as shown in (125)[14].

(42)   ForceP - TopicP* - FocusP - TopicP* - FinP

The structure in (125) is supported, according to Rizzi (1997) by the following examples in (126), taken from Rizzi (1997:295).

(43)   **a.** *QUESTO a Gianni_j, domani, gli_j dovremmo dire!*
          this to Gianni tomorrow DAT CL should-3PL say
          b. *A Gianni_j, QUESTO, domani, gli_j dovremmo dire!*
          to Gianni this tomorrow DAT CL should-3PL say
          c. *A Gianni_j, domani, QUESTO gli_j dovremmo dire!*
          to Gianni tomorrow this DAT CL should-3PL say
          'This must we tell Gianni tomorrow!'

Notice, that, according to this analysis, focus and interrogative wh-elements are assumed to occur in two different positions, since, as we saw in the examples above in (116), repeated for convenience below in (127), a wh-element cannot be followed by a topic.

(44)   **a.** *A tuo fratello cosa hai comprato?*   *LD-wh*
          to your brother what have-2SG bought

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[14]For the ungrammaticality of the order Focus - Topic cross-linguistically, see Puskas (2000), Aboh 2004

b. **Cosa a tuo fratello hai comprato?*   **wh-LD*
what to your brother have-2SG bought
'What did you buy for your brother?'

The argumentation supporting the structure in (125) has been exhaustively discussed by Benincà (2001) and Benincà/Poletto (2004), who provide evidence that the crucial examples in (126a,b) do not actually prove the recursivity of TopicP.

Beginning with (126a), Benincà (2001:56) provides, through comparative data from the Northern Italian dialect Paduan, convincing evidence that the scene setter in this sentence is not in the left periphery, but in TP. What is more, she notices that the order Focus- topic is grammatical if the topic is realised by a scene setter, but ceases to be so once we take a left-dislocated direct object, as shown in (128, adapted from Benincà 2001:57).

(45)   **a.** **A GIANNI [il libro di poesie]$_j$ lo$_j$ regalo (non a Luca)*
         to Gianni a book of poems ACC CL give-3PL not to Luca
         b. *[Il libro di poesie]$_j$ A GIANNI lo$_j$ regalo (non a Luca)*
         a book of poems to Gianni ACC CL give-3PL not to Luca
         'It is to John that you will give the book of poems, not to Luca'

The discussion above has allowed to make sense of the order Focus - scene setter, which, according to Benincà (2001), is possible because the scene setter is not in the left periphery, but in TP. In the same sentence (126a), though, also the order Focus - left dislocated indirect object is found.

Benincà (2001:58) proposes that the order Focus - left dislocation is actually not to be considered the unmarked order of constituents in the left periphery, but has to be taken as a special case of *in-situ* focalization, possible when one replies with a sentence symmetrical to the one produced by the other speaker[15].

This construction is not the unmarked way of thematise an argument in the left periphery, but is possible only in special contexts, such as the one given in (129). (129a) is a good sentence in a conversation in which two people are talking about another person who is planning to renew his/her house; (129b) is a possible reply in which the structure of the first sentence is maintained and the left-dislocated argument is changed and contrasted through intonative emphasis.

(46)   **a.** *Mi ha detto che il tappeto$_j$, lo$_j$ compra l'anno prossimo*
         to me has-3SG said that the carpet, ACC CL buy-3SG the next year
         b. *No, ti sbagli, IL DIVANO$_j$ lo$_j$ compra l'anno prossimo*
         no, you are wrong, the sofa ACC CL buy-3SG the next year
         c. *Mi ha detto che Gianni$_j$, lo$_j$ incontra domani mattina*
         to me has-3SG said that Gainni, ACC CL meet-3SG tomorrow morning
         d. *No, ti sbagli, MARIO$_j$ lo$_j$ incontra domani mattina*
         no, you are wrong, Mario ACC CL meet-3SG tomorrow morning

The fact that the focused item in (129) is syntactically not a focus, but a LD, which means that it does not bind a variable, is confirmed by the weak cross-over test. As expected from the discussion of the properties of topics and foci and as shown in (47a,b), weak cross-over is absent with left dislocation and present with a focus; in the case of the construction in (129b), no weak

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[15]This construction, originally mentioned to Paola Benincà by Giulio Lepschy, has been studied by Bocci (2007), who calls it Contrastively Focalised Left Dislocation.

cross-over effect is found (47d) and, again, such a sentence would only be possible as an answer to an already uttered sentence containing a LD, such as (47c).

(47)   **a.** *Gianni_j, suo_j padre l_j'ha licenziato*
Gianni his father ACC CL has-3SG fired
b. **GIANNI_j, suo_j padre ha licenziato*
Gianni his father has-3SG fired
c. *Sai che Mario_j, suo_j padre l_j'ha licenziato?*
know-2SG that Mario his father ACC CL has-3SG fired
d. *No, GIANNI_j, suo_j padre l_j'ha licenziato, non Mario*
no, Gianni his father ACC CL has-3SG fired, not Mario

Now, the discussion so far has shown that under certain conditions it is possible to focus *in situ* a left-dislocated item. How is then a sentence such as (48b, from Benincà 2001:59), in which a focus is followed by a direct object without clitic resumption to be considered?

(48)   **a.** *Questo libro A GIORGIO devi darlo*   *LD-focus*
'This book to Giorgio you must give'
b. *A GIORGIO, questo libro devi dare*
'To Giorgio this book you must give'

It could be thought that the highest argument is an *in-situ* focalization of a left-dislocated item followed by another LD, or that the two XPs are both focused in two FocusPs, assuming in this latter case that FocusP is to be taken as a field (which will be shown in Benincà/Poletto 2004).

Benincà (2001:60) reaches the conclusion that (48b) has to be analysed as a case of double focalization, given the fact that when no clitic is present weak cross-over effects arise (49a), as expected under the assumption that an operator is involved, whereas when clitic resumption is present no weak cross-over violation are present (49b), as predicted by the assumption that in this case the arguments are in TopicPs and focalization is *in situ*.

(49)   **a.** **A GIANNI_j queste cose sua_j madre permette*   *focus-focus*
to Gianni these things his mother allows
b. *A GIANNI_j queste cose sua_j madre gliele permette*   *topic-topic*
to Gianni the these things his mother DAT CL-ACC CL allows
'His mother allows Gianni to do these things'

In this respect, I would like to add a piece of evidence with respect to the discussion of the special status of the constructions considered so far.

There is in fact an interesting symmetry between the semantics of the Contrastive Focalised Left Dislocation and of a cleft sentence. As shown in (139c), a cleft sentence would be a perfect answer in this context, much more natural that a contrastive focalization. Notice that clitic resumption of the clefted object is not possible.

(50)   **a.** *Mi ha detto che il tappeto_j, lo_j compra l'anno prossimo*
to me has-3SG said that the carpet, ACC CL buy-3SG the next year
b. *No, ti sbagli, IL DIVANO_j lo_j compra l'anno prossimo*
no, you are wrong, the sofa ACC CL buy-3SG the next year
c. *No, ti sbagli, è IL DIVANO_j che (*lo_j) compra l'anno prossimo*
no, you are wrong, it is the sofa that ACC CL buy-3SG the next year

The lack of clitic doubling of the direct object is taken, for instance in Frascarelli's (2000) analysis, as an instance of the fact that the XP showing up in the cleft has operator properties. When we take into consideration weak cross-over, though, we find interesting asymmetries with respect to sentences involving an operator.

As shown in (51), both versions of (49a,b), in which the highest constituent is in a cleft are grammatical given the right context. Take the case in which A is a child and B his/her mother; both sentences cannot be uttered out-of the blue but need a precedent situation. (49a) is possible if A has been accused by a third person that his mother is too permissive and allows him to do certain things; A points then out that it is not his mother who is too permissive, but Gianni's. (49b) is possible if A asks B permission to stay over for the night at a friend's house, B gives a negative answer, then A replies that Gianni's mother allows her son to stay over for the night. B replies pointing out is it only Gianni's mother who allows her child to do these things, not her.

(51)   **a.** *E' A GIANNI$_j$ che queste cose sua$_j$ madre permette (non a me)*
        it is to Gianni that these things his mother allows (not to me)
      b. *E' A GIANNI$_j$ che queste cose sua$_j$ madre gliele permette (non io a te)*
        it is to Gianni that these things his mother DAT CL-ACC CL allows (not me to you)

Now, the syntactic behaviour of the cleft construction considered above (clitic doubling is obligatory with a DO, but possible with an IO) and its semantics (similar to the Focalised Clitic Left Dislocation) has shown that this construction has an in-between status between focus and topic.

This finding might have important consequences for the analysis of the sentences above, since points at the fact that i) the cleft functions as a focus, but ii) needs a background similar to the one needed by the Focalised Clitic Left Dislocation. This might go in the direction of the presence of two types of foci: corrective focus and cleft focus, which differ both syntactically and semantically.

In the next subsection, I will present the results of several studies on the nature of TopicPs, which have allowed to improve Rizzi's (1997) structure of the Topic field, showing in particular that Topics are not recursive but strictly ordered according to semantic, phonological and syntactic properties.

On the semantic nature of Topics

In this section I want to briefly discuss a refinement of Rizzi's (1997) structure of the left periphery proposed by Benincà/Poletto (2004), Frascarelli (2000a,2004), Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl (2007) and concerning the nature of topics.

We saw above that Rizzi's (1997) claim is that two are the main properties of TopicPs: i) they are recursive and ii) they can both precede and follow a focus, as repeated in the structure below in (52).

(52)   ForceP - TopicP* - FocusP - TopicP* - FinP

I have already discussed in detail Benincà's (2001) and Benincà/Poletto's (2004) objections against the idea that TopicPs follow FocusP and therefore I will not go again into that.

Also the idea, though, that TopicPs can be recursive has turned out to be somehow problematic in the light of further investigation.

Benincà/Poletto (2004:69f), for instance, identified, on the basis of data from Italian, a dedicated position in the Topic field for a special class of topics that they call "List Interpretation" (LI)[16]

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[16]The authors point out (fn 16) that this class of topics might correspond to the class called in the literature "Contrastive Topics".

which, syntactically, precedes left-dislocation, as shown in (53).

(53)   [LD [LI [Focus...]]]

Along the same line sets itself the work by Frascarelli (2000a,2004) and Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl (2007). These works start out from the idea that from the point of view of semantics and information structure exist different classes of topics and at least three main types of topics are to be distinguished. The first type is the so-called *aboutness topic* (Reinhart 1981) or *shift topic* (Givón 1983), "[...] a constituent that is newly introduced, newly changed and newly returned to (Givón 1983:8), a constituent which is proposed as a matter of standing and current interest or concern (Strawson 1964)" (Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:89).

Different from the aboutness topic is the *constrastive topic*, "[...] and element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics (Kuno 1967, Büring 1999)" (Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:89).

Finally, the last main type of topic is the *familiarity topic*, "[...] a given or accessible [...] constituent, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetzky 1987)" (Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:89).

The claim made in these works is that these different types of topics, identified on the basis of semantics and information structure, do not only differ in semantic terms, but show structural correlates in both phonology and syntax.

On the basis of the analysis of the semantic and intonative properties of the constituents showing up in the left periphery in a corpus of Italian spontaneous speech, Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl (2007) propose that the different topics are strictly ordered in the left periphery according to the structure given below in (54, from Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:90), where the highest TopicP hosts Shift topics, the in-between Contrastive topics and the lowest one familiar topics.

(54)   [$_{TOPICFIELD}$ [Shifting topic +aboutness [Contrastive Topic [Familiar topic]]]]

According to Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), the analysis of the data from the corpus also shows that not all types of Topics given in (54) can be iterated, but only Familiarity topics allow for recursion, whereas only one single Shifting topic and one single contrastive topics are admitted in a sentence. This is sketched in the structure in (55, from Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:96)

(55)   [$_{ShifP}$ XP [$_{ContrP}$ XP [$_{FamP*}$ XP]]]

This asymmetry with respect to recursion between Shift and Contrastive topics on the one hand and Familiarity topics on the other is, according to the authors, to be put into relation with syntax, in particular with the distribution of clitic resumption. In the corpus all shifted and contrastive topics show up with clitic resumption in IP, whereas familiarity topics are optionally resumed by a clitic pronoun. Basing on evidence from Frascarelli (2000a,2004), they claim that Shifted and Contrastive topics are merged directly in the left periphery and co-indexed with a clitic pronoun generated in IP in order to maintain grammatical relations (as in Cinque 1990), whereas familiarity topics, are either moved from IP to the left periphery leaving a trace in IP when the clitic is absent, or merged directly in the left periphery when the clitic is present.

In the next chapter, I will examine for Mocheno the typology of TopicPs discussed in this section, trying to determine if, and, in case of a positive answer, to what extend, a correspondence between semantics and syntax can be found with respect to the distribution of topics.

Partial conclusions

In this section I have considered several studies, focusing mainly on Italian, on the structure of the left periphery, and I have discussed the most relevant proposals put forth in them.

Rizzi's (1997) original proposal has been refined in two directions, since both FocusP and TopicP have been shown to be composed by sublayers (Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007) in which specialised projections are hosted. The CP layer has then to be thought as an area composed by different subareas, in which different semantic constructions are encoded. The three main subareas of CP are given in (56, from Benincà/Poletto 2004:79).

(56) $[_{CP}$ [FRAME [THEME [FOCUS]]]]

The subareas entail positions dedicated to the different constructions identified: as shown in (57, from Benincà/Poletto 2004:78 integrating Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl's 2007 findings), in the Frame the HT position and the position for scene setters is found; in the theme area all types of topics and LDs are found, and in the lowest portion the positions for foci and operators are hosted.

(57) $[_{FRAME}$ [**HT - Scene Setter**] $[_{THEME}$ [**Shift Topic - Contrastive Topic - Familiarity Topic**] $[_{FOCUS}$ [**Contrastive Focus - Information Focus/wh**]]]]

The structure of the left periphery given in (57) is the one I will be starting from in the next chapter on Mòcheno V2. Before doing so, in the next section I will go back to Old Romance, in order to show how a detailed map of the left periphery can help shed light on the V2 phenomenon in a language with multiple access to CP.

Again on Old Romance

In this subsection, I will take into examination Old Romance in order to illustrate, on the one hand, how the V2 phenomenon can coexist with an articulated left periphery and, on the other, that the system with only one projection in CP is a specific property of German and Dutch, and not a universal correlate of V2.

In (58), I recall the most important characteristics of Old Romance: i) has subject-verb inversion (58a); ii) possibility of preposing direct objects without clitic copy (58b); iii) preposing of a direct object with enclitic copy (58c); iv) allows for a multiple access to CP (58d,e).

(58)   **a.** *Mal cosselh* **donet** *Pilat*   *Old Provenzal (Venjansa,106)*
           bad advice gave-3SG Pilatus
           'Pilatus gave bad advice'
           b. *La traison* **li a conté** *que li vasals a apresté*   *Old French (Enéas,23-24)*
           the treason DAT CL has told that the vassal has prepared
           'He told him about the treason that was planned by the vassal'
           c. *Lo primo modo$_j$* **chiamo-lo$_j$** *estato temoruso*   *Old Umbrian, (Jacopone)*
           the first mode call-1SG-it state timorous
           'I call the first type (of love) timorous state'
           d. *Et [chi facesse contra]$_j$ [la prima volta]* **gli$_j$** **sia imposta** *penitenca, e la seconda sia cacciato*   *Old Florentine, (Testi fiorentini,46)*
           and who should act contrarily, the first time to him be imposed a penance, and the second be expelled
           'And anyone who may act contrarily, the first time should be fined, and the second time he should be expelled'

e. *[A lè] [per tug li tem]* **me rend** *e me consegno*　　　　*Old Piedmontese, (Sermoni*
Subalpini,238)

to her for all the times me surrender and me deliver

'I surrender and submit myself to her forever'

The works by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001, 2006), Benincà/Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli (200a, 2004), Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl (2007) discussed above have allowed to reconstruct a detailed typology of the constructions used in Italian to thematise arguments, which has led to the fine structure of the left periphery proposed for modern Italian and given above in (57). It is highly plausible that the same constructions were available also in Old Romance, given the presence of clitic doubling verb arguments, and this is the way Benincà's (2006) goes in defining her hypothesis of Old Romance V2.

Starting point of her analysis is the assumption that, just as in modern Italian, two classes of XPs can show up in the left periphery of Old Romance: XPs with operator properties, which bind a variable, and Topics, which bind a null epithet or a null constant and display therefore special properties among A' dependencies. Also for Old Romance it is assumed that the two types of A' dependencies can be distinguished on the basis of the distribution of clitic copies, which are obligatory with thematizations and impossible with focalizations. On the basis of this idea, Benincà (2006) proposes that the cases of anteposition of an argument that is not resumed by a clitic copy in IP, as those in (58a), are to be analysed as instances of the fact that the argument has operator properties, and therefore is assumed to be hosted in one projection in the lowest portion of the left periphery inside the Focus field[17]. Notice that in Old Romance in all cases in which an object is preposed without a clitic copy in IP, other eventually present clitics and the negation have to precede the finite verb. The distribution of other clitic and the negation in sentences involving an object without clitic resumption is the crucial test in order to identify if one XP is in one projection of the Focus field: proclisis is obligatory if the XP in first position is in a FocusP.

This idea leads to two consequences. The first one is that in Old Romance the V2 constraint is triggered in the Focus field (see the position of the subject in relevant examples above in (99)).

The second one is that in cases of multiple access to the left periphery the lowest XP shows up in the Focus field, whereas the highest ones are in the Topic field. In particular, i) when two (or more) XPs show up in the left periphery of Old Romance, the lower one is a focus and the higher a topic; ii) the higher constituent has to be resumed by a clitic and this clitic has to be proclitic if two XPs are in CP.

As shown in (134, from Benincà (2006:81)), this second consequence is actually borne out by data. In both examples, we see that the highest argument showing up in the left periphery is resumed by a clitic in IP and that this clitic is proclitic, which is consistent with the presence of a lowest argument lacking resumption, and thought to show up in a FocusP.

(59)　　**a.** *[La mia gran pena e lo gravoso affanno c'ho lungiamente per amor patuto]ⱼ [madonna]*
loⱼ m'ha *in gioia ritornato*　　　　*Old Sicilian, (Scremin,89, Guido delle Colonne)*
the my great sorrow and the grievous pain that have-1SG long for love suffered, my lady
it to me has into joy turned
'The great sorrow and grievous pain that I have suffered for a long time, my lady turned
into joy for me'
b. *[La vertude ch'illa ave d'aduciderme e guarire]ⱼ, [a lingua dir]* **non lⱼ'auso**　　　　*Old
Sicilian, (Scremin,88, Re Renzo)*

---

[17]Here, I will only take into consideration Benincà's arguments concerning the distribution of enclisis, and will not consider also all the arguments from the syntax of embedded clauses supporting her analysis.

the virtue that he has of kill-me and heal, to tongue to say NEG ACC CL dare-1SG
'I do not dare to tell the virtue that he has to kill me and heal me'

The only case in which two arguments can co-occur in the left periphery without a clitic copy is when the highest one is the subject and the lowest is in FocusP, as in (60), from Benincà (2006:78).

(60)   *[La mia cattivanza] [l'alma] ha menata*   *Old Umbrian, (Jacopone)*
         the my wickedness the sould has led
         'My wickedness led my soul'

In (61) below, I give the structure of (134a) according to Benincà's (2006) proposal: the subject shows up in a FocusP (where V2 is triggered) and the XP doubled by a clitic is in a TopicP. According to Benincà (2006 and p.c), the clitic pronoun can either occupy the head of FocusP or a position dedicated to clitics between Spec, FocusP and the head of FocusP.

(61)
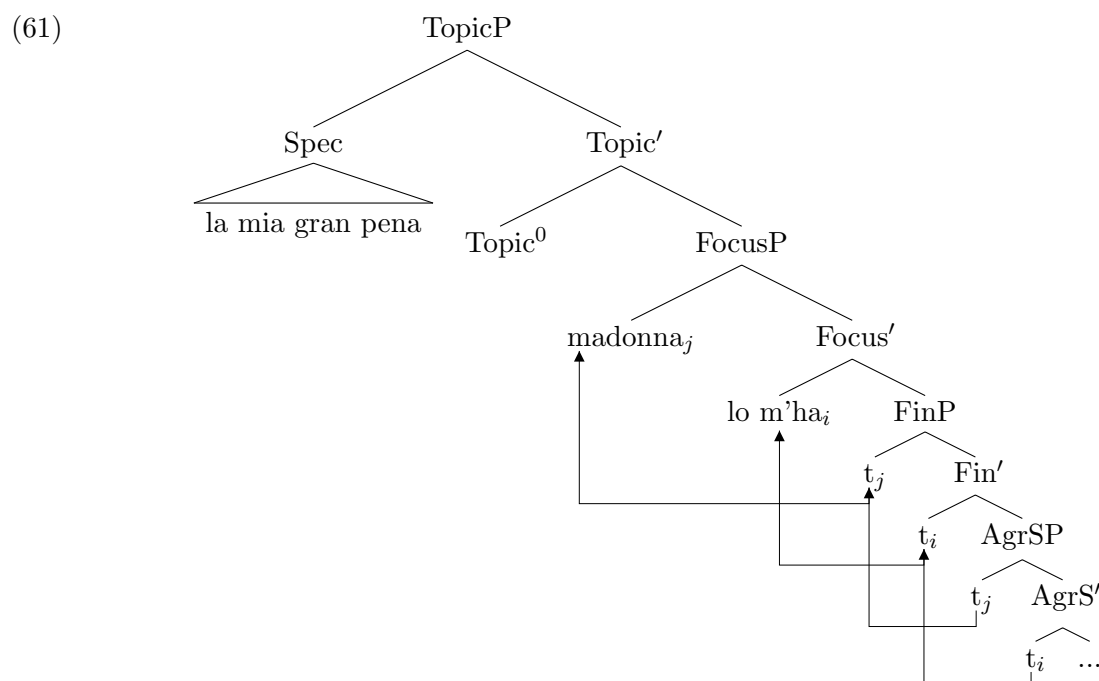
We saw above that another property of Old Romance is to have preposed arguments with enclitic resumption: enclisis is obligatory (62a) only when no other constituent (assumed to show up in the Focus field and forcing proclisis, as in (61)) intervenes between the topic and the verb, otherwise proclisis would be the only possibility (62b).

(62)   **a.** *Lo primo modo$_j$* **chiamo-lo$_j$** *estato temoruso*   *Old Umbrian, (Jacopone)*
         the first mode call-1SG-it state timorous
         'I call the first type (of love) timorous state'
         b. *[La vertude ch'illa ave d'aduciderme e guarire]$_j$, [a lingua dir]* **non l$_j$'auso**   *Old*
         Sicilian, (Scremin,88, Re Renzo)
         the virtue that he has of kill-me and heal, to tongue to say NEG ACC CL dare-1SG
         'I do not dare to tell the virtue that he has to kill me and heal me'

Now, in Benincà's (2006) system the distribution of enclisis is clearly to be put into relation with an empty focus, since when focus is realised, enclisis is blocked and proclisis is forced. The

distribution of focus is though not sufficient in order to make sense of data, since, if the verb simply raised to the head of FocusP, proclisis would be expected, just as in the case the Spec of FocusP is realised by a lexical item. Therefore, it has to be assumed that with enclisis the verb further raises to the head of the TopicP hosting the topicalised item, leaving the clitic behind, in the dedicated CP area hosting clitics, as illustrated in (63).

(63)

```
                        TopicP
                       /      \
              lo primo modo   Topic′
                             /      \
                        chiamo      FocusP
                                   /      \
                              Null Op     Focus′
                                         /      \
                                    t_k lo      FinP
                                               /    \
                                            Spec    Fin′
                                                   /    \
                                                 t_k    AgrSP
                                                       /     \
                                                     pro     AgrS′
                                                            /    \
                                                          t_k    ...
```
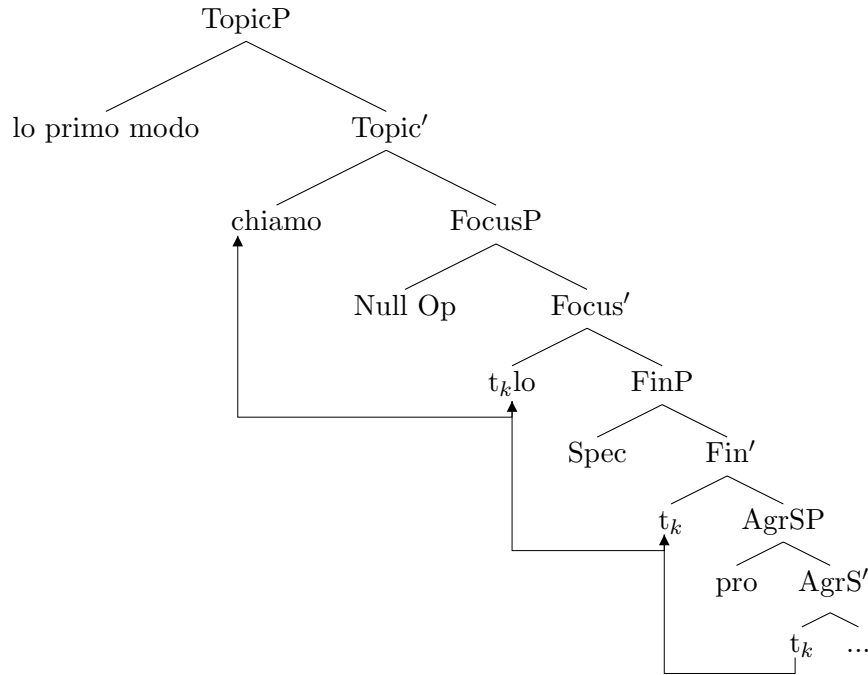
The discussion of Old Romance has allowed to reach a twofold goal. On the one hand, it was shown that the V2 phenomenon, to be understood as its main property of subject-verb inversion, can coexist with an articulated left periphery and that, in the light of this finding, the restriction to only one XP in CP has to be considered as a language-specific rule of Dutch and German.

On the other hand, the fine-grained structure of the left periphery proposed for modern Italian with its fine-grained characterization of the constructions hosted in CP has allowed to establish that in a V2 language with multiple access to the left periphery not all constituents are identical with respect to the satisfaction of the V2 constraint. V2 in Old Italian can in fact be triggered only in the lower portion of the clause, where operators such as foci and wh-elements are hosted. Topics, on the contrary, are not able to trigger V2 and have to occur in a higher portion of the left periphery.

In the next section, I will tackle the theoretical issue of what the triggers for V2 are, discussing again the most important proposals of the literature.

2.3 Triggers for the V2 phenomenon

In this section, after having illustrated the characteristics of the V2 phenomenon, focusing mainly on Old Romance, I will discuss the most relevant proposals put forth in the literature in order to make sense of why the V2 exists.

There is general consensus (den Besten 1983, Tomaselli 1990, Roberts 1996, 2004, Haegeman 1997) in considering V2 a morphosyntactic phenomenon, which basically involves the relation between T and C. What is though not clear is why V2 language differ from non-V2 languages in this respect.

One line of research that has received much attention in the literature is the one trying to link the V2 phenomenon to a different way to assign nominative case (among others Platzack (1986, 1987), Koopman (1984), Olsen (1985), Holmberg and Platzack (1986, 1995)). In these works it is assumed, relying on the observation that V2 languages have poorer morphology on verbs, that V2 languages lack the Finiteness feature in IP and realise it in CP; therefore, nominative case is not assigned via a Spec - head relation in IP, but via government from CP. Verb raising to CP in this approach is put into relation with the necessity to give lexical content to CP, which can then assign nominative case; lexical content is also given by the insertion of a complementiser. Unsolved, though, remains the restriction on Spec,CP to be filled, since the explanation in terms of case assignment only makes sense of the need to have a verb or a complementiser in the head of CP, but does not say anything on the need to also have something in its Spec.

In order to offer an explanation for the restriction on Spec,CP I will discuss several works (Haegeman 1997, Roberts/Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004) in which, within a split-CP hypothesis, the V2 phenomenon has been linked to the lowest portion of the left periphery, namely to FinP. Focusing on Roberts' (1996) account of the distribution of V2 in Old English, I will also show that inside one and the same language V2 can be triggered in different projections of CP, when i) in first position are present XPs with criterial properties or ii) in main declarative clauses.

This idea might offer a first way out of the problem of the necessity of having an XP in Spec,CP, since, at least in several cases, V2 is linked to criterial position, where a Spec - head configuration is needed in order to satisfy the criterion. In this respect, I will discuss Poletto's (2002) work on the syntax of V2 in the Rhaetoromance dialect of S. Leonardo di Badia, which shows asymmetries concerning the position of operators, with wh-elements occurring in the lowest area of CP and foci showing up in its highest part. These data hint at the fact that inside one single language the relevant distinction for the distribution of V2 might not be the one between criterial and not criterial positions, but that asymmetries are observed also between criterial elements.

For main declarative clauses, where no criterial position is involved, the idea put forth by Haegeman (1997) and Roberts (2004) is that the projection involved is FinP, which has strong features in V2 languages, and whose Spec has to be filled in obedience of a sort of EPP.

2.3.1 On nominative case assignement

The V2 phenomenon has been put into relation with the theory of case, by among others Platzack (1986, 1987), Koopman (1984), Olsen (1985), Holmberg and Platzack (1986, 1995).

This proposal mainly relies on the analysis of Scandinavian languages, in which, as shown in the examples in (64), from Homberg/Platzack 1995:47), the finite verb raises to CP in main declarative clauses (64a), whereas in embedded clauses the finite verb has to follow sentential adverbs (64b). The verb does not have person nor number morphology; Holmberg and Platzack (1995:49) explicitly assume that the verb is inserted in VP is its inflected form.

(64)   **a.** *Jan kysser* **ofta** *Maria*   *Swedish*
        Jan kisses often Maria
        b. *att Jan* **ofta** *kysser Maria*   *Swedish*
        that Jan kisses often Maria

According to this type of analysis, V2 and non-V2 languages crucially differ in the way nominative case is assigned and this fact is to be linked to the position of InflP (Pollock 1989), the projection encoding Finiteness (F). In non-V2 languages InflP is located in IP, whereas in the V2 ones Infl is in C. This is expressed through the positive or negative values of a parameter, as in (65, from Holmberg/Platzack 1995:44).

(65)   +/-[+F] is located in C^0

In non-V2 languages nominative case is assigned in IP via a Spec-head relation between a finite verb and an NP, whereas in V2 languages nominative case is assigned according to the conditions in (66).

(66)   Nominative is licit iff:

a. *it is head governed by a head with lexical features hosting [+F] (direct licensing)*

b. *it is governed by a member of a chain, the head of which is licensed by virtue of (66a) (indirect licensing)*

In order for nominative case to be assigned, the CP head hosting [+F] needs to be given lexical content, which either occurs i) via movement of the finite verb, or ii) insertion of a complementiser. The finite verb raises to CP only in main declarative clauses and is assumed to be in complementary distribution with the complementiser.

Now, let's see how the derivation of the Swedish sentences in (64) proceeds. In the case of a sentence beginning with the subject, such as (64a), Holmberg and Platzack (1995:48) assume that i) the finite verb raises to the head of CP in order to give lexical content to CP and check [+F]; ii) nominative case is assigned to the subject in IP (which has to raise from VP to IP in order to be governed by C); iii) the subject further raises to Spec,CP. This is illustrated in (67).

(67)
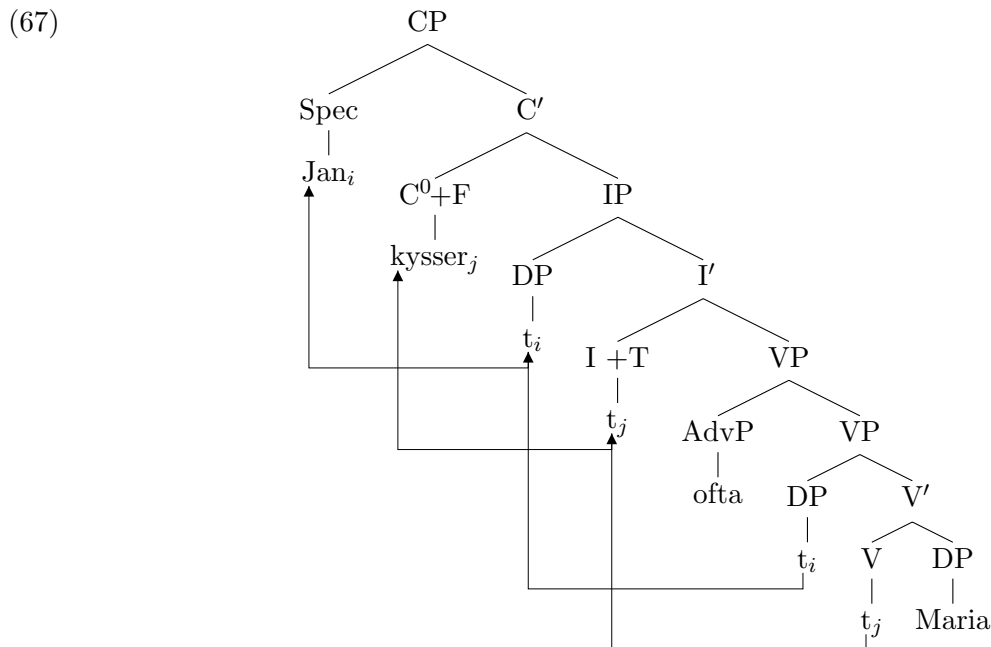
In the case of an embedded clause, such as (64b), Holmberg and Platzack (1995:48) assume that i) lexical content is given to CP through the insertion of a complementiser; ii) case is given to the subject; iii) the verb remains in VP (it does not need to raise to CP, given the presence of a complementiser and the lack of +F in InflP), as shown in (68).

(68)

```
                        CP
                   ╱         ╲
               Spec           C′
                          ╱        ╲
                      C⁰+F          IP
                       │         ╱      ╲
                      att      DP        I′
                               │      ╱      ╲
                             Janᵢ   I +T       VP
                                          ╱        ╲
                                       AdvP         VP
                                        │        ╱     ╲
                                      ofta      DP       V′
                                               │       ╱    ╲
                                              tᵢ      V      DP
                                                      │       │
                                                    kysser  Maria
```
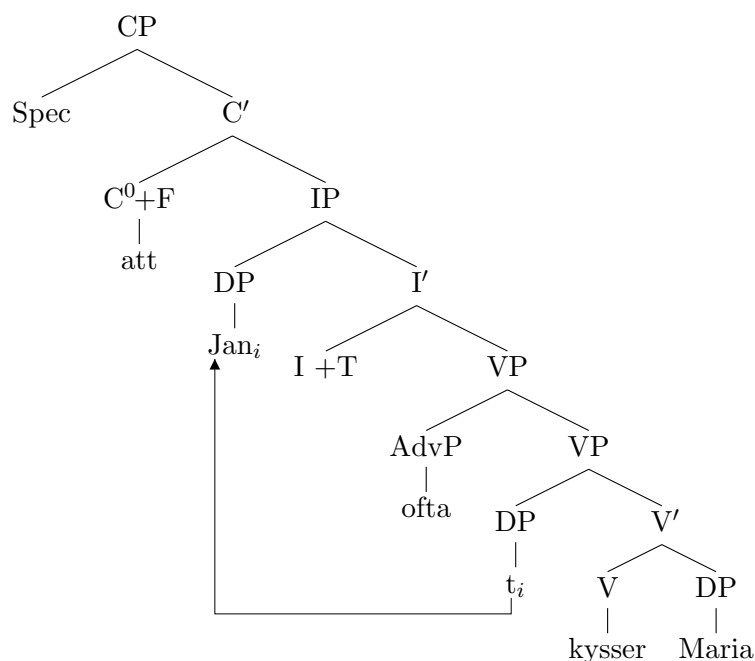
The studies discussed in this section, which mainly rely on Scandinavian languages, have high-lighted that the V2 phenomenon crucially involves the relation between T and C, and, as noted by Tomaselli (1990:201ff), that the CP of a V2 language is somehow "richer" in terms of features than the one of a non-V2 language.

One central issue remains though unexplained in these works, that is why an XP (in the structure in (68) the subject) has to raise to Spec,CP. The only trigger for V2 is seen in finite verb raising with the need to check the [F] feature for nominative-case assignment, but verb movement is not the only characteristic of verb movement.

The necessity of Spec,CP to be filled has been pursued in other works, which I will discuss in the next subsection; the answers given to this problem have lead to another view of the V2 phenomenon and to abandoning the idea that this phenomenon depends on nominative case assignment.

2.3.2   On the role of Finiteness

Within the split-CP hypothesis, the projection identified to be responsible of the V2 phenomenon is assumed to be the lowest one of the left periphery, that is FinP (among others Haegeman 1997, Roberts 1997, 2004, Roberts and Roussou 2002). The first assumption of these studies is that V2 intended as movement of the finite verb to CP is basically a property of the lowest projection of CP, that is FinP; quoting from Haegeman (1997:150) "[...] a root Fin⁰ attracts the finite verb [...]. The attraction can be stated in Minimalist terms of strong vs. weak features (Finite Fin⁰ has strong V-features)". The same conclusion is reached by Roberts (1996), Roberts and Roussou (2002) and Roberts (2004); in this latter works also second-position effects of Celtic languages are considered and led to the generalization that "[...] the second position effect arises where FinP is realised by Move" (Roberts 2004:306).

The assumption that FinP is involved in V2 is a natural way of capturing the generalization according to which V2 is due to the relation between T and C. In particular, Roberts (1996:157, citing Roberts and Roussou 1996) assumes that V2 has the function of licensing a declarative feature in C; this feature needs to be licensed in all main declarative clauses only in V2 languages. In non-V2 languages, on the other hand, movement of the finite verb to CP can only take place

in relation to clause-type features associated with C, such as wh- and focus (criterial positions in Rizzi's 1997 terms), which require a Spec-head agreement configuration.

The idea that V2 is linked to criterial positions solves two important issues concerning V2, that is i) why finite verb moves, in order to create a Spec-head configuration and ii) the necessity for Spec,CP to be filled. Another solution has to be found for sentences not involving criterial positions.

Roberts' account of Old English V2

Capitalising on the idea that among languages V2 can be satisfied in two positions - only in criterial positions in non-V2 languages (such as Hungarian, see Putkas 2000) and in both criterial and non-criterial positions in V2 languages - Roberts (1996) proposes that also in one single V2 language, that is Old English (van Kemenade 1987), V2 might involve different positions according to the XP showing up in CP.

Starting point is the observation that in Old English the order XP - cl - V (V3)[18] can be found in main declarative clauses, as shown in the examples in (69, from Roberts (1996:158)).

(69)   **a.** *hiora untrymnesse* **he** *sceal drowian on his heortan*   *CP 60.17; Pintzuk 1992:6*
their weakness he shall atone in his heart
'He shall atone their weakness in his heart'
b. *God* **him** *worhte tha reaf of fellum*   *AHTh, I, 18; van Kemenade 1987:114*
God them made garments of skin
'God made them garments of skin'

No violations of the V2 rule are found in sentences beginning with an XP showing operator properties, such as a wh-element, the negation and discourse adverbs such as *tha*, "then". This is shown in the examples in (70, from Roberts 1996:158).

(70)   **a.** *Ne geseah* **hine** *nan man nates-hwon yrre*   *van Kemenade 1987:114*
NEG saw him no man so little angry
'No one ever saw him so little angry'
b. *Hwæt sægest* **thu***, yrthlincg?*   *van Kemenade 1987:138 f.*
what saist thouu, ploughman
'What do you say, ploughman?'

Roberts, following van Kemenade (1987), assumes that the pronouns in these examples are to be analysed as C-oriented clitics[19] and are assumed to show up in Spec, FinP; this means that the verb is in two different positions in the two orders (XP - clitic - V and Operator - V - clitic), namely in either ForceP or in FinP. The two different positions in which the V2 constraint is satisfied are illustrated in the following structures (adapted from Roberts (1996:159)).

In (71), I give the structure of a main declarative clause: the finite verb is in the head of FinP, in its Spec the pronoun is to be found and the subject is higher up (I assume here in a TopicP, but Roberts is not explicit on this; the relevant point is though that the V2 constraint is triggered in FinP).

---

[18]For the same cases of V3 involving a pronoun, see Tomaselli (1994).

[19]The classification of these pronouns as clitics is controversial, since, as pointed out for instance in Rossi (2008:104,f,fn 89), there is evidence that they are to be treated as weak elements in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

38

(71)

```
                        TopicP
                      /        \
                  God_j         Topic'
                  ▲            /      \
                  |        Topic⁰      FinP
                  |                  /      \
                  |               him        Fin'
                  |                        /      \
                  |                  worhte_i      IP
                  |                   ▲          /    \
                  |                   |        t_j     I'
                  └───────────────────┼────────┘     /  \
                                      |            t_i    VP
                                      └────────────┘    /    \
                                                  ▲  Spec      V'
                                                  |          /    \
                                                  |        t_i      NP
                                                  └─────────┘      /  \
                                                             tha garments
```
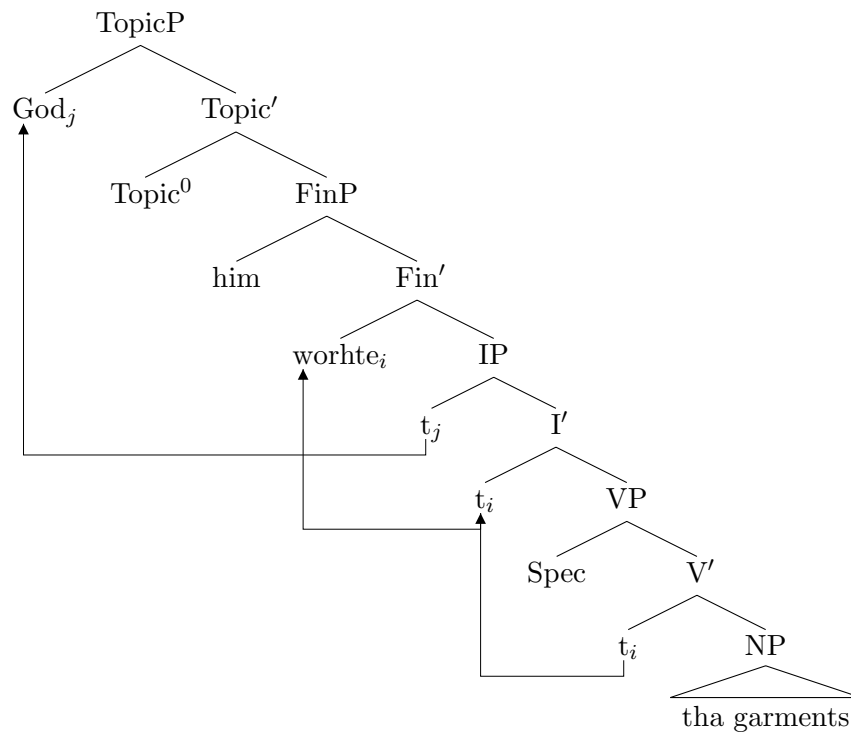
In the case of enclisis, which is found in all sentences, in which V2 is triggered in criterial positions, Roberts (1996) assumes that the finite verb moves to the head of the FocusP in whose Spec the Operator is found and the clitic is in Spec, FinP, as shown in the structure in (72 adapted from Roberts 1996:159). As can be seen in the structure, Roberts assumes that the finite verb moves directly to FocusP, with no in-between step in the head of FinP.

(72)

```
                    FocusP
                   /      \
               Hwæt       Focus′
                         /      \
                   sægest_i      TopicP
                                /      \
                             Spec      Topic′
                                      /      \
                                  Topic^0     FinP
                                             /    \
                                          thu      Fin′
                                                  /    \
                                              Fin^0     IP
                                                       /  \
                                                    Spec   I′
                                                    /     /  \
                                                  t_i    VP
                                                        /  \
                                                     Spec   V′
                                                            |
                                                           t_i
```
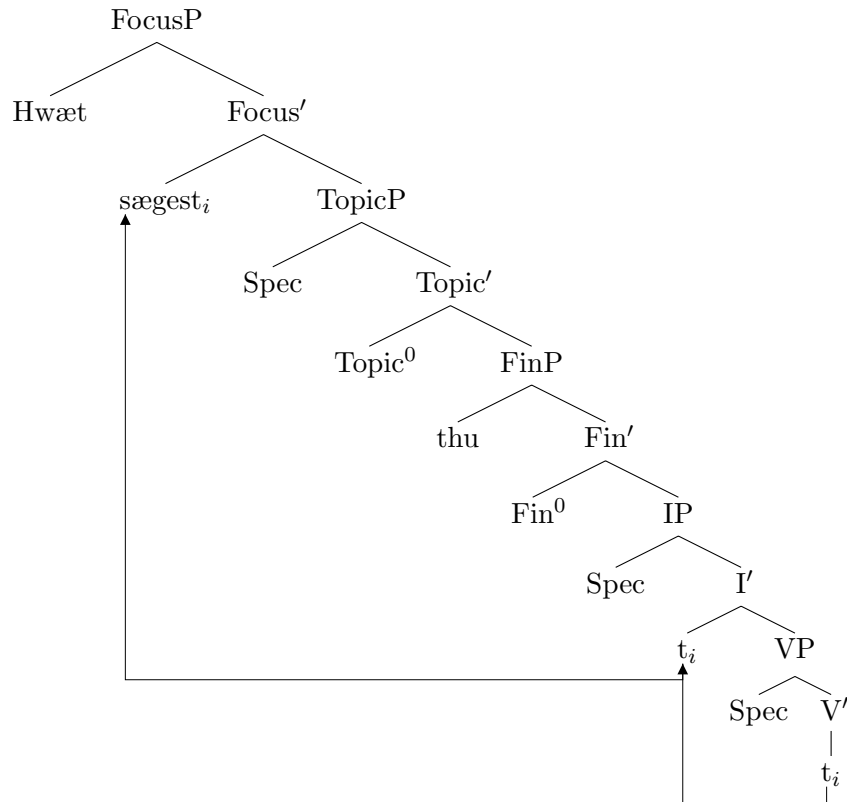
Now, the idea that V2 can be triggered in two positions of the left periphery is supported, according to Roberts (1996:159), by the following examples (73), in which can be seen that a proclitic pronoun can be preceded by several XPs (73a, from Roberts 1996:159), whereas an operator can only be preceded by one XP (73b, from Roberts 1996:159). This asymmetry follows straight from the idea that in (73a) the V2 constraint is satisfied in FinP, which is preceded by several projections, whereas in (73b) it is satisfied in FocusP, which is only preceded by ForceP.

(73)   **a.** *[eft æfter lytlum fyrste] [on thysre yclan Romana byri]* **he** *weardh forbærned*   *GD(H) 30.20-23; Pintzuk 1992:104*

afterwards after little time in this same Roman borough he was burned

'Then, after a short time, he was burned in this same Roman borough'

b. *tha under hæm tha bestæl* **he** *hine in niht onweg*   *ChronA 92.9-10 (901), Pintzuk 1992:105*

then meanwhile he stole in the night away

'Then, meanwhile, he stole away in the night'

In (74, adapted from Roberts 1996:160), I give the structure of the case in which V2 is triggered in FinP (73a).

(74)

```
                            ForceP
                         /         \
                      XP            Force′
                    /‾‾‾\         /        \
                 eft æfter   Force⁰         FocusP
                                          /        \
                                       YP          Focus′
                                     /‾‾‾\       /        \
                                 on thysre  Focus⁰        TopicP
                                                        /        \
                                                     Spec        Topic′
                                                              /        \
                                                          Topic⁰        FinP
                                                                      /      \
                                                                    he       Fin′
                                                                          /        \
                                                                      weardh        IP
                                                                                  /‾‾‾\
```
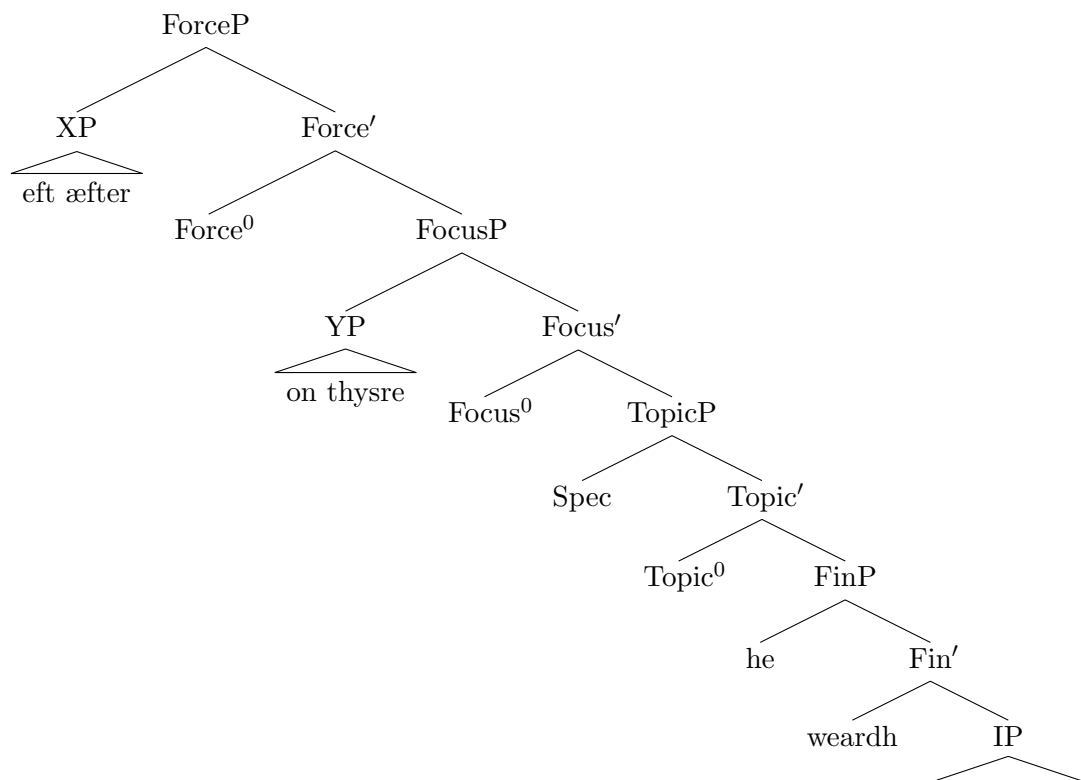
In (75: adapted from Roberts 1996:160), I give the structure of the sentence in which V2 is triggered in the higher portion of the clause, that is in the head FocusP (73b).

(75)

```
                      ForceP
                   /          \
         tha under thæm        Force′
                             /        \
                         Force⁰         FocusP
                                      /        \
                                    tha         Focus′
                                             /        \
                                          bestæl        TopicP
                                                      /        \
                                                   Spec        Topic′
                                                            /        \
                                                        Topic⁰        FinP
                                                                    /      \
                                                                  he       Fin′
                                                                        /        \
                                                                    weardh        IP
                                                                                /‾‾‾\
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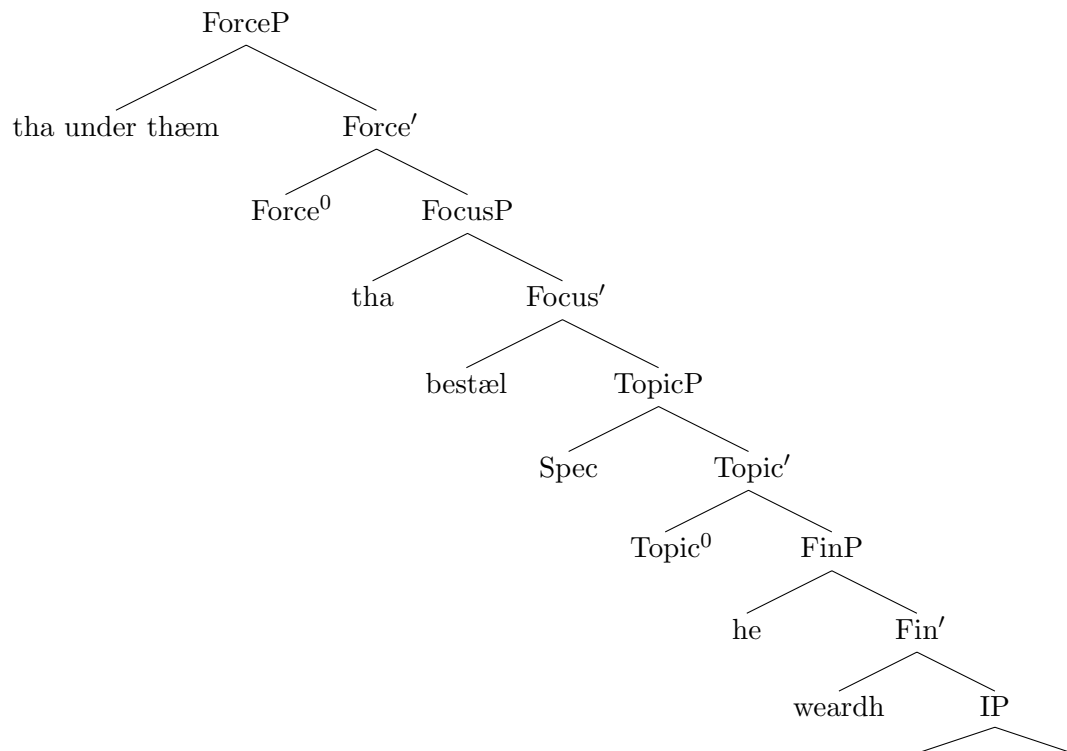
Roberts' (1996) account of the distribution of V2 in Old English relies on the idea that the finite verb is attracted in different projections according to the type of sentence involved: in sentences involving criterial A' positions (wh-elements and foci), the operator moves to ForceP and V2 is satisfied in FocusP, whereas in non-criterial sentences (main declarative clauses), V2 is triggered in FinP. Under this perspective, finite verb movement is to be put into relation either to the satisfaction of a criterion (in FocusP)[20], or to the marking of the sentence as declarative (in FinP).

This hypothesis, in the case in which V2 is triggered in criterial positions, allows to nicely solve two issues left unsolved in previous accounts, that is i) why the verb moves to CP and ii) why Spec,CP has to be filled. Unsolved remains though why an XP has to show up in Spec,FinP in the case V2 is satisfied in this position.

Poletto's account of Rhaetoromance V2

Before tackling this issue, in what follows I would like to present the results of Poletto's (2002) analysis of the left periphery of the V2 Rhaetoromance dialect of San Leonardo di Badia. This study is very relevant for two reasons: on the one hand, it shows that the cut between sentences involving criterial A' chains (V2 in Focus) and main declarative clauses (V2 in Fin) is not valid for all varieties, since in this language wh-elements show a different distribution from foci. On the other hand, this Rhaetoromance dialect has a structure of the left periphery and a distribution of V2 very similar to the one of Mocheno, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

Poletto (2002) starts out from defining the structure of the left periphery of the dialect of San Leonardo, which she shows is very similar to the structure of Old Romance languages identified by Benincà (2006), as can be seen in (76, from Poletto 2002:226).

(76)   [Hanging TopicP [Scene Setting [Force [Left Dislocation [FocusP [IP]]]]]]

Differently from Old Romance, though, for which Benincà (2006) shows that the V2 constraint is triggered in the lower portion of the left periphery, in the Rhaetoromance dialect considered by Poletto (2002) there seems to be an asymmetry concerning the projection were V2 is triggered. In particular, she shows that wh-elements trigger V2 in the lowest portion of the left periphery, as expected under Benincà's analysis, whereas foci move higher in the clause and satisfy the V2 constraint higher up. The relevant data hinting at an asymmetry between the position targeted by operators are shown in (77) and (78), which involve the co-occurrence of left-dislocations and operators.

As shown (77a,b, from Poletto 2002:231), a focused XP can be preceded by a scene setter and a hanging-topic, but never by a left-dislocation (77c, from Poletto 2002:231). This is unexpected under the structure given in (76).

(77)   **a.** *?Duman GIANI vaighest*   *scene setter - focus*
         tomorrow Gianni see-2SG
         'Tomorrow you will see John'
         b. *L liber, A GIANI ti l'ai bel dé*   *hanging-topic - focus*
         the book to Gianni ACC PRON have-1SG already given
         'As for the book, I gave it to John'
         c. **De Giani CUN PIERO ai bel baié*   *left-dislocation - focus*

---

[20]Roberts (1996) does not assume that the criterion is satisfied via Spec-head agreement in ForceP since this assumption would not allow to make sense of cases of XP-XP-V order, such as 73b. As we will see in the next chapter, this order has to be made sense of assuming the presence of a TopicP, which was not considered by Roberts.

of Gianni with Piero have-1SG already spoken

A wh-element, on the contrary, behaves as expected under the structure given in (76), since it allows for several types of left-dislocated XPs to its left (78a,b,c from Poletto 2002:231,232) and of Topic recursion (78d, from Poletto 2002:232).

(78)   **a.** *De Giani, con che bai-la pa?*   *left-dislocation - wh-element*

of Gianni with whom speak-SUBJ CL INTERR.PART.

'With whom does she talk?'

b. *L liber chi-l tol pa?*   *left-dislocation - wh-element*

the book who ACC CL take-3SG INTERR.PART.

'Who is going to take the book?'

c. *Gonot ula va-al pa?*   *left-dislocation - wh-element*

often where goes-ACC CL INTERR.PART.

'Where does he go often?'

d. *Inier, Giani, ci a-al pa fat?*

yesterday Gianni what has-SUBJ CL INTERR.PART. done

'What did John do yesterday?'

In order to make sense of the asymmetry observed in the distribution of V3 in Rhaetoromance, Poletto (2002:233,ff) puts forth the idea that in this language the two operators do not move to the same area of the left periphery, that is to the lowest one, but to different areas. In particular, wh-elements have their dedicated position in the lower portion of the left periphery, whereas foci have to move further up, namely to ForceP.

In the structure in (79), I sketch the derivation of a V2 sentence involving a focused item (77b): the focused item moves first to the FocusP found in the lower portion of the clause and then higher up to Spec,ForceP. Force is found below the projection hosting scene setters. Poletto assumes (following Rizzi 1997) that the verb remains in the head of FocusP, since it cannot raise via head movement through the intervening TopicPs, since these heads already contain strong features.

(79)

```
                          HTP
                 ┌─────────┴─────────┐
              l liber              HT′
                           ┌────────┴────────┐
                         HT⁰         Scene SettingP
                                 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                               Spec            Scene Setting′
                                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                   Scene Setting⁰            ForceP
                                                      ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                                 A GIANIₖ              Force′
                                                      ▲        ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                      │      Force⁰              TopicP
                                                      │                   ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                                      │                 Spec             Topic′
                                                      │                           ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                      │                         Topic⁰          FocusP
                                                      │                                   ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                      └──────────────────────────────────tₖ            Focus′
                                                                                                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                                                                ti l'ai        IP
                                                                                                            bel dé tₖ
```
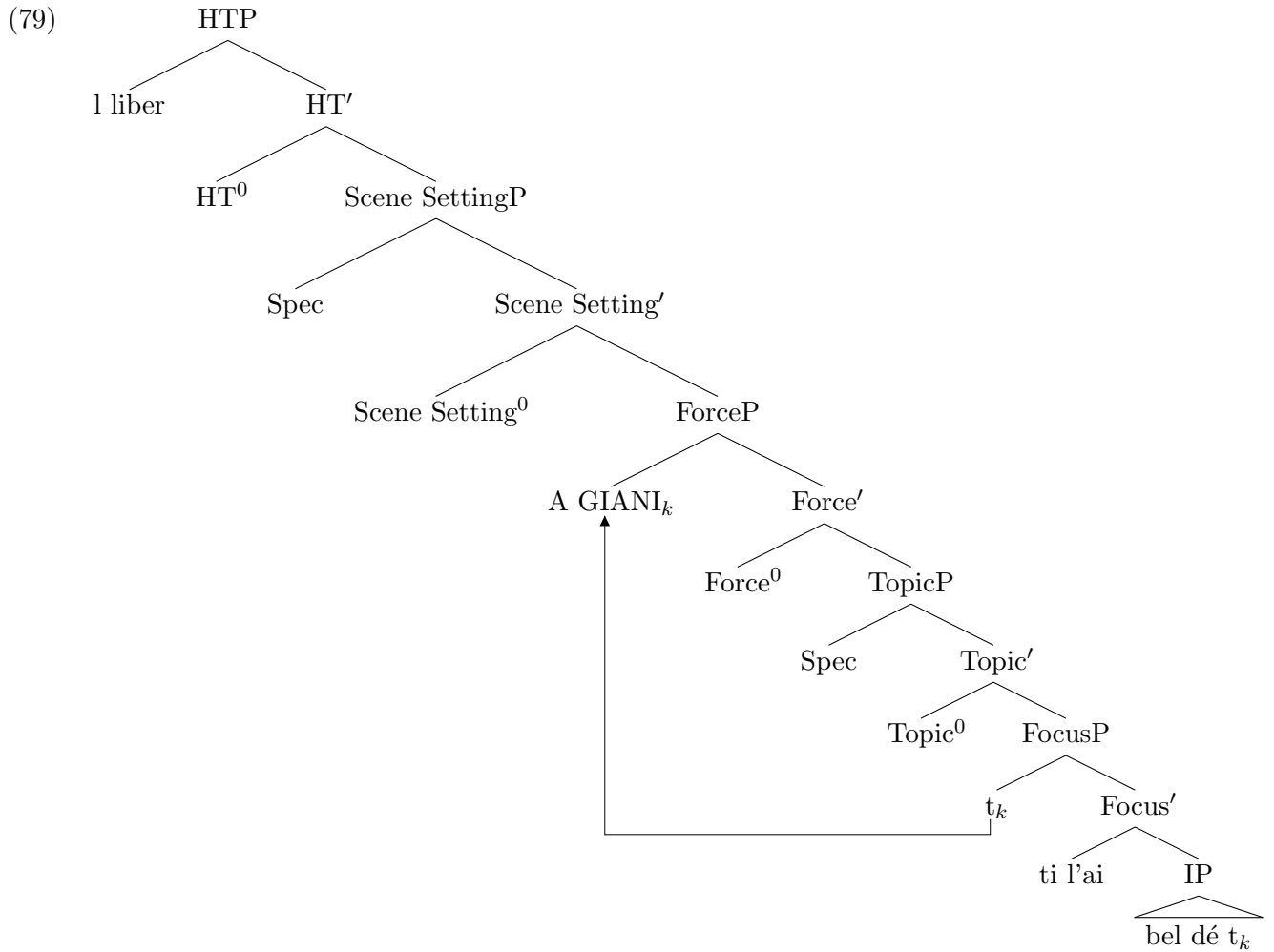
A wh-element, on the contrary, does not need to raise to Spec,ForceP, since the force of the wh-interrogative clause is checked in the lower portion of the left periphery, as shown by Poletto/Pollock (2004); the lack of movement to ForceP allows a wh-element to have several Topics on its left, as sketched in the structure in (80)[21].

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[21]Here, I do not go into the details of the position of the interrogative particle and the past participle, which have been shown to occupy two Specs of the lower portion of the left periphery. For the details, see Poletto/Pollock 2004.

(80)

```
                        HTP
                    ┌────┴────┐
                  Spec       HT′
                         ┌────┴────┐
                       HT⁰      Scene SettingP
                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                           Inier      Scene Setting′
                                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                             Scene Setting⁰     ForceP
                                           ┌──────┴──────┐
                                         Spec          Force′
                                                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                                               Force⁰        TopicP
                                                        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                      Giani        Topic′
                                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                           Topic⁰         WH-P
                                                                     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                   ci_k           WH′
                                                                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                           a-al           IP
                                                                                      ┌────┴────┐
                                                                                      pa fat t_k
```
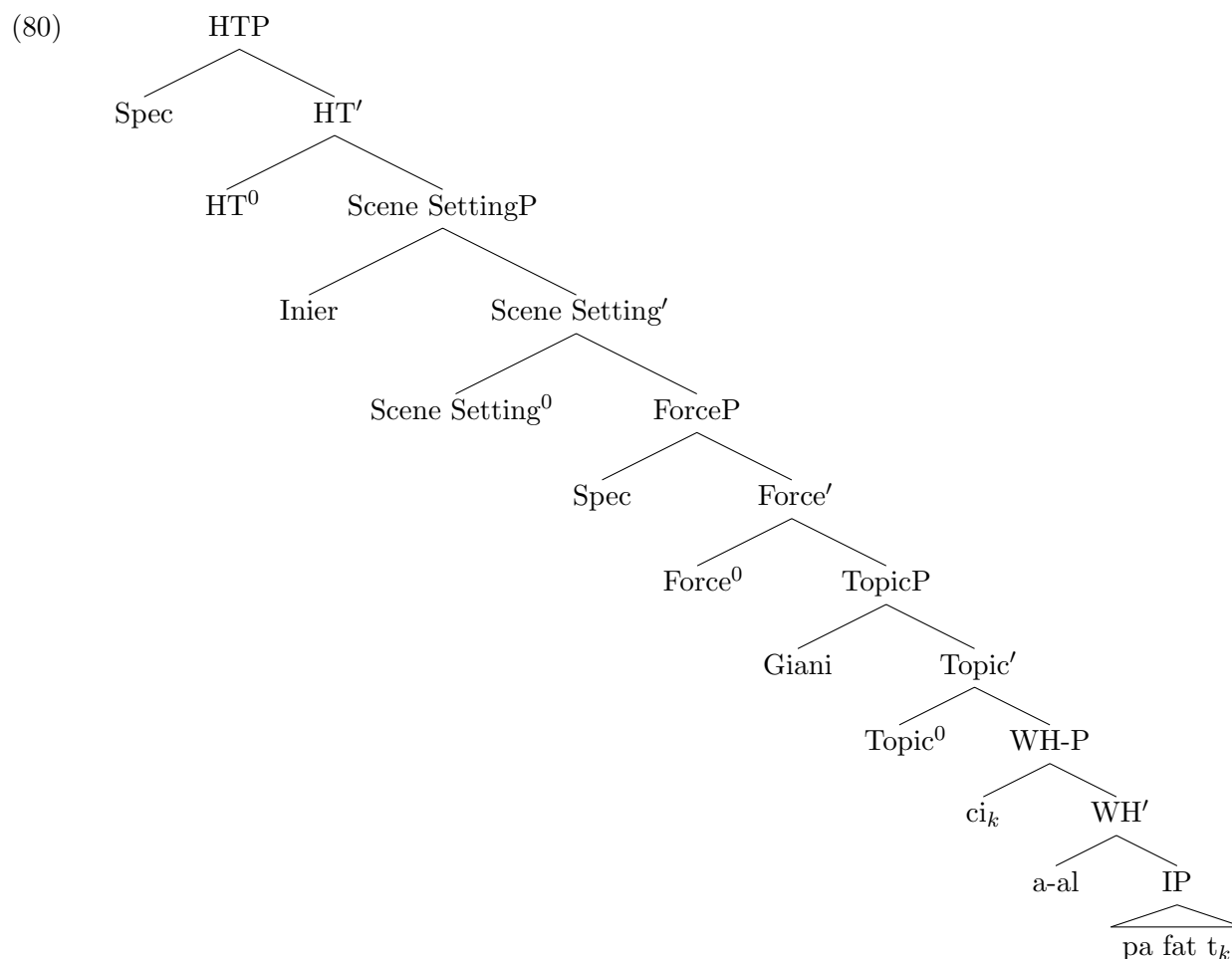
The discussion of the V2 system of the Rhaetoromance dialect of San Leonardo di Badia studied by Poletto (2002) has shown that it not only the distinction between criterial and non-criterial positions that matters in the distribution of V2 in substandard systems or in systems in variation (as assumed for Old English by Roberts 1996), but that asymmetries can also be found in the syntactic behaviour of operators. What is more, it has been shown that even within a split-CP perspective variation can be found among languages, which makes it even more important to study in detail the characteristics of one particular system and compare them to what is known in the literature about the phenomenon.

The discussion so far has shown that the V2 phenomenon can be nicely captured within the split-CP hypothesis and that much of the work presented in these subsections share the idea that the lowest portion of CP is involved in V2. Now, I think that the studies presented so far have successfully made sense of how the V2 phenomenon is derived, but unanswered remains, according to me, why the V2 phenomenon exists at all. In the next subsection, I will consider Tomaselli's (1990) account of Germanic V2, which connects V2 to pro-drop.

Tomaselli 1990

The work on V2 within the split-CP hypothesis has the clear advantage of identifying a precise projection in the structure that is involved in V2, but I think that it has not motivated convincingly why the verb has to raise to CP in V2 languages, whereas it does not have to in non-V2 ones. I

think that an explanation of V2 in terms of strong versus weak features cannot be considered satisfactory and another explanation has to be called for.

In this respect, I think that Tomaselli's (1990) study on Germanic V2 can provide a convicing argument in order to make sense of V2, especially in the light of what we will see in the next chapter for Mòcheno.

Tomaselli (1990:216ff) assumes that the V2 phenomenon has to be put into relation with pro-drop also in Germanic languages and not only in the Old Romance ones[22]; in particular, her claim is that the pronominal feature responsible for pro-drop is licensed in IP in non-V2 languages and in CP in the V2 ones.

Evidence in favour of this idea is found, according to Tomaselli, in two phenomena: the agreeing complementisers and the syntax of pronouns in standard German.

The former phenomenon is illustrated below in (81, from Tomaselli 1990:220, who cites Bayer 1984 and Haegeman 1990) with examples from Bavarian and West Flemish. As shown in (81a,b), in Bavarian the complementiser can bear second person morphology; the phenomenon is limited to the second person. In West Flemish, on the contrary, complementiser agreement is realised by pronouns and is present in the whole paradigm (81c,d).

(81)   **a.** *weilste/obste/daste endlich kommst*   *Bavarian*
        b. *warumste/wannste kommst*   *Bavarian*
        c. *Kpeinzen dan-k (ik) goan moeten*   *West Flemish*
        I think that-1SG I go see
        d. *Kpeinzen da-se (zie) goan moeten*   *West Flemish*
        I think that-3SG she goes see

What is more, in West Flemish (Haegeman 1990:337ff) the presence of reduced pronominal forms is not limited to embedded clauses, but is shared by all sentences involving V2 and in particular the *Wackernagelposition*[23]. The presence of reduced pronominal forms showing up in CP clearly points to the fact that in V2 languages CP has a status similar to IP, in particular the reduced pronominal forms are thought by Tomaselli (1990:221) to pattern with Northern Italian subject clitics[24].

The second argument in favour of a connection between V2 and pro-drop comes from the syntax of subject pronouns in embedded clauses. As shown in (82, from Tomaselli 1990:221), the subject pronoun has to obligatory follow the lexical complementiser in standard German. According to Tomaselli this has to be made sense of assuming that the unstressed pronouns in German embedded clauses clitise on the complementiser in CP.

(82)   **a.** *dass er ihm ein Buch geschenkt hat*
        that NOM DAT a book given has
        b. **dass ihm er ein Buch geschenkt hat*
        that DAT NOM a book given has
        c. *dass er es dem Jungen geschenkt hat*
        that NOM ACC the young-DAT given has
        d. **dass es er dem Jungen geschenkt hat*

---

[22]We saw above that the standard analysis of Old Romance pro-drop is that a pro is legitimated only when the finite verb is in CP. Also Platzack (1987) proposes for Icelandic that there is a connection between V2 and pro-drop; I will not go into the details of that work.

[23]See the next chapter on this.

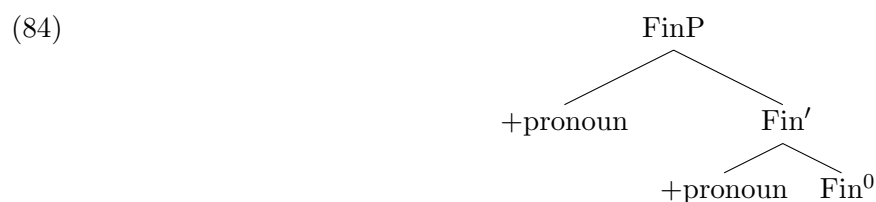[24]This will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

that ACC NOM the young-DAT given has

Another argument supporting the connection between V2 and pro-drop comes in Tomaselli (1990:223) from the possibility of licensing of pro also in standard German, even if this possibility is obviously more limited that in modern Romance. As shown in (83), in standard German it is possible to have a pro-subject only when no external theta role is selected, that is in passive constructions (83a,b), in the ergative construction (83c) and in the raising construction (83d).

(83)   **a.** *dass mir geholfen wurde*
         that to me helped AUX-PASSIVE
         'I was helped'
         b. *dass dem Museum die Urne geschenkt wurde*
         that the museum-DAT the urn given AUX-PASSIVE
         'An urn was given to the museum'
         c. *dass ein Mann gerade angekommen ist*
         that a man-NOM just arrived is
         'A man has just arrived'
         d. *dass mir scheint, dass...*
         that to me seems that...
         'It seems to me, that...'

Notice, that in West Flemish (81c,d), differently from standard German, the pro subject is licensed also when the external theta role is assigned, since the subject pronoun is compatible with the lack of the strong subject. According to Tomaselli (1990:224) in the dialects with complementiser agreement of the West Flemish type the CP layer is able to license overtly an argumental pro; this does not place in standard German, where pro is legitimated only when the external theta role has not been assigned.

Now, in order to concile Tomaselli's idea that V2 is connected to pro-drop also in Germanic with the literature pointing at a realization of V2 in the lowest portion of the left periphery, that is in FinP, I put forth the idea that in V2 languages FinP is a projection encoding subject pronominal features, as sketched in the structure in (84).

(84)   FinP
                          /   \
                   +pronoun   Fin′
                                       /   \
                                +pronoun   Fin^0

Notice that in the structure above I assume that both the Spec and the head of this projection are endowed with the subject pronominal feature. This idea has two important consequences that will be explored in the next chapter. The first one is that the subject pronominal feature can be realised by elements belonging to two categories: either a head or a Spec. The second one is that Spec,FinP cannot host any XP, but only an XP realising the subject pronominal feature.

The proposal put forth on the basis of Tomaselli (1990) allows to link movement of the finite verb to FinP, in particular to the necessity of checking a pronominal feature: this idea allows to make sense of the first movement of the V2 rule, that is movement of the finite verb to CP. What about the second movement linked to the V2 rule, that is the movement of an XP to Spec,CP? Under the present analysis, it has to be ruled out that Spec,FinP can host any constituent, since it

is a projection that only encodes subject pronominal features. This basically means that the two moments of V2, that is movement of the finite verb to CP and movement of an XP to CP, take place in two different projections. This idea will be explored in the next chapter, where evidence from Mòcheno will be provided.

In the next subsection, I will tackle the last issue involved in V2, that is the rule that imposes that an XP has to be moved to Spec,CP and briefly discuss the proposals put forth in the literature.

On the role of the EPP

So far, I have illustrated how the V2 phenomenon can be made sense of within the hypothesis of a split-CP and how this hypothesis allows to nicely account of data coming from languages in variation, such as Old English and Rhaetoromance.

Now, the last issue correlated to V2 that has to be discussed is the necessity to have an XP in the Spec,CP also when V2 does not involve operators, but is satisfied in FinP[25]. This is in no way a trivial issue, since, within the split-CP hypothesis, it is not clear why an XP is needed to move to CP if the featural checking (of criterial or finiteness features) required by V2 languages has already been done by the finite verb.

Roberts (1996, 2004), Haegeman (1997) and Roberts and Roussou (2002) propose that an XP has to move to the Spec of the projection where V2 is triggered in order to satisfy a sort of EPP, identical to the one taking place in AgrSP for the subject. In particular, Roberts (2004:316) assumes that

> [...] the EPP applies where we have both V-movement to Fin [...] and no feature in Fin (other than [+finite]). Although V-movement to Fin satisfies the lexical-realization requirement, this clearly is not enough to licence Fin under these conditions [...]. V2 arises in languages with rather poor agreement systems, no root declarative C-particles and Fin*[26]. It seems to be the case, then, that Fin which lacks features and exponents (i.e. particles) to this extent must have an EPP-feature and, hence, triggers movement of an EPP.

> These characterizations of the relation between V2 and the EPP have analogues in the Agr system. Like Agr, Fin has an EPP-feature when it has no other substantive feature. We can note that the "pure" EPP-effects involving Agr, where expletives are required (as in *For there to be a riot would be a disgrace*), are characteristics of languages with poor agreement agreement marking. In languages where agreement features are more fully realized by morphology, the requirement to fill SpecAgr [...] does not hold in the same way. However, the way in which Fin realizes EPP-features is unlike Agr in one important respect: unlike Agr, Fin does not require a DP to occupy its Spec. This can be attributed to the fact that Agr is a D-element but Fin is not (Roberts 2004:316).

As it is clear from this discussion, the proposals put forth in order to make sense of why an XP has to move to the Spec position of the projection involved in V2 are theory-internal and are not completely satisfactory, since i) EPP is a problematic notion in itself (also for the AgrSP); ii) it is not clear why the mechanism found in AgrSP has to be replicated in CP, that is it is not clear what the role of AgrSP in V2 languages is.

Central to this issue become, then, the characteristics of the single languages taken into examination: in the next chapter, therefore, I will come back to this issue in the light of the specific

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[25]Only for Old English Roberts (1996) assumes that V2 can be triggered in two positions of the left periphery, whereas for standard languages he assumes that the projection involved in FinP. Along the same lines Haegeman (1997).

[26]That is, Fin with strong features, which attracts the finite verb in all sentences, my note.

AgrS system of Mocheno, which cannot be simply be classified as a German-type system, since has developed a clitic system similar to the one of Bavarian varieties (Bayer 1984).

The account of V2 in terms of EPP allows, according to Roberts (2004) and Haegemen (1997), to make sense also of the lack of multiple access to CP in languages such as German (which is though not found in Old Romance and in Old English). Informally said, FinP blocks all further use of the left periphery by being the lowest projection and constituting therefore a sort of "bottle neck" for further movement of the finite verb (which is head movement). This does not block the possibility of directly merge in TopicPs of the left periphery, given that an XP is in Spec,FinP where V2 is triggered. This happens, according to Roberts (2004:317), in those (limited) cases of V3 in German, such as in the so-called *Linksversetzung*[27], where a DP with case is in the left-most position and is doubled by a d-pronoun.

(85)   *Den Mann, den habe ich gesehen*
         the man+ACC that have I seen
         'The man I saw'

In the sentence in (85), the highest DP is directly merged in a TopicP of the left periphery and a d-pronoun triggers V2 in FinP, as sketched in the structure in (86)[28].

(86)
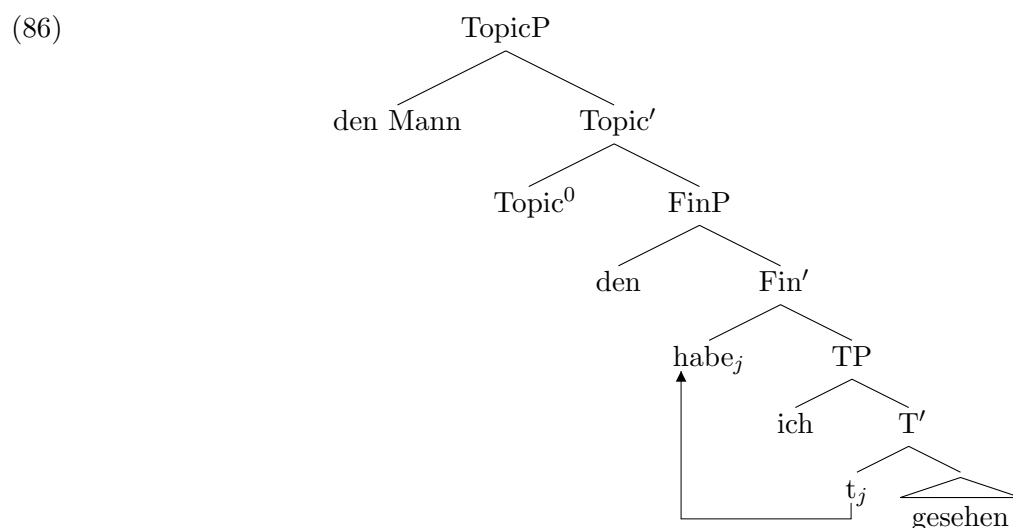
2.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced the theoretical background for my discussion of V2 in Mòcheno.

Two are the relevant ideas from which I will start in the next chapter.

First of all, the comparative analysis of continental Germanic V2 (den Besten 1983) and Old Romance V2 (Benincà 2006) has shown that the V2 phenomenon can coexist with a multiple access to CP and therefore the restriction on only one XP in CP has to be considered a correlate of Germanic V2 and not a universal property of the phenomenon. In order to capture the distribution of V2 in

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[27]Discussed by Altmann (1984).

[28]My structure. I avoid giving the derivation of the lower phase, since this would imply several complications: how can the DP be merged already with accusative case morphology? Is the d-pronoun moved to FinP? From where is it moved?

a language with multiple access to CP I have introduced the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997), discussing the most relevant refinements (Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007) to the structure originally proposed by Rizzi. Within a split-CP hypothesis, Old Romance data have been made sense of (Benincà 2006) assuming that V2 is a property of the lowest portion of the left periphery and cases of V3 - V4 involve the presence of XPs with topic properties. This finding is particularly relevant, since it clearly shows that V2 is not sensitive to all constituents in first position, but only to those with operator properties and not to topics.

The second goal of this chapter, which will be relevant in the next one, is having shown on the one hand that V2 is to be captured as relation between T and C (among others Platzack (1986, 1987), Koopman (1984), Olsen (1985), Holmberg and Platzack (1986, 1995) and that V2 languages are "richer" in features encoded in CP (Tomaselli 1990) and on the other that V2 can be triggered in two projections even in one single language (Roberts 1996, Poletto 2002).

This fact has been put into relation with the difference between criterial and not-criterial positions, with V2 being satisfied in the highest portion of CP in the former case and in the lowest one (FinP) in the latter. The necessity for Spec,FinP to be filled in the case of V2 in main declarative clauses has been put into relation (Haegeman 1997, Roberts and Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004) with the satisfaction of an EPP feature in CP with a replication in the highest portion of the clause of the mechanism found in IP.

Chapter 3

Mòcheno V2 and the syntax of subject pronouns

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter[1] is to introduce the V2 phenomenon in Mòcheno and to provide a syntactic description and an analysis of the distribution of subject pronouns in this language.

In the last chapter, I discussed the V2 phenomenon from a comparative point of view showing that the core property of V2 can be assumed to be subject-verb inversion (fed by verb movement to CP), whereas i) one single XP preposing and ii) asymmetry between main and embedded clauses are correlates of the continental Germanic V2 phenomenon (see previous chapter and references cited there).

In the first part of this chapter, I will try to give a definition of Mòcheno V2 in these terms, discussing if (and in case of a positive answer to what extend) subject-verb inversion is possible in this language. The identification of V2 with subject-verb inversion will lead to a reformulation of the V2 rule given for Mòcheno by Rowley (2003), which I will motivate providing evidence in favour of the fact that an analysis of V2 in terms of subject-verb inversion allows to better understand Mòcheno V2. In particular, it allows to have a clear and reliable test in order to make sense of those cases of variation (multiple access to CP, doubling phenomena...) that at first sight might be taken to be the result of influence from the Romance contact varieties and to reflect the pattern of a non-V2 language. In this chapter I will show that, as far as the subject pronominal system is concerned, cases of V3 (XP - subject - V) can be made sense of only assuming that Mòcheno is V2, differently from the contact Romance varieties[2].

After showing that a definition of V2 in terms subject-verb inversion is superior to Rowley's account of V2 and leads to positive results, I will then tackle one problem of the idea that V2 can be identified through the property of subject-verb inversion, that is the fact that inversion seems to be optional, an show that also when the subject precedes the finite verb, this is in CP. This idea will lead to a further lever of abstraction in the definition of V2 and strongly relies on the assumption that a language is V2 as long as it has movement of the finite verb to CP, even though this is apparently not visible.

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[1]I had the change to discuss most of the ideas presented in this chapter and in the following one (which has to be considered a natural continuation of this one) with Paola Benincà, Cecilia Poletto and Alessandra Tomaselli; I would thank them all for the comments and indications that they gave me and that allowed to improve the analysis presented here. All shortcomings are my own.

[2]Other cases of multiple access of CP will be treated in the next chapter reaching the same conclusion: Mòcheno is V2.

In order to show that in Mòcheno the finite verb raises to CP also when no subject-verb inversion takes place, I will take into examination the distribution of subject pronouns which, according to Rowley (2003), are divided in two classes: reduced and full pronouns.

It is well known (see the discussion in Bidese 2008:92ff in relation to Cimbrian), that the availability of reduced and full pronominal forms is typical of Germanic languages (I will discuss the cases of Bavarian and West Flemish), whereas in some Romance languages also a third class of subject pronouns is present, that is clitics[3].

The right classification of pronominal forms is not a trivial matter, since their status is relevant for the whole phenomenon of V2. It has been proposed for Walser (Kolmer 2005) that the reduced forms have developed in this language into agreement morphology, which basically means that their presence in enclisis on the finite verb cannot be taken as a reliable instance of subject-verb inversion, that is movement of the verb to CP. I will provide evidence that in Mòcheno the reduced forms have not developed into morphological suffixes, but that i) two classes of reduced forms are to be detected: weak pronouns and clitics and ii) the syntax of clitics is fed by movemement of the finite verb to CP, that is they cannot be considered morphological suffixes.

In order to give a classification of the pronominal forms, I will start out from Cardinaletti/Starke (1999) and apply their tests to all pronominal forms listed by Rowley. This will allow me to identify three classes of subject pronouns: strong, weak and clitics. Then, I will look at the distribution of the three classes of pronouns in three syntactic contexts: sentences beginning with the subject, sentences beginning with an XP different from the subject (XP[-subj]) and embedded clauses. This will show (among other things) that clitics have specialised for the so-called *Wackernagelposition* and are the only subject pronouns that can show up in enclisis. Strong pronouns, on the other hand, can only show up preverbally; they show up postverbally only in the doubling construction, where the clitic is though obligatory. Finally, weak pronouns can only appear in sentence-initial position if no other XP precedes them.

The description of the empirical facts and the analysis that I will propose shows that the three classes of subject pronouns have undergone in Mòcheno a process of specialization, according to which the different classes have specialised for the realization of different positions of the subject: either the grammatical subject (clitics) or a pragmatically marked subject (topic or focus). The analysis that I will propose assumes that weak and clitic pronouns have specialised for the expression of grammatical subject features, that is of those features involved in verb agreement and nominative case assignment, whereas strong pronouns have specialised for the expression of pragmatical features, that is topic and focus features.

This clear finding can be taken as counterevidence to Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) hypothesis (formulated along the lines of the tree-pruning hypothesis) that the distribution and the properties of the pronouns of the three different classes depends on structural differences, with strong pronouns having the structure of a full DP and the other two classes of a reduced DP. In Mòcheno the crucial criterion behind the distribution of subject pronouns does not seem to depend on their structure, but rather to the type of subject (connected to a structural position and a single feature) they realise.

The distribution of subject pronouns is also very relevant for the theory of Mòcheno V2. The correspondence between syntactic position (pre- or postverbal) and type of realised subject (grammatical subject, topic or focus) allows, in fact, to eliminate from the theoretical account the idea that subject-verb inversion takes place optionally, that is that the verb can optionally raise to CP, since the subject in pre- or postverbal position i) has different morphological forms and ii) realises

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[3]As we will see in this chapter, also in Germanic languages instances of clitic pronouns can be detected, but at least in standard German, clitics only appear with objects and not with subjects.

different features.

Therefore, the idea that I will pursue and motivate in this chapter is that i) the finite verb always raises to CP in Mòcheno main declarative clauses and that ii) the distribution of subject pronouns can be predicted and made sense of on the basis of the fact that the different forms have specialised for the realization of different subject positions.

In this chapter, I will not consider (except for some observations) the syntax of DPs nor the role of the constituent in first position for the V2 rule (EPP), which will be both dealt with in the next one, where a reformulation of the V2 rule for Mòcheno will be given.

3.2   General overview of Mòcheno V2

In this section, I will take into consideration Rowley's definition of the V2 rule for Mòcheno, proposing a new formulation based on the property of subject-verb inversion, which I will claimed is the only clear test in order to identify V2. My alternative definition of V2 as subject-finite verb inversion rule will allow to better capture the characteristics of Mòcheno V2, in particular in relation to one aspect which does not fit into Rowley's definition: the possibility of having several XPs in the left periphery.

As we will see, the subject-verb inversion rule of Mòcheno will be stated at the beginning of this section as an optional rule; this definition, based on a superficial consideration of data, will be immediately abandoned.

The first syntactic argument against the idea that the subject-verb inversion rule in Mòcheno is optional comes from the syntactic behaviour of subject pronouns. If the only variable at play were in fact the optional movement of the finite verb, it would be expected that the same subject pronominal forms showed up in all contexts, which is though not the case.

The presence of strong and weak pronouns in Germanic languages is a known fact, which has been reported also in the literature on Mòcheno (Rowley 2003), but the interactions between these reduced forms and the V2 phenomenon in a language in variation such as Mòcheno have never been studied. In particular, two issues need to be tackled. The first one is the status of these pronominal forms: are they reduced forms such as those found in other Germanic languages such as Bavarian (Bayer 1984) and West Flemish (Haegeman 1990) or are they clitics (as in Cimbrian, see among others Poletto/Tomaselli 1995, Benincà/Renzi 2000, Bidese 2008)? Second point: can be assumed that these reduced forms have been developed into agreement markers in the sense of Kolmer (2005), who shows that clitics in Walser dialects have become morphological suffixes.

These two issues are in no way trivial for a theory of V2. Kolmer's analysis implies in fact that no V2 is operative at all, whereas the identification of a clitic class would complicate the pattern and would in any case call for an analysis with respect to V2.

At the end of this section, I will provide arguments against an analysis of Mòcheno reduced forms in terms of morphological suffixes and will show that the distribution of these elements is determined by the syntactic context and in no way obligatory, as would be the case if they were morphology. This finding will lead to the next section, where I will use Cardinaletti/Starke' (1999) tests in order to detect clitics, weak and strong pronouns and will then look at the distribution of the different forms in the different syntactic contexts.

This long discussion will lead me to propose, in the last section, a detailed typology of all sentences involving reduced and full pronouns, which I will show can only be made sense of assuming that Mòcheno is V2. Therefore also cases of a strong pronoun preceding the finite verb will be analysed as involving finite verb movement to CP and not as optionality of V2. This "system-internal" explanation of the distribution of subject pronouns will allow to eliminate another possible

element of Mòcheno grammar which could be made of as a result of the presence of a competing Romance grammar in the speaker's mind (as has been assumed for the presence of VO word orders, and I falsify in chapter 5).

3.2.1 Rowley's (2003) account

Mòcheno is considered in the literature a V2 language. Below I give the definition of the V2 phenomenon given for Mòcheno by Rowley (2003:281).

> Im Aussagesatz steht das finite Verb in der Regel an zweiter Stelle. Davor steht gerne das Thema des Satzes, das Satzglied, von dem die Rede ist, oder das Element, das zur Einbindung der Äußerung in den Redekontext wichtig ist. Das kann jedes Satzglied sein, das in seiner Bedeutung für das Thema herausgestellt und [...] gekennzeichnet worden soll[4]. Rowley (2003:281)

According to Rowley's definition given above, Mòcheno has to be considered a V2 language on the basis of two characteristics of its grammar: i) the finite verb generally shows up in second position and ii) any constituent can show up in the first sentence position and be followed by the finite verb.

In (87), I give some examples of Rowley's (2003:281) supporting his analysis of V2. I focus on the examples from Palù del Fersina, even though Rowley gives examples from all three varieties of Mòcheno spoken in the valley.

(87)   **a.** *Bir ondera* **miasn** *gia*   *subject - finite verb*
          we other have-1PL go
          'We have to go'

    b. *S piabl* **hom** *sa net pfuntn*   *direct object - finite verb*
          the child have SUBJ PRON NEG found
          'They did not find the child'

    c. *En sir* **muas** *ma glam*   *indirect object - finite verb*
          to them must-IMPERS PRON believe
          'One has to believe in them'

    d. *En gonz Europa* **sai** *sa gongen*   *locative - finite verb*
          to whole Europe are they gone
          'They have gone through whole Europe'

    e. *Dick* **is** *er olbe gaben*   *adjective - finite verb*
          fat is he always been
          'He has always been fat'

    f. *Pahenn* **is** *er pfuochen*   *adverb - finite verb*
          quickly is he run away
          'He run away quickly'

Rowley's definition of V2 is in contrast with the one given in the previous chapter, where I showed that the core property of the V2 phenomenon is subject - verb inversion. In what follows I

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[4] "In a main declarative clause the finite verb generally appears in second position, preceded by the theme of the sentence, that is the constituent the speaker is talking about, or by an element that is preposed due to its relevance in the utterance and that functions as a connection between the concrete sentence and the outside context. This element can be any constituent that is highlighted due to its relevance for the theme and needs therefore to be characterised", my translation.

will show, through a comparative analysis of Mòcheno and Italian, that Rowley's definition of V2 does not capture the empirical facts in the right way and that a reformulation of the V2 rule is in order.

First I discuss the second property assumed by Rowley to characterise a V2 language, that is the possibility of having basically any constituent in first position followed by the verb. As shown in (88), also in modern Italian it is possible to have several types of constituents in first position followed by the verb, even though this language cannot be considered V2.

(88) **a.** *Noi* **dobbiamo** *andare*   *subject - finite verb*
   we have-3PL go
   'We have to go'
   b. *IL BAMBINO non* **hanno** *più trovato*   *direct object - finite verb*
   the child NEG have-3PL anymore found
   'They could not find the child anymore'
   c. *A loro* **bisogna** *credere*   *indirect object - finite verb*
   to them has-IMPERS believe
   'One has to believe in them'
   d. *Per tutta Europa* **sono** *andati*   *locative - finite verb*
   to whole Europe are they gone
   'They have gone through whole Europe'
   e. *Grasso lo* **è** *sempre stato*   *adjective - finite verb*
   fat ACC CL is he always been
   'He has always been fat'
   f. *In tutta fretta* **è** *scappato*   *adverb - finite verb*
   in all hurry is-3SG run away
   'He run away quickly'

Also the linear restriction on the position of the finite verb, which according to Rowley's definition generally shows up in second position, does not seem to be a real core property of the V2 phenomenon, given that, as already noticed by Rowley (2003:251,269[5],281) in Mòcheno the second position for the finite verb is not obligatory, as shown by the example given below (89, from Rowley 2003:283).

(89) *Vriarer en Palai de schualkinder en summer* **hom** *gia gamiast za hiatn de kia*
    once in Palù the school children in summer have go must to look after the cows
    'Once in Palù school children had to spend their summer to look after the cows'

Crucially, the same syntax as (89) is found also in Italian, a non-V2 language, which allows for several constituents before the finite verb, as illustrated in (90).

(90) *Una volta a Palù i bambini l'estate* **dovevano** *andare a tenere le vacche*
    once in Palù the children in summer must-3PL-PAST go to keep the cows
    'Once in Palù school children had to spend their summer to look after the cows'

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[5] "Im Aussagesatz steht das finite Verb, wie im Deutschen aber anders als im Italienischen, **in der Regel** an zweiter Satzglied stelle" (Rowley 2003:251); "Wesentliches Merkmal ist, dass (**meist nur**) ein Satzglied, gelegentlich mehr als eines, vor dem finiten Teil des Verbalgefüges steht (Zweitstellung des finiten Verbs [bold is mine, F.C.])" (Rowley 2003:269).

The comparison between Mòcheno and Italian has shown that the two languages pattern in the same way with respect to the properties assumed by Rowley to be core properties of V2; given that Italian is a non-V2 language, this fact could lead to the conclusion that also Mòcheno is non-V2 as well.

In the next subsection I will provide evidence for considering this conclusion wrong, showing that Mòcheno, differently from modern Italian, has subject-verb inversion, which, according to the discussion in the previous chapter, has to be considered the core property of V2.

3.2.2 V2 as subject-verb inversion

In the examples given by Rowley in order to illustrate the presence of V2 in Mòcheno and repeated below as (91), can be seen that in all cases in which the finite verb is preceded by a constituent different from the subject, this has to immediately follow the verb: we have subject-verb inversion.

(91)   **a.** *Bir ondera miasn gia*   *subject - finite verb*
            we other have-1PL go
            'We have to go'
    b. *S piabl* **hom** <u>*sa*</u> *net pfuntn*   *direct object - finite verb*
            the child have-SUBJ PRON NEG found
            'They did not find the child'
    c. *En sir* **muas** <u>*ma*</u> *glam*   *indirect object - finite verb*
            to them must-IMPERS PRON believe
            'One has to believe in them'
    d. *En gonz Europa* **sai** <u>*sa*</u> *gongen*   *locative - finite verb*
            to whole Europe are they gone
            'They have gone through whole Europe'
    e. *Dick* **is** <u>*er*</u> *olbe gaben*   *adjective - finite verb*
            fat is he always been
            'He has always been fat'
    f. *Pahenn* **is** <u>*er*</u> *pfuochen*   *adverb - finite verb*
            quickly is he run away
            'He run away quickly'

As shown in the corresponding Italian translations (92), the only position for an eventually (the subject does not need to be present since Italian is a pro-drop language) present subject is before the finite verb and not after it: subject-verb inversion is ungrammatical in modern Italian in these sentences.

(92)   **a.** *Noi dobbiamo andare*   *subject - finite verb*
            we have-3PL go
            'We have to go'
    b. *IL BAMBINO <u>(loro)</u> non* **hanno** <u>*(*loro)*</u> *più trovato*   *direct object - finite verb*
            the child they NEG have-3PL they anymore found
            'They could not find the child anymore'
    c. *A loro <u>(uno)</u>* **deve** <u>*(*uno)*</u> *credere*   *indirect object - finite verb*
            to them one has-one believe
            'One has to believe in them'
    d. *Per tutta Europa <u>(loro)</u>* **sono** <u>*(*loro)*</u> *andati*   *locative - finite verb*

to whole Europe are they gone
'They have gone through whole Europe'
e. *Grasso (lui) lo* **è** *(*lui) sempre stato*   *adjective - finite verb*
fat ACC CL is he always been
'He has always been fat'
f. *In tutta fretta (lui)* **è** *(*lui) scappato*   *adverb - finite verb*
in all hurry is he run away
'He run away quickly'

The position of the subject with respect to the finite verb in sentences beginning with a constituent different from the subject has allowed to identify a first important asymmetry between Mòcheno and Italian: in Mòcheno the subject has to always follow the finite verb; in Italian the subject always precedes the finite verb.

All the examples given by Rowley (2003:281) and considered so far involve a pronominal subject; if subject-verb inversion is the core property of V2 and Mòcheno is a V2 language, it is expected that also NP subjects have to follow the finite verb, when the sentence begins with another constituent.

According to my data, subject-verb inversion is never obligatory with an NP subject in a main declarative clause in Mòcheno, but though always possible, as shown in (93)[6].

(93)   **a.** *Van Nane* **hot** *der Mario niamer klofft*
of-the John has the Mario never spoken
b. *Van Nane der Mario* **hot** *niamer klofft*
of-the John the Mario has never spoken
'Of John Mario never spoke'
c. *Gester* **hot** *der Mario en de Maria a puach gem*
yesterday has the Mario to the Mary a book given
d. *Gester der Mario* **hot** *en de Maria a puach gem*
yesterday the Mario has to the the Mary a book given
'Yesterday Mario gave Mary a book'

Also Rowley (2003:287) notices that the NP subject can follow the finite verb in the inverted position, as in (94, from Rowley 2003:287)[7].

(94)   *Haier aa* **sai** *bolten vremma en inser tol kemmen*   *Palù*
this year also are many stragers in our valley come
'Also this year many tourists have come to our valley'

Despite subject-verb inversion is not obligatory with NP subjects the fact that it is though possible in Mòcheno represents a big difference with respect to modern Italian, where subject-finite[8] verb inversion with an NP subject is impossible, as it was the case of pronouns, as shown in (95).

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[6]As I have made in clear at the beginning of this section, this is a momentary statement of the V2 rule in Mòcheno, see the rest of this chapter

[7]Rowley (2003:287) also reports the presence of the so-called "free-inversion" typical of Romance (among many others, Kayne 1975 on French and Belletti 2004 on Italian), such as in the sentence *a vort is gaben a mare*, "Once upon a time there was a mother", where the NP subject follows the past participle and not the finite verb. This construction appears also in my data and is found also by Bidese (2008:76ff) in the earliest stages of Cimbrian. Even though it is very interesting, I will not take it into examination in my work.

[8]As discussed in the previous footnote, an NP subject can follow in Italian a non-finite verb in the "free-inversion" construction.

(95)   **a.** *Di Gianni <u>Mario</u>* **ha** *<u>(*Mario)</u> parlato*
of John Mario has Mario spoken
'Of John Mario never spoke'
b. *Ieri <u>Mario</u>* **ha** *<u>(*Mario)</u> dato un libro a Maria*
yesterday Mario has Mario given a book to Mary
'Yesterday Mario gave Mary a book'

The examples discussed so far have shown that Mòcheno, differently from modern Italian, has a rule of subject-verb inversion in sentences beginning with a constituent different from the subject.

Following the analysis sketched in the previous chapter, I assume that subject-verb inversion in Mòcheno has to be captured as the result of movement of the finite verb to C, as sketched in the structure (96).

(96)
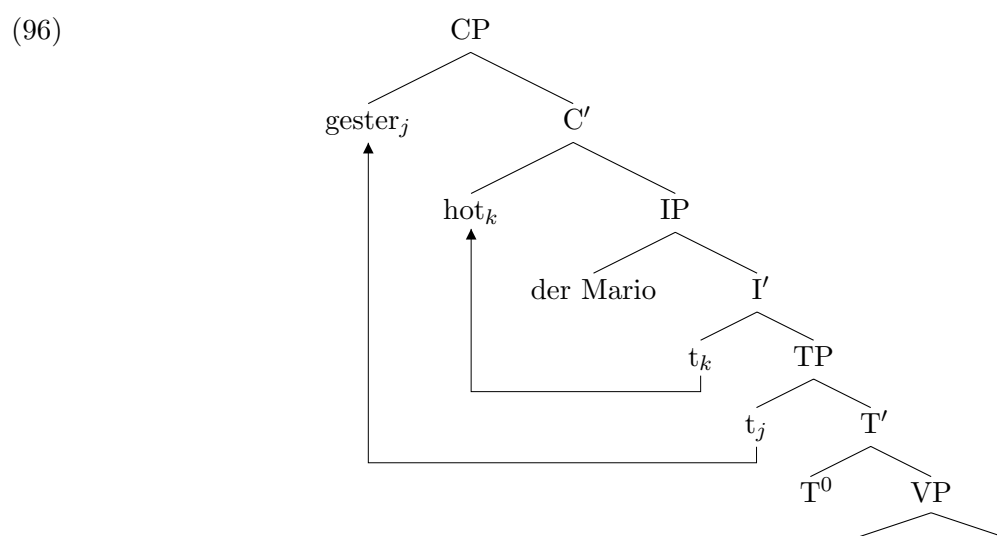
What we have seen so far leads to the descriptive generalization in (97), where I state the nature of the V2 rule in Mòcheno. I repeat that this statement of the V2 rule is only provisional, since it implies the idea of optionality; it is though an improvement, I think, of the one given by Rowley.

Descriptive generalization on Mòcheno subject-verb inversion (V2):

(97)   **a.** In main declarative clauses beginning with a constituent different from the subject the finite verb can move to CP leading to subject-verb inversion;
b. the subject-verb inversion rule is not obligatory.

The identification of a clear syntactic property in order to identify V2 in Mòcheno only represents the first step towards a description of the V2 phenomenon in this language, since as pointed out in the generalization, subject-verb inversion is not obligatory. The big issue of optionality with subject-verb inversion will be dealt with in the next chapter.

What I want to look at in what remains of this chapter is another issue central to subject-verb inversion, that is the syntax of pronominal subjects. It is well-known that substandard Germanic varieties have a richer system of pronouns and for several languages spoken in the linguistic islands in Northern Italy it has been claimed (Benincà/Renzi 2000, Poletto/Tomaselli 2000, Kolmer 2005, Bidese 2008) that a class of clitics has aroused. For Mòcheno I will try to determine i) whether a class of clitics has arisen near weak and strong pronoun and ii) if the distribution of the different subject pronominal forms is compatible with movement of the finite verb to CP.

3.2.3 Differences between pronominal subjects and NP subjects

We saw in the previous section that the identification of a clear property of the V2 phenomenon (that is movement of the finite verb to CP) allows to capture V2 in a language in variation such as Mòcheno.

Now, the first problem that the idea that V2 is to be detected through subject-verb inversion has to face is the syntax of subject pronouns, since here the distribution of the subject forms is not as straight as is the case of NP. In particular, I refer here to the problem of the presence of reduced pronominal forms, whose status (are they weak pronouns or clitics?) and analysis has to be motivated.

In (98) I illustrate this point considering main declarative clauses involving subject pronouns in the first and second person singular. When an XP different from the subject shows up in first position, the pronoun following the finite verb in the *Wackernagelposition* appears in the reduced forms *e* (98a) and *o* (98c), whereas when no subject-verb inversion takes place the subject pronouns are *i* (98b) and *du* (98d).

(98)   **a.** *En de boteig* **hon**-*e eppaz aber net ollz kaft*
in the shop have something but NEG everything bought
'In the shop I bought something, not everything'
b. *I* **hon** *kaft eppaz ont net ollz*
I have something but NEG everything bought
'I bought something, not everything'
c. *Bos* **ess**-*o normalerbais?*
what eat-2SG normally
'What do you normally eat?'
d. *Gester du* **host** *kaft s puach*
yesterday you have bought the book
'You bought the book yesterday'

The reduced *e* and *o* forms are generally written together with the finite verb, and they can co-occur with the corresponding full pronouns, as shown in (99).

(99)   **a.** *Der Mario* **hon**-*e i zechen*
the Mario have-1SG I seen
'I saw Mario'
b. *Der Mario* **hos**-*o du pakemmp*
the Mario have-2SG you met
'You met Mario'

Two are the possible analysis of the subject forms showing up in the previous examples.

The first one is to consider these elements as morphological suffixes showing up on the finite verb[9], as proposed by Kolmer (2005) for Walser and by Bidese (2008) for the Cimbrian spoken in Roana. In the Walser dialects, the reduced pronominal elements have to co-occur with the strong (pronominal or NP) forms in all sentences, as shown for a main declarative clause in (100, from Kolmer 2005:175, quoting from Zürrer 1999); therefore the hypothesis that they function actually as morphological suffixes.

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[9]This idea might be supported by the fact that the first person singular *e*, is homophone with German fist person morphology *ich habe; ich komme*.

(100)   **a.** *De bruder$_j$ wont-er$_j$ z turiin un ds wääti$_i$ wont-dsch$_i$ z meiland*   *Walser*
            the brother lives-SUBJ CL in Turin and the sister lives-SUBJ CL in Milan
            'The brother lives in Turin and the sister lives in Milan'
            b. *Michele, wir$_j$ muss-ber$_j$ goa*   *Walser*
            Michele we must-SUBJ CL go
            'Michele, we have to go'

Now, I think that there is strong empirical evidence against the idea that the reduced subject forms showing up in Mòcheno are to be considered as morphological elements. The strongest one[10] xis that the reduced forms are ruled out in Mòcheno in a main declarative clause such as (100), which clearly hints at the fact that these pronominal forms are not always required (as expected if they were morphology), but their distribution is linked to specific contexts. In (101a,c,e) I show that in Mòcheno the reduced subject form is not compatible with a strong pronoun nor an NP subject in an unmarked declarative sentence and that this would be possible only if the strong form/NP subject were thematised in CP (101b,d,f), that is a marked construction were involved (see below)[11].

(101)   **a.** **I hon<u>e</u> kaft s puach*
            I-strong have-I-clitic bought the book
            b. *<u>I</u>, hon<u>e</u> kaft s puach?*
            yesterday I-strong have-I-clitic bought the book
            c. **<u>Du</u> hos<u>o</u> kaft s puach*
            you-SG-strong have-you-clitic bought the book
            d. *<u>Du</u>, hos<u>o</u> kaft s puach?*
            you-SG-strong have-you-clitic bought the book
            e. **<u>der Mario</u> hot<u>er</u> kaft s puach*
            the Mario has-he-clitic bought the book
            f. *<u>der Mario</u>, hot<u>er</u> kaft s puach?*
            the Mario-strong has-he-clitic bought the book

The second possible analysis for the subject forms showing up in the previous examples from Mòcheno, which is the one that I will explore in the next section, is the one assuming that these forms are reduced forms showing up in the so-called *Wackernagelposition*, that from the point of view of linear order corresponds to the position between IP and CP (among others Thiersch 1978, Lenerz 1985, Poletto/Tomaselli 1995).

As for standard German, it is known that the pronominal forms showing up in the area between CP and IP display peculiar properties with respect to the pronouns appearing in the lower portion of the clause; as pointed out by Tomaselli (1990) and Poletto/Tomaselli (1995:192ff), these properties, such as obligatory adjacency to C represented by either to finite verb or the complementiser and word order restrictions are typical of Romance clitics[12]. Differently from Romance, though, German

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[10]The whole discussion in this chapter can be taken as further evidence, given that is shows that reduced forms are specialised for syntactic contexts and in variation with the strong ones.

[11]These data represent counter evidence also to the idea that subject clitics of Mòcheno can be comparable to subject clitics present in the contact Romance varieties. It this were the case, it would be expected that subject clitics could co-occur with DP subjects in Mòcheno, which it though impossible, as shown by the examples in (101).

[12]Poletto/Tomaselli 1995 that German pronouns showing up in the *Wackernagelposition* do not behave as Romance clitics in all tests proposed for Romance, for instance they apparently can i) be coordinated, ii) bear contrastive accent and ii) be modified. In this case, the authors propose that the pronouns have not undergone a process of cliticization, but have undergone scrambling.

has not developed a new morphological class of clitic pronouns, but clitic and strong pronouns are homophones and can be distinguished only indirectly.

Other Germanic languages, such as Bavarian (Bayer 1984) and West-Flemish (Haegeman 1990) have developed a class of clitics specialised for the *Wackernagelposition* morphologically different from strong pronouns: in the former language this is limited to the second person singular, whereas in the latter this is found in all persons of the paradigm. What is more, the two languages differ with respect to the categories showing up in the *Wackernagelposition*: in Bavarian it is the morphological second person singular suffix -*st*, whereas in West Flemish it is reduced pronominal forms. As we will see, Mòcheno patterns with West Flemish in both respects.

In (102), from Haegeman 1990:337ff, I illustrate the distribution of reduced subject forms in the *Wackernagelposition* in West Flemish: they show up close to the complementiser (102a) and to the finite verb (102b) and can occur in first position (102c). In all cases reduced and strong forms can co-occur giving rise to doubling.

(102)   **a.** *da-<u>se</u> (zie) werkt*   *West Flemish*
                that-she-reduced she-strong works
                b. *Werkt-<u>se</u> (zie)?*   *West Flemish*
                work-she-reduced she-strong
                'Does she work?'
                c. *<u>Ze</u> werkt (zie)*   *West Flemish*
                she-reduced works she-strong
                'She works'

According to the description in Haegeman (1990), the reduced pronominal forms are never obligatory, as shown in (103 from Haegeman 1990:337) the strong form alone can appear after the complementiser or the finite verb.

(103)   **a.** *da zie werkt*   *West Flemish*
                that-she-reduced she-strong works
                b. *Werkt zie?*   *West Flemish*
                  work-she-reduced she-strong
                  'Does she work?'

To sum up, we have seen that in Germanic languages there is evidence in favour of the existence of a separate class of pronouns whose syntactic properties are very similar to those of Romance clitics; in German strong and clitic forms are homophones, whereas Bavarian and West Flemish have developed a new class of clitic forms specialised for the *Wackernagelposition*.

Now, in what follows I will show that Mòcheno seems to have developed a class of clitics specialised for the *Wackernagelposition*, just as West Flemish, but that these forms are not optional, as in West Flemish, but obligatory in all cases the finite verb is in CP. I will also discuss the idea of the presence of a third class of pronouns, that is weak pronouns (Cardinaletti/Starke 1999), whose properties set them between strong and clitic forms, showing that i) this class seems to exist for Mòcheno subject pronouns and that ii) the new class of clitics has not developed starting out from weak pronouns (which are D-pronouns), but clitics seems to be morphologically reduced forms of the strong pronouns. This goes against the expectations of Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) analysis of structural deficiency, which predicts that strong pronouns are full DPs, weak ones have a reduced syntactic (and morphological) structure (but are still XPs) whereas clitics are heads and have the poorest syntactic structure of all of them. Their idea, which goes along the lines of a sort of tree-pruning hypothesis, predicts that the reduction has to undergo the three steps of strong, weak and

then clitic, whereas my data discussed below seem to hint at the fact that, at least in Mòcheno, strong and clitics pattern together morphologically, with the clitic being a morphological reduction of the strong, whereas weak pronouns forms a separate class[13].

Given the fact that in Mcheno the connection between clitics and weak pronouns is not of morphological type, it has though to be underlined that these two classes seem to be linked through syntax, since clitics have a much wider range of distribution with respect to weak pronouns and it is plausible to assume (on the basis of West Flemish above and of the diachronic development of Cimbrian subject pronouns dealt with by Bidese 2008) that clitics have substituted weak pronouns in most of their occurrences. This does not have to be taken as a correlate of the internal structure of pronouns, but is to be linked (as we will see below) to a restructuring of the paradigm of subject pronouns, where the different classes of pronouns have specialised for the realization of one feature.

3.3   On the nature of subject pronouns of Mòcheno

In this section I will take into examination the distribution of subject pronouns in Mòcheno, trying to answer two questions: i) what is the status of the reduced subject pronominal forms? and ii) is their status and distribution compatible with the idea that Mòcheno is V2?

Starting point in order to give an answer to the first question is Rowley (2003:179ff) who distinguishes two classes of pronouns in Mòcheno: strong and weak pronouns, which, according to his classification, are to be distinguished on the basis of phonology, with weak pronouns bearing no accent and strong pronouns being stressed. The first and second person singular pronouns showing up in the examples above (98) and (99) are classified by Rowley as reduced pronouns.

To these two classes, a third class has to be added, that is the class of demonstrative pronouns, which can sometimes be used as subject and object pronouns. Rowley claims that also demonstratives are to be split in two classes: a strong and a reduced class. No precise indication on the syntax of the three classes is given.

In the following table I summarise Rowley's classification of subject pronouns in Mòcheno; the first of the two forms of the demonstrative is the strong one.

	Strong Form	Reduced Form	Demonstrative
1.SG	i	e	
2.SG	du	o	
3.SG-masc.	er	er	der
3.SG-fem.	si	se, sa	di/de
1.PL	bir, biar	der, ber	
2.PL	ir	er	
3.PL	sei	sa, se	di/de

Table 3.1: Classification of subject pronouns in Rowley (2003:179ff)

In what follows I will take into consideration the subject pronominal forms listed in (3.1) and try to determine their typology according to Cardinaletti/Starke's (1994, 1999) work, which, capitalising on previous proposals on the nature of pronouns put forth first by Kayne (1975), Jaeggli (1982), Rizzi (1986) and Holmberg (1991) pointed out that there exist three classes of pronouns:

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[13]Cardinaletti/Starke's analysis might be valid only for those persons (as the first ones) in which all three forms of the paradigm are realised by pronouns and no D-pronoun is present.

strong, weak and clitics. This analysis will show that Mòcheno displays of all three forms according to the tests proposed by Cardinaletti/Starke.

I will then examine the syntactic distribution of the pronouns of the three classes, showing that the pronouns that I classified as clitics according to Cardinaletti/Starke's tests can only show up in the *Wackernagelposition*, whereas weak and strong pronouns have specialised for the sentence-initial position (with differences in distribution that I will consider below). This piece of data will lead me to propose that in Mòcheno reduced pronominal forms showing up in the *Wackernagelposition* are actually clitics. This finding will allow to make sense of some crucial differences between the distribution of subject pronouns in Mòcheno and in West-Flemish, even though the two systems are apparently very similar.

3.3.1 Distribution of sentence-initial subject pronouns

In this subsection I will take into consideration the subject pronominal forms given by Rowley and listed in (3.1) and apply to all forms the tests proposed by Cardinaletti/Starke (1994, 1999).

I begin testing what pronominal forms are compatible with the sentence-initial position, since, according to Cardinaletti/Starke, only strong and weak pronouns can appear in this position. This is even more relevant for the present discussion on V2, since as pointed out by Oberleiter/Sfrisio (1993, in Cardinaletti/Starke 1999) for the Tyrolean dialect Olang, in a V2 language with all three pronominal series the V2 constraint can be satisfied by either a strong or a weak pronoun, but never by a clitic. The same restriction is found also in standard German (all examples are taken from Tomaselli 1990:221f), where only subject pronouns (104a) and demonstratives (104b) can show up in sentence-initial position, whereas object pronouns are ungrammatical in this position (104a)[14].

(104) **a.** *Es (das Pferd) hat das Gras gefressen*
it the horse has the gras eaten
b. *Das (das Gras) hat das Pferd gefressen*
that the gras has the horse eaten
c. **Es (das Gras) hat das Pferd gefressen*
it the gras has the horse eaten

This first test will allow to single out clitics from strong and weak pronouns. In order to classify strong and weak pronouns, I will consider then three more tests, that is the possibility of being i) coordinated, ii) focused and iii) showing up in isolation. Only strong forms are grammatical in coordination, focalization and isolation.

Let's come now to the distribution of subject pronominal forms in sentence-initial position beginning with first persons.

As shown in (105a,b), the two pronominal forms for the first person singular can both show up in sentence-initial position; in the first plural, on the other hand, we find three forms that can show up in sentence-initial position (105c,d,e) and one that cannot (105f)[15].

(105) **a.** *I* **hon** *a puach kaft*
b. *E* **hon** *a puach kaft*

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[14]Here, I do not consider in detail the distribution of pronouns in standard German, but limit myself to pointing to some correlations that I consi

[15]In the variety of Palù, I have not come across the form *der* for the second person plural, which Rowley lists as a weak form, but in my material I found the form *bar*. The strong forms of the first plural *bir* and the strong second plural *ir* can also be reinforced by *ondra*, "ourselves": *birondra* and *irondra*. These two pronouns behave in all tests (focalization, isolation, firs position, coordination...) as strong pronouns.

I have a book bought

c. <u>*Bir*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

d. <u>*Biar*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

e. <u>*Bar*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

f. <u>**Ber*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

we have a book bought

Moving to the second persons, in (106a,c) I show that one of the two forms listed by Rowley can show up in sentence-initial position, whereas the other one cannot (106b,d).

(106)   **a.** <u>*Du*</u> **host** *kaft a puach*

    b. <u>**O*</u> **host** *kaft a puach*

    you-SG have bought a book

    c. <u>*Ir*</u> **hot** *a puach kaft*

    d. <u>**Er*</u> **hot** *a puach kaft*

    you-PL have a book bought

In (107a,b) I illustrate the pattern of third person singular feminine pronouns. In sentence-initial position two forms are possible: either a pronoun or a demonstrative, whereas the form *se* is ungrammatical in this position[16].

(107)   **a.** <u>*Si*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    b. <u>*De*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    c. <u>**Se*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    she has bought a book

In the third person masculine, two forms are possible in sentence-initial position, as illustrated in (108a,b). Notice that in this case, differently from the feminine, the demonstrative is not grammatical in sentence-initial position (108c)[17].

(108)   **a.** <u>*Er*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    b. <u>*Ar*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    c. <u>**Der*</u> **hot** *kaft a puach*

    he has bought a book

Finally, in (109) I illustrate the distribution of third person plural pronouns. The two forms that can show up in first position are *sei* and the demonstrative, whereas the form *sa* is not possible in this position.

(109)   **a.** <u>*Sei*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

    b. <u>*De*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

    c. <u>**Sa*</u> **hon** *a puach kaft*

    they have a book bought

In the following table (3.2), I summarise the results of this first test, which has allowed to distinguish strong and weak pronouns on the one hand and clitics on the other[18].

This first test has allowed to make a first big distinction in the class of Mòcheno subject pronoun, separating clitics from strong and weak pronouns; in the next subsection, I will take into examination strong and weak pronouns, in order to single out the two classes.

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[16]The informant says that he cannot use the form *sa*, which Rowley assumes is a weak form together with *se*, and only admits *se* for the third person feminine. *Sa* is possible as a direct object pronoun and a subject plural in the

	Strong + Weak Form	Clitic Form
1.SG	i / e	
2.SG	du	o
3.SG-masc.	er / ar	der
3.SG-fem.	si / de	se
1.PL	bir/ biar / bar	ber
2.PL	ir	er
3.PL	sei / de	sa

Table 3.2: Classification of subject pronouns according to the distribution in first position

3.3.2 On the distinction between strong and weak pronouns

In order to distinguish between strong and weak pronouns inside the class of subject pronouns, I will consider three tests proposed by Cardinaletti/Starke (1999): focalization, coordination and possibility of showing up in isolation, which are all properties of strong pronouns but not of the weak ones.

The coordination test

Starting with the first persons, in (110a,b) I show that only one form of the first person singular pronouns can be coordinated, namely *i*; as for the first plural, which shows four forms, two of them can be coordinated (110c,d), whereas two (*bar* and the clitic *ber*) cannot (110e,f).

(110)   **a.** *I ont sei hon a puach kaft*
        b. **E ont sei hon a puach kaft*
        I and they have a book bought
        c. *Bir ont de selln der nem hom a puach kaft*
        d. *Biar ont de selln der nem hom a puach kaft*
        e. **Bar ont de selln der nem hom a puach kaft*
        f. **Ber ont de selln der nem hom a puach kaft*
        we and the those near have a book bought

The third persons singular show a clear pattern with one form allowing for coordination and the other rejecting it, as illustrated in (111).

(111)   **a.** *Er ont der sell der nem hon a puach kaft*
        he and the that there near have a book bought
        b. **Ar ont i hon a puach kaft*
        he and I have a book bought
        c. *Si ont der sell der nem hon a puach kaft*
        she and the that there near have a book bought
        d. **De ont der sell der nem hon a puach kaft*

---

third person plural.

[17]According to the informant, this would be possible in the variety spoken in the village of Fierozzo.

[18]In this table, I only consider the classification of strong/weak forms on the one hand and clitic forms on the other; this does not rule out the possibility that some weak forms can be homophones with clitic forms and that the paradigm is much richer than this. The presence of homophones cannot be determined through this first test.

that-fem and the that there near has a book bought

Notice, that it would not be possible to coordinate one of the two clitic forms identified in the previous subsection for the third persons singular, as shown by the examples in (112).

(112)   **a.** <u>*Der</u> *ont net der sell sem der nem hon a puach kaft*
         he and the that there near have a book bought
         b. <u>*Se</u> *ont net de sell sem der nem hon a puach kaft*
         she and the that there near have a book bought

As for the third person plural, in (113a,b) I show that the two forms admitted in first position display a clear pattern, with one of them (the demonstrative) not allowing for coordination. Surprisingly, though, a third possibility is suggested by the informant, that is (113c), in which the clitic and the strong form are combined and can be coordinated.

(113)   **a.** <u>Sei</u> *ont der selln sem der nem hon a puach kaft*
         they and the those there near have a book bought
         b. <u>*De</u> *ont der selln sem der nem hon a puach kaft*
         they and the those there near have a book bought
         c. <u>Sa sei</u> *ont der selln sem der nem hon a puach kaft*
         they-CL they and the those there near have a book bought

As expected, the third person plural clitic form is ruled out in coordination, as shown in (114).

(114)   <u>*Sa</u> *ont net de selln sem der nem hon kaft a puach*
         they and the those there near have a book bought

As for the second persons, which according to my classification display a strong form and a clitic form, in (115) I show that, as expected, only the strong form can be coordinated, whereas the clitic is ruled out in this construction.

(115)   **a.** <u>Du</u> *ont i hon a puach kaft*
         b. <u>*O</u> *ont i hon a puach kaft*
         you-SG and I have a book bought
         c. <u>Ir</u> *ont de selln der nem hon kaft a puach*
         d. <u>*Er</u> *ont de selln der nem hon kaft a puach*
         you-PL and I have a book bought

In the table below I summarise the results of the distribution of pronouns in the coordination test; I will go back below to the special nature of the combined form *sa sei*.

In the next subsection I will consider the focalization and isolation tests, in order to determine whether the forms classified in (3.3) as weak behave as expected under Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) analysis, that is are ungrammatical, in isolation and if focused.

	Strong	**Weak Form**
1.SG	i	e
2.SG	du	
3.SG-masc.	er	ar
3.SG-fem.	si	de
1.PL	bir/ biar	bar
2.PL	ir	
3.PL	sei / sa sei	de

Table 3.3: Classification of subject strong and weak pronouns according to coordination

Focalization and isolation

According to Cardinaletti/Starke's typology of pronominal classes, only strong pronouns can be focused and can show up in isolation.

As shown in (116), all strong pronouns identified above (except for *sa sei*, whose special status will be discussed below) can be focused (116a,c,e,g,i), whereas weak pronouns, which cannot be coordinated, cannot be focused either (116b,d,f,h,l,m).

(116) **a.** <u>I</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
b. <u>*E</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
I have bought the book and not you
c. <u>ER</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
d. <u>*AR</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
he has bought the book not you-SG
e. <u>SI</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
f. <u>*DE</u> *hot kaft s puach (ont net du)*
that-fem has bought the book and not you-SG
g. <u>BIR/BIAR</u> *hot a puach kaft (ont net ir)*
h. <u>*Ber/Bar</u> *hot a puach kaft (ont net ir)*
we have a book bought and not you-PL
i. <u>SEI</u> *hon a puach kaft (ont net bir)*
l. <u>*DE</u> *hon a puach kaft (ont net bir)*
m. <u>*SA SEI</u> *hon a puach kaft (ont net bir)*

As for clitics, they are incompatible with focalization. Third person subject clitics are incompatible with focalization, as shown in (117).

(117) **a.** <u>*DER</u> *hot a puach kaft (ont net du)*
he has a book bought and not you
b. <u>*SE</u> *hot a puach kaft (ont net du)*
she has a book bought and not you
c. <u>*SA</u> *hon a puach kaft (ont net du)*
they have a book bought and not you

The same for the second persons, (118).

(118) **a.** <u>DU</u> *host kaft a puach (ont net i)*

    b. **O ont net i host kaft a puach (ont net i)*
you-SG have bought a book and not I
    c. *<u>IR</u> hot kaft a puach (ont net bir)*
    d. *<u>*ER</u> hot kaft a puach (ont net bir)*
you-PL have bought a book and not we

Moving to the isolation test, in (119) I show that all pronouns that cannot be focused nor coordinated (except for the pronoun *sa sei*) cannot show up in isolation either.

(119)   **a.** *Ber hot kaft a puach?*
    who has bought a book
    b. *I / *e*
    c. *Du / *o*
    d. *Er / *ar / *der*
    e. *Si / *de / *se*
    f. *Bir / biar / *bar / *ber*
    g. *Ir / *er*
    h. *Sei / *de / *sa sei / *sa*

In table (3.4) I sum up the results of the three tests.

	Coordination	**Focus**	**Isolation**
1.SG	i	i	i
2.SG	du	du	du
3.SG-masc.	er	er	er
3.SG-fem.	si	si	si
1.PL	bir / biar	bir / biar	bir / biar
2.PL	ir	ir	ir
3.PL	sei / sa sei	sei	sei

Table 3.4: Sum up of the strong forms according to the three tests

The three tests have shown a pretty clear pattern concerning the distribution of subject pronouns, except for the third person plural pronoun *sa sei*, which cannot be focused nor show up in isolation, but can though be coordinated. Below I repeat the relevant examples.

(120)   **a.** *<u>*Sa sei</u> ont net bir hon a puach kaft*   **focalization*
    they and not we have have a book bought
    b. *Ber hot kaft a puach? Sei / *sa sei*   **isolation*
    who bought a book? they / *they-CL they
    c. *<u>Sa sei</u> ont der selln sem der nem hon a puach kaft*   *coordination*
    they-CL they and the others near them have a book bought

The pronominal form *sa sei* cannot show up in first position either, that is, according to the test proposed by Cardinaletti/Starke (1999), cannot trigger V2, which can be done only by the strong and weak forms, as shown in (121a,b).

(121)   **a.** *<u>*Sa sei</u> hon a puach kaft*   *first position*

they-CL they have a book bought

    b. _Sei hon a puach kaft_

    c. _De hon a puach kaft_

What is more, the presence of a complex form that can be coordinated seems to be limited to the third person plural. In (122), I show that it is not possible to coordinate a complex form composed by clitic+strong pronoun in other persons.

(122)   _*Se si ont de sell sem der nem hot kaft a puach_
        clitic-she strong-she and the that near has bought a book

I would like to point out at the fact that also Bidese (2008:103) in his diachronic study of Cimbrian notices that this person behaves differently from the others. In particular, he shows that it is this person that develops first a clitic pronominal form in the Catechism of 1813, when all other persons only displayed a strong and a weak form. I think that Mòcheno data go in the same direction, with the third person plural developing before all other persons a complex form able to show up in preverbal position, composed by both clitic and strong pronoun, and therefore diverging from all other forms of the paradigm.

On the basis of the results of the tests applied to Mòcheno subject pronouns, I propose the classification given in table (3.5). First person pronouns are to be divided in strong and weak forms: no clitic form has been detected on the basis of the tests. Second persons, on the other hand, are realised by a strong pronoun and a clitic: here, no weak pronoun has been identified. Third persons have forms for the entire paradigm. As for the third plural, I assume that _sa sei_ has to be classified as a clitic[19], since i) it cannot occur in sentence-initial position (possible for strong and weak pronouns) nor in isolation and ii) it cannot be focused, but it has a special status with respect to _de_, since it can be coordinated. In this respect it sets itself between a weak and a clitic form.

	Strong Form	**Weak Form**	**Clitic Form**
1.SG	i	e	
2.SG	du		o
3.SG-masc.	er	ar	der(?)
3.SG-fem.	si	de	se
1.PL	bir/ biar	bar	ber
2.PL	ir		er
3.PL	sei	de	sa / sa sei [+coord]

Table 3.5: Classification of subject pronouns

After having identified a paradigm for the subject pronominal forms present in Mòcheno, in the next subsection I will examine the distribution of subject pronouns in enclisis, in order to see whether the two classes are specialised for syntactic contexts. As already said, this expectation is borne out, since all clitic pronouns in (3.5) are specialised for the _Wackernagelposition_; what is more, also some pronouns that I classified as weak (that is first person _e_ and _bar_, together with

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[19]As we will see below, the possibility to show up after the finite verb or the complementiser cannot function as a test in order to decide whether the form _sa sei_ is a clitic or a not, since in the contexts involving the _Wackernagelposition_ doubling is always possible for all persons.

third person *ar*) show up in enclisis. In this case I will speak of homophone forms, with the enclitic form to be analysed as a clitic homophone with the weak pronoun[20].

3.3.3   On the distribution of subject pronouns in the *Wackernagelposition*

In this subsection I will examine the distribution of subject pronouns in sentences involving the so-called *Wackernagelposition*, that the linear position immediately following the finite verb in sentences beginning with an XP[-subj] and the complementiser in embedded clauses.

As we will immediately see, the pattern of distribution of subject pronouns in the two contexts is straight: all the forms that I classified as clitics are specialised for the *Wackernagelposition*, whereas strong pronouns are specialised for the preverbal position in main clauses and can only show up in doubling in embedded clauses. Weak pronouns cannot show up in any positions in these sentences, that is they are specialised for the sentence-initial position of main clauses beginning with the subject.

Sentences beginning with an XP[-subj]

In this section I will illustrate the distribution of subject pronouns in sentences beginning with an XP different from the subject. In order to describe the pattern I will use sentences with the adverb *gester*, even though, as we will see in the next chapter when I consider all types of constituents in sentence-initial position, the distribution of pronouns is the same with all constituents.

Beginning with the first person singular, in (123) I show that the two subject pronouns, the strong *i* and the weak *e* show up in different syntactic contexts: *e* can only be enclitic (123a,b), whereas *i* can only precede the finite verb (123c,d). The informant clearly feels a difference between the two versions, with (123a) being the unmarked sentence and (123c) being a marked sentence in which the pronoun[21] is focused[22].

(123)   **a.** *Gester* **hon**<u>*e*</u> *kaft a puach*
         b. **Gester* <u>*e*</u> **hon** *kaft a puach*
         c. *Gester* <u>*i*</u> **hon** *kaft a puach*
         d. **Gester* **hon** <u>*i*</u> *kaft a puach*
         yesterday I bought the book

Also in the first person plural, the weak *bar* and clitic *ber* forms are specialised for the enclitic position (124a,b), whereas the strong ones (*bir* and *biar*) (124c,d) for the preverbal one.

(124)   **a.** *Gester* **hon** *ber/bar kaft s puach*
         b. **Gester* *bar/ber* **hon** *kaft s puach*
         c. *Gester* *bir/biar* **hon** *kaft s puach*
         d. **Gester* **hon** *bir* *kaft s puach*
         yesterday we bought the book

Let's move to the second persons. As shown in (125), the second singular clitic *o* can only show up in enclisis, whereas its strong counterpart can only appear in proclisis.

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[20] The fact that clitic forms are homophone with weak forms is very relevant for the diachronic development of such a pronominal system; as pointed out for Cimbrian by Bidese (2008:91ff), in fact, clitics (always showing up in enclisis) have developed from weak pronouns.

[21] Also the scene setter could be focused or highlighted; in this case, though, a pause after the adverb would be needed.

[22] This interpretation of focus on the strong pronominal form is found with all persons, but not with an NP subject

(125)　　**a.** *Gester* **hos<u>o</u>** *kaft s puach*
　　　　b. **Gester <u>o</u>* **host** *kaft s puach*
　　　　c. *Gester <u>du</u>* **host** *kaft s puach*
　　　　d. **Gester* **host** *<u>du</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　you-SG bought the book yesterday

The same distribution is found with the second person plural.

(126)　　**a.** *Gester* **hot** *<u>er</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　b. **Gester <u>er</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　c. *Gester <u>ir</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　d. **Gester* **hot** *<u>ir</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　yesterday you-PL bought the book

The third persons singular feminine and plural pattern together and follow the same rule. Beginning with the syntax of the strong and clitic forms, in (127) I show that the clitic form is specialised for enclisis, whereas the strong one can only occur in proclisis.

(127)　　**a.** *Gester* **hot** *<u>se</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　b. **Gester <u>se</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　c. *Gester <u>si</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　d. **Gester* **hot** *<u>si</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　yesterday she bought a book
　　　　e. *Gester* **hon** *<u>sa</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　f. **Gester <u>sa</u>* **hon** *kaft s puach*
　　　　g. *Gester <u>sei</u>* **hon** *kaft s puach*
　　　　h. **Gester* **hon** *<u>sei</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　they bought the book yesterday

As shown in (128), third person weak pronouns are not compatible with the preverbal position (128a,c) nor the enclitic one (128b,d).

(128)　　**a.** **Gester <u>de</u>* **hon** *kaft s puach*
　　　　b. **Gester* **hon** *<u>de</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　yesterday those have those bought the book
　　　　c. **Gester <u>de</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　d. **Gester* **hot** *<u>de</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　yesterday that-fem has that bought the book

As for the third person singular masculine, in (129a,b) I show that the enclitic and proclitic positions can be both occupied by the same subject pronoun *er*; the weak pronoun *ar*, on the other hand, cannot show up in preverbal position (129c) but is grammatical in enclisis (129d).

(129)　　**a.** *Gester* **hot** *<u>er</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　b. *Gester <u>er</u> hot kaft s puach*
　　　　c. **Gester <u>ar</u>* **hot** *kaft s puach*
　　　　d. *Gester* **hot** *<u>ar</u> kaft s puach*
　　　　yesterday he bought the book

As for the possibility for the form *ar* to show up up in enclisis, I claim that it is a clitic homophone with the weak pronoun. The same explication has to be called for also for first persons *e* and *bar*.

As for the fact that is the fact that the same strong pronominal form *er* shows up both in preverbal position (as expected) and in enclisis (position for clitic pronouns), I assume that the enclitic form is not the same found in proclisis, but is a clitic form only homophone with the strong pronoun *er*. Here, I put forth the hypothesis that this clitic form cannot be considered a form of the pronoun *der* and that *der* is not part of the paradigm of subject pronouns of the variety of Mòcheno spoken in Palù. This conclusion has been reached on the basis of several considerations.

First of all, the pronoun *der* never shows up in my material; I initially thought that this might depend on the fact that most of the sentences had the auxiliary verb *hom* and that the closeness between two dental consonants might lead to reductions processes, which are very commun in this language. But this idea cannot be true, since if we take another auxiliary verb, as in the examples in (130), such as *sain* or a main verb, *der* is ruled out from the enclitic position and only *er* is possible. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the clitic *er* is a phonetically reduced form of *der* due to a preceding dental consonant.

(130)   **a.** *Und dora iz-er/*der kemmen*
         and then is-SUBJ CL arrived
         'And then he arrived'
         b. *Hait isst er/*der dahuam*
         today eats-SUBJ CL at home
         'Today he has lunch at home'

One might wonder why the informant did not identify the pronoun *der* as absent form the paradigm, but only limited himself to saying that all the sentences that I created with *der* where ungrammatical in the variety of Palù. I think that there are two reasons behind this fact. The first one has to see with the role of the linguist, who is the one that has to decide, on the basis of empirical evidence, what elements build up a paradigm. It is well-known from sociolinguistics that, especially when it goes to dialects and non-standard languages, the speakers have a different view of the language they speak: sometimes they claim they do not use that particular element, but in spontaneous speech they do, or they claim they speak the standard variety, but when one hears them, one realises they speak a dialectal or regional variety. Therefore, I think that these judgments cannot be asked to the informant, but what belongs to the paradigm has to be decided by the linguist.

The second reason that I think made the pronoun *der* familiar to the informant is that it is used in the two other varieties of Mòcheno of the valley, those spoken in Fierozzo and Roveda. In the questionnaires in Cognola (2006) a clear split between Fierozzo and Roveda on the one hand and Palù on the other can be observed with respect to the distribution of third singular masculine subject pronouns: the speakers of the first variety consistently use *der*, whereas those of the latter the weak *ar*[23]. Unfortunately, in that questionnaire there are no sentences in which the distribution of *der* in enclisis can be observed, since it was designed for searching other phenomena, but, as far as sentence-initial position is concerned, the pattern of distribution across the varieties is straightforward. I illustrate it in (131, from Cognola 2006:156, sentence 46), where I list all the

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[23]The speakers that took part to the research in Cognola (2006) are of different ages and only two of them (D and E) belong to the same family (and live in the same group of houses). The fact that the speakers come from different families ensures that the the homogeneity of their language is due to external factors and not to a real homogeneity inside one single variety.

translations given by the informants for one sentence[24]. The sentences from Cognola (2006) are written in the same way the informants did it, that is I did not intervene to their translations.

(131)   **a.** *Der hot mer sa gelot lesn*   *Fierozzo: speaker A*
        he has-DAT CL-ACC CL allowed read
        b. *Der hot me galok lesn*   *Fierozzo: speaker B*
        he has-DAT CL allowed read
        c. *Der hot-mer-z galot lesn*   *Frassilongo: speaker C*
        he has-DAT CL-ACC CL allowed read
        d. *Ar otme galot lezn-an*   *Palù: speaker D*
        he-weak hat-DAT CL left read-ACC CL
        e. *At otmar pebillich za lesn-an*   *Palù: speaker E*
        he-weak hat-DAT CL allowed to read-ACC CL
        f. *Ar otmar varhoazn za lezn-an*   *Palù: speaker F*
        he-weak hat-DAT CL promised to read-ACC CL

Here, I cannot propose an analysis for the pronoun *der* found in the varieties of Fierozzo and Frassilongo, since this would imply considering the whole V2 system of those varieties, but it has to be pointed out that in those varieties a massive use of *der* is found, which makes this pronoun familiar to the informant.

The last argument in favour of not considering *der* a clitic comes from the general characteristics of weak pronouns, which I will deal with in this chapter and in particular in the last subsection. As far as the variety of Mòcheno spoken in Palù is concerned, I have observed that in the persons that have all three forms of subject pronouns, the enclitic is morphologically never related to the weak form, but is always a morphologically reduced form of the strong pronoun. What is more, the development of an enclitic from a weak *der* would imply that for a certain period of time we had the possibility to have postverbal weak subject D-pronouns, a possibility that has though disappeared in all other persons.

On the basis of the evidence given in (130) and (131), I conclude that *der* is not a clitic pronoun in the variety of Mòcheno spoken in Palù and does not belong to the paradigm of subject pronouns.

The data above have shown that: i) the pronominal forms have undergone a specialization process, with the clitic form showing up in enclisis and the strong form only showing up before the finite verb (with a focus reading); ii) weak pronouns are not compatible with any position (pre- nor postverbal).

Generalization on the realization of the subject in sentences beginning with XP[-subj]:

(132)   **a.** The unmarked way to realise the subject is with a pronoun <u>enclitic</u> to the finite verb;
        b. The subject can be realised only by a strong pronoun that <u>precedes</u> the verb and in this case the subject is focused;
        c. Weak pronouns <u>cannot</u> precede not follow the finite verb.

Let's look at the possibility of combining the two subject pronouns in the doubling construction.

As shown in (133), doubling is grammatical for all person when both pronominal forms follow the finite verb. The sentences would be ungrammatical if the clitic pronoun were missing, given the description above, according to which a strong pronoun can be a subject only if precedes the finite verb, but never when it follows it.

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[24]Notice that speakers of Fierozzo and Frassilongo coherently have clitic climbing of both clitics, whereas those of Palù do not. This is only one of the many symmetries found in Cognola (2006) showing that the single varieties of Mòcheno are very homogeneous.

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(133)   **a.** *Gester* **hon** <u>*e i*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday have weak-I strong-I bought the book
b. *Gester* **hos**<u>*o du*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday have clitic-you-SG strong-you-SG bought the book
c. *Gester* **hot** <u>*ar er*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday has weak-he strong-he bought the book
d. *Gester* **hot** <u>*se si*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday has clitic-she strong-she bought the book
e. *Gester* **hon** <u>*bar bir*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday have weak-we strong-we bought the book
f. *Gester* **hot** <u>*er ir*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday has clitic-you-PL strong-you-PL bought the book
g. *Gester* **hon** <u>*sa sei*</u> *kaft s puach*
yesterday has clitic-they strong-they bought the book

If on the other hand both pronominal forms preceded the finite verb, as in (134), doubling would be impossible.

(134)   **a.** <u>**E i*</u> **hon** *kaft s puach*
weak-I strong-I have bought a book
b. <u>**O du*</u> **host** *kaft s puach*
clitic-you-SG strong-you-SG have bought a book
c. <u>**Sa si*</u> **hot** *kaft s puach*
weak-she strong-she has bought a book
d. <u>**Ar er*</u> **hot** *kaft s puach*
weak-he strong-he has bought a book
e. <u>**Bar bir*</u> **hon** *kaft s puach*
weak-we strong-we has bought a book
f. <u>**Er ir*</u> **hot** *kaft s puach*
clitic-you-PL strong-you-PL have bought a book
g. <u>**Sa sei*</u> **hon** *kaft s puach*
clitic-they strong-they have bought a book

As shown in (135a,c), the clitic pronoun cannot be separated from the finite verb by any intervening material (XPs nor other clitics[25]), but the two pronominal forms on the contrary can (135b,d) and in this case the strong pronoun receives a focus reading.

(135)   **a.** **Gester hon s puach* <u>*e i*</u> *kaft*
yesterday have the book I-clitic I-strong bought
b. *Gester hon*<u>*e*</u> *s puach I kaft*
yesterday have I-clitic the book I-strong bought
c. **Gester hon s puach* <u>*bar bir/biar*</u> *kaft*
yesterday have the book we-clitic we-strong bought
d. *Gester hom* <u>*bar*</u> *s puach BIAR kaft*
yesterday have we-clitic the book we-strong bought

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[25]This follows from the fact that, just as in standard German, pronouns showing up in the *Wackernagelposition* have a fixed order (NOM-ACC-DAT) with subject pronouns being the highest ones.

I would like to point out at the fact that not all combinations of clitic and strong forms expected are attested. In particular, for the first person plural, which has two strong forms *bir* and *biar*, and two clitics *ber* and *bar* (together with the weak *bar*), the only two forms that are grammatical in the case of doubling where no XP intervenes between the two clitics are *bar bir* (as in 133e) above and repeated in (136a) for convenience, whereas all other combinations are out (136b,c):

(136) **a.** *Gester hon bar bir kaft s puach*
   b. **Gester hon ber bir kaft s puach*
   c. **Gester hon bar biar kaft s puach*

When an XP intervenes between the two pronominal forms, though, the preferred forms are *bar* and *biar*, as repeated in (137).

(137) **a.** *Gester hom bar s puach biar kaft*
   b. *??Gester hom bar s puach bir kaft*

This type of microvariation inside the paradigm is very interesting, especially when one considers that both *bir* and *biar* are strong forms according to all tests, and seems to point out at the fact that a shift in the paradigm is taking place, with the two forms have undergone a process of specialization. In particular, as suggested by Cecilia Poletto (p.c.), the two forms might have specialised for a focus and a topic reading: as a speculation, I propose that *biar* is the form specialised for focus, given that it shows up when another XP (to be analysed as a topic, see analysis below) is present, whereas *bir* is specialised for the topic reading. Further research is needed, even though this line of research seems to be very promising.

  Generalizations on the distribution of subject pronouns in pronominal doubling:

(138) **a.** When the strong form is present, the clitic <u>has to</u> be present as well;
   b. The clitic cannot be separated by the finite verb;
   c. The strong pronoun can be separated from the clitic and in this case it receives a focus or topic reading

In this section I have explored the distribution of subject pronominal forms in sentences beginning with an XP[-subj], showing that clitics have specialised for the *Wackernagelposition*, whereas the strong ones can only show up in preverbal position, except in the doubling construction, in which the presence of the enclitic is though required.

  In the next subsection, I will examine the distribution of pronouns in embedded clauses, in order to determine whether subject pronouns share the same syntax described above in relation to the finite verb, with respect to the complementiser.

On the distribution of subject pronouns in embedded clauses

Subject pronouns in embedded clauses show a very straightforward pattern, which I illustrate below with an indirect interrogative[26].

  As shown for all persons in the examples from (139) to (141), when a complementiser is present, the clitic pronominal form is obligatory and generally shows up together with the strong subject pronoun (b./e.examples), even though this is not obligatory (c./f.examples); the crucial data is that

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[26]This pattern is though valid for all embedded clauses introduced by the complementiser *az*, "that", which in Mòcheno also introduces relative clauses. When a wh-element is present in the embedded clause, the complementiser is generally obligatory as well (doubly-filled Comp).

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the sentence with only the strong pronoun without the clitic is ungrammatical (d./g.examples). Weak pronouns are ruled out from this position.

In (139) I consider the second persons[27].

(139)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok*
          he has-to me asked
          b. *abia az <u>o du</u> der compito gamocht host*
          c. *abia az<u>o</u> der compito gamocht host*
          d. **abia az <u>du</u> der compito gamocht host*
          how your-2SG exam was
          e. *abia az <u>ar ir</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          f. *abia az<u>ar</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          g. **abia az <u>ir</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          how your-2PL exam was

Below the examples concerning the third person singular and plural.

(140)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok*
          he has-to me asked
          b. *abia az <u>se si</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          c. *abia az <u>se</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          d. **abia az <u>si/de</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          how her exam was
          e. *abia az <u>ar er</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          f. *abia az <u>ar</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          g. **abia az <u>er</u> der compito gamocht hot*
          how his exam was
          h. *abia az <u>sa sei</u> der compito gamocht hon*
          i. *abia az <u>sa</u> der compito gamocht hon*
          l. **abia az <u>sei/de</u> der compito gamocht hon*
          how their exam was

Finally, in (141), I give the examples of the first and third persons plural.

(141)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok*
          he has-to me asked
          b. *abia az <u>e</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          c. *abia az <u>e i</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          d. **/??abia az <u>i</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          how my exam was
          e. *abia az <u>bar bir</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          f. *abia az <u>bar</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          g. **abia az <u>bir/biar</u> der compito gamocht hom*
          how our exam was

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[27]Notice that no free-inversion of the strong pronominal subject takes place here, whereas in relative clauses and in embedded interrogatives, a DP subject would have to show up in free inversion: *Gester hone tschenkt en de maim mama s puach az ⊘ schrip hot <u>de schbster van Nane</u>*, "Yesterday I gave my mum the book that John's sister wrote".

Differently from what we saw above for sentences beginning with an XP[-subj], where a strong pronoun can precede a finite verb, in an embedded clause a strong pronoun can only show up the doubling construction and cannot precede the subordinating elements, as shown in (142).

(142)   **a.** **Er hot mer pfrok, i abia az(e) der compito gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked I-strong how that I-clitic the exam done have
        b. **Er hot mer pfrok, bir abia az (ber) der compito gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked we-strong how that we-clitic the exam done have
        c. **Er hot mer pfrok, de abia az (sa) der compito gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked she-strong how that she-clitic the exam done have

In embedded clauses, therefore, i) enclisis is obligatory and ii) a strong pronoun can show up only in the doubling construction, that is a clitic is required on the complementiser in order to have a grammatical sentence.

The doubling construction has the same characteristics as the one described above for sentences beginning with an XP[-subj]. As illustrated in (143a,c), the clitic cannot be separated from the complementiser, whereas a constituent can intervene between clitic and strong pronoun, which in this case receives a focus reading (143b,d).

(143)   **a.** **Er hot mar pfrok abia az der compito <u>bar bir</u> gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked how as the exam we-clitic we-strong made have
        b. *Er hot mar pfrok abia az <u>bar</u> der compito <u>BIAR</u> gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked how that we-clitic the exam we made have
        c. *Er hot mar pfrok abia az der compito <u>e i</u> gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked how as the exam I-clitic I-strong made have
        d. *Er hot mar pfrok abia az <u>e</u> der compito <u>I</u> gamocht hon*
        he has to me asked how as I-clitic the exam I-strong made have

The syntax of subject pronouns in embedded clauses leads to the descriptive generalization in (144).
Descriptive generalization on the distribution of subject pronouns in embedded clauses:

(144)   **a.** When the complementiser is realised a subject weak or clitic form has to obligatory be realised in enclisis to the complementiser;
        b. When the weak/clitic form is present, the strong form <u>can</u> be absent;
        c. When the strong form is present, the weak/clitic form <u>has to</u> be present as well;
        d. The clitic cannot be separated from the complementiser by any intervening material;
        e. The strong pronoun can be separated from the clitic by intervening material and in this case it obligatory receives a focus reading;
        f. The strong pronoun cannot be realised before the complementiser.

3.3.4   Partial conclusions

The first goal of this long section on subject pronouns has been to reach a syntactic classification of all pronominal forms, which relies on both the tests suggested by Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) and on the syntactic distribution of the different forms.

This classification is given in table (3.6) and slightly refines the one given in (3.5) on the basis of the tests by Cardinaletti/Starke. The refinements refer to the first persons and to the third person

masculine, for which I propose, on the basis of their distribution with respect to the finite verb and the complementiser, that the weak forms *e*, *bar* and *ar* have an homophone clitic form showing up in enclisis.

	Strong Form	Weak Form	Clitic Form
1.SG	i	e	e
2.SG	du		o
3.SG-masc.	er	ar	ar / er
3.SG-fem.	si	de	sa
1.PL	bir/ biar	bar	bar / ber
2.PL	ir		er
3.PL	sei	de	sa / sa sei [+coord]

Table 3.6: Classification of subject pronominal forms of Mòcheno

3.4   A proposal of derivation for Mòcheno

In this last section I will propose a derivation for the syntax of subject pronouns in Mòcheno, which strongly relies on the idea that the different patterns of distribution can only be made sense of by assuming that i) the finite verb moves to CP in all main clauses and ii) in embedded clauses the complementiser shows up in the same CP head that hosts the finite verb in main clauses (as standardly assumed, see den Besten (1983) and Tomaselli (1990)).

In the previous chapter, we saw that in the literature two are the most important proposals put forth in order to make sense of verb movement to CP. According to Tomaselli (1990), the finite verb moves to CP in order to license a pronominal feature (pro-drop) in the subject position in IP; according to Haegeman 1997, Roberts and Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004 the finite verb moves to the CP in order to check a declarative feature in the head of FinP that needs to be licensed by movement only in V2 languages. Within a split-CP hypothesis, both approaches involve the lowest portion of the left periphery, that is the projection FinP assumed by Rizzi (1997) to encode finiteness. Despite the shared assumption that the finite verb moves to the head of FinP, the two approaches differ in one relevant respect: Tomaselli (1990) assumes that movement of the finite verb is due to the necessity to license a pro in subject positiont, whereas the other scholars claim that the finite verb moves in order to check a declarative feature. Both approaches assume that in main declarative clauses the movement of the finite verb to FinP is independent of the satisfaction of the EPP feature associated with Fin^0, therefore i) the finite verb moves to FinP and then ii) an XP is moved to the left periphery in order to Spec,FinP and eventually higher up.

In this work I reject the idea of the presence of FinP, that is of a projection encoding finiteness, since it seems to me that finiteness cannot be considered a grammatical category such as agreement or tense, nor a discourse-linked category such as operator or topic, which are all hosted in projections in the structure. Finiteness has rather to be considered "a configurational fact", that is it is the result of a sentence with a grammatical subject that agrees with a tensed verb; therefore, finiteness is a property of tense and of the relation between tense and the syntactic subject and not the property of a functional projection.

3.4.1 Position of subject pronouns

The relation between realization of the subject and movement of the finite verb to CP is though crucial in V2 languages, as we have seen in this chapter and in the previous one, but I reject the idea that it can be captured using FinP. In order to capture the relation between realization of the subject and V2, I think that one has to out precisely from the realization of the subject and make some assumptions in order to capture the distribution of the different subject pronominal forms. In this chapter, I have shown that the different subject pronominal forms of Mòcheno have undergone a specialization process, according to which strong pronouns have specialised for all cases in which the pronominal subject is either topicalised or focused, whereas weak and clitic pronouns can only be used as syntactic subjects. How can we capture structurally this specialization process?

Weak and clitic subject pronouns

Beginning with weak and clitic subject pronouns, I propose that they are hosted in the Spec and in the head of the same projection, that I call SubjP, that is found immediately above TP, as sketched in the structure in (145).

(145)
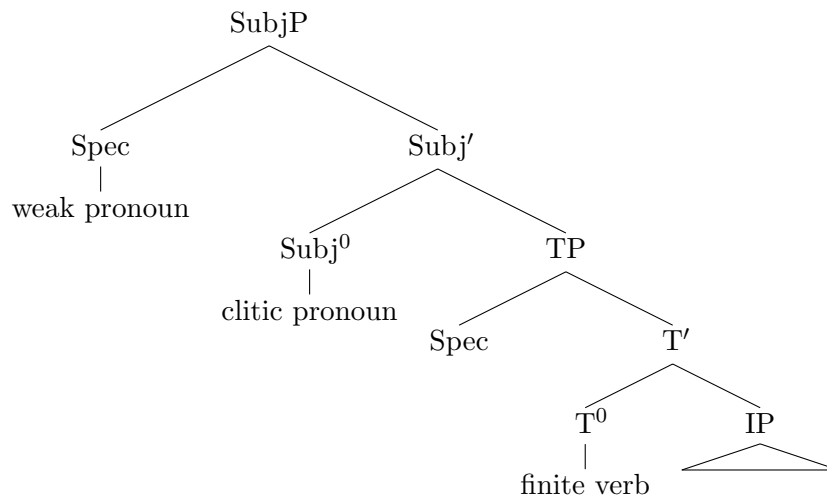
The presence of a projection called SubjP at the border between TP and CP has been proposed also by Cardinaletti (2004); my proposal here, though, goes in another direction, since it aims to make sense of the distribution of reduced subject pronominal forms and not of DP subjects. The presence of this area might be thought of to be connected to *Wackernagel*-pronouns, and surely is, but I do not want to speak, differently from Grewendorf/Poletto (2009), of a projection WackP where clitic pronouns are hosted, since this the notion of *Wackernagel*-pronouns is tightly connected with inversion contexts, whereas weak subject pronouns in Mòcheno can only appear in sentence-initial position[28].

Therefore, capitalising on Sportiche's (1996) idea of the presence of a Clitic Phrase in the lowest portion of CP (used also by Bidese in order to make sense of the distribution of subject pronouns in the diachrony of Cimbrian), I want to put forth the idea that reduced subject pronominal forms are part of that CP area, which is assumed by Sportiche to be connected to specificity.

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[28]Here, I do not adopt Grewendorf/Poletto's (2009) idea that clitic pronouns showing up in enclisis are found in the topic field, that is above FocusP. This idea is in fact not compatible with my data from Mòcheno, which point to the fact that enclisis of subject clitics takes place low in the structure, surely below the lowest OpP. See next chapter.

The idea that subject clitics are hosted in the head of a dedicated projection connected to specificity (and to a null topic) is unproblematic, but I also claim that weak subject pronouns are hosted in the Spec position of the same projection hosting the clitic. This is somehow more problematic, since Sportiche speaks of Clitic Phrase and weak subject pronouns are XPs.

I think that there are two further pieces of evidence[29] that can be discussed here in favour of the idea that weak subject pronouns are very similar to clitics and therefore it is plausible that they are the realization of the same projection (differently from strong pronouns).

Th first piece of evidence in favour of the fact that weak subject pronouns pattern with clitics, in the sense that they are hosted in the same are encoding specificity, comes from the fact that in Trentino regional Italian and in Northern Italian dialects (as noticed by Poletto/Tomaselli 1995:173) weak subject pronouns can be modified by a locative (146a) or by the adjective "other" (146c): in both cases one obtains a marked reading according to which the weak subject pronoun has a specific reading within a set of people (as in 146a,c). A strong pronoun, on the other hand, cannot be modified (146b,d).

(146) **a.** *Quella lì/là mi ha guardata*   *Italian*
       that LOC-LOC ACC CL has look
       b. **Lei lì/là mi ha guardata*   *Italian*
       she LOC/LOC ACC CL ha looked
       'That woman over there looked at me'
       c. *Quel'altra la rot ancora na bicera*   *Trentino*
       that other SUBJ CL-has broken again a glass
       d. **Ela altra la rot ancora na bicera*   *Trentino*
       she other SUBJ CL-has broken again a glass
       'She broke again a glass'

Also in Mòcheno weak subject pronouns can be modified by a locative or by an adjective, as shown in (147)[30].

(147) **a.** *De sell sem hot a puach kaft*
       she-weak that there has a book bought
       b. *De ondre/de sell ondre hot a puach kaft*
       the other/the that other has a book bought

I take the data above to indicate that weak subject pronouns show up in a different position with respect to strong pronouns, in an area where they are not only syntactic subjects, but where they also get a specific reading.

The second piece of evidence is of syntactic nature. As shown in (148), in Mòcheno a weak subject pronoun is able to double in certain constructions[31] a DP subject.

(148)   *De mama, de hot kaft s puach*

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[29]Evidence in favour of this idea has been indirectly provided in this first part of this chapter, where I showed that clitic and weak pronouns are in complementary distribution and that only clitics can be syntactic subjects in postverbal position. Further support for the idea that weak and clitic subject pronouns are in the same projection comes from the analysis of V2 that I will give in the next chapter.

[30]Notice that here the weak subject pronoun cannot be distinguished from the feminine definite article, since that in Mòcheno all demonstratives are invariable in gender (but not in number) and a preceding article is needed in order for gender features to be expressed. This aspect of Mòcheno grammar is very interesting, since it diverges from both Romance contact varieties and German and would be worth studying (together with the structure of DP).

[31]See chapter 4 on more on this.

the mum she-weak has bought the book

'As for the mum, she bought the book'

On the basis of the possibility to modify a weak subject pronoun and on the possibility to have doubling of a DP with a weak, I put forth the hypothesis that weak subject pronouns actually realise the Spec position of the same projection hosting clitics and assumed by Sportiche to be i) linked to specificity and ii) to be involved in pronominal doubling.

Now, the projection hosting weak and clitic subject pronouns has to be considered only one projection of the area linked to specificity assumed by Sportiche, since, according to him, all clitic copies are hosted in this area. It has to be determined in what order the different projections dedicated to the copies of doubled constituents are ordered.

In (149), I consider a sentence in which three pronouns appear: their order has to be *subject-direct object-indirect object*.

(149)   *Gester der Mario$_j$ benn hot-er$_j$-z-en gem?*

          yesterday the Mario when has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL-DAT CL given

          'When did Mario give it to him/her yesterday?'

We have seen for several examples that in Mòcheno clitics have to be enclitic to the finite verb and that enclisis has to be fed by verb movement to CP; the order in (149) can therefore be derived either through adjacency, by the assuming that the finite verb moves above the area hosting clitic copies that show up in the linear order *subject-direct object-indirect object*, or we assume that the finite verb moves through head movement through all heads containing the clitics picking them up on its way to CP.

Here, I put forth the idea that this latter hypothesis is the right one; as we will have seen above and see again in the derivations at the end of the chapter, it seems that the finite verb followed by the clitic copied can move higher up in the left periphery and does not remain in a position immediately above the area hosting clitics. This speaks against an explanation of the syntax of clitics in terms of adjacency.

Following the Mirror Principle of Baker (1985), I propose that the linear order of clitics in clitic clusters is the mirror image of their underlying order and that superficial order is obtained through finite verb movement through all head containing clitics, as shown in (150). This derivation allows to eliminate adjacency and to derive through movement of the finite verb the superficial linear order.

(150)

FP
Spec   F′
hot-er-z-en$_n$ IndObjP
Spec   IndObj′
weak
IndObj^0 DirObjP
[hot-er-z]k-en$_n$
Spec   DirObj′
weak
Dirobj^0 SubjP
[hot-er]$_j$-z$_k$
Spec   Subj′
weak
Subj^0 TP
hot-er$_j$
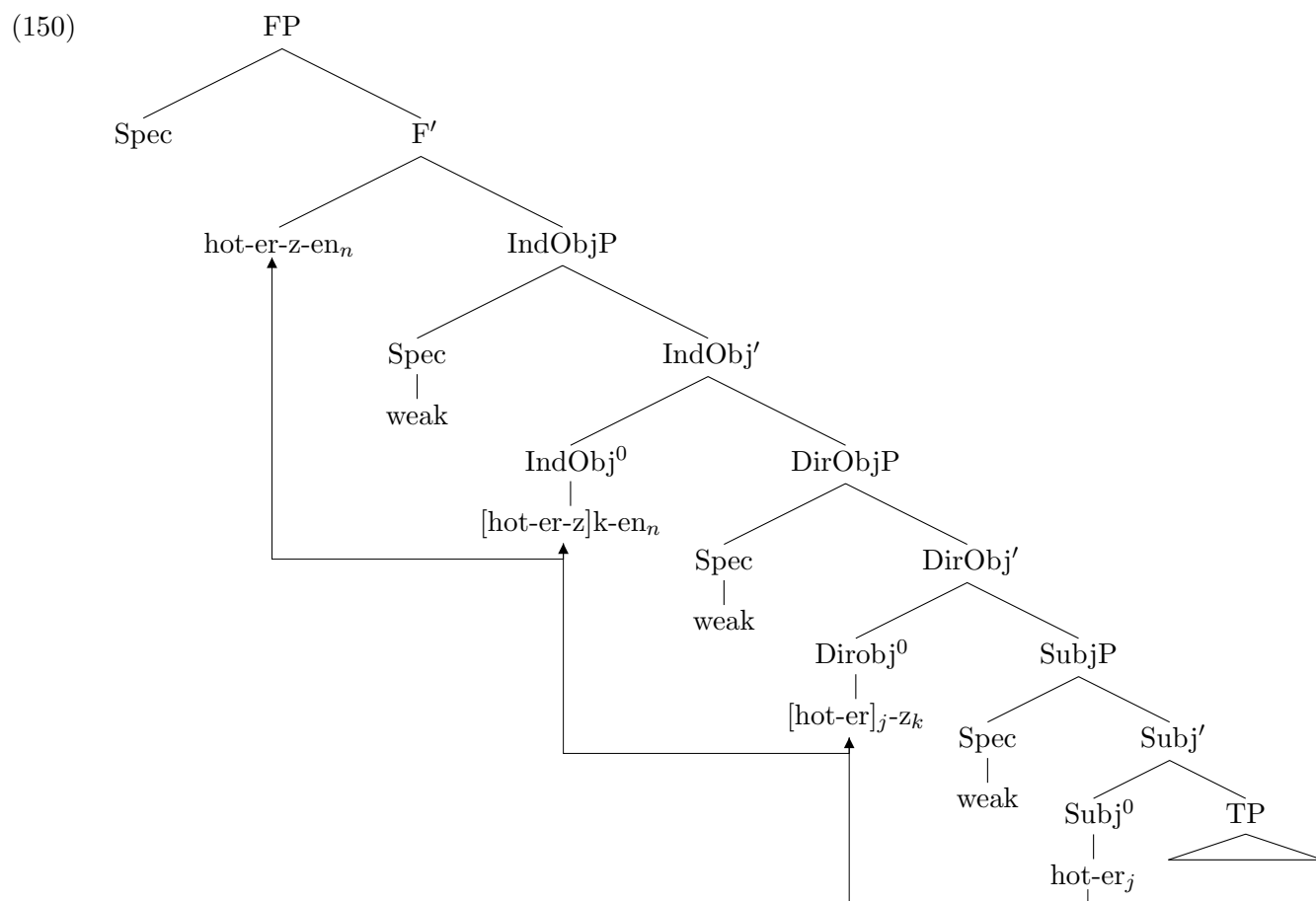
The structure given in (150) leads to a positive result, since structural adjacency between TP and SubjP is maintained; this is what one would expect in the light of Mòcheno data, which show that weak and clitic subject pronouns are syntactic subjects, which means that they have to establish a relation with the finite verb. This relation is immediately captured if SubjP and TP are structurally adjacent and would much difficult to account for if SubjP would be the highest projection of the area hosting clitic copies.

The last thing to be underlined is that I do not label the area hosting weak and clitic subjects clitic phrase, but simply assume the presence of several projections dedicated to doubled constituents, ordered according to the structure in (150), that host clitic copies and weak subjects.

I think that the assumption of the presence of a projection dedicated to reduced pronominal forms and connected to specificity, together with the idea that the distribution of the pronominal forms realising the syntactic subject is fed by movement of the finite verb to CP, constitutes a good alternative to FinP. Under this analysis, FinP has to be rethought of as the lowest projection of the area assumed by Sportiche to host clitics, that is SubjP, and not as the projection involved in the checking of a declarative feature in V2 languages.

Under this perspective, FinP (that is SubjP) is not to be seen as the head responsible of the V2 phenomenon, to whose head the finite verb has to raise in all sentences in order to check the declarative feature, but has rather to be seen as a projection that is affected by movement of the finite verb to CP. What has to be made sense of is what attractes the finite verb to CP, given that SubjP cannot be taken to be responsible for it.

Strong subject pronouns

We saw above that strong pronouns do not behave as weak and clitics, but seem to have specialised for the realization of the subject in A' positions. This seems to be indicated by fact that i) strong pronouns can never follow the finite verb; ii) only an enclitic can follow the finite verb and iii) a strong pronoun can follow a finite verb only if also an enclitic is present (doubling) and in this case, the strong pronoun has a pragmatically marked reading.

Following the proposal above, I put forth the idea that the syntax of strong subject pronouns can be captured by assuming that this class of pronouns can never show up in either Spec,TP nor in Spec,SubjP, but that it can only target a TopicP or a FocusP of either the high or the left periphery. This means that, at least in postverbal contexts, a strong pronoun cannot be a syntactic subject, that is it cannot establish a relation with the finite verb; this is why it has to co-occur with an enclitic subject pronoun that is allowed to appear in the head of SubjP.

In (151) I sketch this idea in a structure, only focusing on the A' positions realised by strong subject pronouns in the high left periphery.

(151)
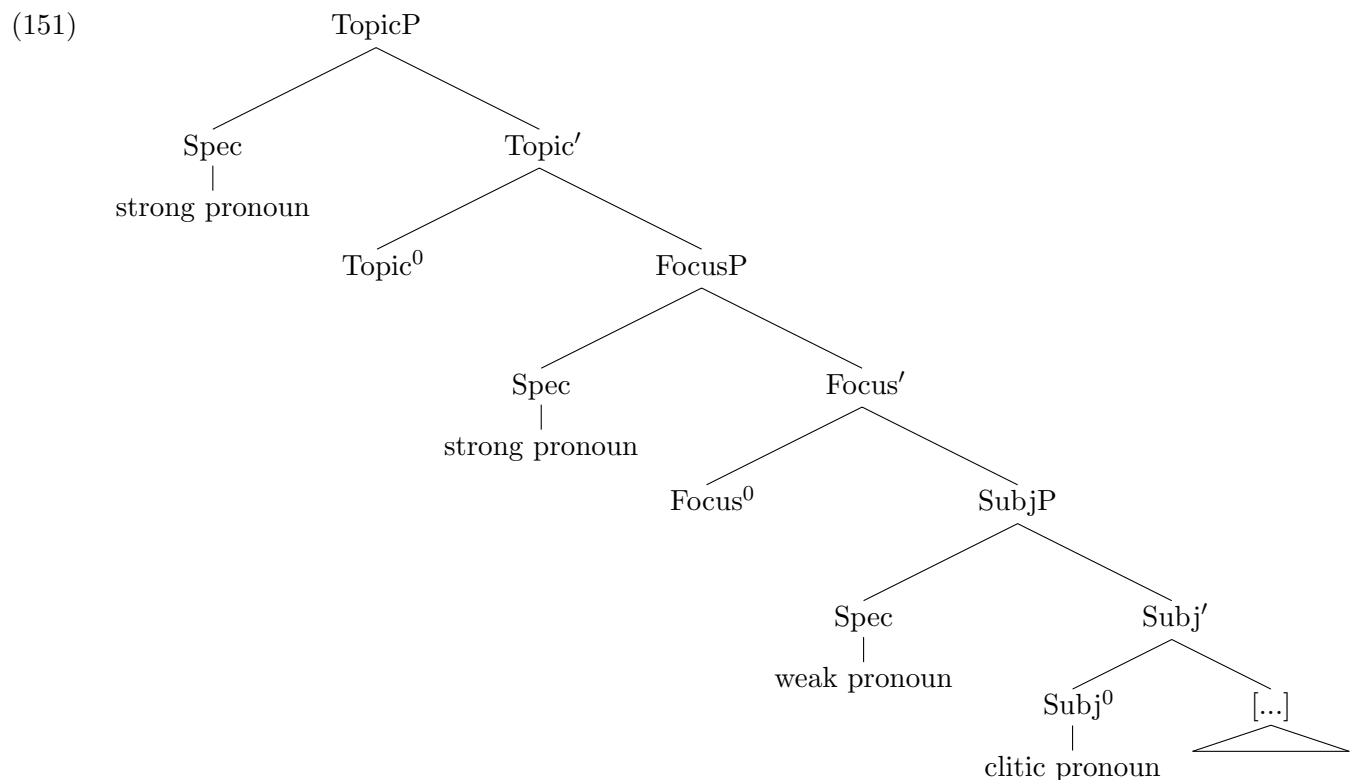
In this chapter I will not deal with the big issue of EPP and what attracts the finite verb to CP, but I only focus on the realization of the subject in order to show in all types of sentences the finite verb raises to CP; the issue of EPP will be dealt in the next chapter, where I examine all types of constituents showing up in the left periphery and their interactions with the realization of subjects. Here, some issues connected to the XP in first position and finite verb attraction will be touched; in particular, I will highlight that in Mòcheno there are two positions in CP where the finite verb can move to.

With respect to these two positions, we can either think that they are to be considered criterial positions in the sense of Rizzi (1991) and that V2 is linked to the satisfaction of the Spec-head agreement configuration imposed by a criterion: this is the way Roberts (1996) goes for in order

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to make sense of the mixed V2 system of Old English. The idea that only criterial positions are involved in finite verb to CP means that Mòcheno has a residual V2 system, that is, following the analysis by Rizzi (1991) and Roberts (1996, 1997, 2004), that the verb is attracted to CP in order to satisfy a criterion and not to trigger the declarative feature in any type of sentence.

The second possible analysis for the two positions involved in Mòcheno V2 is, along the lines of Cinque (1990) and Rizzi (1997), to hypothesise the presence of a null operator to whose head the finite verb moves and above which another constituent (a topic) can be found. This is basically the analysis given for English topicalization; for Mòcheno V2 it might have the advantage of connecting movement of the finite verb to CP to two projections, that can also host a silent operator. This would open the problem of the nature of those two projections and it might be very interesting if they could be put into relation with the projections that normally host operators, since in that case the two approaches in terms of criterial positions and null operators might be unified.

3.4.2   Sentences beginning with an XP-subj

In this subsection I will reconsider the cases of enclisis discussed in the first part of the chapter in the light of the hypothesis just sketched.

Below I repeat the most relevant data. Enclisis is found in Mòcheno in sentences beginning with an XP[-subj] (152a) and in embedded clauses (152b); with enclisis subject doubling is possible with the strong pronoun (which receives a pragmatically marked reading) that has to co-occur with the clitic (152c,d). The clitic and the strong pronoun can be separated by intervening material (152e,f). Notice that in embedded clauses the finite verb shows up in OV syntax.

(152)   **a.** *Gester hot-se/(*de) kaft s puach*

yesterday has-she-clitic/she-weak bought the book

b. *abia az-se/(*de) s puach kaft hot*

how that she-clitic/she-weak the book bought has

Let's begin with the derivation of main declaratives. Since I abandone the idea of the presence of FinP, I put forth the hypothesis that the finite verb is attracted to CP by the constituent in first position and by the requirement to check a declarative feature in Fin^0. Here, we have to find out a mechanism that allows to rule out postverbal weak subjects (strong subjects without clitic are ruled out, since they cannot be grammatical subjects).

The proposal, that will be motivated in the next chapter is that in Mòcheno weak pronouns are ruled out after the finite verb because Spec,SubjP has been saturated by the XP moving to CP and able to attract the finite verb to CP. Why this has to be so will become clear in the next chapter, where I deal with EPP and structure of Mòcheno left periphery; here, I only want to see how the idea works, in order to conclude the description of data.

(153)
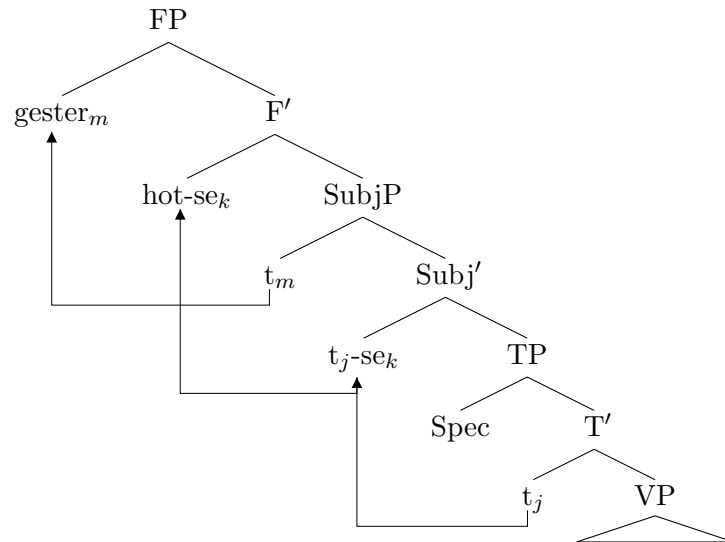
With embedded clauses, we have again a problem. Here, I limit myself to point out that the distribution of subject pronouns, that is the impossibility to have a weak subject pronoun following the complementiser, depends again on the extraction of a constituent able to move through Spec,SubjP

If we consider a sentence without wh-element, such as (154), we see that the syntactic subject can be expressed by both weak and clitic pronoun.

(154)   *De hot-mer zok az de/se hot a puach kaft*

          she-weak has-DAT CL said that she-weak/she-clitic has a book bought

          'She said that he bought a book'

Therefore, there seems to be again a connection between the impossibility to have a weak pronoun after the finite verb and the type of XP showing up in sentence-initial position. My assumption is that an embedded wh-element is extracted from the lower phase and moved to the higher one moving through Spec,SubjP. This in-between movement blocks the possibility to base-generated in that position a weak subject pronoun. The only way to realise the syntactic subject is again through a clitic pronoun. Why a complementiser is there and why OV syntax is the preferred order will not be made sense of in this work.

In (155), I sketch the way in which enclisis is derived in embedded clauses: the complementiser has to be moved to the high periphery from below SubjP, maybe from the low left periphery, as suggested (p.c.) by Cecilia Poletto.

(155)
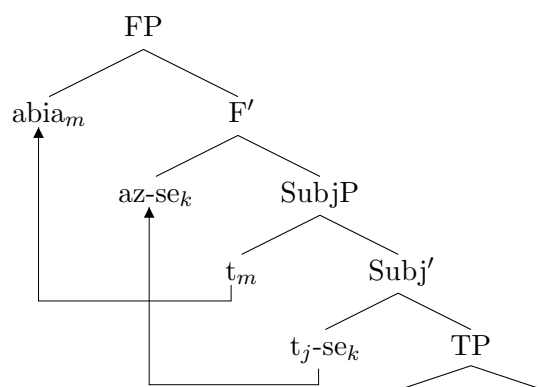
3.4.3 Sentences with a preverbal subject pronoun

In this chapter I have illustrated three different cases of sentences involving a preverbal subject, which I sum up in (156) for convenience. As shown in (156a), in a sentence beginning with an XP[-subj] it is possible to have a subject pronoun preceding the finite verb only if it is strong; weak (and of course clitics) pronouns are ruled out in this position (156b). In absolute sentence-initial position, both strong and weak are possible (156c).

(156)   **a.** *Gester si hot (*si) kaft s puach*
          yesterday she-strong has she-strong bought the book
          b. **Gester (de) hot (de) kaft s puach*
          yesterday she-weak has she-weak bought the book
          c. *De/si hot kaft s puach*
          she-weak/she-strong yesterday has bought the book

   Let's begin with the derivation of a sentence involving a preverbal strong subject pronoun (156a).
   As already said, I assume that a strong subject pronoun does not show up in the Spec of SubjP, where only weak subject pronouns are found and that have specialised for the expression of the subject in pragmatically marked readings[32]. I think that it is precisely the property of being the realization of a topicalised or focused subject that is responsible for the distributional characteristics observed with subject pronouns of this class.
   In the sentences given above, I showed that the order *XP - subject* is possible only if the subject is a strong pronoun and not a weak one (*gester - si; *gester - de*): this has to be put into relation with the fact that only strong pronouns can be focused (or topicalised) since they are stressed, whereas weak ones cannot. Therefore, only strong pronouns can follow another constituent in the left periphery, such as the scene setter *gester*.
   In (157), I give the derivation of a sentence involving the order *scene setter-strong subject*. I assume that the strong pronoun starts out from the Spec of TP and moves to Spec,lowOpP; on its way to CP, it makes an in-between step in Spec,SubjP, where it checkes the features of the syntactic subject. This last assumption, allowed within the theory since it involves movement from an A position (Spec,SubjP) into an A'position (Spec,lowOpP), is motivated by the lack of a subject clitic in sentences beginning with a strong subject pronoun. The presence of a clitic might be expected,

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[32]Strong subject pronoun can receive both a topic or a focus reading; here, I consider the focus reading.

since the finite verb moves to the head of lowOpP passing through the head of SubjP; its lacking has to be made sense of by assuming that the grammatical subject feature in SubjP has been checked, which blocks the clitic from showing up. The only way the grammatical subject feature can be checked in this construction is through in-between movement of the strong subject pronoun.

(157)
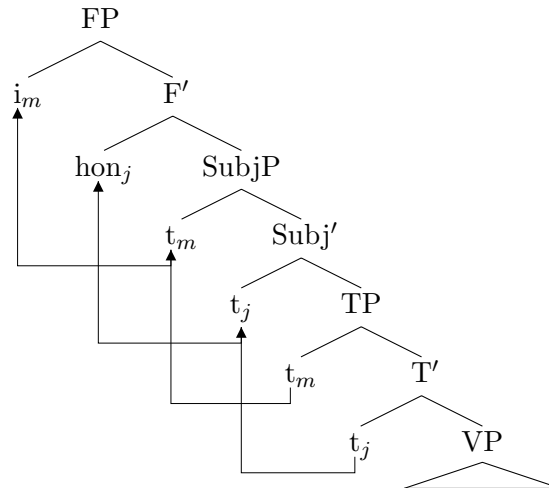
The derivation in (157) is very relevant in the light of what we will see in the next chapter, where I consider the syntax of DP subjects, showing that in certain constructions they can be syntactic subjects. The same can be said for strong pronouns, which, according to the description given above, can be syntactic subject only if no XP able to attract the finite verb to CP is present[33].

Now, the last issue to be made sense of is the syntax of weak subject pronouns, which are ruled out in basically all syntactic positions, except for absolute sentence-initial position (156c). In the literature (see among others Cardinaletti/Starke 1999, Bidese 2008) there is agreement in considering weak pronouns as XPs, which have therefore to occur in Spec positions.

According to the derivation of enclisis proposed above, weak subject pronouns are assumed to show up in Spec,SubjP, as in (158).

(158)
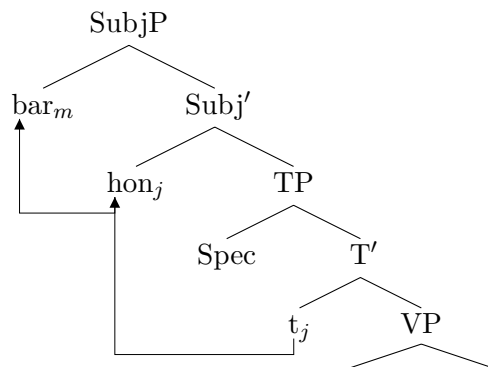
In this chapter, I have provided evidence against the idea that this Spec position is Spec,FocusP, since all tests show that weak pronouns cannot be focused. Also in the doubling construction the

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[33]As we will see, a scene setter has cannot be considered a constituent able to attract the finite verb to CP in all sentente, see Benincà 2001 and Benincà/Poletto 2004; for Mòcheno see next chapter.

pronominal form that has to show up is the strong one. No evidence has been provided for the fact that weak subject pronouns cannot be topicalised.

As shown in (159a,b), a subject DP and a strong subject pronoun can be topicalised in the left periphery and be separated from the finite verb by intervening material: I take this to mean that topics show up in the Spec position of a TopicP. Weak pronouns, on the other hand, cannot show up in the left periphery and be separated from the finite verb by intervening material (159c,d). This is evidence against an analysis of weak pronouns as topics.

(159)   **a.** *Der Mario/er gester hot kaft s puach*
        the Mario/he yesterday has bought a book
        'Mario/he bought a book yesterday'
        b. **E gester hon kaft s puach*
        I-weak have bought the book
        c. **Bar gester hon kaft s puach*
        we-weak yesterday have bought the book

I take these distributional restrictions in pragmatically marked contexts as evidence in favour of the fact that the weak pronouns do not show up in a Spec position of a TopicP or a FocusP, since if this were the case, they could be topicalised or focused, which does not occur.

Therefore, I put forth the idea that the only position able to host weak subject pronouns is Spec,SubjP. In what follows, I will provide one strong in favour of this idea coming from the doubling construction involving weak subject pronouns.

First of all, in (160) I illustrate that a weak subject pronoun forms a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb, since no material can intervene between them.

(160)   **a.** **E gester hon kaft s puach*
        I-weak have bought the book
        b. **Bar gester hon kaft s puach*
        we-weak yesterday have bought the book
        c. **De gester hot kaft s puach*
        she-weak yesterday have bought the book
        d. **De gester hon kaft s puach*
        they-weak yesterday have bought the book

How can we decide whether the weak subject pronoun is in Spec,SubjP (as I assume) or in the Spec of an OpP, in whose head the finite verb can raise?

The latter hypothesis, that is that weak subject pronouns are in the Spec of one OpP, is not supported by the general properties of OpPs in Mòcheno, which can only host wh-elements and foci, that is stressed constituents. Considered that weak pronouns are unstressed, it is highly unlikely that they can show up in one OpP. Syntactically, we saw that weak subject pronouns cannot be preceded by any constituent: this fact is compatible with the property of highOpP and not of lowOpP. In order to determine whether the weak subject pronoun appears in Spec,highOp I look at the possibility to have a topicalised item below the finite verb, as is the case in the doubling construction illustrated above.

The syntax of the doubling construction involving a weak pronoun is illustrated by the examples in (161): the weak pronoun is in first position, followed by the finite verb followed by the strong pronominal form; the strong pronoun has a marked (focus or topic) reading.

(161)   **a.** <u>*Bar*</u> *sain* <u>*bir*</u> *gaben*

we-weak are we-strong been
'It was us/we did'
b. _De iz <u>si</u> gaben_
she-weak is she-strong been
'It was her/she did'
c. _De sain <u>sei</u> gaben_
they-weak are they-strong been
'It was them/they did'

Differently from what we saw in the cases of doubling considered above and involving a clitic pronoun and a strong pronoun in embedded clauses and in sentences beginning with an XP different from the subject, where material can intervene between the clitic and the strong pronoun, in this case of doubling the strong pronoun cannot be separated from the finite verb by any intervening material, see (162).

(162)   **a.** _*De hot s puach si kaft_
she-weak has the book she-strong bought
b. _De hot sie s puach kaft_
she-weak has she-strong the book bought
'She bought the book'
c. _*De hon s puach sei kaft_
they-weak has the book they-strong bought
d. _De hon sei s puach kaft_
they-weak has they-strong the book bought
'They bought the book'

I take the impossibility for any XP to intervene between the finite verb and the strong pronoun in (162) to mean that the weak pronoun does not appear in Spec,highOpP. The syntax of weak pronouns also rules out that they are hosted in Spec,lowOpP, since they are incompatible with several preceding constituents, whereas sentence-initial XPs[-subj] that target Spec,lowOpP are.

The only position where weak pronouns can be hosted is then Spec,SubjP, that is they appear in the lowest portion of CP.

Further evidence in favour of the idea that weak subject pronouns are hosted in the lowest portion of CP comes from the distribution of the strong pronoun with respect to sentential adverbs. If the idea that weak pronouns show up in the lowest portion of CP and do not have TopicPs nor FocusPs below them, but only TP, it has to be expected that the strong pronoun receives its pragmatically marked reading in the vP periphery, that is in the lowest part of the clause[34]. This prediction is borne out by data, as in (163).

(163)   **a.** _*De hot si schua/ollbe a puach kaft_
she-weak has she-strong already/always a book bought
b. _De hot schua/ollbe si a puach kaft_
she-weak has already/always she-strong a book bought
'She has already/always bought a book'

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[34]Also in other cases of doubling the strong pronoun shows up in the low left periphery; in the case of the doubling construction involving a weak subject pronoun no constituent can follow the finite verb, differently from what we find in other doubling constructions.

The fact that weak subject pronouns are the lowest XPs that can show up before the finite verb together with the idea that all XPs able to attract the finite verb to CP have to move through Spec,SubjP makes an interesting prediction, that is that a filled Spec,SubjP has to function as a bottle neck for further movemements to the high left periphery. We have already seen that this prediction is already partially borne out, since a weak subject pronoun cannot be preceded by a scene setter: in the next chapter, I will go back to this and offer a complete theoretical explanation.

3.5   Conclusions

This was a long chapter, where I touched several issues that will be relevant in the next chapter dedicated to the structure of Mòcheno left periphery.

In the first part of this chapter, I discussed Rowley's (2003) definition of Mòcheno V2, pointing out the shortcomings of his definition when one considers empirical data. In particular, Rowley's definition of V2 has to faces several counterexamples, which might be easily made sense of by assuming that Mòcheno is losing the V2 rule in favour of a Romance non-V2 structure of the clause. Despite its easiness, I rejected this hypothesis, showing that the idea that Mòcheno is a V2 language can be maintained, given that we reconsider what the main properties of V2 are. My first proposal (along the lines of several works on V2 languages with multiple access to CP, see previous chapter) was to consider subject-verb inversion in main declarative clauses as the main property of V2: this idea forces to pursue the V2 in a more abstract way than only looking at the linear position of the finite verb, since in a language with multiple access to CP the finite verb might be in CP even in cases of V3.

On the basis of this idea, I considered subject-verb inversion in Mòcheno, showing that, differently from Romance contact varieties, it is always possible, but not obligatory, in main declarative clauses. I could have concluded that V2, that is movement of the finite verb to CP and subject verb inversion, is optional in Mòcheno, but I think that this is not an interesting description of the empirical facts, in particular in the light of what is known from the literature on V2 languages with multiple access to CP. What is more, in Mòcheno there is evidence coming from the distribution of subject pronominal forms in favour of the fact that the occurrences of subject-verb inversion are not ruled by optionality, but that there is a systematic pattern behind the distribution of the preverbal and postverbal subject pronouns.

In order to find out the rules behind the distribution of subject pronouns, trying to pursue the idea that the finite verb raises to CP even when subject-verb inversion apparently does not take place, I first classified all the subject pronominal forms listed by Rowley (2003) and identified, according to Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) tests, three classes of subject pronouns: strong, weak and clitics. I then examined the distribution of the three classes of subject pronouns, showing that they are specialised for the realization of specific positions of the subject. Strong pronouns can only show up preverbally or postverbally in the doubling construction where the clitic has to be present as well, whereas clitics have specialised for the postverbal position (enclisis) on both complementisers and finite verb. Weak pronouns have a limited distribution, since they can only show up in sentence-initial position and cannot be preceded by any other XP.

In the last section, I put forth a theoretical proposal able to make sense of the empirical facts. In order to do so, I first discussed the notion of pro-drop (in the sense of Northern Italian dialects, Brandi/Cordin 1981) and whether it can be applied to the specific system of Mòcheno, reaching the conclusion that the two systems diverge, despite several common features. In particular, I took the the impossibility for a DP subject to be doubled by a clitic in main declarative clauses as a clear difference between Northern Italian dialects and Mòcheno. Despite of this asymmetry, I concluded

that Mòcheno can be considered a language that is going in the direction of pro-drop, even though it has not reached yet a system comparable to the one of Northern Italian dialects.

After the discussion of this important issue, I put forth the most relevant ideas with respect to the analysis. First of all, I hypothesised that weak and clitics realise Spec and head respectively of the same projection, that I called SubjP and is found in the lowest area of CP at the border with TP. This projection is found in the same area linked to specificity assumed by Sportiche (1997) to host all clitics. In my account, SubjP substitutes FinP and is the projection where the subject grammatical features are checked. Strong pronouns and DP subjects cannot show up in this SubjP but are specialised for the realization of pragmatically marked projections, such as TopicP and FocusP.

With these theoretical assumptions on the structure of the left periphery, I went back to the data and tried to make sense of sentences involving enclisis and a preverbal subject. As far as the first type of sentences is concerned, the most important result was to show that enclisis can take place in two positions of CP according to the type of constituent showing up in the left periphery. In order to make sense of this fact, I put forth the idea that these two positions have to be thought of as two functional areas where i) the finite verb can move and a complementiser be generated and ii) where clitics can be hosted. Therefore, the area of clitics assumed on the basis of Sportiche (1997) can appear at two levels within CP in correspondence of the area activated. Partial evidence in favour of this idea comes from the co-occurence of complementisers in Mòcheno.

As far as sentences involving a preverbal subject, I proposed that strong subjects i) realise a Topic or Focus feature in one of the two peripheries of the clause and ii) they realise both a pragmatic and a grammatical feature. This conclusion was reached on the basis of the fact that strong pronouns can only show up preverbally and can be preceded by several XPs: since they are stressed, they can be topicalised or focused and are compatible with other XPs.

Weak subject pronouns, on the other hand, can show up in sentence-initial position but are not compatible with preceding constituents: my claim is that this depends on their being unstressed, which prevents them to be focused nor topicalised. In the last part of the chapter, I pointed out at a particular distribution of weak subject pronouns that I found with verbs not projecting external theta role (inaccusatives and raising verbs). With these verbs, a weak pronoun (showing up in preverbal position and triggering EPP) can double a DP or a strong pronoun. I speculate that it is precisely from these contexts where a class of subject clitics of Northern Italian dialects type can developed and weak pronouns (not the clitics already present in the system) are likely to build this new class.

Chapter 4

EPP and the structure of Mòcheno left periphery

4.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the natural continuation of the previous one.

In chapter 3, I gave a first description of the V2 rule in Mòcheno, trying to demonstrate that in this language the finite verb has to raise to CP in all sentences, even though this is not always evident, due to the presence of a split CP. Starting out from a definition of V2 in terms of subject-verb inversion (which is compatible with a split CP), and not in terms of second linear position of the finite verb, I noticed that in Mòcheno subject-verb inversion seems to be optional, at least when one looks at main declarative clauses. In order to provide evidence in favour of that Mòcheno V2 cannot be captured in terms of optionality of movement of the finite verb to CP, I took into examination the syntax of subject pronominal forms, showing that in Mòcheno i) there are three different forms: clitic, weak and strong; ii) these forms have specialised for different types of subjects: clitics realise the syntactic subject, that is they establish a relation with the finite verb, strong can be pragmatic subjects, since they have specialised for topic and focus positions; weak subjects sets themselves between the two classes, since they are both syntactic and pragmatic subjects.

We saw that the distribution of these three classes of pronouns can be captured within a theory that posits certain conditions on the structure, that for instance weak and clitic are the realization of Spec and head of the same projection found at the border between CP and IP (Sportiche 1997), and that the finite verb raises to CP in all sentences.

In this chapter, after having provided evidence in favour of movement of the finite verb to CP in all sentences, I will take into consideration the other side of the V2 phenomenon and will try to provide an answer to the question of why the finite verb has to raise to CP in all sentences.

In chapter 2 I discussed some proposals put forth in the literature in order to make sense of V2 (Tomaselli 1990, Haegeman 1997, Roberts/Roussou 2002, Roberts 2004) and we saw that in practically all of them it is assumed that V2, that is movement of the finite verb to CP, it due to the properties of the head of one functional projection. According to Haegeman 1997, Roberts/Roussou 2002 and Roberts 2004 this projection is FinP, in whose head the finite verb has to raise in all sentences in order to check the declarative features. In these approaches to V2, movement of one XP to CP constitutes a second momement of the phenomenon and is made sense of through the assumption that a sentence needs to have a subject (EPP) and therefore the Spec position of FinP cannot remain empty.

Such a description of V2 and EPP is problematic for a language with a split CP such as Mòcheno,

especially with respect to two assumptions, that is that the finite verb is attracted to the head of FinP since this is a functional head entailing the declarative feature to be checked by the verb in main declarative clauses and that EPP can be satisfied by any XP that is moved to Spec,FinP.

Beginning with this latter issue, the first thing that I will show in this chapter is that in a language with multiple access to CP not only constituents are identical with respect to the possibility to satisfy EPP, that is in such a language it is not automatical that the XP in sentence-initial position forms a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb and, in the case the subject is realised by a pronoun, forces enclisis. In Mòcheno, only operators and topicalizations are able to satisfy EPP, whereas hanging-topics and left-dislocated items are not. This finding is not surprising in the light of what is known of V2 in languages with multiple access to CP (see among others Benincà 2006, Poletto 2002), but has to be underlined in order to capture the phenomenon of V2 in Mòcheno.

Constituents that cannot satisfy EPP can co-occur with constituents that can realise a Spec-head configuration with the finite, therefore cases of V3,V4... are possible in Mòcheno, as expected in V2 languages with multiple access to CP. The possibility to combine constituents able to trigger EPP with the constituents that are not able to do so is a precious test in order to determine the structure of the high left periphery; on the basis of the combinatory possibilities of the XPs in the left periphery, Benincà (2006) proposes that in Old Romance V2 is a property of the lowest portion of CP.

For Mòcheno we will see that this test leads to an interesting finding: constituents able to trigger EPP do not target one single projection within CP, nor one single area, but move to dedicated positions and activate a dedicated topic field, as sketched in the structure in (164).

(164) $[_{TopicP}$ Topic $[\mathbf{foci}[_{TopicP}$ Topic [Topic $[_{LOW-OP}$ [**wh-element**]]]]]]

The structure in (164) will be motivated by showing that in Mòcheno the different constituents able to satisfy EPP cannot be freely combined with the same number and type of constituents non able to satisfy EPP, which will be taken as one piece of evidence in favour of the idea that they do not move to the same position in CP. This is, I think, strong piece of evidence against the idea that the finite verb moves always to the same CP head in Mòcheno V2, since this would imply that all constituents able to trigger EPP an be combined with the same number and type of topics, which is though not the case.

In the light of this finding, how can be define V2 and EPP? The first thing to be considered is that the XPs able to trigger EPP form a coherent class and each of them moves to its dedicated position in CP, which excludes that the finite verb can raise to any CP head. EPP can be satisfied by interrogative wh-elements, foci, topicalizations[1] and weak subject pronouns, which are to be considered though an instantiation of topicalization. Topicalization affects the lowest portion of CP, wh-elements move to the middle area of CP, whereas foci move higher up.

Syntactically, XPs able to trigger EPP form a uniform class, since they all rule out pronominal doubling, differently from left-dislocations and hanging topics; they also seem to constitute a uniform class from the point of view of pragmatics, since they are all somehow pragmatically marked constructions encoded in CP. Interrogative wh-elements have to move to CP; foci can do so (in Mòcheno also *in-situ* focalization is possible, see last chapter); and topicalization is again another marked construction in which a familiarity topic is put in sentence-initial position.

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[1]For Mòcheno, I distiguish between left-dislocation and topicalization: the first construction involves an aboutness topic appearing in the left periphery being doubled by a pronominal form in IP, whereas the second one involves a familiarity topic that cannot be doubled by a pronoun. See below.

On the basis of these facts, I propose the descriptive generalization in (165), according to which in Mòcheno EPP can only be satisfied by one XP the is not doubled by a clitic and that receives a pragmatically marked reading when is moved to its dedicated projection of CP.

(165)   *Descriptive generalization on EPP in Mòcheno:*
        EPP in Mòcheno can be triggered only by XPs that are not doubled by a pronoun in IP;
        these XPs receive a pragmatically marked interpretation when showing up in CP;
        different pragmatical interpretations are encoded in different projections of CP.

I assume that the descriptive generalization in (174) points to the fact that in Mòcheno EPP can only be satisfied by a pragmatical subject, that is by the most prominent constituent in the clause showing up in CP[2].

The crucial question has to be tackled now: can we say for Mòcheno that V2 is a property one one single functional head? I think that the answer to this question has to be negative, since all empirical facts seem to indicate that in Mòcheno movement of the finite verb to CP is the result of the attraction by a pragmatical subject, and not i) independent movement of the finite verb to the head of FinP and then ii) attraction to Spec,FinP of a constituent able to satisfy EPP[3].

My proposal for Mòcheno is therefore that the V2 in this language has to be captured through the definition given in (166).

(166)   *Definition of V2 in Mòcheno:*
        The finite verb is attracted to the head of the projection hosting the pragmatical subject
        in order to establish a Spec-head agreement configuration identical to the one established
        with the syntactic subject in TP.

The proposal in (166) recalls the notion of reduced-V2 language (Rizzi 1991), for which it is proposed that movememnt of the finite verb occurs in marked sentences, such as wh-main interrogatives and sententeces involving a focus, for satisfaction of a criterion, but not in main declaratives. Now, in this chapter I provide several arguments for rejecting the idea that Mòcheno can be considered a residual V2 language: the most important one is the syntax of topicalization, which is the construction through with a familiarity topic is moved to the left periphery in main declarative clauses, i) forcing enclisis of a subject pronoun, ii) creating a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb and iii) causing subject-verb inversion with a DP subject. These are not characteristics of a residual-V2 language, but of a V2 language.

Despite the properties of Mòcheno V2 are characteristic of a V2 language, Mòcheno differs from V2 languages such as German. My answer to this question is that Mòcheno is different from German because in its system of EPP and V2 in terms of attraction of the finite verb to the head of the projection hosting the pragmatical subject, it has become possible to have some constituents (semantically aboutness topics, syntactically left dislocations) preceding the pragmatical subject.

In this chapter, I will show that my account of Mòcheno allows to derive the impossibility to have two pragmatical subjects in the sentence through the ideas that i) pragmatic subjects move to

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[2]In this dissertation, following Benincà, I distinguish between three types of subjects at the three different layers of the clause. The pragmatical subject is the most prominent constituent in the clause and shows up in CP; the syntactic subject is the constituent that establishes a relation with the finite verb and is thought to appear in Spec,TP; the thematic subject is the constituent that bears the agent theta role.

[3]It could be thought that the finite verb moves first to the head of FinP, then the pragmatical subject is moved to Spec,FinP (Spec,SubjP in my analysis) and then to the Spec position of it dedicated projection to whose head the finite verb has then to further raise. In this chapter, I will provide evidence that this is actually true, but incomplete: a pragmatical subject has to saturate all Spec positions of all other pragmatical subjects on its way to its dedicated projection.

dedicated positions in the order *focus-wh-element-topicalization*; ii) all pragmatic subjects moving to their dedicated position have to move through the Spec of the positions dedicated to the other pragmatic subjects (it is not possible to have two pragmatical subjects in the sentence, in the same way it is not possible to have two syntactic subjects or two XPs with agent theta role); iii) in the case the pragmatic subject is lower in the structure, I assume that it functions as a bottle-neck for further movements through its Spec and forces the finite verb to stop in its head, because it is not possible to have two pragmatic subjects in a sentence.

This mechanism can be replicated for standard German, where it would allow to make sense of the fact that two pragmatical subjects (operators and topicalizations) cannot co-occur; in standard German, though, V4 word orders are not possible, differently from Mòcheno. According to my analysis, therefore, the only different between Mòcheno and standard German is that the former language has multiple access to CP, that is it allows for aboutness topics (syntactically left dislocation) to precede the pragmatical subject, whereas in German pragmatical subjects cannot be preceded by any constituent. This asymmetry is probably due to the development of a system of pronominal doubling in Mòcheno and not in German (as pointed out for Cimbrian by among others Bidese 2008, Poletto/Tomaselli 2008 and Grewendorf/Poletto 2009).

The chapter is organised in the following way: in the first section, I consider all constructions hosted in the left periphery and see what constituents can form a Spec-head configuration with the subject, that is whether they can trigger EPP. In the second section, I introduce the structure of the lowest portion of Mòcheno left periphery, determining the positions of interrogative wh-elements and topicalizations and providing evidence in favour of the idea that topicalizations can trigger EPP, differently from left-dislocations. In the third section, I will consider the syntax of the third type of pragmatical subjects, that is foci, showing on the basis of the characteristics of their topic field that they have to move to a higher projection of the high periphery.

4.2   Constituent categories and EPP

As already said in chapter 2 and repeated in the introduction, the characteristics of the V2 phenomenon of strict V2 languages such as standard German are made sense of by assuming that the lowest head of CP, FinP, has strong declarative features that have to be checked by the finite verb in all sentences, and that "the EPP applies where we have both V-movement to Fin [...] and no feature in Fin (other than [+finite])" (Roberts 2004:316). More clearly, "In root clauses the finite verb moves to Fin^0. One maximal projection will move to (and sometimes through), the specifier of FinP to satisfy the EPP associated with finite Fin^0. The relevant maximal projection may, for instance, be a subject, a topicalized constituent, or a wh constituent" (Haegman 1997:17).

The EPP feature, which forces movement of an XP to the Spec of FinP, is therefore needed to license the declarative feature in FinP and depends on the nature of Fin^0.

In order to explore the connection between V2 and the requirement imposing Spec-head agreement between the finite verb in CP and one XP within a language with multiple access to CP, in what follows, I consider all the constructions hosted in the left periphery and see if they can form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb, that is if they can satisfy EPP imposed by the head of FinP. In order to do so, I will i) consider one XP realising one construction at time and see ii) if it forms a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb and if it forces enclisis of the pronominal subject.

The expectation to be tested on the basis of the literature on V2 languages with multiple access to CP is that not only constructions are identical with respect to EPP, that is only some construction can form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb. In the whole of this chapter, I

will speak of EPP in maybe an improper sense, since with constituent able to satisfy EPP, I indicate those constituents able to form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb; the hypothesis to be further tested is if this configuration takes place in FinP/SubjP (and therefore EPP is associated with the Fin^0/$Subj^0$) or not.

4.2.1 Wh-main interrogatives and sentences involving a focus

Operators in Mòcheno are able to satisfy EPP, that is they can always form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb. This is shown in (167), where is to be seen that no material can intervene between the operator and the finite verb. I take this to mean that operator and finite verb are in a Spec-head configuration.

(167) **a.** *Benn s puach hoso kaft en Nane?*
        when the book have-SUBJ CL bought to John
        b. *Benn hoso kaft s puach en Nane?*
        when have-SUBJ CL bought the book to John
        'When did he buy John the book?'
        c. *Bos en de Maria hot-er kaft?*
        what to the Mary has-SUBJ CL bought
        d. *Bos hot-er kaft en de Maria?*
        what has-SUBJ CL bought to the Mary
        'What did he buy Mary?'
        e. *A PUACH en de boteig hon-e kaft (ont net a penna)*
        a book in the shop have-SUBJ CL bought and not a pen
        f. *A PUACH hon-e kaft en de boteig (ont net a penna)*
        a book have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop and not a pen
        'It was a book that I bought in the shop, not a pen'

The fact that the XP in sentence-initial position is able to satisfy EPP, that is to attract the finite verb to the head of the projection in whose Spec it is hosted, has the consequence of forcing the realization of the pronominal subject through a clitic pronoun. This is shown by the following examples.

In (168), I show that a weak subject pronoun cannot show up in SubjP when there is an operator in sentence-initial position[4].

(168) **a.** *Benn bar/de hon bar/de kaft s puach?*
        when we-weak/they-weak have we-weak/the-weak bought the book
        b. *Benn de/ar hot de/ar kaft s puach?*
        when she-weak/he-weak have she-weak/he-weak bought the book
        'When did we/they/she/he buy the book?'
        c. *A PUACH de/ar hot-de/ar kaft en de boteig (ont net a penna)*
        a book she/he-weak has she/he-weak bought in the shop and not a pen
        'It was a book that he/she bought in the shop, not a pen'

Also strong subject pronouns are ruled out in sentences beginning with an operator. This is shown in (169) for wh-main interrogatives, where enclisis is obligatory and the strong pronominal form is ruled out.

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[4]Here, I do not consider the order *weak subject pronoun - wh-element - finite verb* since in the previous chapter I showed that weak pronouns cannot be separated by the finite verb by intervening material.

(169) **a.** *Pet bem hot-*(er) kaft s puach?*
with whom has-SUBJ CL bought the book
b. **Pet bem er hot kaft s puach?*
with whom SUBJ PRON has bought the book
'With whom did he buy the book'
c. *Benn hon-*(bar) kaft s puach?*
when have-SUBJ CL bought the book
d. **Benn bir hon kaft s puach?*
when SUBJ PRON have bought the book
'When did we buy the book?'
e. *Bos hos*(o) kaft en de Maria?*
what have-SUBJ CL bought to the Mary
f. **Bos du host kaft en de Maria?*
what SUBJ PRON have bought to the Mary
'What did you buy Mary?'

The same distribution of strong subject pronouns is found also in the case of focalization in CP: as illustrated in (170), only enclisis is possible if the XP showing up in first position is a focus.

(170) **a.** *PETN LUCA hot-*(er) kaft s puach (ont net petn Nane)*
with-the Luca has-SUBJ CL bought the book and not with-the John
b. **PETN LUCA er hot kaft s puach (ont net petn Nane)*
with-the Luca SUBJ PRON has bought the book and not with-the John
'It was with Luca that he bought the book, and not with John'
c. *A PUACH hon*(e) kaft en Nane (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL bought to John and not a pen
d. **A PUACH i hon kaft en Nane (ont net a penna)*
a book SUBJ PRON have bought to John and not a pen
'It was a book that I bought John, not a pen'

These facts lead to the descriptive generalizations in (171a,b).

(171) **a.** *Descriptive generalization on EPP:*
Interrogative wh-elements and foci can satisfy EPP, that is they obligatory form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb;
b. *Descriptive generalization on the realization of the subject:*
If the XP in first position triggers EPP, the subject can only be realised by a clitic pronoun.

The descriptive generalization in (171 points to the fact that i) realization of the subject and ii) EPP are two sides of the same coin in Mòcheno, that is are both dependent on the V2 rule.

In order to make sense of this fact, I put forth the idea that any XP able to satisfy EPP has to make an in-between step to all other Spec positions of the other projections able to satisfy EPP and that the first Spec of these projections is precisely Spec,SubjP. By moving through Spec,SubjP, the XP able to satisfy EPP, that is the operator, blocks the possibility for a weak pronoun to be inserted, given that in Spec,SubjP the trace of the operator is to be found.

This idea leads to two consequences.

The first one is that the grammatical subject can only be realised through a clitic subject, which is activated by the finite verb that has to move to the head of the projection hosting the operator. The in-between movemement of the finite verb activates the clitic in SubjP.

The derivation according to this hypothesis is illustrated in the structure in (172).

(172)
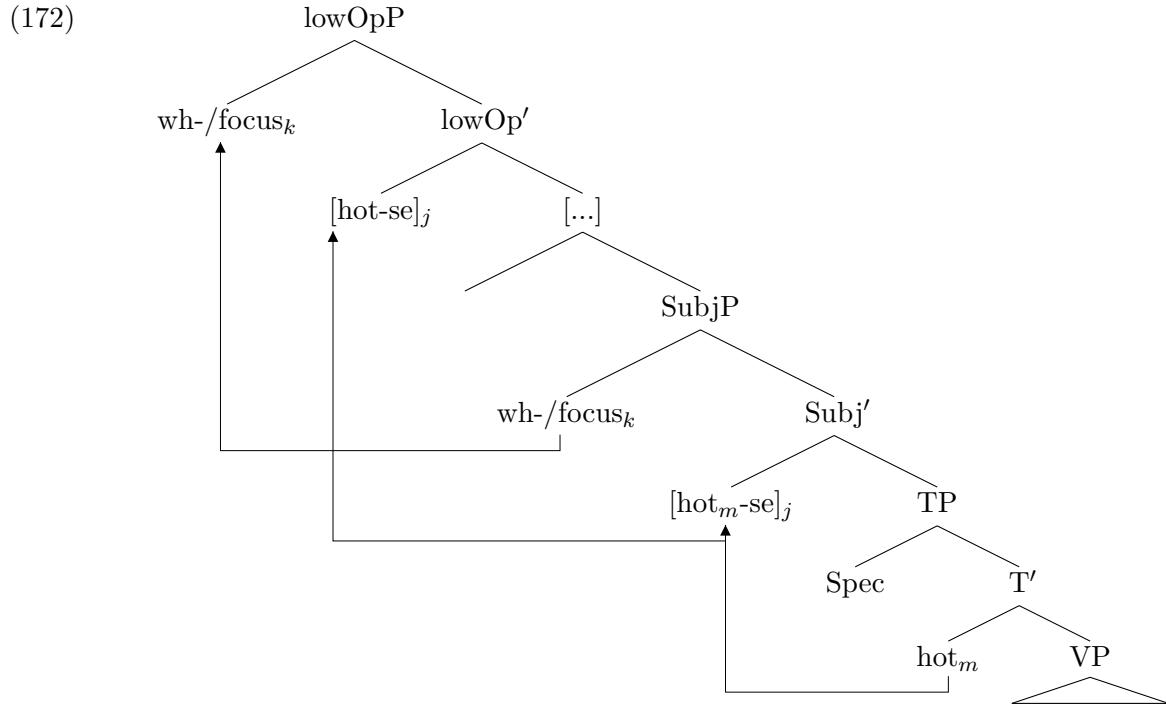
The second consequence is of much general terms and affects the way the two requirements of the V2 rule are ordered one with respect to the other. In the sentences considered here it seems that what plays the crucial role in determining the structure of the sentence is the capability of the XP in first position to attract the finite verb to CP, since it i) saturates Spec,SubjP and ii) forces the finite verb to move to CP (to satisfy EPP) and pick up the subject clitic in the head of SubjP. Therefore, in sentences beginning with an operator movement of the finite verb to CP is determined by the presence of the operator, which by i) satisfying EPP also ii) attracts the finite verb that can realise the grammatical subject feature.

This conclusion reached for Mòcheno is partly reminiscent of the notion of "residual-V2" (Rizzi 1990), according to which a language can still have movement to CP in correspondence of the presence of an operator, in order to satisfy a focus or wh- criterion in the corresponding criterial positions, but no movement if found in main declarative clauses.

In this subsection, I have shown that there is a strong connection between the category of the XP showing up in first position and the way the subject is realised. In particular, I showed that if the XP in first position is an operator, the subject has to be realised through an enclitic pronoun. I put this fact into relation with the idea, supported by data, that strong pronouns in Mòcheno do not actually realise grammatical relations, but rather discourse features, such as topic and focus. This idea allows to make sense of the distribution of strong pronouns in subject pronominal doubling in all sentences considered in this chapter.

In the next subsection, I will take into consideration the syntax of hanging topics and their relation with EPP and the realization of the subject.

4.2.2   The hanging-topic construction

We saw in chapter 2, that in Romance the hanging-topic construction can be distinguished from other cases of thematizations such as topicalizations only iff i) a PP is involved and ii) the thematised XP is doubled by an epithet. Mòcheno patterns with Romance with respect to thematizations (see Cognola 2008 and below) and therefore it is not always easy to distinguish a hanging-topic from a left dislocation also in this language.

In order to distinguish the hanging-topic construction from other thematizations I will follow two criteria. As far as DPs are concerned, I will only look at resumption through an epithet and will leave aside the cases in which a DP showing up in the left periphery is doubled by a clitic. As for PPs, I will consider those case in which the preposition appears only on the epithet and the XP in first positions has not case (*nominativus pendens*). This choice has the disadvantage of providing only a partial picture of the hanging-topic construction, since it only considers one type of doubling, but has the advantage of reach much relieble conclusions, considered that the hanging topic construction is isolated from left dislocation.

In the examples in (173) I illustrate the hanging-topic construction in Mòcheno. Two are the things to be noticed with respect to the syntax of subject pronouns: i) a strong subject pronoun has to show up before the finite verb and ii) enclisis is not possible.

(173) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, *(er)$_j$ hot mer trog a puach der sell tepp$_j$*   *subject*
the Mario he has-DAT PRON brought a book the that stupid
   b. **Der Mario$_j$, hot-er$_j$ mer trog a puach der sell tepp$_j$*   *subject*
the Mario has-SUBJ CL-DAT PRON brought a book the that stupid
'As for Mario, that stupid brought me a book'
   c. *Der Mario$_j$, *(i) hon-en$_j$ nou net zechen hait der sell tepp$_j$*   *direct object*
the Mario, I have-ACC CL yet not seen today the that stupid
   d. **Der Mario$_j$, hone-en$_j$ nou net zechen hait der sell tepp$_j$*   *direct object*
the Mario, have-SUBJ CL yet not seen today the that stupid
'As for Mario, I have not seen that stupid yet today'
   e. *Der Mario$_j$, *(i) hon-en$_j$ gem a puach en sell tepp$_j$*   *indirect object*
the Mario I have-DAT CL given a book to that stupid
   f. **Der Mario$_j$, hone-en$_j$ gem a puach en sell tepp$_j$*   *indirect object*
the Mario have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book to that stupid
'As for Mario, I gave a book to that stupid'

In (174), I give more examples of the hanging-topic construction involving an argumental PPs, in which a noun without the preposition shows up in the left periphery and the epithet has the preposition.

(174) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ i hon nia klofft van sell tepp$_j$*   *argumental PP*
the Mario I have never spoken of-the that stupid
   b. **Der Mario$_j$ hone nia klofft van sell tepp$_j$*   *argumental PP*
the Mario have-SUBJ CL never spoken of-the that stupid
'As for Mario, I have never spoken of that stupid'
   c. *Zei$_j$ der Nane hot klofft der gonze tog van selln teppn$_j$*   *argumental PP*
they the John has spoken the whole day of-the those stupids
   d. **Zei$_j$ hot der Nane klofft der gonze tog van selln teppn$_j$*   *argumental PP*
they has the John spoken the whole day of-the those stupids
'As for them, John spoke the whole day of those stupids'

The data provided so far have shown that in Mòcheno a hanging-topic is not compatible with enclisis. According to the analysis that I gave above for sentences beginning with an operator, enclisis cannot take place if the XP in first position is not able to satisfy EPP, that it is not able to attract the finite verb in the head position of the projection where it is hosted and form a Spec-head configuration with it.

This leads to the descriptive generalization in (175).

(175)   *Descriptive generalization on EPP:*
         A hanging-topic cannot satisfy EPP, that is it cannot attract the finite verb to the head of the projection where it is hosted.

We saw in the previous section, that EPP and realization of the subject are two sides of the same coin and that if EPP is satisfied by an operator the subject can only be realised by a clitic. In the case of a sentence-initial hanging-topic the subject has to realised anyway; as illustrated in (176), the sentence without a subject is ungrammatical. This is another piece evidence against the idea that Mòcheno is pro-drop and in favour of its being a subject-obligatory language with syntactically-driven cases of subject reduction.

(176)   **Der Mario$_j$, host/hot klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
         the Mario have-2SG/has spoken of-the that stupid

In order to realise the subject, it is either possible to insert an XP forcing enclisis, as in (177),

(177)   *Der Mario$_j$ pet de sai mama hon-e nia klofft van sell tepp$_j$*   *argumental PP*
         the Mario with his mum have-SUBJ CL never spoken of-the that stupid
         'As for Mario, I have never spoken of that stupid with his mum'

or a strong or weak pronouns can be merged as in (178); clitics are ruled out.

(178)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, si/de/*se hot-*se klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
         the Mario she-strong/she-weak/she-clitic has-she-clitic spoken of-the that stupid
         b. *Der Mario$_j$, sei/de/*sa hon-*sa klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
         the Mario they-strong/they-weak have-they-clitic spoken of-the that stupid
         c. *Der Mario$_j$, bir/bar/*ber hon-*ber klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
         the Mario we-strong/we-weak/we-clitic have-we clitic spoken of-the that stupid
         'As for Mario, she has/we/they saw that stupid'

In (179), I sum up the distribution of the subject in a sentence beginning with a hanging topic.

(179)   *Descriptive generalization on the realization of the subject with sentence-initial hanging topics:*
         a. If nothing intervenes between the hanging topic and the finite verb, the subject has to be realised through a strong or a weak subject pronoun;
         b. an XP able to satisfy EPP can be inserted and force verb movement and enclisis of the subject clitic.

According to the generalization above, in sentences beginning with a hanging topic a strong or a weak subject pronoun has to trigger both EPP and realise the grammatical subject feature in Spec,SubjP. In (180), I provide evidence in favour of the fact that also a strong subject pronoun forms a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb and can therefore satisfy EPP. Following what

we saw in the previous chapter, EPP is triggered by the strong subject in a different position from the one where ther weak pronoun realises it.

(180) **a.** *I gester hon kaft s puach*
I-strong have bought the book
b. *Bir gester hon kaft s puach*
we-strong yesterday have bought the book
c. *Si gester hot kaft s puach*
she-strong yesterday have bought the book
d. *Sei gester hon kaft s puach*
they-strong yesterday have bought the book

Below I give the structure of a sentence beginning with a hanging-topic. Here, I assume that the hanging topic shows up in a high position of CP (see below) to whose head the finite verb cannot move. EPP can be satisfied through the insertion of an XP able to attract the finite verb and force enclisis (see above), or a subject pronoun can be inserted. In the case the pronoun inserted is the strong one, I assume that it moves from Spec,TP into Spec,SubjP and then to Spec,FocusP where it satisfies EPP. The finite verb is then attracted to the head of the projection hosting the strong pronoun. The subject clitic hosted in SubjP is not activated, due to the fact that Spec,SubjP has been saturated by the strong subject pronoun moving to CP. If a weak pronoun were present, the grammatical subject would be realised in Spec,SubjP and the verb would stop in the head of SubjP.

(181)
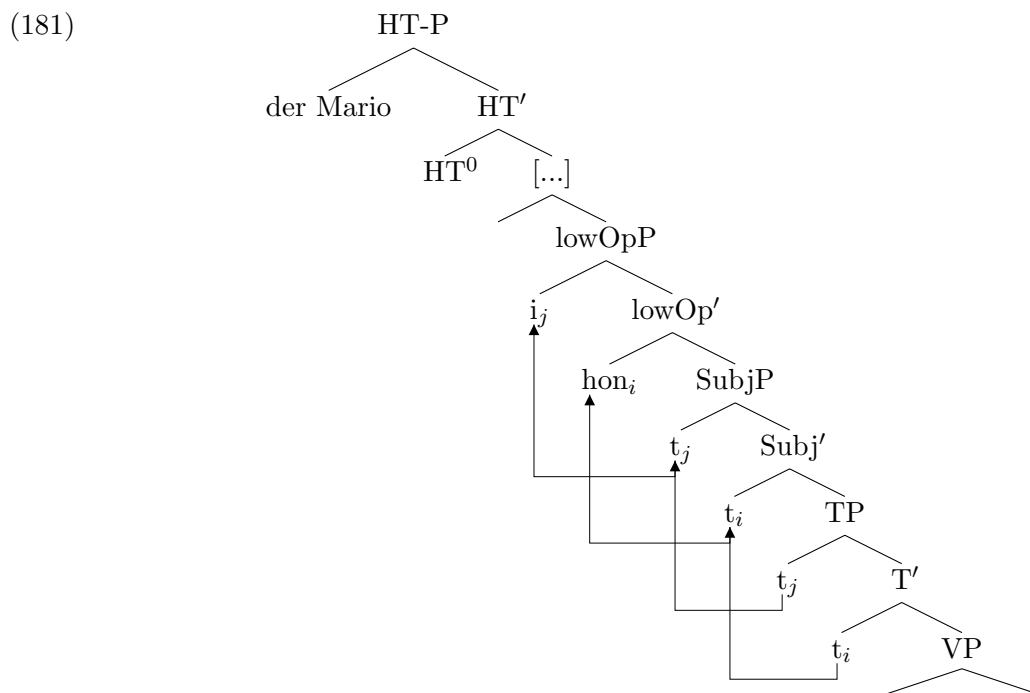
I think that the discussion on the distribution of EPP and realization of the subject in sentences with initial hanging-topic has clearly shown that: i) Mòcheno is not a pro-drop language language in the proper sense; ii) the way the subject is expressed is in relation to the constituent in first position: if it can attract the finite verb to the head of the projection it is hosted, enclisis is obligatory, if it cannot the subject has to be realised through a Spec (weak or strong subject pronoun) or an attractor forcing enclisis has to be inserted.

In the next subsection, I will take into consideration the syntactic behaviour of the other two constructions hosted in the left periphery, that is left-dislocation and topicalization, looking again at the satisfaction of EPP and realization of the grammatical subject.

4.2.3 Topicalizations

In this subsection, I will consider two more constructions through which it is possible to thematise a constituent in the left periphery and are thought to involve the Topic field. I talk here of "topicalizations" as a cover term for two constructions hosted in the topic field: topicalization and left-dislocation, which have a similar pragmatics but differ syntactically. Even though these two constructions used to thematise are very close to the hanging-topic construction, I have decided to treat them in a separate section, since they have a similar syntax, which differs though from the one of the hanging topic. Therefore, despite the pragmatic closiness, the three ways to thematise an XP do not form a fixed unit from the point of view of syntax.

Before considering Mòcheno, let's see first through what constructions it is possible to thematise an argument in modern German. In (182) I give the three constructions in which in German it is possible to thematise an argument: topicalization, that is a sentence with V2 and a topic in first position (182a); hanging-topic construction (*freies Thema*) (182b, from Bidese/Tomaselli 2005:73) and the the Contrastive-left dislocation (*Linksversetzung*), in which the argument with case shows up in first position and is doubled by a D-pronoun in CP (182c, from Bidese/Tomaselli 2005:74).

(182) **a.** *Das Buch habe ich gester gekauft*   *topicalization*
the book have I yesterday bought
'I bought the book yesterday'
b. *Der neue Lehrer$_j$, die Studenten haben ihn$_j$ schon kennegelernt*   *hanging-topic*
the new teacher-NOM the students-NOM have ACC PRON already met
'As for the new teacher, the students have already met him'
c. *Den neuen Lehrer$_j$ den$_j$ haben die Studenten schon kennengelernt*   *Linksversetzung*
the new teacher-ACC that-ACC have the students NOM already met
'The students have already met the new teacher'

In what follows, I will look at the way in which an XP belonging to the class of topics and showing up in sentence-initial position interacts with the distribution of subject pronouns in Mòcheno; the prediction to be tested on the basis of the above discussion, is that a topic has a syntactic behaviour more similar to the one of hanging topics than to the one of operators.

Topicalization

In Mòcheno it is possible for constituents realising old information to show up in the left periphery in a construction identical to German topicalization in (182a). As shown in (183), an argument shows up in the left periphery without clitic copy (differently from Romance) and without contrastive intonation (it is not a focus). Notice, that in this construction an enclitic pronoun is the unmarked way to realise the subject.

(183) **a.** *S puach hon̲e̲ kaft en de boteig*
the book have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop
'The book I bought in the shop'
b. *Der Mario hon̲bar̲ pakemmp en de boteig*
the Mario have-SUBJ CL met in the shop

'Mario we met in the shop'
c. *Van Nane hon<u>e</u> schua klofft*
of-the John have-SUBJ CL already spoken
'I have already spoken of John'
d. *En de Maria hon<u>e</u> a puach kaft*
to the Mary have-SUBJ CL a book bought
'To Mary I bought a book'

As shown in (184), it is possible to topicalise other constituents such as adverbs, adverbial PPs and semiarguments; enclisis is again the unmarked way to realise the subject.

(184)   **a.** *En de boteig hon<u>e</u> a puach kaft*
in the shop have-SUBJ CL a book bought
'In the shop I bought a book'
b. *Gester hot-<u>er</u> der Nane pakemmp*
yesterday has-SUBJ CL the John met
'Yesterday he met John'
c. *Petn staupsauger hon<u>e</u> s hauz putzt*
with-the hoover have-SUBJ CL the house cleaned
'I cleaned the house with the hoover'

The fact that the XPs showing up in first position in the previous sentences are actually topics is confirmed, besides the judgements of the informant who claims that no focus interpretation is connected to this construction, also by the sentences in (185). Capitalising on the test proposed by Benincà/Poletto (2004:75) in order to distinguish a theme (that is an XP recoverable from the immediate context) from a topic (that is an element present in the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer), in (185) I show that a topicalised argument is compatible in Mòcheno with both theme or topic readings. In fact, it is possible to answer a main interrogative clause introducing the context such as (185a) with a topicalization (185b), in which the verb argument is a theme; a topicalization can also be an independent sentence not related to a context, such as (185c), and in this case the XP in the left periphery is a topic.

(185)   **a.** *Hoso zechen de mai ociai?*
have-SUBJ CL seen the my glasses
'Have you seen my glasses?'
b. *De dai ociai hone avn tisch galek*   *theme*
the your glasses have-SUBJ CL on-the table put
'As for your glasses, I put them on the table'
c. *De dai ociai hone avn tisch galek*   *topic*
the your glasses have-SUBJ CL on-the table put
'As for your glasses, I put them on the table'

The discussion so far has shown that in Mòcheno it is possible to topicalise any constituent in the left periphery without a clitic copy and no focus reading; enclisis is the unmarked way to realise the subject.

As shown in (186), enclisis is not only the unmarked way to realise the subject in a sentence beginning with a topic, but the only way to do so. A preverbal strong subject is in fact incompatible with a topicalised item in sentence-initial position.

(186)   **a.** *S puach i hon kaft en de boteig*
          the book have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop
          'The book I bought in the shop'
          b. *Der Mario hobar pakemmp en de boteig*
          the Mario have-SUBJ CL met in the shop
          'Mario we met in the shop'
          c. *Van Nane i hon schua klofft*
          of-the John I have already spoken
          'I have already spoken of John'
          d. *En de Maria i hon a puach kaft*
          to the Mary I have a book bought
          'To Mary I bought a book'
          e. *En de boteig si hot a puach kaft*
          in the shop she has a book bought
          'In the shop she bought a book'

The data above point to the fact that topicalization seems to pattern together with sentence beginning with an operator with respect to EPP and to the realization of the subject, that is i) a topicalised XP can attract the finite verb and ii) enclisis is the only way to realise the pronominal subject.

In order to show undoubtely that sentences involving a sentence-initial operator and sentences involving a sentence-initial topic have actually the same derivation, we have to check out if material can intervene between the topicalised item and the verb, that is if the finite verb and the topicalised XP form a Spec-head configuration. As shown in (187), nothing can intervene between a topic and the finite verb; I take it to mean that they form a Spec-head configuration.

(187)   **a.** *S puach en de boteig hone kaft*
          the book in the shop have-SUBJ CL bought
          'The book I bought in the shop'
          b. *Der Mario en de boteig hobar pakemmt*
          the Mario in the shop have-SUBJ CL met
          'Mario we met in the shop'
          c. *Van Nane pet im hone schua klofft*
          of-the John with him have-SUBJ CL already spoken
          'I have already spoken of John'
          d. *En de Maria en de boteig hone a puach kaft*
          to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL a book bought
          'To Mary I bought a book in the shop'

In (188), I sum up the behaviour of topics with respect to EPP and realization of the subject: notice, that they are identical to the ones of sentences beginning with an operator, except for the different pragmatics connected to the two constructions (old/known information vrs new/relevant information).

(188)   *Descriptive generalization on topicalization:*
          a. A topicalised item can satisfy EPP;
          b. the subject has to realised through an enclitic subject pronoun.

The only exception to the descriptive generalization in (188) is represented by temporal adverbs; when a temporal adverb is topicalised in the left periphery, in fact, both preverbal strong subject and enclitic pronoun are admitted, as shown in (189).

(189)   **a.** *Gester hot-er kaft s puach*
        yesterday has-SUBJ CL bought the book
        b. *Gester er hot kaft s puach*
        yesterday SUBJ CL has bought the book
        'He bought the book yesterday'

This fact seems to be connected to a much general property of scene setters (see Benincà/Poletto 2004 and below) according to which elements of this class can appear also[5] in a very high position of CP and can be followed by other constituents.

So far, I have shown that Mòcheno has the possibility to topicalise a constituent interpreted semantically as a theme but that syntactically behaves as an operator, that is i) it lacks clitic resumption in IP and ii) it forces enclisis. The only constituents not fitting completely into this picture are temporal adverbs, which are compatible with both an enclitic subject and a strong preverbal subject when topicalised in the left periphery.

The description of the empirical data is clear, but the theoretical analysis of them is not as straightforward as it was for the constructions above, where it was possible to establish a one-to-one correlation between i) structural positions, ii) syntax and iii) pragmatics of the examined constructions. For the case of topicalization, on the contrary, the syntactic and pragmatic facts are clear, whereas the structural account is much more difficult, since the syntax of topicalization is identical to the one of sentences beginning with an operator, whereas the pragmatics is the one of topics (old/known information).

There are, I think two possible analysis for topicalization.

The first one is to assume that a topic can satisfy EPP and that the finite verb can move to the head of a TopicP. This analysis allows to make sense of data in an easy way, but has the disadvantage to make the theory too loose, in the sense that it becomes impossible i) to distinguish between topics and operators (given that both behave in the same way) and ii) V2 becomes a property of all heads of CP (except of the one of the hanging-topic projection), which is not a welcome result. From the empirical point of view, this hypothesis has to be rejected on the basis of the combinations of topicalised items and operators, which I will deal with below.

The second one is the one proposed in the literature for topicalization (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997) and applied by Benincà 2006 to Old Romance, according to which a topic is not able to satisfy EPP and that the finite verb is attracted to CP by a null operator hosted in the projection below the TopicP.

In order to discriminate between the two hypothesis, I have to fist illustrate the properties of the left-dislocation construction, which is pragmatically and semantically very similar to topicalization, but which differs syntactically from topicalization in requiring pronominal resumption in IP.

4.2.4 Weak subject pronouns

In the previous chapter, I provided several arguments in favour of the idea that weak pronouns are hosted in the Spec position of SubjP and that this position is found in the lowest part of CP at the border with IP.

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[5]When they satisfy EPP and force enclisis, I assume that they are in the same position as other topicalizations.

In what follows, I want to reconsider those data, since they are very relevant for the issue at hand here, that is determining what constituents are able to form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb when they precede it.

As shown in (190), a weak subject pronoun forms a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb, since no material can intervene between weak pronoun in first position and finite verb.

(190)   **a.** **E gester hon kaft s puach*
        I-weak have bought the book
        b. **Bar gester hon kaft s puach*
        we-weak yesterday have bought the book
        c. **De gester hot kaft s puach*
        she-weak yesterday have bought the book
        d. **De gester hon kaft s puach*
        they-weak yesterday have bought the book

The position targeted by the weak subject pronoun in (190) cannot be considered to be an OpP, since OpPs are dedicated to wh-elements and foci and a weak subject pronoun cannot be focused, as we saw in the previous chapter.

The impossibility to topicalise a weak subject pronoun is shown in (191), where can be seen that a subject DP or a strong pronoun can be topicalised in the left periphery in the Spec of a dedicated position, since material can intervene between the subject and the finite verb (191a), whereas a weak subject pronoun cannot be separated from the finite verb by any constituent (191b,c).

(191)   **a.** *Der Mario/er gester hot kaft s puach*
        the Mario/he yesterday has bought a book
        'Mario/he bought a book yesterday'
        b. **E gester hon kaft s puach*
        I-weak have bought the book
        c. **Bar gester hon kaft s puach*
        we-weak yesterday have bought the book

Finally, the fact that a weak subject pronoun does not show up in one OpP is evidence by the properties they display in the doubling construction. Differently from subject pronominal doubling in main clauses, where i) material can intervene between the clitic and the strong pronoun and ii) the strong pronoun can only appear after sentential adverbs (192a), in doubling with a weak pronoun i) weak and strong cannot be separated by an intervening DP (192b), but both strong pronoun and the eventually present DP have to follow sentential adverbs (192c). I take this to mean that no TopicPs nor FocusPs are available below the projection hosting the weak pronoun.

(192)   **a.** *Gester hot-<u>se</u> s puach schua <u>SI</u> kaft s puach*
        yesterday has-she-clitic the book she-strong bought the book
        'Yesterday she bought the book'
        b. **De hot s puach si kaft*
        she-weak has the book she-strong bought
        c. *De hot schua/ollbe si s puach kaft*
        she-weak has she-strong the book bought
        'She bought the book'

On the basis of these facts, I concluded in the previous chapter that EPP can be satisfied in the lowest portion of CP and that a weak subject pronoun is able to form with the finite verb a "minimal V2" configuration, in the sense that both variables at play in the V2 phenomenon (realization of the subject and EPP) are satisfied in one and the same projection, that is SubjP.

This finding becomes even more relevant when we consider the fact that weak subject pronouns cannot be preceded by any constituents (except for hanging-topics, see below), as repeated in (193) and as we will see in this chapter. In this sense, when Spec,SubjP is realised by a weak pronoun it seems to function as a "bottle neck" blocking further movements to CP.

(193) **a.** *Gester si hot (*si) kaft s puach*
       yesterday she-strong has she-strong bought the book
       b. **Gester (de) hot (de) kaft s puach*
       yesterday she-weak has she-weak bought the book
       c. *De/si hot kaft s puach*
       she-weak/she-strong yesterday has bought the book

In what follows, I will provide further evidence in favour of the idea presented in the previous chapter that operators move to dedicated OpPs of the left periphery where they satisfy EPP, that is they form a Spec-head configuration with the finite verb by attracting it to the head of the projection where they are hosted. This means that EPP can be triggered in different positions within the split-CP. Here, I want to put forth the hypothesis, to be discussed in this chapter, that even though EPP can affect different positions of CP SubjP is always involved in both requirements of V2. This means that i) all XPs able to satisfy EPP have to first move to Spec,SubjP on their way to their landing position and ii) the finite verb has always to make an in-between step through the head of SubjP when moving to CP.

This idea recalls Haegeman's (1997) and Roberts' (1997, 2004) hypothesis that FinP is always involved in the V2 phenomenon and which they claim entails the declarative feature that in V2 has to be checked in all sentences. In my account, I do not assume that i) XPs able to satisfy EPP and ii) the finite verb have to move first to the corresponding positions of SubjP (which corresponds more or less to FinP) because a declarative feature has to be checked in SubjP, but because I assume that all projections able to fulfill both requirements of V2 "see each other". Under this perspective, in-between movement of both the XP triggering EPP and the finite verb has the function of ruling out that V2 can be checked in a lowest projection and moves the satisfaction of V2 in a higher portion of the structure. As we will see, this idea allows to capture in a very natural and hopefully convincing way the distribution of subject pronominal forms, in particular why weak pronouns are ruled out in enclisis. It has to be underlined, that the distribution of subject pronouns of Mòcheno can only be captured through an analysis that assumes that FinP has to be rethought as a projection able to host weak and clitic subject pronouns and that it is involved in both XP movement to CP and movement of the finite verb to CP. I think that Haegeman's (1997) and Roberts' (1997, 2004) analysis can successfully capture the EPP facts connected to V2, but does not make sense of subject weak and clitic pronouns of Mòcheno, in particular in the light of the finding (see previous chapter) that they cannot be analysed as the expression of a pro in TP.

Left dislocation

First of all, it has to be determined if Mòcheno has a left-dislocation construction of German or of Romance type. In (194), I recall the characteristics of left-dislocation in the two languages[6]. In

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[6]Another property distinguishing Romance from German left-dislocation is recursivity, which is possible only in Romance. Recursivity will be dealt with in the next section, where I look at the order of constituents in the left

German *Linksversetzung* the verb argument bearing case is doubled by a D-pronoun bearing the same case as the theme and showing up in CP (194a). In Italian, the left-dislocated item is doubled by a clitic pronoun and cannot be distinguished from a hanging topic (194b)[7].

(194)   **a.** *Den neuen Lehren$_j$, den$_j$ haben die Studenten schon gesehen*
        the new teacher that have the students-NOM already seen
        b. *Il nuovo insegnante$_j$ gli studenti lo$_j$ hanno già incontrato*
        the new teacher the students ACC CL have-3PL already met
        'They have already seen the new teacher'

As shown in (195), in Mòcheno it is not possible to have the German construction *Linksversetzung* with a left-dislocated object; this is probably to be put into relation to the fact that in Mòcheno there are no D-pronouns as the ones of German.

(195)   **a.** **Der Hons$_j$, der sell$_j$ hone pakemmt*
        the John the that have-SUBJ CL met
        'I met John'
        b. **Der Mario$_j$, der sell$_j$ hot der Nane pakemmt*
        the Mario, the that has the John met
        'John met Mario'

There seems thought to be a connection between the thematic role of the left-dislocated XP and the possibility that it is doubled by a D-pronoun. As shown in (196), it is possible to have the "German" *Linksversetzung*, in which a weak subject pronoun doubles the DP, with a DP subject; the fact that the subject is preceded by a scene setter ensures that the subject DP is actually a topic and not a hanging topic[8].

(196)   **a.** *Gester de mama$_j$ de$_j$ hot kaft s puach*
        yesterday the mum she-weak has bought the book
        'Yesterday mum bought the book'
        b. *Gester de mama ont de muam$_j$ de$_j$ hon kaft s puach*
        yesterday the mum they-weak has bought the book
        'Yesterday the mum and he aunt bought the book'

The data in (196) are extremely interesting also from a comparative point of view, since the only examples of *Linksversetzung* that we have in Cimbrian, which date back to the oldest Catechism written in 1602, involve precisely a left-dislocated subject DP. In (197 from Bidese 2008:99) I give the examples of *Linksversetzung* in Cimbrian.

(197)   **a.** *Die andere sibna$_j$ die$_j$ lernt unz*
        'As for the other seven, they teach us'
        b. *Dain bil$_j$ der$_j$ ghesceghe also bia ime Himele*
        'Thy Will be done on earth as it is in heaven'

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periphery.

[7]We saw in the previous chapter that a hanging topic can be distinguished from a left-dislocation only in the case a PP is involved.

[8]I have gone through the corpus of spontaneous speech of the variety of Palù in Zampedri (1995) and all cases of German *Linksversetzung* are actually limited to subject DPs.

The parallel between Mòcheno and Cimbrian with respect to the distribution of German *Links-versetzung* is of particular importance, I think, for the study of V2 and of the nature of the lowest portion of CP, given that, according to Bidese (2008), in the 1602 Catechism the presence of *Links-versetzung* correlated with other conservative characteristics, such as the lack of multiple access to CP. In Mòcheno, on the contrary, German *Linksversetzung* is possible with multiple access to CP, but as we have seen this chapter and in the previous one, weak subject pronouns function as a bottle neck for further movements to CP, since they block Spec,SubjP.

Going back to Mòcheno, arguments different from the subject can be left-dislocated through a construction similar to Romance left-dislocation, in which an XP (PP or DP) showing up in the left periphery is doubled by a clitic pronoun in IP.

In the examples in (198) is to be seen that a direct object (198a,b) or an indirect object (198c) can be moved to the left periphery and be doubled by a clitic in IP; enclisis is the unmarked way to realise the subject. Except for the presence of the resumptive clitic, the left-dislocation construction is identical to topicalization dealt with above.

(198)   **a.** *Der Hons$_j$ hon-e-en$_j$ pakemmt*   *direct object*
        the John have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL met
        'I met John'
        b. *Z puach$_j$ hot-er-s$_j$ galezen*   *direct object*
        the book has SUBJ CL-ACC CL read
        'He read the book'
        c. *En de Maria$_j$ hone-en$_j$ a puach kaft*   *indirect object*
        to the Mary have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
        'I bought Mary a book'

The fact that an XP thematised through the Romance left-dislocation in (198) can be followed by the finite verb triggerig enclisis (to be better defined below) ensures that here we have to do with a different construction from hanging topic, since, as shown above a hanging-topic cannot attract the finite verb to CP and trigger enclisis.

Notice, that a subject cannot be left-dislocated through the Romance construction (199a,c) but it can only precede the finite verb without clitic resumption, as in (199b,d). The other possibility is German *Linksversetzung*, which is though limited to those persons that have a weak subject pronoun (see previous chapter).

(199)   **a.** **Der Luca (er$_j$) hot-(er$_j$) a puach kaft*   *subject*
        the Luca SUBJ CL has SUBJ CL a book bought
        b. *Der Luca hot a puach kaft*
        the Luca has a book bought
        'Luca bought a book'
        c. **De mama (sa$_j$) hot-(sa$_j$) a puach kaft*   *subject*
        the Luca SUBJ CL has SUBJ CL a book bought
        d. *De mama hot a puach kaft*
        'Mum bought a book'

So far, I have shown that in Mòcheno there exist two types of left-dislocation: a German type, which i) is limited to DP subjects and ii) is allowed only for the persons that have a weak subject pronoun, and a Romance type, whose characteristics are: i) the XP in first position is doubled by a clitic in IP; ii) the subject is realised through an enclitic subject pronoun; iii) a subject cannot

be left-dislocated using the Romance construction. Pragmatically, in both constructions the XP in first position is old/known information.

The only difference between topicalization and left-dislocation seems to be the absence or presence (with asymmetries with respect to the theta role of constituents) of the clitic pronoun, since all other properties (EPP and realization of the subject) are apparently identical. Notice that this is what it is usually said (among other things, see previous chapter) for one and the same Romance construction, that is left dislocation. The Mòcheno facts might point to the fact that also in Romance left dislocation with or without clitic resumption actually instantiates two different constructions and is not the result of optionality in clitic doubling. If this idea is correct, it follows that in Romance some arguments, such as a direct object and a partitive PP, can only be left-dislocated when topicalised in the left periphery, since, at least in Italian, these arguments obligatory require clitic doubling[9].

Now, after having described the structure of left-dislocation, let's see how it behaves with respect to V2, that is to i) EPP and ii) realization of the subject.

We saw above that in sentences beginning with an XP left-dislocated through the Romance construction the subject can be realised as an enclitic pronoun. As shown in (200), a left-dislocated item can also be followed by a strong pronoun (differently from a topicalization, see above). The fact that left dislocation is compatible with a strong pronoun is not ensured by the examples in (200a,b), where a direct object is thematised and cannot be distinguished from a hanging topic[10], but is straightforwardly shown by (200c,d), where an indirect object (with the preposition *en*) and an argumental PP are doubled by a clitic and a pronoun respectively[11].

The fact that both PPs are moved to the left periphery with the preposition ensures that they are actually topics and not hanging topics (see above).

(200)   **a.** *S puach$_j$, i hon-z$_j$ kaft en de boteig*
the book I have-ACC CL bought in the shop
'I bought the book in the shop'
b. *Der Mario$_j$, bir hon-en$_j$ zechen*
the Mario we have-ACC CL seen
'We saw Mario'

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[9]There is a context, though, where also in Mòcheno a thematised direct object needs a clitic doubler in IP, that is it can only be left-dislocated in the high periphery and not topicalised. It is the case in which both direct object and subject are realised by two +human NPs and the direct object is thematised as in In this case, the clitic doubler is obligatory in order to mark that the highest ois a direct object (a); if the clitic copy were absent, the highest NP would be interpreted as the subject (b); only with focus intonation on the highest NP this could be interpreted as a direct object if the clitic were missing (c).

    a. *Der Mario$_j$ hot-en$_j$ der Luca pakemm*
    the Mario has-ACC CL the Luca met
    b. **Der Mario hot der Luca pakemm*
    the Mario-ACC has the Luca-NOM read
    c. *DER MARIO hot der Luca pakemm (ont net der Nane)*
    the Mario-ACC has the Luca-NOM read and not the John
    'It was Mario that Luca met, not John'

[10]Recall, in fact, that thematised arguments can either be topics or left dislocation; a hanging topic can be doubled by an epithet (as in the examples above), but it can also be doubled by a clitic.

[11]In this latter case, the informant realises the resumption through a strong pronoun preceded by a preposition, given that partitive pronouns are not compatible with thematizations. This is true for most of the cases, but I have come across in my material to sentences in which the same PP *van Nane* is doubled by the partitive clitic *en*, especially in clitic clusters. Due to the scarcity of data, I cannot say if the two types of resumption correspond to two different constructions.

    c. *En de Maria$_j$, i hon-en$_j$ a puach kaft*
to the Mary I have-DAT CL a book bought
'I bought Mary a book'
    d. *Van Nane$_j$ i hon schua klofft va im$_j$*
of-the John I have already spoken of him
'As for John, I have already spoken of him'

    The fact that a strong subject pronoun can follow the left-dislocated XP correlates, as expected, to the much general property of being followed by XPs, as it was the case of hanging topics. As shown in (201), material can intervene between a left-dislocated item and the finite verb; the fact that the XP in first position is a PP (201b,c) ensures again that the construction at hand is not a hanging topic but a left dislocation.

(201)   **a.** *S puach$_j$, en de boteig hotsa-z$_j$ kaft*
the book in the show has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought in the shop
'She bought the book in the shop'
    b. *En de Maria$_j$, en de boteig hone-en$_j$ a puach kaft*
to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
'I bought Mary a book in the shop'
    d. *Van Nane$_j$ pet de mama hot-er schua klofft va im$_j$*
of-the John with the mum has-SUBJ CL already spoken of him
'As for John, he has already spoken of him with mum'

    With respect to the pragmatics of left dislocation, it has to be said that it is very close to the one of the hanging-topic construction, since the XP in first position has to be separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause; what is more, the left-dislocated constituent is the central issue of conversation, the one the attention is on. In think that the judgements of the informant clearly hint at the fact that, pragmatically, the left-dislocated item in (200) is actually an aboutness topic. Also a hanging topic has a pragmatics very close to that of the aboutness topic, but I underline that the constructions in (200) above cannot be considered hanging topics from the syntactic point of view, since also PPs can be doubled by or a clitic or a pronoun in IP.

4.2.5 Partial conclusions

In table (4.1), I sum up the distribution of the two proprierties of V2 (EPP and realization of the subject) according to the type of constituent in first position.

    The pattern shown by operators is straightforward, since these constituents can satisfy EPP and by attracting the finite verb to CP they force enclisis of the pronominal subject. Hanging topics, on the other hand, cannot satisfy EPP and therefore the subject has to be realised by either a strong or a weak subject pronoun or a enclisis has to be triggered through the insertion of a constituent able to satisfy EPP. The distribution of subject pronominal forms in the two types of constructions follows straight from the idea that EPP and realization of the subjects are two sides of the same coin.

    Topicalised and left-dislocated items, on the other hand, set themselves between operators and hanging topics, with respect to the properties of V2. Topicalization patterns syntactically together with sentences beginning with an operator, but is pragmatically a topic/theme; it is not clear if it can satisfy EPP or if EPP is satisfied by a null operator. In any case nothing can intervene between the topicalised item and the finite verb. Left dislocated items are compatible with both enclisis

and a strong subject; XPs can intervene between the left-dislocated XP and the finite verb. Also in this latter case it is not clear if EPP is triggered by the left-dislocated item or by a null operator.

	EPP	realization of the subject
wh-element	YES	enclitic
focus	YES	enclitic
topic	?	enclitic
left dislocation	?	enclitic/strong
hanging topic	*	strong/weak

Table 4.1: Distribution of EPP and subject according to the XP in first position

In order to give an analysis of topicalization and left dislocation, in what follows I will take into consideration the relative orders of constituents in CP and will try, among other things, to determine if the idea of the presence of a silent operator can account for both constructions involving the topic field.

4.3 On the structure of the lowest portion of Mòcheno left periphery

In the previous section, I introduced the different constructions hosted in the left periphery and examined their interactions with the V2 phenomenon, to be understood in the form of EPP and realization of the subject. I showed that not all constituents in first position are identical with respect to the capability to satisfy EPP, but that only operators are able to attract the finite verb to CP and force enclisis of the pronominal subject. Hanging topics cannot satisfy EPP and as for topicalization and left dislocation I showed that the pattern is more complex and more data are needed, concerning in particular the order of constituents in the left periphery. Only through an analysis of the different combinatory possibilities of the constituents hosted in the left periphery can a serious hypothesis be put forth.

The expectation is that Mòcheno has a structure of the left periphery similar to the one reported in the literature for languages disposing of a split-CP and repeated in (202).

(202) $[_{FRAME}$ [**HT - Scene Setter**] $[_{THEME}$ [**Shift Topic - Contrastive Topic - Familiarity Topic**] $[_{FOCUS}$ [**Contrastive Focus - Information Focus/wh**]]]]

In order to reconstruct the structure of Mòcheno left periphery, in what follows I will take all the constructions dealt with above and try to combine them in order to find what their relative order is. I will start out by looking at the position of hanging topics with respects to other constructions, showing that hanging topics occupy a high position in the structure of Mòcheno left periphery, since they can precede all other constructions. I will consider then wh-interrogative elements together with topicalizations and left dislocations, showing that wh-elements can be combined only to left dislocations in the order *left dislocation - wh-element*. This finding will allow me to make a proposal concerning the satisfaction of EPP by the two constructions: only topics are able to satisfy EPP, whereas when enclisis occurs with left dislocations the presence of a null operator has to be called for.

In the last part of this section, I will verify is in Mòcheno multiple topics and multiple left dislocations are possible and in order to do so I will have to briefly discuss the asymmetries found between wh-elements with different theta roles.

In the next section, I will consider the syntax of foci, which I will show do not appear in the same operator position as interrogative wh-elements, but in a higher operatorP. This finding will lead me to examine in detail the structure of the projection hosting foci and the nature of the topics they can activate.

4.3.1 On the position of hanging topics

In this subsection, I will consider the relative order of hanging topic and operators. The expectation from the structure repeated above (202) and from the discussion of V2 is that hanging-topics have to precede operators.

In order to precisely identify the hanging topic construction and to distinguish it from left dislocation, in what follows I will consider i) PPs doubled by an epithet or a PP in which ii) the preposition is present only on resumption.

Let's begin with the discussion of the relative order of hanging topic and operators. As shown in (203), a hanging topic has to precede a focused item.

(203) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, GESTER hone-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$, ont net hait*
the Mario, yesterday have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen the that stupid
b. **GESTER der Mario$_j$, hone-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$, ont net hait*
yesterday the Mario have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen the that stupid
'As for Mario, it was yesterday that I saw that stupid thing, not today'
c. *Der Mario$_j$ OLLBE hon-za klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario always have-SUBJ CL spoken of that stupid
d. **OLLBE der Mario$_j$ hon-za klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
always the Mario have-SUBJ CL spoken of that stupid
'As for Mario, they have always spoken of that stupid'

In (204), I show that a hanging topic has to also precede a wh-element: this is consistent with what we know from the previous literature on the order of constituents in the left periphery and with the idea that foci and wh-elements behave in the same way (and possible target the same position in CP) since they are both operators.

(204) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ om biable hoso-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$?*
the Mario at what time have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen the that stupid
b. **Om biavle der Mario$_j$ hoso-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$?*
at what time the Mario have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen the that stupid
'As for Mario, when did you see that stupid?'
c. *Der Mario$_j$ benn hoso klofft van sell tepp$_j$?*
the Mario when have-SUBJ CL spoken of-the that stupid
d. **Benn der Mario$_j$ hoso klofft van sell tepp$_j$?*
when the Mario have-SUBJ CL spoken of-the that stupid
'As for Mario, when talk about that stupid?'

HT - operators
Let's look now at the relative order of hanging topics and topics. Here, I will consider topicalizations and left dislocations of verb arguments. The test in order to distinguish between the two construction is the possibility to have doubling: it is ruled out with topicalization but possible with left dislocation. Topicalization cannot be distinguished syntactically from focalization (see above), therefore I have to rely on the judgement of the informant on the pragmatics of the construction.

Beginning with topicazation, in (205) I show that a hanging topic and only be followed by a topicalised constituent.

(205) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, petn Nane hon-za klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario with-the John have-SUBJ CL spoken of that stupid
b. **Petn Nane der Mario$_j$ za hon klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
with-the John the Mario have-SUBJ CL spoken of that stupid
'As for Mario, with John they have already spoken of that stupid'
c. *Der Mario$_j$ s puach hone-en$_j$ gem en sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario the book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given to that stupid
d. **Z puach der Mario$_j$ hone-en$_j$ gem en sell tepp$_j$*
the book the Mario have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given to that stupid
'As for Mario, I have given the book to that stupid'

HT- topic
Also a scene setter (which for the moment I consider a topic, but see below) has to follow a hanging topic.

(206) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ en 2006/gester hon-za-nen$_j$ gem a praiz en sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario in 2006 have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a price to that stupid
b. **En 2006/gester der Mario$_j$ (za) hon-(za)-en$_j$ gem a praiz en sell tepp$_j$*
in 2006 the Mario have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a price to that stupid
'As for Mario, in 2006/yesterday that stupid was given a price'

HT-scene setter
In (207), I provide evidence that a hanging topic can be followed by a left dislocated item: this can be seen by the fact that the constituents following the hanging topic i) have clitic resumption and ii) they are followed by the finite verb with enclitic subject[12].

(207) **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, en de Maria$_k$ hone-en$_k$ klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario, to the Mary have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL spoken of that stupid
b. **En de Maria$_k$ der Mario$_j$ hone-en$_k$ klofft van sell tepp$_j$*
to the Mary the Mario have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL spoken of that stupid
'As for Mario, I have spoken with Mary of that stupid'
c. *Der Mario$_j$, s puach$_k$ hone-s$_k$-en$_j$ gem en sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario the book have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL-DAT CL given to that stupid
d. **S puach$_k$ der Mario$_j$ hone-s$_k$-en$_j$ gem en sell tepp$_j$*
the book the Mario have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL-DAT CL given to that stupid
'As for Mario, I gave the book to that stupid'

HT-left dislocation
The last property of hanging topics to be tested is recursivity: according to the analysis of Romance languages (Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004) the hanging topic is not recursive.

(208) **Der Mario$_k$, der Luca$_j$ gester hot-er$_j$ klofft der sell tepp $_j$ va im$_k$*
the Mario, the Luca yesterday has-SUBJ CL spoken the that stupid of him

---

[12]It has to be determined whether they can attract the finite verb and satisfy EPP or if the presence of a null operator has to be called for.

'As for Mario, Luca spoke of him yesterday'

So far, all tests have shown that a hanging topic occupies the left-most projection of CP, since it has to be followed by all types of constituents and is not recursive.

4.3.2 Interrogative wh-elements and topics

In this subsection, I will try to determine the syntactic position of operators by looking at the combinatory possibilities involving foci and interrogative wh-elements. I will show that wh-elements can be combined with left dislocations in the order *left dislocation-wh-element*, but that wh-elements and topicalization are compatible in no order. This clear finding allows to provide an answer to issue of EPP: topicalization can satisfy EPP and is compatible with other XPs able to do so, whereas left dislocations cannot satisfy EPP and when enclisis takes place with a sentence-initial left dislocation, the presence of a null operator has to be assumed.

Wh-elements and topicalization

Above we saw that operators have to be preceded by hanging topics; in (209) I repeat the relevant examples.

(209)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ benn bart-er kloffen nou va im$_j$?*
the Mario when FUT AUX-SUBJ CL speak again of him
b. **Benn der Mario$_j$ bart-er kloffen nou va im$_j$?*
when the Mario FUT AUX-SUBJ CL speak again of him
'As for Mario, when is he going to talk again of him?'
c. *Der Nane$_j$, babai der Luca hot niamer klofft va im$_j$?*
the John why the Luca has never spoken of him
d. **Babai der Nane$_j$ der Luca hot niamer klofft va im$_j$?*
why the John the Luca has never spoken of him
'As for John, why did Luca ever speak of him again?'

Let's see now if an operator can co-occur with a topicalization.

Beginning with the syntax of verb arguments, in (210), I show that a wh-element cannot be preceded by a topicalised verb argument that is identified as such on the basis of i) its being old/known information and ii) the lack of clitic resumption.

(210)   **a.** **S puach ber hot kaft?*   *direct object*
the book who has bought
'Where did he buy the book?'
b. **De dai muam bo hot-er pakemmp?*   *direct object*
the your aunt where has-SUBJ CL met
'Where did he meet your aunt?'
c. **En de Maria pet bem hoso kaft s puach?*   *indirect object*
to the Mary with whom have-SUBJ CL bought the book
'With whom did you buy the book for Mary?'
d. **Der Mario benn hot kaft s puach?*   *subject*
the Mario when has bought the book
'When did Mario buy the book?'
e. **Van Nane pet bem hot-er klofft?*

with the John with whom has-SUBJ CL spoken
'With whom did he speak of John?'

As expected from the discussion on EPP carried out at the beginning of this chapter, a topicalised argument cannot either follow the wh-element, as shown in (211): this fact has to be takes as further evidence in favour of the idea that an interrogative wh-element can attract the finite verb to the head of the projection where it is hosted.

(211)   **a.** *Ber s puach hot kaft?*
         who the book has bought
         b. *Bo de dai muam hot-er pakemmp?*
         where the your aunt has-SUBJ CL met
         c. *Pet bem en de Maria hoso kaft s puach?*
         with whom to the Mary have-SUBJ CL bought the book
         d. *Benn der Mario hot kaft s puach?*
         where the Mario has bought the book
         e. *Pet bem van Nane hot-er klofft?*
         with whom of John has-SUBJ CL spoken

Semiarguments (212c,d) and adverbs (212a,b) behave differently from arguments, since they are compatible with an interrogative wh-element. I interpret them as topics.

(212)   **a.** *Gester ber hot kaft s puach?*
         yesterday who has bought the book
         b. *En de boteig bos hoso kaft?*
         in the shop who have-SUBJ CL bought
         c. *Petn dai tata babai hot-er klofft va im?*
         with-the your father why has-SUBJ CL spoken of him
         d. *Petn staupsauger ber hot putzt s hauz?*
         with-the hoover who has cleaned the house

The description of the empirical facts can be summed up in the descriptive generalization in (213):

(213)   *Descriptive generalization:*
         a. A wh-element cannot be preceded by a topicalised verbal argument;
         b. A wh-element can be preceded by topicalised semiarguments and adverbial PPs.

The finding just made, that is that an interrogative wh-element cannot be preceded by any topicalised arguments, is very important not only for the analysis of topicalization in Mòcheno, but in much general terms for the comprehension on the differences between operators and topics. This finding, for instance, is totally unexpected under Rizzi's (2004) definition Relativised Minimality (RM) in terms of feature, according to which topics and wh-elements belong to two different featural classes and therefore can co-occur. This will be dealt with below.

Wh-elements and left dislocation

As shown in (214), an interrogative wh-element can co-occur with a left-dislocated verb argument; all ungrammatical sentences involving a topicalization and a wh-element given in (210) become grammatical if the verb argument preceding the interrogative wh-element is doubled by a pronoun in IP, that is if the argument is not topicalised but left-dislocated.

(214) **a.** *S puach$_j$ ber hot-s$_j$ kaft?*   *direct object*
the book who has-ACC CL bought
'Where did he buy the book?'
b. *De dai muam$_j$ bo hot-er-en$_j$ pakemmp?*   *direct object*
the your aunt where has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL met
'Where did he meet your aunt?'
c. *En de Maria$_j$ pet bem hoso-en$_j$ kaft s puach?*   *indirect object*
to the Mary with whom have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought the book
'With whom did you buy the book for Mary?'
d. *Der Mario$_j$ benn hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach?*   *subject*
the Mario when has-SUBJ CL bought the book
'When did Mario buy the book?'
e. *Van Nane$_j$ pet bem hot-er klofft va im$_j$?*
with the John with whom has-SUBJ CL spoken of him
'With whom did he speak of John?'

Notice, that a subject in a wh-main interrogative clause has to be doubled by a subject clitic in IP (just as other verb arguments) and the German construction *Linksversetzung* is ruled out. This is expected under the account of EPP that I gave above: both wh-elements and weak subjects can satisfy EPP the operator on its way to CP saturated Spec,SubjP ruling out the presence of a weak pronoun[13].

(215) **a.** *De mama$_j$ benn hot-se$_j$ kaft s puach?*   *subject*
the mum when has-SUBJ CL bought the book
b. **De mama$_j$ (de) benn hot-(de)$_j$ kaft s puach?*   *subject*
the mum she-weak when has-she weak bought the book
'When did the mum buy the book?'

As expected, a left-dislocated verb argument (identified on the basis of the presence of a pronominal doubler) can only precede the wh-element, this is shown in (216).

(216) **a.** **Ber s puach$_j$ hot-s$_j$ kaft?*
who the book has-ACC CL bought
b. *S puach$_j$ ber hot-s$_j$ kaft?*
the book who has-ACC CL bought
c. **Benn s puach$_j$ kemmp er$_k$ za neman-z$_j$ der Nane$_k$?*
when the book comes he to take-ACC CL the John
d. *S puach$_j$ benn kemmp er$_k$ za neman-z$_j$ der Nane$_k$?*
the book when comes he to take-ACC CL the John

---

[13]The analysis I have proposed in this section might also make sense of German, where the only way to thematise an argument in a wh-main interrogative is through a hanging topic (as observed by Bidese/Tomaselli 2005:74). The analysis of standard German goes beyond the scopes of this work.

'When is John coming to pick up the book?'

So far, we have seen that the only way to topicalise a verb argument in a wh-main interrogative clause is basically through the left-dislocation construction, since pronominal doubling is obligatory.

What about semiargumental and adverbial PPs? As for adverbial PPs, which cannot be doubled by a clitic copy, it has to be concluded that the only construction in which they can show up in the left periphery is through a topicalization and when they precede an interrogative wh-element they are topicalised.

As for semiarguments, I consider here comitative and instrumental PPs. As shown in (217a), resumption is possible with a comitative, but not obligatory: I take this to mean that a comitative PP can be both topicalised and left-dislocated and presumably shows up in two different positions in the case a doubler is present or not (see below). With instrumental PPs, on the contrary, pronominal doubling is not possible (217b): this means that they can only be topicalised in the left periphery of Mòcheno.

(217)   **a.** *Petn tata_j ber hot kaft a puach (pet im)_j?*
          with-the father ber has bought a book with him
          'Who bought a book with our father?'
          b. **Petn staupsauger_j ber hot putzt s hauz pet im_j?*
          with-the hoover who has cleaned the house with it
          'Who cleaned the house with the hoover?'

4.3.3   A proposal

In (218), I sum up what we have seen so far.

(218)   *Descriptive generalizations on interrogative wh-elements and topics:*
          a. In wh-main interrogative clauses the only way to topicalise a verb argument is through left dislocation;
          b. Semiarguments can either be topicalised or left-dislocated (with asymmetries among the different theta roles);
          c. Adverbs and adverbial PPs can only be topicalised.

The descriptive generalizations reached above already allow to draw some conclusions (limited to the syntax of arguments) on the issues at hand here, that is i) structure of Mòcheno left periphery and ii) possibility of topics/left dislocations to satisfy EPP.

Beginning with the first issue, it is already possible to sketch a structure of Mòcheno left periphery limited to the construction discussed so far.

In previous subsection, we saw that all tests point to the fact that hanging topics are the left-most constituents in CP since they have to be followed by all constituents, that is topics, left dislocations and operators. In this subsection, I have shown that left-dislocation has to precede interrogative wh-elements. This leads to the order hanging topic - left dislocation - interrogative wh-elements, which I sum up in the structure in (229)[14].

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[14]Following the discussion of the previous chapter, I label the projection hosting interrogative wh-elements lowOpP.

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(219)

HT-P
├── Spec
└── HT′
    ├── HT⁰
    └── LDP
        ├── Spec
        └── LD′
            ├── LD⁰
            └── lowOpP
                ├── Spec
                └── lowOp′
                    ├── lowOp⁰
                    └── TP
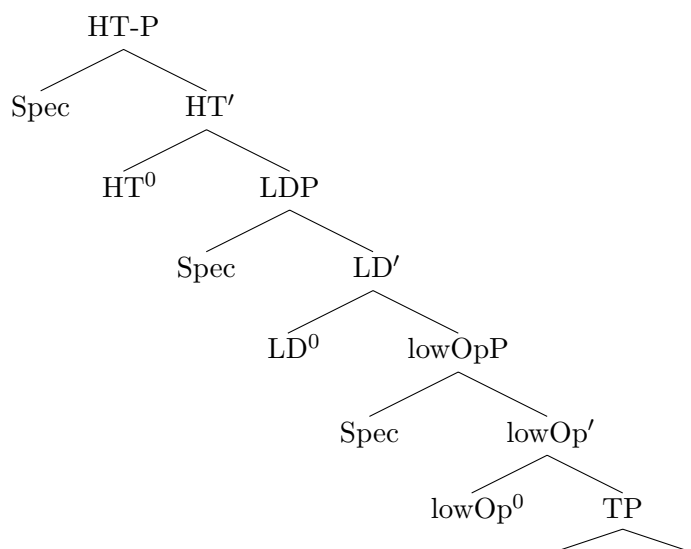
The structure in (229) is consistent with what we know from the literature about the order of constructions in the left periphery. In particular, the high position of left dislocation, which in Mòcheno realises an aboutness topic, is consistent with Frascarelli/Hinterölzl's (2007) proposals on the order of topics (see previous chapter).

In the structure proposed above topicalization in missing, since from the data discussed to far it is not evident in what position topicalised items are hosted. The exact collocation of topicalizations is crucial for the second issue that has to be determined here, that is whether topics and left dislocations can satisfy EPP. Structurally, in fact, this is possible only if the topics show up above an OpP, which is clearly the case of only left dislocation.

On topicalization

We saw above that in Mòcheno, topicalization behaves syntactically as a construction involving an operator, since i) enclisis is the only way to realise a pronominal subject; ii) nothing can intervene between the topicalised XP and the finite verb and iii) it is incompatible with operators. From the point of view of discourse features, though, topicalization does not seem to pattern with focalization, but shows topic-like properties.

The syntactic properties of topicalization seem to point out to an analysis in terms of new information focus for this construction. This analysis would allow to make sense of all the syntactic properties described above: i) a pronominal subject can only be realised by an enclitic because operators satisfy EPP; ii) nothing can separate topicalised XP and finite verb because EPP is a Spec-head configuration and iii) co-occurrence with other operators is ruled out because both compete for the same position.

Even though an analysis in terms of information focus would easily make sense of all syntactic properties of topicalizations in Mòcheno, I think that there is good evidence for rejecting it and proposing a different solution.

The first objection againg the idea that topicalizations are actually instances of new information foci comes from the discourse properties of the construction, which seem to correspond to those of a theme or a topic (in Benincà/Poletto's 2004 terminology, see (185) above), even though syntactically the construction behaves as a sentence involving an operator.

The second objection to the idea that topicalizations have to be analysed as new information foci is supported by a closer investigation of data. In (212) above, we saw that it is generally possible to combine an interrogative wh-element with an adverbial PP, as repeated in (220a). As shown in (220b), this is not possible for a topicalised item and the preferred position for an eventually present locative PP is in the lower phase. This asymmetry between wh-elements and topics is unexpected if they were both operators.

(220)   **a.** *En de boteig bos hoso kaft?*
in the show what have-SUBJ CL bought
'What did you buy in the shop?'
b. **En de boteig s puach hone kaft*
in the shop the book have-SUBJ CL bought
c. *S puach hone en de boteig kaft*
the book have-SUBJ CL in the shop bought
'I bought the book in the shop'

It might be thought that the restrictions illustrated in (220) depend on a different structural position of informative foci with respect to wh-main interrogative elements, with the former showing up in highOpP (which we saw in the previous chapter is in the higher portion of CP) and the latter in lowOpP. This idea is not corroborated by data, since as shown in (221) several constituents can precede the lowest topicalised item (that triggers enclisis); this fact is in contradiction with what we know from highOpP, that is that nothing can precede it.

(221)   **a.** *Gester der Mario en Luca hot a puach kaft*
yesterday the Mario to Luca has a book bought
'Yesterday Mario bought Luca a book'
b. *Gester de Maria hone zechen*
yesterday the Mary have-SUBJ CL seen
'Yesterday I saw Mary'

Another piece of evidence in favour of considering topicalization a different construction from new information focalization comes from base word orders (OV vrs VO). Here, I limit myself to point to the relevance of the asymmetry between topicalizations and sentences involving an operator with respect to base orders and do not provide a theoretical analysis; this will be done in chapter 6. As shown in (222a), with a topicalization the unmarked base word order is OV (also VO would be possible), whereas in wh-main interrogative clauses (222b,c) and in sentences beginning with a contrastive focus (222d,e) the only possible word order is OV.

(222)   **a.** *Z puach hone en de boteig kaft*
the book have-SUBJ CL in the shop bought
'I bought the book in the shop'
b. *Bo hoso kaft s puach?*
where have-SUBJ CL bought the book
c. **Bo hoso s puach kaft?*
where have-SUBJ CL the book bought
'Where did you buy the book?'
d. *HAIT hone kaft s puach (ont net gester)*
today have-SUBJ CL bought the book and not yesterday

> **e.** **HAIT hone s puach kaft (ont net gester)*
> today have-SUBJ CL the book bought
> 'It is today that I have bought the book and not yesterday'

The last piece of evidence in favour of an analysis of topicalization as a construction involving a TopicP and not a new-information focus comes from weak cross-over (Rizzi 1997). We saw in chapter 2 that in Italian weak cross-over effects effects are not found in topicalizations, as repeated in (223a), but only in focalizations, when the clitic is not present (223b).

(223) **a.** *Gianni$_j$ sua$_j$ madre lo$_j$ ha sempre apprezzato*
Gianni his mother ACC-CL has always appreciated
'John his mother has always appreciated'
b. *??GIANNI$_j$ sua$_j$ madre ha sempre apprezzato t$_j$ (non Piero)*
Gianni his mother has always appreciated not Piero

As shown in (224a,b), in Mòcheno no weak cross-over effects are found in both left-dislocation and topicalization, which I take to mean that topicalization does not involve a new information focus (that is an operator), but a topic[15].

(224) **a.** *En Hons$_j$ hot-en de sai$_{j/k}$ schbester a puach gem*
to-the John has the the his sister a book given
b. *En Hons$_j$ hot de sai$_{j/k}$ schbester a puach gem*
to-the John has the the his sister a book given
'His sister gave John a book'

On the basis of the pieces of evidence discussed so far, I conclude that topicalization in Mòcheno cannot be analysed as involving a new information focus projection, since topics display too many asymmetries with respect to operators.

My proposal is that the syntactic behaviour of topics in Mòcheno has to be made sense of by assuming that topicalised items show up in the lower portion of CP, in the same area that hosts weak subject pronouns and where EPP can be triggered. The syntactic behaviour of topics could be accounted for through the same assumptions made above in order to make sense of the distribution of weak subject pronouns.

The first idea that comes to mind is that topicalised XPs show up in the Spec projection of the same projections that host weak and clitic pronouns. This idea leads to an expectation: since topics can co-occur (as shown in (221)), they have to appear in a fixed order, given the projections hosting weak and clitic pronouns are ordered.

This expectation is not borne out. As shown in (225) with the relative order of subject and indirect object, both orders of the arguments are possible which points to the fact that no ordering restrictions between topicalised DPs are found.

(225) **a.** *Gester der Mario en Luca hot a puach kaft*   *subject-indirect object*
yesterday the Mario to Luca has a book bought
'Yesterday Mario bought Luca a book'
b. *Gester en Nane der Mario van doi puach hot niet zoc*   *indirect object- subject*

---

[15]In order to illustrate weak cross-over effects for Mòcheno, I do no use a topicalised direct object, since when a DP direct object shows up in the left periphery and the subject is realised as a DP subject itself, the direct object has to be obligatory doubled (see), therefore the test would be invalidated. The test can be considered though valid also if we consider an indirect object.

yesterday to John the Mario of this book has nothing said

'Yesterday Mario did not say anything to John about your book'

On the basis of the data in (225), which clearly show that no ordering restrictions are found among topics, I propose that topicalised arguments show up in TopicPs (which do not seem to be ordered, but further research is needed to give a definitive answer) above the area hosting weak pronouns and clitic copies and below lowOpP.

Now, how can be ruled out that topics be not doubled by a clitic (thought to be generated in the lowest area of CP entailing weak and clitics). I tentatively put forth the hypothesis that a topic, on its way to its dedicated Spec position in the lowest portion of CP (below lowOpP), is able to check the argumental features in the projections hosting clitics and weak pronouns, blocking the insertion of both of them. The syntax of topics allows to better define the properties of the lowest portion of CP, which is an area linked to specificity, but that I assumed (on the basis of the syntax of subject pronouns) entails A positions. The derivation of topics in Mòcheno implies that an argument, in order to be topicalised, has to first check features connected to specificity and then can be topicalised; this is not a violation of the theory, since we have two movements involving A positions (base position of the argument and lower area of CP) and the final one involving an A' position (TopicP).

In (226), I sketch the derivation of sentence involving a topicalised item (a DO), an indirect argument and a clitic subject. Notice, that differently from the structure that I gave in the previous chapter, now I assume that SubjP is the lowest projection of the area dedicated to specificity and that the superficial order of clitics is the mirror image of their structural order (Baker 1985, Cinque 1999). This allows to derive the position of subject clitics (strict adjacency to the finite verb) with respect to other clitics. The derivation procedes in this way. The DO to be topicalised is moved to CP from its base position from the lower portion of the clause and saturates all Spec positions found in the lower portion of CP: by doing so it blocks the insertion of all weak subject pronouns and checks the specificity feature in the projection dedicated to DO. The fact that the DO moves through the Spec of DO-P blocks the insertion of a clitic doubler for the DO (it is the same mechanism in which I derived the order strong subject pronoun-finite verb). The finite verb is forced to move for reasons of EPP and in order to realise the subject: recall that a preverbal subject pronoun is not possible with a topic, but enclisis is the only way in which a pronominal subject can be realised. On its way to the head of the TopicP hosting the DO, the finite verb picks up the subject clitic and in this case also a dative clitic[16].

---

[16]In this structure I do not consider the case of multiple topicalised DPs, which represents a counterexample to this analysis and calls for a separate explanation. This issue will be considered below, when I look at the recursivity of left dislocation and topicalization.

(226)

```
                TopicP
               /      \
        s puach_j      Topic'
           ↑          /      \
          |     [hot-er-en]_p   IO-P
          |      ↑            /     \
          |     |          t_j       IO'
          |     |          ↑        /    \
          |     |         |   [[hot-er]_k-en]_p   DO-P
          |     |         |     ↑              /    \
          |     |         |    |             t_j     DO'
          |     |         |    |             ↑      /    \
          |     |         |    |            |  [hot-er]_k   SubjP
          |     |         |    |            |    ↑         /     \
          |     |         |    |            |   |        t_j     Subj'
          |     |         |    |            |   |        ↑      /     \
          |     |         |    |            |   |       |  [hot_m-er]_k   TP
          |     |         |    |            |   |       |    ↑          /    \
          |     |         |    |            |   |       |   |        Spec    T'
          |     |         |    |            |   |       |   |                /  \
          |     |         |    |            |   |       |   |            hot_m   VP
```
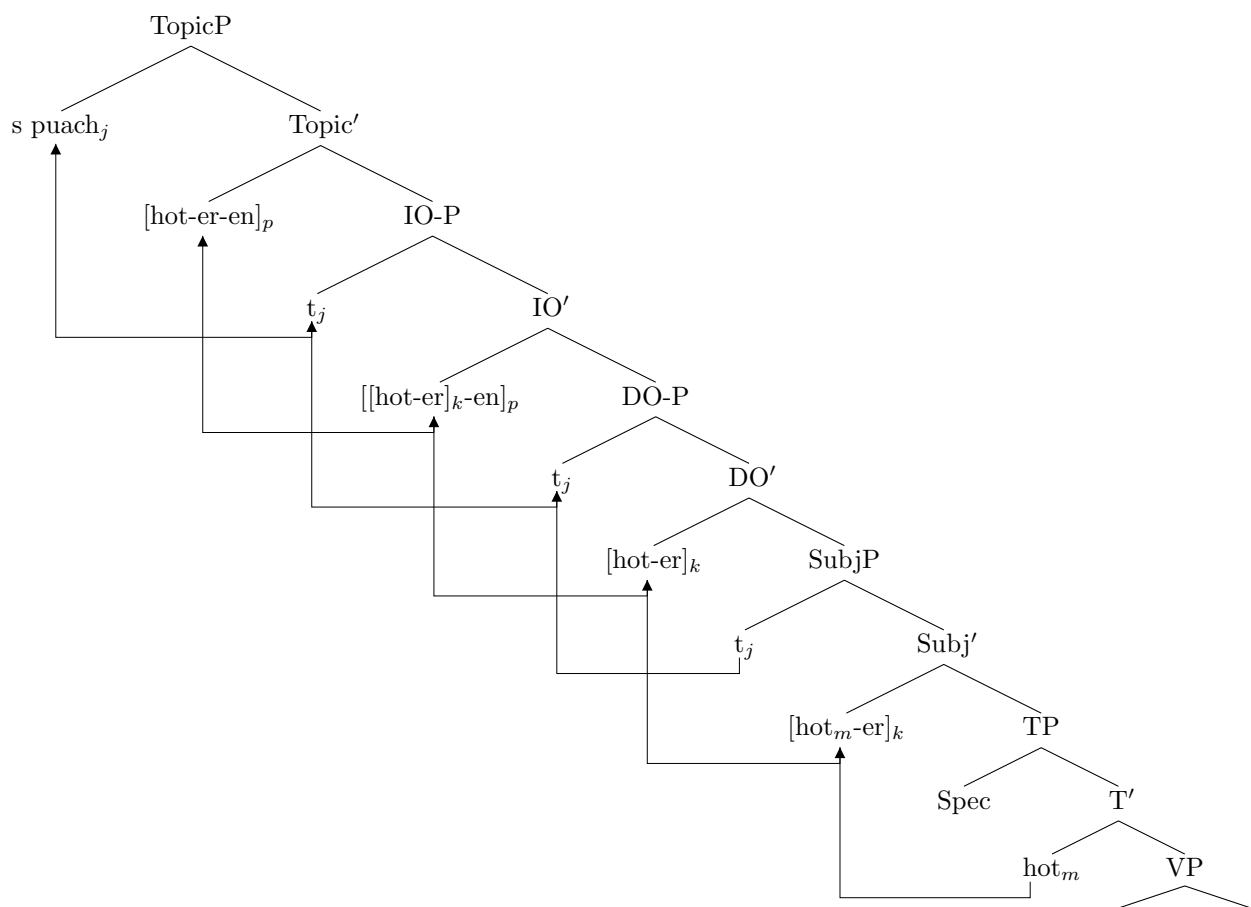
The structure proposed above for topicalization makes sense of the properties of this construction by basically offering the same derivation that I gave above for sentences involving a sentence-initial weak pronoun. The impossibility for a topic to co-occur with an interrogative wh-element follows then from the same reason a weak subject pronoun cannot show up after the finite verb: because both weak pronoun and strong pronoun are able to satisfy EPP and the highest one (that is the interrogative wh-element) saturates the Spec of the projection hosting the lowest one, blocking its insertion. Also the combinatory restrictions shown by topicalised arguments would be made sense of in the same way as the case of weak pronouns: topics are assumed to be unstressed (as weak pronouns). This is only an assumption based on syntactic arguments; evidence could only be provided by looking at the phonetics and the intonation of the construction.

The discussion on topicalization and EPP has led to the conclusion that a topicalised item is able to satisfy EPP in the same way a weak pronoun can; therefore, the presence of a null operator does not need to be called for.

In the next subsection, I will look at the properties of left dislocation with respect to EPP.

Left dislocation

We saw above, that with a sentence-initial left-dislocated item in Mòcheno a pronominal subject can be realised in two different ways: either through an enclitic pronoun, as repeated in (227a), or through a preverbal strong pronoun, as in (227b). It is expected from the idea that a left-dislocated item can be followed by a null operator and do not satisfy EPP, that they can be followed by an

XP able to satisfy EPP; as shown in (227c), this prediction is borne out; notice that in this case the the indirect object has to be obligatory doubled by the clitic, this means that is can only be left-dislocated and not topicalised as expected[17].

(227)   **a.** *En de Maria$_j$ hot-er-en$_j$ kaft*
to the Mary has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought
b. *En de Maria$_j$ er hot-en$_j$ kaft*
to the Mary he has-DAT CL bought
'He bought it Mary'
c. *En de Maria$_j$ en de boteig hot-er-*(en)$_j$ a puach kaft*
to the Mary in the shop has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
'He bought Mary a book in the shop'

In order to make sense of the presence of enclisis with a sentence-initial left dislocation, as in (227a), I propose that the finite verb raises to the head of lowOpP, in whose Spec a null operator is found; this is basically the same analysis as English topicalization (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2006). In the case the left-dislocated item is followed by an XP, as in (227b,c), my proposal is that the intervening XP is either in the Spec of lowOpP or in Spec of the TopicP found in the lower part of CP.

In (228), I sketch the derivation of a sentence with a null operator; I do not comment on the derivation of the clitic copy (see below).

(228)

```
                       LDP
                      /   \
                s puach    LD′
                          /   \
                        LD⁰    lowOpP
                              /      \
                        Operator    lowOp′
                                    /      \
                              hot-er-z⁰     TP
                                          /    \
                                         /_____\
```
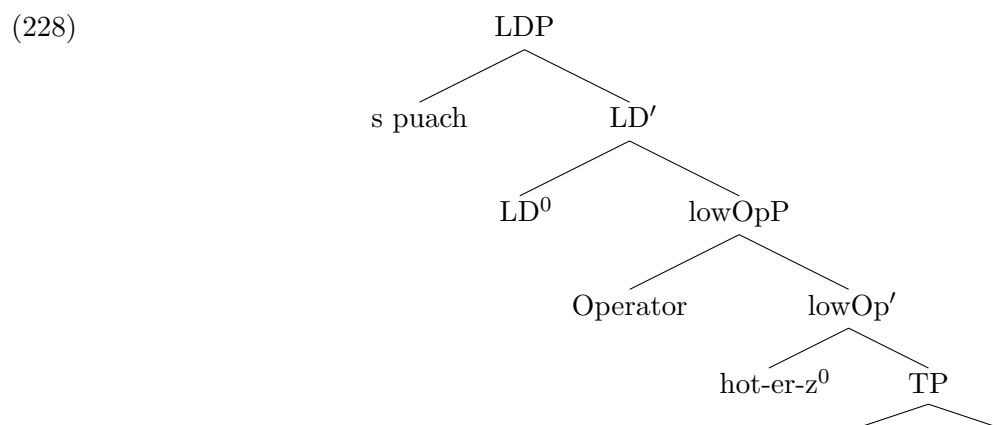
The analysis of sentences involving left dislocation has shown that a left-dislocated item is not able to satisfy EPP and that in the cases in which enclisis occurs in absence of an intervening constituent, the presence of a null operator has to be called for. In my account, a null operator can be inserted only with a left dislocation but not with a topicalization because of structural conditions: a left dislocation is higher than lowOpP, whereas a topicalization is lower and no OpPs are available.

This analysis allows to better capture the description of the empirical data concerning topicalization and left dislocation both in Mòcheno and in much general terms. As far as Mòcheno is concerned, the analysis has shown that the idea that left dislocation and topicalization only differ for the presence of optional pronominal doubling is wrong, but that they are two different

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[17]Here, I deliberately consider the syntax of a left-dislocated indirect object, since the direct object shows asymmetries depending on whether the subject is a DP or a pronoun. See below.

constructions with different syntactic properties which are connected (and encoded in) to different structural positions within CP. After a detailed examination of data, the same conclusion might also turn out to be true for other languages, such as the Romance ones.

Partial conclusions

In this subsection, I have been able to give two answers to the questions I started from, that is if thematizations are able to satisfy EPP. We saw that only topicalization can trigger EPP and does so without the insertion of a null operator, but realises V2 in the lowest portion of the clause (below lowOpP), just as a weak subject pronoun. For left dislocations, I proposed that EPP is satisfied by either a null operator or by an intervening XP realising the Spec of lowOpP or the TopicP involved in topicalization. The insertion of a null operator is possible because left-dislocated constituents move higher that lowOpP, differently from topicalization.

So far, I have identified two areas in the left periphery of Mòcheno where EPP can be satisfied and that, due to structural conditions, rule out eachother: either in the head of lowOpP or in the head of TopicP, as shown in (229).

(229)

```
                    HT-P
                   /    \
                Spec     HT′
                        /   \
                     HT⁰     LDP
                            /   \
                         Spec    LD′
                                /   \
                             LD⁰     lowOpP
                                    /      \
                                 Spec       lowOp′
                                  |        /      \
                           wh-element  lowOp⁰      TopicP
                                         |        /      \
                                  finite verb  Spec       Topic′
                                                |        /      \
                                             topic   Topic⁰      SubjP
                                                       |        /    \
                                               finite verb   Spec    Subj′
                                                                    /    \
                                                                Subj⁰     TP
```
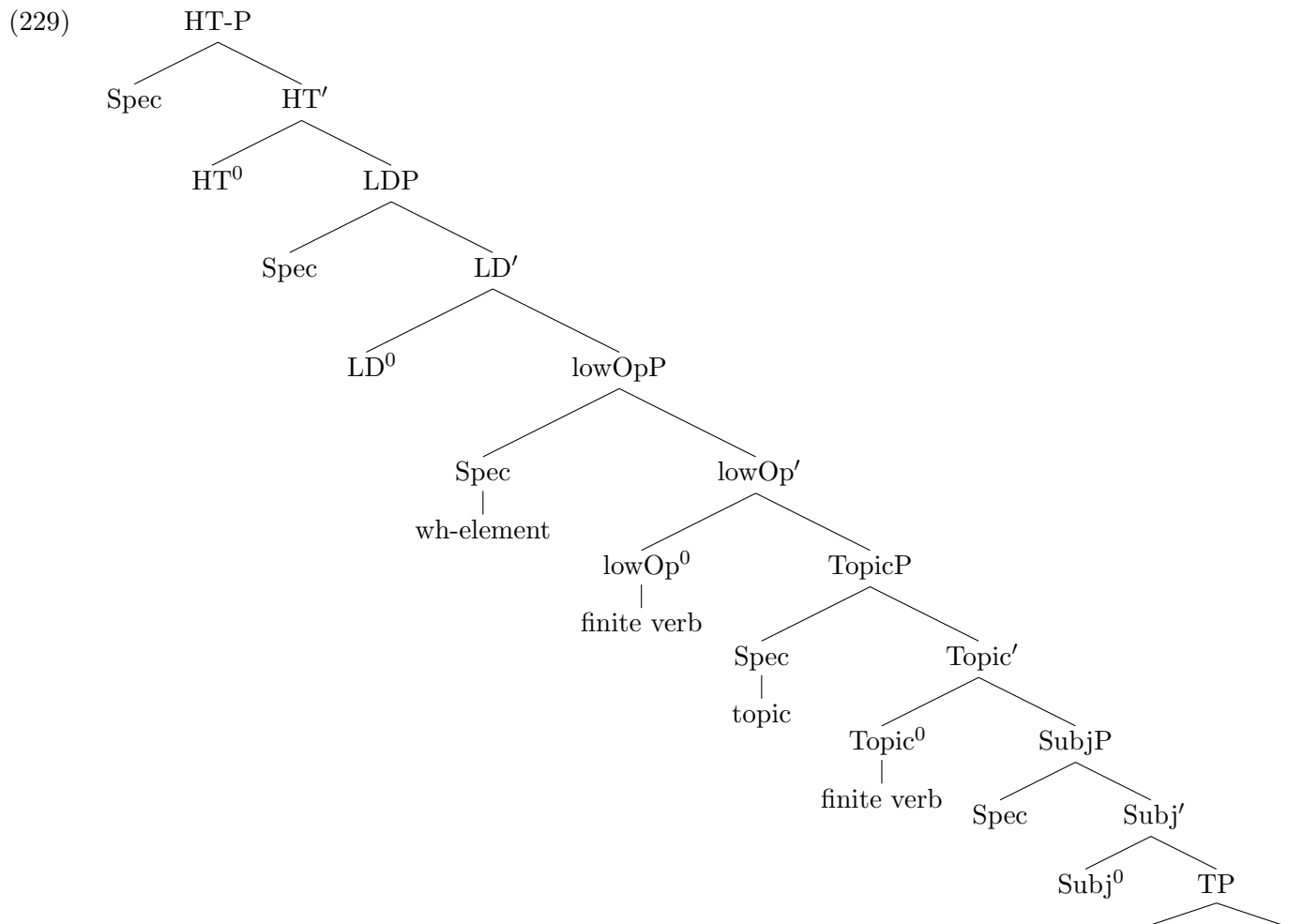
The structure above allows to draw an important descriptive generalization:

(230)   *Descriptive generalization on constituents and EPP:*

    a. If an XP cannot satisfy EPP, it has to be doubled by a pronoun or an epithet;

    b. If an XP cannot satisfy EPP, it can co-occur with an XP able to satisfy EPP.

The structure in (229) raises several question with respect to the comparison with other languages with split-CP, in particular my proposal that topicalizations are hosted below lowOpP is contradiction with the structure of the left periphery proposed in the literature and repeated below in (231) and where all topics are assumed to precede operators.

(231) $[_{FRAME}$ [**HT - Scene Setter**] $[_{THEME}$ [**Shift Topic - Contrastive Topic - Familiarity Topic**] $[_{FOCUS}$ [**Contrastive Focus - Information Focus/wh**]]]]

This proposal sets itself in the very delicate matter of whether it is possible to have recursion of TopicPs above and below FocusP, as assumed by Rizzi 1997, or not, as proposed by Benincà, who provides evidence that the only order admitted is focus-topic.

I think that the structure of Mòcheno given in (229) provides only apparent evidence in favour of an analysis of topics in terms of recursion of TopicPs. For Mòcheno I identified a clear pattern of distribution of the constructions involving XPs connected to old/known information, with left dislocations appearing above interrogative wh-elements (found in lowOpP) and topicalizations showing up below wh-elements. This is a different thing from saying (as in Rizzi 1997) that TopicPs are recursive and can be generated before or after FocusP, following the scheme *ForceP - TopicP* - FocusP - TopicP* - FinP*. In my account of Mòcheno there is no room for recursivity, since what precedes lowOpP can only be left-dislocated and what follows only topicalised; if recursion were possible, it would be expected that topics could precede wh-elements, but this is never possible (at least for arguments). Therefore, in Mòcheno we do not have to do with recursion of TopicPs above or below lowOpP, but with two different constructions hosted in two different areas of CP which happen to be separated by lowOpP.

Now, why is it to be so, that is why are topics below lowOpP in Mòcheno? This is a difficult question, which can only partly be answered. I think that the particular situation of Mòcheno with respect to the position of topicalization has to be put into relation with the properties of this construction, which resemble those of a new information focalization, but does not seem to be encoded in CP. It was not a chance that above in the subsection dedicated to topicalization I used wh-elements and contrastive foci (and not new information foci) in order to single out the properties of operators and compare them with those of topics. In Mòcheno, in fact, new information focus does not seem to be realised in the high left periphery, but in the lowest one (see chaper 6): this basically means that Mòcheno lacks a position for new information focus in CP. Even though the idea that there is a connection between the lack of a position for contrastive focalization in CP and the presence in Mòcheno of topicalization in the same position assumed in the literature to host contrastive foci remains only a speculation, I think that the two facts are connected. In particular, the prediction is that topicalization might develop into new information focalization.

At this point several issues are to be faced. First of all, what the position of adverbs and adverbial PPs is, that is if they are found in the area hosting topicalizations or in the one dedicated to left dislocation. Connected to this, it has to be verified if left dislocations and topicalizations can co-occur, as predicted by the structure in (229). Moreover, an answer has to be given with respect to the possibility to have a null operator with a left dislocation but not with a hanging topic. This issue will lead to tackle the syntax of the expletive element *z* and to better define the properties of highOpP, also by looking at the syntax of foci. Finally, I will discuss Rizzi's (2004) account of Relativised Minimality.

4.3.4   On the internal make-up of lowOpP and the area hosting left dislocations

In this subsection, I will propose a refinement of the internal make up of lowOpP and of the area hosting left dislocations.

As will immediately become clear, it is necessary to treat the syntax of left-dislocations and the one of wh-elements together in order to get a clear picture of the facts, since both phenomena seems to be two sides of the same coin.

In the first part of the subsection, I will consider the syntax of some wh-elements with different theta roles showing that they cannot be combined with any type of left-dislocated item, but that restrictions are found with respect to i) the number of left-dislocated items and ii) their order. On the basis of this fact, I will propose, that in Mòcheno wh-elements move to dedicated positions within lowOpP, which has to be thought of as a field composed by several projections specialised for thematic roles. The idea that wh-elements with different theta role move to dedicated positions is supported also by languages with multiple wh-fronting, such as Bulgarian (Krapova/Cinque 2008) and by also by Romance languages (Munaro 1997, Poletto 2000, Aboch/Pfau 2008:10f), where asymmetries concerning the landing position of interrogative wh-elements within CP are found.

These data are very interesting as far as the status of left dislocation is concerned, since in those cases in which an interrogative wh-element allows for more left-dislocationed items, these cannot appear in free order but have to show up in a fixed order according to the constituent category they belong to. Mòcheno data point in the same direction as the proposals by Benincà/Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl (2007), according to which topics are ordered within the left periphery, but also slightly modify them. In the cited literature, the identification of different positions dedicated to one type of topic is reached by looking at the semantics and the syntax of the construction; Benincà/Poletto (2004) propose therefore that aboutness (or shift, list-interpretation) topics have a dedicated position within the area hosting topics. Mòcheno data have already confirmed this idea syntactically, since aboutness topics correspond syntactically to left dislocations, which are actually hosted in a dedicated area separated from topicalizations by lowOpP.

A position for the frame

In what follows, I present some arguments in favour of the idea that in Mòcheno scene setters and locative PPs show up in a very high position (below hanging topics) and above interrogative wh-elements: the identification of a projection hosting scene setters found below the one hosting hanging topics is very important for the analysis of the internal structure of lowOpP, since the position of scene setters will be taken as a test in order to distinguish between left dislocation and hanging topic (with pronominal doubling).

Above (212), repeated below as (232), we saw that semiarguments, adverbial PPs and scene setter can precede an interrogative wh-element.

(232)   **a.** *Gester ber hot kaft s puach?*
         yesterday who has bought the book
         b. *En de boteig bos hoso kaft?*
         in the shop who have-SUBJ CL bought
         c. *Petn dai tata babai hot-er klofft va im?*
         with-the your father why has-SUBJ CL spoken of him
         d. *Petn staupsauger bos hoso putzt?*
         with-the hoover what have-SUBJ CL cleaned the house

Focusing on the syntax of scene setters and locative PPs, all wh-elements share the possibility by both adverbial elements. In (233) I give some examples.

(233)   **a.** *Gester en de boteig ber hot kaft s puach?*   *subject*
yesterday in the shop who has bought the book
         b. *Gester en de boteig bos hoso kaft?*   *direct object*
yesterday in the shop what have-SUBJ CL bought
         c. *Gester vour de kirch en bem hoso trog s puach?*   *indirect object*
yesterday in front the church to whom have-SUBJ CL bought the book
         d. *Gester en de boteig biavle piacher hot-er kaft?*   *wh-phrase*
yesterday in the shop how many books has-SUBJ CL bought
         e. *Gester vour de kirch benn hoso zechen der Mario*   *temporal*
yesterday in front the church when have-SUBJ CL seen the Mario
         f. *Gester vour de kirch abia hot-er gahondelt de sai sberster*   *manner*
yesterday in front the church how has-SUBJ CL treated the his sister

We saw above that a scene setter has to follow a hanging-topic; in (234a,b) I repeat the relevant examples and add in (234c,d) a new example showing that the same distribution is found between a hanging topic and a locative PP. These examples do not tell anything about the exact position of scene setters and locative PPs (enclisis is triggered and there are several ways in which this can take place), but rule out that adverbs can precede a hanging topic.

(234)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ en 2006/gester hon-za-nen$_j$ gem a praiz en sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario in 2006 have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a price to that stupid
         b. **En 2006/gester der Mario$_j$ (za) hon-(za)-en$_j$ gem a praiz en sell tepp$_j$*
in 2006 the Mario have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a price to that stupid
'As for Mario, in 2006/yesterday that stupid was given a price'
         c. *Der Mario$_j$ en de boteig hon-za pakemmp der sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario in the shop have-SUBJ CL met the that stupid
         d. **En de boteig der Mario$_j$ hon-za pakemmp der sell tepp$_j$*
in the shop the Mario have-SUBJ CL met the that stupid
'As for Mario, they met that stupid in the shop'

As illustrated in the examples in (235), a scene setter and a locative PP have to precede eventually present left-dislocated arguments, which are syntactically recognisable i) from the presence of an obligatory clitic doubler and ii) from the fact that they co-occur with an interrogative wh-element (ruled out for topics).

(235)   **a.** *Gester en de boteig s puach$_k$ en de Maria$_j$ ber hot-*(z)$_k$-*(en)$_j$ trog?*
yesterday in the shop the book to the Mary who has-ACC CL-DAT CL brought
         b. **Gester s puach$_k$ en de Maria$_j$ en de boteig ber hot-*(z)$_k$-*(en)$_j$ trog?*
yesterday the book to the Mary in the shop who has-ACC CL-DAT CL brought
'Yesterday who bought Mary the book in the shop?'
         c. *Gester vour de kirch der Mario$_j$ benn hoso-*(en)$_j$ zechen?*
yesterday in front the church the Mario when have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
         d. **Gester der Mario$_j$ vour de kirch benn hoso-*(en)$_j$ zechen?*
yesterday the Mario in front the church when have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
'Yesterday, when did you see Mario?'

In this section I have provided some arguments in favour of the idea that scene setters and other XPs denoting the frame of the event are located very high in the structure, below hanging topics and above left dislocated arguments. The position of scene setter will serve as a border between the hanging topic position and wh-elements and allow to identify with certainty left-dislocated arguments, by ruling their use as hanging topics.

On the internal structure of lowOpP

As already said, there seems to be evidence for assuming that in Mòcheno interrogative wh-elements with different theta roles do not move to the same position, since, if this were the case, it would be expected that they had the same possibilities to left dislocated items on their left, which is though not the case.

Beginning with a wh-element [-human] with direct object theta role, in (236a,b) I show that the only order of left-dislocated arguments (they are left dislocated, see clitic doubling) admitted is subject-indirect object.

(236)   **a.** *Gester der Nane$_k$ en de Maria$_j$ bos hot-er$_k$-en$_j$ trog?*
yesterday the John to the Mary what has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought
b. **Gester en de Maria$_j$ der Nane$_k$ bos hot-er$_k$-en$_j$ trog?*
yesterday to the Mary the John what has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought
'What did John bring Mary yesterday?'

When we consider a +human interrogative wh-element with subject theta role (237), we see that both orders of left-dislocated verb arguments are possible.

(237)   **a.** *Gester s puach$_j$ en de Maria$_k$ ber hot-z$_j$-en$_k$ gem?*
yesterday the book to the Mary who has-ACC CL- DAT CL given
b. *Gester en de Maria$_k$ s puach$_j$ ber hot-z$_j$-en$_k$ gem?*
yesterday to the Mary the book who has-ACC CL-DAT CL given
'Who gave Mary the book yesterday?'

Finally, I consider the possibility to have left-dislocated verb arguments before a wh-element with temporal theta role. As shown in (238), it is possible to topicalise one verb argument above an interrogative wh-element with theta role.

(238)   **a.** *Gester der Mario$_j$ benn hot-*(er)$_j$ zechen der Nane?*
yesterday the Mario when has-SUBJ CL seen the John
'When did Mario see John yesterday?'
b. *Gester der Mario$_j$ benn hoso-*(en)$_j$ zechen?*
yesterday the Mario when have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
'When did you see Mario yesterday?'
c. *Gester en de Maria$_j$ benn hoso-*(en)$_j$ gem a puach?*
yesterday to the Mary when have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book
'When did you give Mary a book yesterday?'

Unexpectedly, it is not possible to combine two left-dislocated arguments before a wh-element with theta role, as illustrated in (239).

(239)   **a.** **Gester vour de kirch der Nane$_j$ de Maria$_k$ om biavle hot-er$_j$-za$_k$ zechen?*

yesterday in front of the church the John the Mary at what time has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen

b. **Gester vour de kirch de Maria$_k$ der Nane$_j$ om biavle hot-er$_j$-za$_k$ zechen?*

yesterday in front of the church the Mary to John at what time has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen

'Yesterday at what time did John see Mary in front of the church?'

c. **Gester om 3 nomitto der Nane$_j$ en de Maria$_k$ om biavle hot-er$_j$-en$_k$ gem a puach?*

yesterday at three o'clock in the afternoon the John to the Mary has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book

d. **Gester om 3 nomitto en de Maria$_k$ der Nane$_j$ om biavle hot-er$_j$-en$_k$ gem a puach?*

yesterday at three to the Mary the John at what time has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book

'Yesterday at what time did John give Mary a book?'

The asymmetries in the distribution of left-dislocated arguments do not depend on the presence of lack of the locative PP but on the type of wh-element involved, see the data in (240).

(240)   **a.** *Gester der Mario$_k$ abia hot-er$_k$ zen zok sell van sai voter?*
yesterday the Mario how has-SUBJ CL ACC CL-DAT CL said that of his father
'How did Mario told him what had happened to his father?'

b. **Gester der Mario$_k$ en pustin$_j$ abia hot-er$_k$ zen$_j$ zok sell van sai voter?*
yesterday the Mario to postman how has-SUBJ CL ACC CL-DAT CL said that of his father
'How did Mario told the postman what had happened to his father?'

Now, I think that the asymmetries observed among the different interrogative wh-elements have shown that they do not share the possibility to allow for a fixed number of left-dislocated items and this is unexpected that they move to the same Spec position (of lowOpP) and allow for a fixed number of projections dedicated to left dislocations.

Whether the syntactic behaviour of interrogative wh-elements depends on the presence of two projections in lowOpP, one for wh-elements with argumental theta role and one for non-argumental wh-elements, or on the presence of dedicated positions for all argumental wh-elements cannot be decided here[18]; it seems thought that lowOpP has to be thought as an area composed by at least two projections.

Now, the discussion on the interactions between wh-elements and left dislocation has not led to a conclusion for the structure of lowOpP, but allows to add a new piece to the puzzle of the order of left-dislocated items, that is the position of semiarguments.

On the position of left-dislocated semiarguments

We saw above that wh-elements with adjunct theta role cannot be combined with two left-dislocated arguments but only with one. Interestingly, the only left-dislocated argument can be followed by a semiargumental PP, as shown in (241) with a comitative PP.

(241)   **a.** *Gester der Mario$_k$ petn Luca abia hot-er$_k$ gahondelt der pustin?*
yesterday the Mario with-the Luca how has-SUBJ CL treated the postman

b. **Gester petn Luca der Mario$_k$ abia hot-er$_k$ gahondelt der pustin?*

---

[18]The data that I have collected and could not include in the work seem to point to this latter type of analysis; what is more, also the +/-human feature of the wh-element seems to play a role in its syntactic behaviour. I leave this issue open for further research.

yesterday with-the Luca the Mario how has-SUBJ CL treated the postman

'How did Mario with Luca treat the postman yesterday?'

c. *Verten de dai kamaroten$_k$ pet de dai muam bo hon-sa$_k$ pakemmt der Nane?*

last year the your friends with the your aunt where have-SUBJ CL met the John

d. **Verten pet de dai muam de dai kamaroten$_k$ bo hon-sa$_k$ pakemmt der Nane?*

last year with the your aunt the your friends where have-SUBJ CL met the John

'Where did your friends with your aunt meet John last year?'

e. *Gester der Mario$_k$ petn Luca benn hot-er$_k$ kaft s puach?*

yesterday the Mario with-the Luca when has-SUBJ CL bought the book

f. **Gester petn Luca der Mario$_k$ benn hot-er$_k$ kaft s puach?*

yesterday with-the Luca the Mario when has-SUBJ CL bought the book

'When did Mario buy the book with Luca yesterday?'

In (242a,b), I show that also if the left-dislocated argument were a [-human] direct object, the comitative PP would have to follow; in the case an indirect object is present, though, a comitative PP cannot follow the left-dislocated argument (242c)[19].

(242)   **a.** *Gester s puach$_k$ petn Luca bo hoso-z$_k$ kaft?*
        yesterday the book with-the Luca where have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought
        b. **Gester petn Luca s puach$_k$ bo hoso-z$_k$ kaft?*
        yesterday with-the Luca the book where have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought
        'Where did you buy the book with Luca yesterday?'
        c. **Vour de kirch en de Maria$_k$ petn dai prueder benn hoso-en$_k$ gem a puach?*
        in front the church to the Mary with-the your brother have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book
        'When did you give Mary the book in front of the church with your brother?'

All the previous examples involve a comitative PP: this is not a case. In fact, other semiargumental PPs do not seem to be able to show up below left-dislocated arguments, as in can be seen in (243).

(243)   **a.** **Gester de dai kamaroten$_k$ petn auto bo sain-sa$_k$ gongen?*
        yesterday the your friends with-the car where are-SUBJ CL gone
        'Where did your friends go by car yesterday'
        b. **Gester de dai kamaroten$_k$ petn staupsauger bo hon-sa$_k$ putzt?*
        yesterday the your friends with-the hoover where have-SUBJ CL cleaned
        'Where did your friends hoover yesterday?'

Partial conclusions

In this subsection, I have taken into consideration the syntax of interrogative wh-elements and left-dislocations, in order to reconstruct the internal structure of the area hosting left dislocations. This issue has been investigated only superficially, since I showed that in Mòcheno left dislocations do not seem to occur in free order, but are i) subject to word order restrictions according to the category of the constituent involved and ii) there are asymmetries with respect to the thematic role of the wh-element involved.

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[19]This latter piece of data seems to point to the fact that Relativised Minimality effects among topics can arise.

Now, even though the picture I offered for left dislocation is not complete, I think that some conclusions can be drawn.

Data point to the fact that Mòcheno allows for multiple left-dislocated items; I do no speak here of recursivity, since the order of left dislocations is not free, as the notion of recursion implies, but fixed and ruled by the constituent category of the left-dislocated XPs, according to the structure sketched in (244).

(244)

```
                    FrameP
                   /      \
                Spec      Frame′
                         /      \
                      Frame⁰    LD+argP
                               /       \
                            Spec       LD+arg′
                                      /       \
                                 LD+arg⁰     LD+semiargP
                                            /          \
                                         Spec          LD+semiarg′
                                                      /          \
                                               LD+semiarg⁰      lowOpP
```
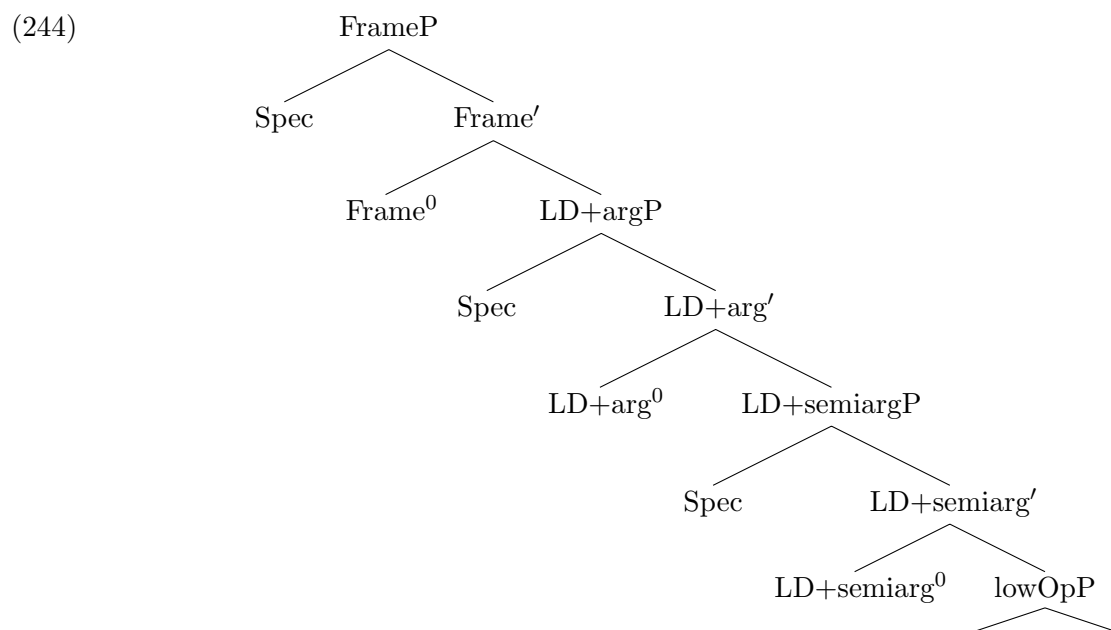
In the projection that I called frame, I assume that scene setter and adverbial PPs such as locatives are to be found; it has to be thought that this is not one single projection but an area. The projection hosting left-dislocated arguments seems to be able to host more than one XP; word order restrictions between left dislocated arguments, apparently dependent on Relativised Minimality, are found only with certain wh-elements and not with all of them. The projection dedicated to semiargumental left dislocations is not able to host all types of semiarguments, but only comitative PPs.

These facts clearly show that Mòcheno left dislocation is different from the Romance (Italian in particular) construction and speculatively I put this state of affairst into relation with the informant's intuition that left dislocation is very natural with adverbial PPs, scene setters and the subject, but less natural (still possible though) with more than one argument. The impression is that left dislocation is an innovative construction in Mòcheno grammar which is entering the system beginning with adverbial PPs and scene setters and involving then verb arguments. As for semiarguments, it cannot be a case that the only thematic role admitted is the comitative, which, as is well-known, is the closest to the subject and according to the hierarchy of theta roles proposed by Schweikert (2005) is very high in the structure.

In this subsection, I have shown that scene setters can be considered the highest left-dislocated items and that they are hosted above all left-dislocated arguments and below the hanging-topic projection. Now, in what follows I want to provide some evidence in favour of the idea that scene setters are special among adverbial elements and have a dedicated position, which is visible also by topicalizations; other adverbial elements, on the contrary, do not have this possibility. This

asymmetry will be put into relation with the fact that scene setters, differently from other adverbial PPs, have a sort of clitic copy realised in form of agreement with the tense of the finite verb.

4.3.5   On the structure of the area hosting topics

In this subsection, I will take into consideration the syntax of topics, which are hosted in the same area as weak subject pronouns below lowOpP, with a twofold goal: first of all i) sketch the properties of topicalizations and ii) provide evidence in favour of the idea that scene setters are special among adverbial modifications and have a dedicated position which is visible also for topicalizations.

Syntax of scene setters and PPs

Let's begin with the discussion of the syntax of scene setters. The data of left dislocation seem to point to the fact that both scene setter and adverbial PP pattern the same and belong to a common class, but I think that there is evidence coming from the interaction between adverbial elements and topics for considering that scene setter form a separate class (as proposed by Benincà/Poletto 2004) and can show up in a dedicated position in CP which is accesible to other adverbial PPs only if the scene setter is present.

The first asymmetry between locative PPs and scene setters[20]. with respect to topicalization was observed in (186) and (189) above, repeated here as (245), where I showed that with a locative PP enclisis is the only way to realise a pronominal subject (245a,b), whereas with *gester* both a preverbal strong pronoun and an enclitic are possible (245c). This asymmetry strongly recalls what we saw for topicalization and left dislocation: with topicalization the pronominal subject can only be realised through an enclitic pronoun, whereas with left dislocation both preverbal subject and enclisis (silent operator) are possible[21].

(245)   **a.** *En de boteig hot-se a puach kaft*
           in the shop has-SUBJ CL a book bought
           b. **En de boteig si hot a puach kaft*
           in the shop she-strong has a book bought
           'She bought a book in the shop'
           c. *Gester (er) hot-(er) kaft s puach*
           yesterday he-strong has-SUBJ CL bought the book
           'He bought the book yesterday'

The second asymmetry between locative PP and scene setter is found in the cases in which these elements are combined with topicalised arguments, as was observed in (220) and (221), where we saw that a topicalised argument cannot be preceded by a locative PP, but can be preceded by a scene setter. In (246), I repeat the relevant examples.

(246)   **a.** **En de boteig de Maria hone zechen*
           in the shop the Mary have-SUBJ CL seen

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[20]One further piece of evidence that is usually provided in favour of the fact that scene setters have a dedicated position is the lack of special intonation when they show up in the left periphery (see Poletto 2002). This is true also for Mòcheno with respect to low adverbs, for instance, but not with respect to a locative PP, which has no focused or special intonation when appears in CP. Following the hypothesis above, this depends on the fact that it targets the lowest part of CP, which is dedicated to topicalizations.

[21]This finding is not problematic for the discussion of the distribution of subject pronouns in the previous chapter, where I used *gester* as XP[-subj], since in that chapter I was only looking at the superficial form of enclisis and a scene setter can actually trigger enclisis.

b. *Gester de Maria hone zechen*
yesterday the Mary have-SUBJ CL seen

I take the data in (245) and (246) to point to the fact that locative PPs can only have one position in the area hosting topicalization, that is the position where EPP is triggered; therefore the incompatibility with other XPs able to satisfy EPP in that position. Scene setters, on the other hand, can be hosted in two positions also in the case of topicalization: either in the same position as locative PPs, where they satisfy EPP as all other topics, or in their dedicated position in the area dedicated to left dislocations.

Recall, that, differently from the case of topicalization, a locative PP can precede a wh-element, as repeated in (247).

(247)   **a.** *En de boteig, bos hoso kaft?*
in the shop what have-SUBJ CL bought
'What did you buy in the shop?'

I hope that the data discussed so far can be considered convincing evidence in favour of the idea that scene setters are different from all other adverbial elements and that they are compatible in both cases in which EPP is triggered, that is either by a wh-element or by a topic. In this case, I propose that it is hosted in a dedicated position in the area dedicated to left dislocations, as in (248)[22].

(248)
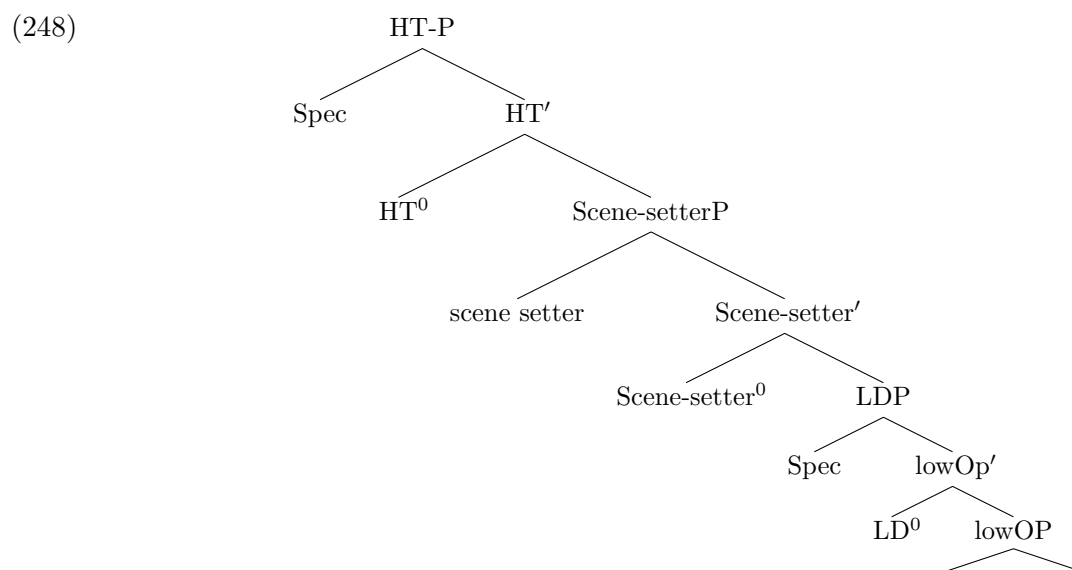
Now, the idea that scene setters have a dedicated positions make sense of only one part of the puzzle, that is why scene setters are compatible with a topic in a main declarative clause, but does not give an answer to two other questions: i) why some PPs can show up in the area that hosts left-dislocations in wh-interrogative clauses, but not in main declarative and ii) why these same PPs can only be topicalised in main clauses and satisfy EPP.

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[22]Differently from Benincà/Poletto (2004:79), who consider scene setters as part of the same area (which they call the frame) as hanging topics, I prefer to consider them as part of left dislocations (theme in their terminology). My position in this respect depends basically on the syntactic behaviour of scene setters and hanging topics: the former behave in exactly the same way as left-dislocated XPs, whereas the latter have their own syntax (lack of enclisis, even with a null operator), which they do not share with any other construction seen so far.

This is a difficult question, for which I will only try to provide an answer.

Starting point is the observation that the syntactic behaviour of scene setters, that is the possibility to show up both in the area dedicated to left dislocation and in the one hosting topicalizations in both wh-main interrogatives and in declarative clauses, is typical of PPs that can be doubled. Differently from Italian, very few PPs can be doubled in Mòcheno: according to my research, indirect objects are always doubled by a clitic and some semiarguments can generally[23] be doubled by a preposition followed by a strong pronoun.

Interestingy, all PPs that can be doubled, can be both left dislocated and topicalised in a main declarative clause.

An indirect object can only be doubled by a clitic. As shown in (249) in a main declarative clause both topicalization and left-dislocation of the indirect object are possible, given that the clitic in IP is optional (which is though an indication of the possibility of the two different constructions). The indirect object cannot be considered a hanging topic, since the indirect object shows up with the preposition.

(249)   *En de Maria$_k$ hone-(en)$_k$ a puach kaft*   *topicalization+left dislocation*
          to the Mary have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
          'I bought Mary a book'

In (250a), I show that an argumental PP can appear in sentence-initial position without any particular intonation and trigger subject-verb inversion: in this case no resumption is possible, as predicted by the idea that the XP is topicalised. If no subject-verb inversion takes place, as in (250b), the PP preceding the subject has to be doubled in IP and is thought to be left-dislocated.

(250)   **a.** *Van Nane$_j$ hone klofft (*va im)$_j$)*   *topicalization*
          of-the John have-SUBJ CL spoken of him
          'I spoke of John'
          b. *Van Nane$_j$ er/der Mario hot klofft *(va im)$_j$*   *left dislocation*
          of-the John he-strong/the Mario has spoken of him
          'He/Mario spoke of John'

PPs that do not admitt any type of doubling, not even in the form P+pronoun, cannot be left-dislocated in main declarative clauses, but only topicalised, and can be left dislocated only in wh-main interrogatives. This is shown in (251). In (251a,d), I created a sentence with doubling of the locative and of the instrumental PPs and no subject-verb inversion (that is the syntax of a left dislocation): both were rejected by the informant who claims that the only grammatical construction is topicalization, that is i) subject-verb inversion and ii) no doubling (251b,e). The PPs are grammatical in wh-main interrogative clauses (251c,f).

(251)   **a.** **En de boteig$_j$ er hot kaft s puach (zem$_j$)*   *left dislocation*
          in the shop he-strong has the book bought there
          b *En de boteig hot-er kaft s puach*   *topicalization*
          in the shop has-SUBJ CL the book bought there
          c. *En de boteig, bos hot-er kaft?*   *left dislocation*
          in the shop what has-SUBJ CL bought

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[23]For the case of the semiargumental PP *of something/someone* selected by the verb *to talk of something/someone to someone*, I have come across some data that seem to point to the fact that this PP can also be doubled by the partitive clitic *sn*, especially in clitic clusters. When the PP shows up in isolation, as in the cases considered here, the informant has always provided the form P+pronoun as doubling. I leave this issue open for further research.

d. *Petn staupsauger_j er hot s hauz putzt (pet im_j)*   *left dislocation*
with-the hoover he-strong has the house cleaned with it
e. *Petn staupsauger hot-er s hauz putzt*   *topicalization*
with-the hoover has-SUBJ CL the house cleaned
f. *Petn staupsauger, ber hot putzt s hauz?*   *left dislocation*
with-the hoover who has cleaned the house

The only exception to the facts in (251) is represented by the syntax of scene setters, which can i) be both left-dislocated and topicalised in main declaratives and ii) left dislocated in wh-main interrogatives, even though they do not have a doubler in IP, as repeated in (252).

(252) **a.** *Gester/no en vourmess er hot kaft s puach*   *left dislocation*
yesterday/after lunch he-strong has bought the book
b. *Gester/no en vourmess hot-er kaft s puach*   *topicalization*
yesterday/after lunch has-SUBJ CL bought the book
'He bought the book yesterday/after lunch'
c. *Gester/no en vourmess, ber hot kaft s puach?*   *left dislocation*
yesterday/after lunch who bought the book

The data discussed so far can be summed up in the descriptive generalization in (254).

(253)   *Descriptive generalization on the syntax of adverbial PPs:*
a. All PPs can precede a wh-element in the area hosting left-dislocations;
b. only PPs that can be doubled in IP can be left-dislocated in main declarative clauses;
c. PPs that cannot be doubled in IP can only be topicalised in main declarative clauses.

Only the syntax of one class of PPs is not captured by the descriptive generalization in (254), that is the one of scene setters. My assumption is that, from a descriptive point of view, scene setters are to be considered as PPs doubled by a pronoun in IP, with the only difference that their doubling is not of pronominal nature, but is realised by the relation established by scene setter and the tense of the finite verb. Trivially, a scene setter showing up in the left periphery has to always agree with the tense of the finite verb for the sentence to be grammatical (I cannot say *yesterday I will go to the cinema): I claim that this type of relation between an XP in CP and one head (the head of TP) instantiates the same relation that exists between a left-dislocated XP and the head hosting the clitic copy.

The second thing to be said is that it cannot be a case that all PPs considered here are PPs that in Italian can be doubled by the clitic pronoun *ci*, which can be defined a sort of "generic clitic", in the sense that i) it does not agree in number and person with its antecedent as other clitic generally do and ii) is not specialised for one thematic role. As shown in (254), *ci* in Italian is optional and according to the analysis of left-dislocation and topicalization that I gave above, this has to be analysed as the possibility to have two different constructions: left-dislocation and topicalization.

(254) **a.** *In negozio_j (ci)_j ho comprato un libro*   *locative*
in the shop LOC CL have bought a book
b. *Con l'aspirapolvere_j (ci)_j ho pulito il tappeto*   *instrumental*
with the hoover INSTR have cleaned the carpet
c. *Con Gianni (ci)_j sono uscita un paio di volte*   *comitative*
with Gianni COMIT are gone out a couple of times

Capitalising on the parallel with Italian and on the descriptive generalization in (254a,b), according to which all PPs that allow for doubling can be left-dislocated, I put forth the idea that the PPs not allowing for a doubler but show up though in wh-main interrogative clauses have a silent clitic similar to Italian *ci*. The silent clitic that I assume doubles the PPs in wh- main interrogative clauses is licensed in Mòcheno only by the operator hosted in lowOpP.

Since the position of the operator is above the area hosting topicalizations, a null clitic can only be licensed if the operator is present; if the operator is not present, the lowest portion of CP functions as a bottle-neck for the PP. For PPs that have a clitic doubler, this is always obligatory when these PPs are left-dislocated; if also "real" clitics could remain silent, then topicalization could be analysed as left-dislocation, which would confirm the idea that both constructions are identical an clitic doubling is optional.

This idea is not in contradiction with the proposal that scene setters (and other PPs) have a dedicated position in the portion of CP hosting left dislocations, but can be seen as a refinement of it. It can be thought, that the fact that these elements have a dedicated position is precisely due to their possibility to be doubled by a silent or a realised clitic. The presence of positions dedicated to PPs is therefore limited to the area hosting XPs that admitt doubling, that is the portion of CP above lowOpP.

Now, what we have seen in this subsection recalls observations made by Bidese (2008), Poletto/Tomaselli (2008) and Grewendorf/Poletto (2009) for Cimbrian. The authors point to the fact that in the diachronic development of this language there seems to be a correlation between the loss of the strict (German) V2 system, in which only one XP could precede the finite verb, in favour of a more relaxed system which admitted also cases of V3, and the raising of a systems of clitics able to double XPs appering the left periphery.

The Mòcheno data discussed so far seem to point to the same correlation, at least for wh-interrogative clauses, in which only the left-dislocation construction (with realised or silent clitic) is possible. The asymmetries in the distribution of PPs that do not admitt doubling in wh-main interrogative (grammatical, analysed as a case of left-dislocation with silent clitic *ci*) and in main declarative clauses (ungrammatical, the only construction admitted is topicalization), I interpreted the correlation between operator and clitic in the other way around: an XP can be doubled by a clitic only if the clitic is legitimated by an operator.

(255)   *Descriptive generalization on PPs without doubler;*
            The silent clitic pronoun is legitimated by an operator in CP.

According to the descriptive generalization in (255), in Mòcheno all XPs are assumed to have behaved as PPs without a clitic doubler, with the possibility to show up in V3 contexts only in co-occurrence with an operator appearing in Spec,lowOpP. Starting out from wh-main interrogatives, these XPs have developed the possibility to have a doubler also in other contexts than wh-main interrogatives. The important thing to be noticed is that even with XPs that have developed a clitic doubler in all contexts (such as the indirect object), they can still be topicalised and satisfy EPP[24].

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[24]I think that there is evidence in favour of the idea that Mòcheno is developing a realised clitic form corresponding to *ci* in the form of *n*. This form, that I have found only in clitic clusters, is optional in the following example, and can double only the locative PP *en de boteig*, since the indirect object is already doubled by the clitic *en*.
      a. *En de Maria$_k$ en de boteig hone-*(en)$_k$ a puach kaft*
      to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
      b. *En de Maria$_k$ en de boteig hone-n-*(en)$_k$ a puach kaft*
      to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought
This piece of data is problematic, since it only opens questions that cannot be answered, for instance i) why does

Now, this analysis of left-dislocation and topicalization predicts that i) the two constructions can co-occur; ii) if they do so, the topic has to behave as an operator an satisfy EPP; iii) multiple topicalizations should be ruled out, in the same way an operator and a topicalization cannot co-occur (see above).

Multiple access to the area hosting topics

In order to provide an explanation for the asymmetries observed in the distribution of PPs in main declarative clauses and in wh-main interrogatives, in particular with respect to the idea put forth for Cimbrian by Bidese (2008), Poletto/Tomaselli (2008) and Grewendorf/Poletto (2009), who put the loss of V2 into relation with the raising of a clitic system, in this subsection I try to determine whether (and the case of a positive answer to what extend) Mòcheno allows for multiple access to the area hosting topicalizations.

The expectations to be tested on the basis of the discussion carried out in the previous section is that i) topicalizations cannot co-occur, since only one topic can satisfy EPP and ii) in the case of presence of multiple elements above the finite verb, the lowest one is not doubled since it is a topic and triggers EPP, whereas all the higher ones do not do so and have to be doubled by a clitic.

Let's beginn by trying to combine a locative PP with a direct object: the prediction is that the verb argument can precede the locative PP only if it is doubled by a clitic; also in the inverted order the clitic doubler is obligatory, since only an operator can legitimate the silent clitic of the locative PP and not a topic. As shown in (256) these predictions seem to be borne out: a direct object needs a clitic copy in both orders, that is both when it is preceded or followed by a locative PP.

(256)   a. *Gester en de kirch de Maria hone zechen
            yesterday in the church the Mary have-SUBJ CL seen
        b. Gester vour de kirch de Maria$_k$ hot-sa$_k$ der Luca zechen
            yesterday in the church the Mary has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
        c. *De Maria vour de kirch hot der Luca zechen
            the Mary in front the church has the Luca seen
        d. De Maria$_k$ vour de kirch hot-sa$_k$ der Luca zechen
            the Mary in front the church has-SUBJ CL the Luca seen

Notice, that what forces a left-dislocation seems to be the presence of a locative PP, since if the topialised argument were preceded by a scene setter, as in (257), no doubling is required, but possible.

(257)   a. Gester de Maria hone-(za) zechen
            yesterday the Mary have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
        b. Gester s puach hone-(z) kaft
            Yesterday the book have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought

In table 4.2, I sum up the results of the distribution of a locative PP and a direct object. The data basically point to the fact that a locative PP is compatible with a direct object only if this has clitic resumption. In the first and second line we see that a direct object can precede a locative only if it is doubled by a clitic: the locative PP is analysed as a topic and the direct object as

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the PP follow the verb argument?, ii) why do we have the clitic in main clauses and not in wh-interrogatives as expected? Even though I cannot answer this question now, I think that the idea that there is a correlation between Italian *ci* and Mòcheno *n* is worth pursuing in further research.

a left-dislocation with a silent operator. When we take the inverted order LocPP-direct object, the expectation is that resumption is obligatory, since the direct object triggers EPP in the area hosting topicalizations, not in an OpP, and cannot license a silent clitic. As shown in lines c. and d. this prediction is borne out.

Expected order:		left-dislocation	left dislocation	TopicP=EPP
Orders found:	**a.**	Scene setter	LocPP	DO[+res]
	b.	*Scene setter	LocPP	DO[-res]
	c.		*LocPP	DO[+/-res]
	d.		DO[+res]	LocPP

Table 4.2: Distribution of locative PP and direct object in CP in main declarative clauses

On the basis of these data, we can conclude that a topicalised direct object can only be preceded by constituents that show up in the area hosting left dislocations, that is XPs that are doubled by a silent clitic legitimated by the tensed verb, as a scene setter (264a), or by a left-dislocated argument.

Let's consider now the syntax of subject and locative PP showing up before the finite verb. The expectation to be tested is that a subject behaves as a direct object, that is that i) it can be preceded or followed by a locative PP only when left-dislocated (the clitic doubler is present). Data will show that this expectation is not borne out and that a topicalised subject has a different syntax form a topicalised direct object.

Beginning with the order subject-locative PP, in (258) I show that the PP can actually follow a topicalised subject, but differently from what is expected the subject cannot be left-dislocated.

(258)   **a.** *Gester der Mario$_k$ en de boteig hot-er$_k$ a puach kaft*
          yesterday the Mario in the shop has-SUBJ CL a book bought
          b. *Gester der Mario en de boteig hot a puach kaft*
          yesterday the Mario in the shop has a book bought
          'Yesterday Mario bought a book in the shop'

Recall that a subject cannot be doubled by a clitic also when no other XP intervenes, as repeated in (261), that is it cannot be left-dislocated in main declarative clauses; it seems that the ban against left-dislocation in main declarative clauses is present also if an XP intervenes between the subject and the finite verb triggering EPP.

(259)   *Der Mario (er)-hot-(er) a puach kaft*
          the Mario SUBJ CL-has-SUBJ CL a book bought

Let's look now at the inverted order locative PP - subject: according to the syntactic behaviour of the direct object, the expectations is that a subject can be preceded by a locative only if the subject is left-dislocated, since a locative PP can only show up when a silent clitic is legitimated by an operator. This prediction is not borne out. In (260a), I show that a topicalised subject is compatible with a preceding locative PP; if a resumptive clitic were present, the sentence would be interpreted as a yes/no interrogative clause (260b).

(260)   **a.** *Gester en de boteig der Mario hot a puach kaft*
          yesterday in the shop the Mario has a book bought

'Yesterday Mario bought a book in the shop'
b. *Gester en de boteig der Mario$_k$ hot-er$_k$ a puach kaft?*
yesterday in the shop the Mario has-SUBJ CL a book bought
'Did Mario buy a book in the shop yesterday?'

In table (4.3), I sum up the combinatory possibilities of a resumed and not-resumed subject with respect to a locative PP. In the first line, I write the order that expected under the previous discussion: the lowest constituent was expected to be analysed as a topic (no doubler) triggering EPP, the constituents preceding it were to expected to be left-dislocations (obligatory doubler). A locative PP was not expected to be able to precede a topic, given the assumption that a silent clitic can only be legitimated by an operator.

As is clear from the orders reconstructed by data, the expectations are not met. In the first line we see that a subject without doubler can precede the locative PP: the former can be analysed as a topic, but the subject cannot be a left-dislocation; what is more, in the second line is to be seen that the subject in this order cannot be doubled by a clitic, that is it cannot be left dislocated. In the third and fourth lines, we see the inverted order PP - subject. Also in this case the behaviour of the subject is problematic. In the third line we see that a subject without resumption can be preceded by a locative PP: this is problematic, if we consider the subject a topic, since I assumed that the silent clitic is legitimated only by an operator. If with the same order the subject is doubled by a clitic, the presence of a locative PP is expected, since left-dislocation involves a silent operator, but with this syntax the sentence is not interpreted as a main declarative clause, but as a yes/no main interrogative.

Expected order:		left-dislocation	left dislocation	TopicP=EPP
Orders found:	**a.**	Scene setter	SUBJ[-res]	LOC PP
	b.	*Scene setter	SUBJ[+res]	LocPP
	c.	Scene setter	LocPP	SUBJ[-res]
	d.	Scene setter	LocP	SUBJ[+res] +interr.

Table 4.3: Distribution of the subject in left-dislocation and topicalization

In order to make sense of the word orders summed up in table (4.3), I put forth the idea that DP subjects are special among topicalizations, since they can co-occur with another XP that has triggered EPP in the lowest portion of CP.

Why are DP subjects different from direct objects? Why do not they obey the mechanism of EPP that I have assumed for Mòcheno, according to which all XPs moved to the left periphery have to move i) through all Spec positions of the projections able to satisfy EPP and ii) through Spec,SubjP?

I think that the answer is to be found in the mechanism that I have just repeated: DP subjects do not interfere with EPP because they are not moved to CP from the lower portion of the clause, as is the case of direct objects, but are generated directly in CP above the area hosting weak and clitic pronouns. This projection is special since it seems to encode both operator and topic properties and seems to be the base-position of a DP subject.

Let's consider the evidence in favour of this latter claim. I think that the pattern shown in the sentences in (258), repeated here as (261), where the subject has to precede the locative PP (that triggers EPP) and pronominal doubling is ruled out, clearly point to the fact that the DP subject gets its unmarked reading in that position.

(261)   **a.** **Gester der Mario_k en de boteig hot-er_k a puach kaft*
        yesterday the Mario in the shop has-SUBJ CL a book bought
        b. *Gester der Mario en de boteig hot a puach kaft*
        yesterday the Mario in the shop has a book bought
        'Yesterday Mario bought a book in the shop'

The fact that the position hosting a DP subject is special in the sense that it has operator-like properties is evidenced for me by the sentence in (260a) above, repeated here as (262), where is to be seen that a DP subject can be preceded by a locative PP, even though this is generally possible only with a wh-element. In the order PP-subject, in fact the PP cannot be considered as showing up in the area hosting topics, but in area dedicated to left-dislocations. The possibility to activate a locative PP by legitimating a silent clitic is realised "for free" by a topicalised DP subject (just as by wh-interrogative elements), whereas for a direct object the presence of a silent operator and a left-dislocation is needed. I take this to mean that the projection hosting the DP subject has operator-like properties, which are though compatible with EPP, given that the DP is not moved but base-generated in CP.

(262)   *Gester en de boteig der Mario hot a puach kaft*
        yesterday in the shop the Mario has a book bought
        'Yesterday Mario bought a book in the shop'

The last piece of evidence that seems to me very relevant in favour of considering the position of topicalised DP subjects special comes from the case in which the subject is doubled by a clitic, which is possible only in the order locative-PP, as repeated in (263). In this case, the subject is not interpreted as a simply left-dislocated constituent, but the sentence can only be interpreted as a yes/no main interrogative. I take this to mean that when a DP subject moves from its position in the area dedicated to topicalizations only when the silent operator is in Spec,lowOpP, that is in the projection hosting interrogative wh-elements.

(263)   *Gester en de boteig der Mario_k hot-er_k a puach kaft?*
        yesterday in the shop the Mario has-SUBJ CL a book bought
        'Did Mario buy a book in the shop yesterday?'

This new idea leads to a new problem: do we have to distinguish between declarative and interrogative null operators? I think this is the case and there seems to be a connections between the position of a DP subject in the left periphery and this declarative operator, but at the moment I cannot tell how this would function in the structure.

In (264), I sketch the position for DP subjects in the left periphery. I assume that they show up in the area hosting topics immediately below[25] lowOpP. In the Spec of the TopicP below DP-SubjectP I wrote EPP: it does not need to be assumed that there is only one TopicP above the area dedicated to weak and clitics, but only that only one Spec of that area can be occupied by a moved element that triggers EPP and blocks any futher extraction. Operators, on the other hand, satisfy EPP always in the same projection and are compatible with several topics on their left: no bottle-neck effect is found (see below).

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[25]We saw in chapter 2 that in standard German a DP subject in subject-verb inversion contexts can be preceded by subject-oriented adverbs; it seems that also in Mòcheno DP subjects are naturally preceded by the same class of adverbs, but I do not enough data in order to discuss this point in detail.

(264)

```
                    LD-P
                   /    \
                Spec    LD′
                       /    \
                     LD⁰    lowOpP
                           /      \
                      wh-interr.  lowOp′
                                 /      \
                             lowOp⁰   DP-SubjectP
                                      /          \
                               DP-subject      DP-Subject′
                                              /          \
                                       DP-subject⁰      TopicP
                                                       /      \
                                                     EPP      Topic′
                                                             /      \
                                                         Topic⁰    SubjP
```
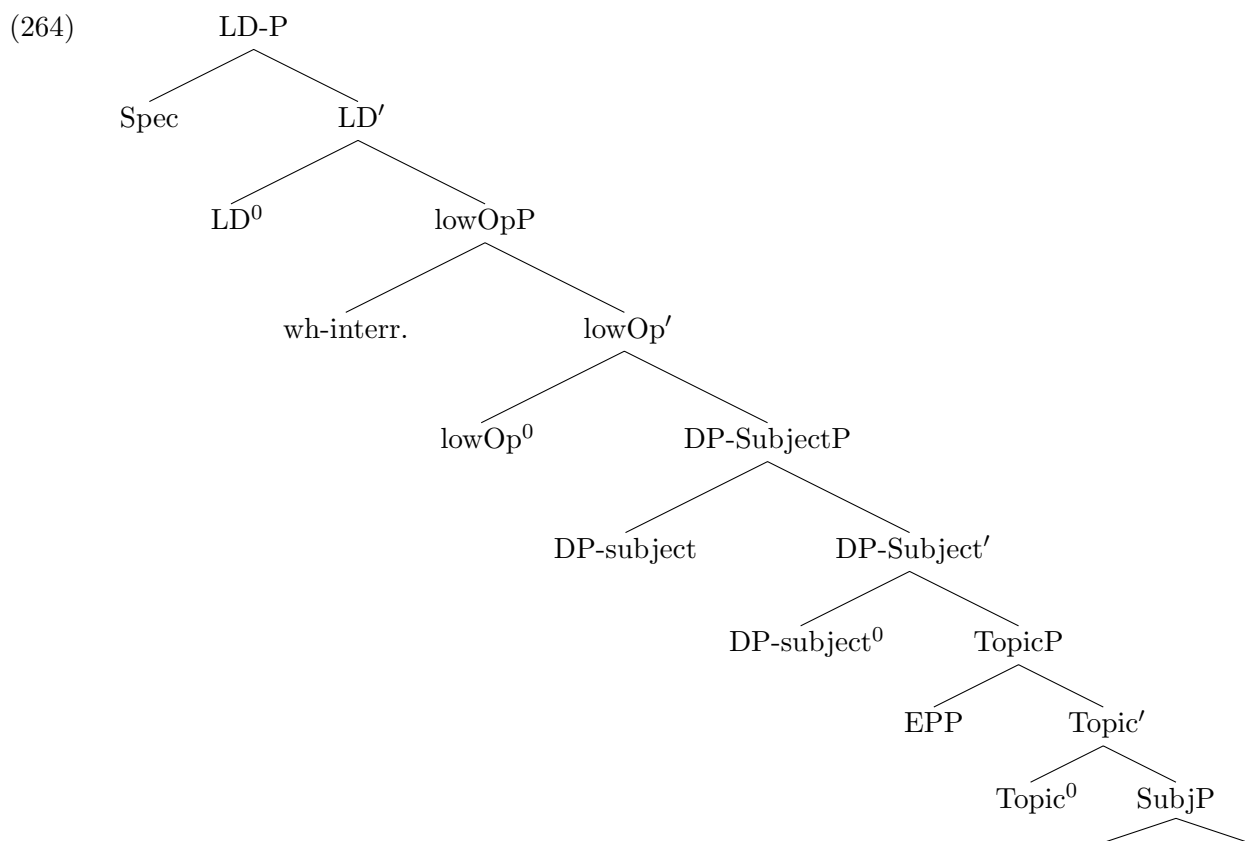
Finally, in (265), I consider the syntax of an indirect object combined with a locative PP, which behave as expected.

(265)   **a.** **En de Maria$_k$ en de boteig hone a puach kaft*
        to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL a book bought
        b. *En de Maria$_k$ en de boteig hone-en$_k$ a puach kaft*
        to the Mary in the shop have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book bought

On the basis of the data discussed in this subsection, I conclude that in Mòcheno multiple topicalizations do not exist: in all cases in which two constituents precede the finite verb in a main declarative clause, the highest one has to be doubled by a clitic pronoun (realised or silent, as scene setters) and the lowest one does not allow for doubling (is a topic). On the basis of this clear finding, I conclude that in Mòcheno a left-dislocated constituent i) does not satisfy EPP; ii) in the case of enclisis and no XP preceding the finite verb, a null operator is present and iii) if a constituent intervenes between the left dislocation and the finite verb, it is topicalised. Topicalizations, on the other hand, cannot co-occur; this is another piece of evidence in favour of the mechanims that I have hypothesised in order to make sense of EPP: two XPs able to satisfy EPP cannot be moved through Spec,SubjP (or better, the lowest area of CP), but the first one blocks movement of other XPs.

The only exception to this pattern is represented by the syntax of a topicalised subject, which can co-occur with a topicalised item also without the presence of a clitic doubler. In order to account for this fact, I tentatively put forth the hypothesis that DP subjects are not moved from IP to the left periphery in order to be topicalised, but are base-generated directly in CP in a position

with operator-like properties; DP subjects are in fact the only topicalised constituents that can be preceded by a locative PP, whereas all other verb arguments have to be left-dislocated in order to be preceded by a locative PP.

4.3.6   Partial conclusions

In section, I have examined the order of constituents in the left periphery of Mòcheno, trying to determine i) the order of the different constructions within the periphery and ii) how the different constructions interact with eachother, in particular with respect to the XP triggering EPP.

I showed that the only XPs able to satisfy EPP are i) operators and ii) topics; wheras despite apparences left dislocations do not satisfy EPP, but enclisis is mediated by a null operator that attracts the finite verb in the head of the projection it is hosted, forcing enclisis of the pronominal subject.

After having determined what can actually satisfy EPP and in what projections, I considered the structure of the area where left-dislocations and topicalizations are hosted. As for the case of left dislocations, it was immediately evident that wh-elements can be preceded by one XP with obligatory doubling and I wanted to investigate further if this was limited to just one XP or to more. Despite the complexity of data due to the special behaviour of interrogative wh-elements, it could be concluded that wh-elements can be preceded by several constituents ordered according to constituent category: in the highest area scene setters are to be found, followed by left-dislocated arguments and semiarguments in this order. The possibility to be preceded by a topic is linked in wh-main interrogatives to clitic doubling: only XPs that have a doubler can appear before a wh-element. For those PPs that do not have a doubler, such as locative PPs, I proposed that the wh-element is able to legitimate a silent clitic corresponding to Italian *ci*; scene setters are assumed to establish a relation similar to pronominal doubling with the tensed verb.

The connection between the relaxing of the linear V2 restiction in Mòcheno and the rising of a class of clitics able to double XPs recalls the observations made in the literature on Cimbrian (Bidese 2008, Poletto/Tomaselli 2008, Grewendorf/Poletto 2009); in my account the presence of a clitic is legitimated by a null or a realised operator.

Then, I looked main declarative clauses, in particular at the possibility to combine a topic realising EPP in the lowest portion of CP with other constituents, reaching the conclusion that at least for direct and indirect object this is only possible if the topic is preceded by a left dislocation. Again, cases of V3/V4... word orders are to be made sense of by assuming that an XP can skip the constituent triggering EPP only if it is doubled by a clitic. The only exception to this generalization is represented by topicalised subject, that behave completely unexpectedly with respect to other topicalised constituents, since (among other things) can precede the topicalised item triggering EPP even if it has no clitic doubler. I tried to make sense of this asymmetry by the proposal that DP subjects have a dedicated position in the highest portion of the area of CP hosting topicalised and when they show there they are not moved from IP, but base-generated in CP. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by some facts (distribution with locative PPs and obligatoriness of the yes/no-interrogative reading with doubling) but is problematic for the realization of the grammatical subject (SubjP): how is verb morphology derived? I do not have a solution to propose, except for the observation that, if my account is correct, a DP subject can establish an agree relation with SubjP as far as no operator intervenes; recall that with a wh-element a clitic has to obligatory double also a DP subject, that is the relation between clause and topic cannot be established without the clitic.

In what follows, I put for a tentative account of how a wh-element can legitimate (and force) the presence of a clitic. The first assumption is that in the area hosting topicalizations, there are

several projections dedicated to the different theta roles and that below them the area of weak and clitic pronouns is found (Sportiche 1997). Now, when a wh-element moves to Spec,OpP it does not saturate all Spec positions of the projections hosting weak and clitic pronouns, but also the Spec dedicated to the DP topics hosted in that area; some of these topics have a corresponding clitic, other such as adverbial PPs do not have any. Therefore, for the same mechanism that rules out post-verbal weak subjects in wh-main declarative clauses, movement of the wh-element to Spec,lowOpP blocks all Spec hosting topicalizations. The only way to recover the thematic role connected to that DP topic is to activate the head position, where the clitic is hosted: the finite verb on its way to the head of lowOpP picks up all clitics. Now, since the theta role of the topicalised item is realised only through the clitic and all TopicPs have been blocked by in-between movement of the wh-element, the antecedent, if present, has to appear in a different position from the area dedicated to topicalizations, that is in the area dedicated to left dislocations (or in the low left periphery).

(266)
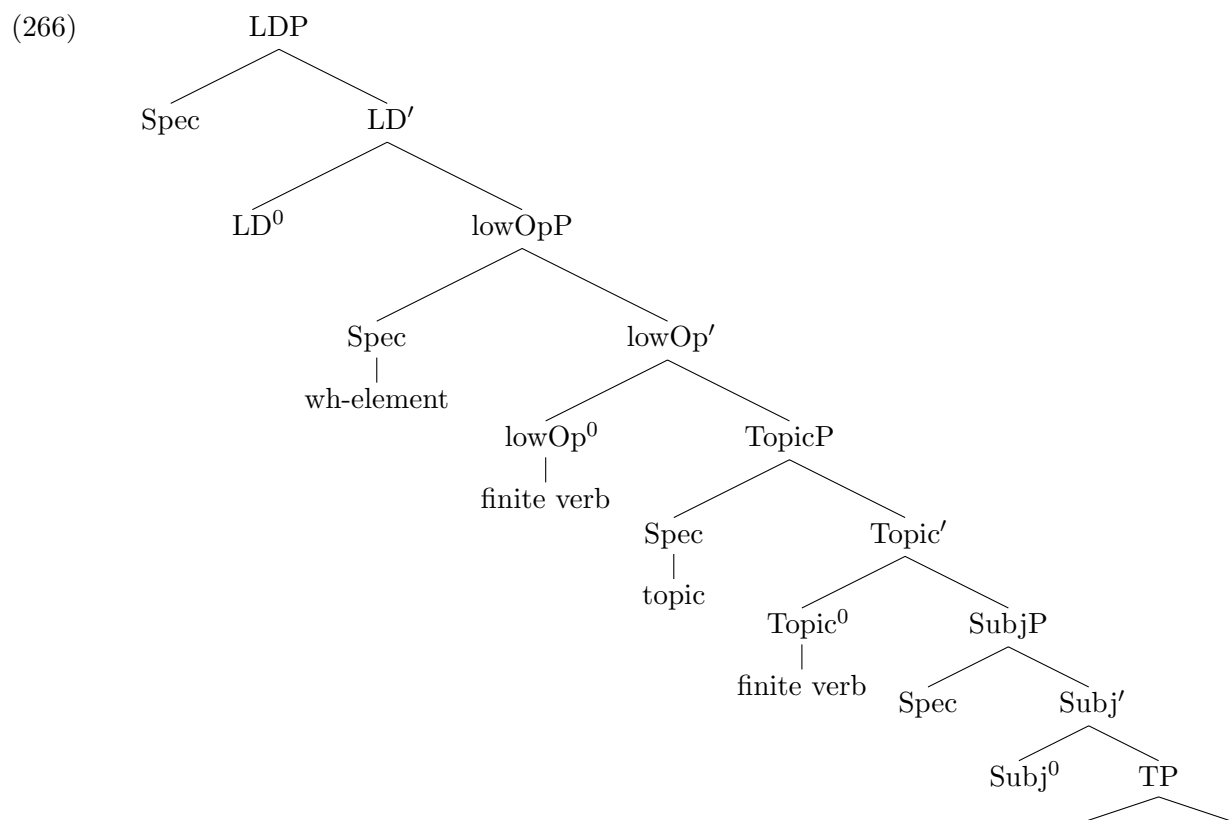
The proposal that I have sketched in the structure above strongly relies on the idea that a wh-element has to move through all Spec of the area hosting topicalizations and that therefore topicalised DPs are ruled out below lowOpP. This is certainly true for subject DPs with all wh-interrogatives[26]; as shown in (267), the DP subject cannot follow the finite verb in wh-main interrogatives, but has to be dislocated. The preferred position is right-dislocation[27].

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[26]In my material the only exception to this generalization is represented by hte wh-element *with whom*: in two sentences the informant used a postverbal DP subject. When I explicitly asked if the sentence was possible, he said that it prefers the version with right-dislocated DP subject. I ignore this piece of data.

[27]This is a phenomenon all the informants of Palù I have consulted agree on.

(267)   **a.** **Benn hot der Mario kaft a puach?*
when has the Mario bought a book
b. *Der Mario$_j$, benn hot-er$_j$ kaft a puach der Mario$_j$*
the Mario when has-SUBJ CL bought a book the Mario
c. **Bo hot der Nane kaft s puach?*
where has the John bought a book
d. *Bo hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach der Nane?$_j$*
where has-SUBJ CL bought a book the John
e. **Ver bem hot der Nane kaft s puach?*
for whom has the John bought a book
f. *Ver bem hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach der Nane?$_j$*
for whom has-SUBJ CL bought a book the John
g. **En biavle kinder hot der Nane kaft eppaz?*
to how many children has the John bought a book
h. *En biavle kinder hot-er$_j$ kaft eppaz der Nane?$_j$*
to how many children has-SUBJ CL bought a book the John
i. **En de bel jor hot der Nane pakemmp der Luca?*
in what year has the John met the Luca
l. *En de bel jor hot-er pakemm der Luca der Nane?$_j$*
in what year has-SUBJ CL met the Luca-DO the John-SUBJ
m. **En bem hot der Nane kaft s puach?*
to whom has the John bought a book
n. *En bem hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach der Nane?$_j$*
to whom has-SUBJ CL bought a book the John
o. **Bos hot der Nane kaft?*
what has the John bought
p. *Bos hot-er$_j$ kaft der Nane?$_j$*
what has-SUBJ CL bought the John

The only exception to this pattern is represented by the syntax of *why*; as shown in (268) with this interrogative wh-element a DP subject can follow the finite verb in the position that I assume is a TopicP. This is not a counterexample to the general account, but an indirect confirmation of it, since following Rizzi (2001) *why* is assumed to be generated directly in CP: if it is not moved to CP, it is expected that it does not interfere with topicalizations and cannot saturate their Spec positions.

(268)   **a.** *Babai hot der Nane kaft s puach?*
why has-the John bought the book
b. *Gester der Nane$_j$, babai hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach?*
yesteday the John why has-SUBJ CL bought the boo
'Why this John buy the book yesterday?'

Now, let's see if the prediction that topicalizations cannot follow the finite verb in wh-main interrogative is borne out. In order to check this prediction, I have to consider also sentential adverbs, since, as already noticed, this class of adverbs delimits lower and higher portion of the clause.

(269)   **a.** **Pet bem hot-er s puach ollbe kaft?*

b. *(S puach)$_j$, benn hot-er-z kaft (s puach)$_j$?*

c. **Bo hot-er en de Maria ollbe kaft s puach?*

d. *En de Maria$_j$, bo hot-er-en$_j$ kaft a puach?*

e. **Bos hot-er pet Nane ollbe kaft?*

The last piece of data that I want to provide in favour of the idea that wh-elements saturate all Spec positions of the projections hosting topicalizations in the lowest portion of Mòcheno CP comes from main declarative clauses. If my hypothesis is correct, it is in fact expected that i) the projections hosting topicalizations are available in main declarative clauses, since no operator has been extracted from below the lower phase and ii) XPs showing up in those positions (that is below the finite verb and above sentential adverbs) must have a marked topic reading.

As shown in (270) this prediction is borne out. In (270a), I show that in a main declarative clause the unmarked position for a direct object is below sentential adverbs; no doubler is present. If we move the direct object above the position hosting sentential adverbs (270b), we obtain a grammatical sentence, in which the direct object is pragmatically marked as a familiarity topic; according to the judgements of the informant, in fact, this sentence is only possible if i) two are people are talking about Mario having read a book; ii) speaker A says that Mario was not very constant in reading that book; iii) speaker B utters (270b) in order to underline that with respect to the assigned task (read the book) Mario was constant and not inconstant. The intuition of the informant is captured, I think, by the definition of familiarity topic that I gave in the previous chapter: "[...] a given or accessible [...] constituent, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetzky 1987)" (Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007:89).

Another piece of evidence in favour of the fact that the constituent following the finite verb (and lacking doubling) is actually a topic comes from the translation into Italian of the sentence: as shown in (270c), the informant would translate it with a marked construction involving a topic[28].

(270) **a.** *Der Mario hot <u>ofters</u> s puach galezen*

the Mario has often the book read

b. *Schau az, der Mario hot s puach <u>ofters</u> galezen*

look that the Mario has the book often read

c. *Guarda che Mario, il libro$_j$, *(lo)$_j$ ha letto spesso*

look that the Mario has the book ACC CL often read

I think that the definition of familiarity topic perfectly captures the characteristics of topicalizations, also from the phonological point of view, since the syntactic restrictions that I observed can be put into relation precisely for the unstressed character of topics. In (271), I sketch these new ideas in the structure of Mòcheno left periphery: familiarity topics are realised below lowOpP, whereas left-dislocations are specialised for aboutness topics (see above).

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[28]Direct objects in Italian have obligatory doubling.

(271)

```
                        LDP
                  (aboutness topic)
                   /          \
                 LD            LD′
                             /      \
                          LD⁰       lowOpP
                                   /        \
                            wh-elements     lowOp′
                                           /       \
                                      lowOpP⁰      TopicP
                                                (familiarity Topic)
                                                 /        \
                                              topic       Topic′
                                                        /        \
                                                    Topic⁰       SubjP
                                                                 /____\
```
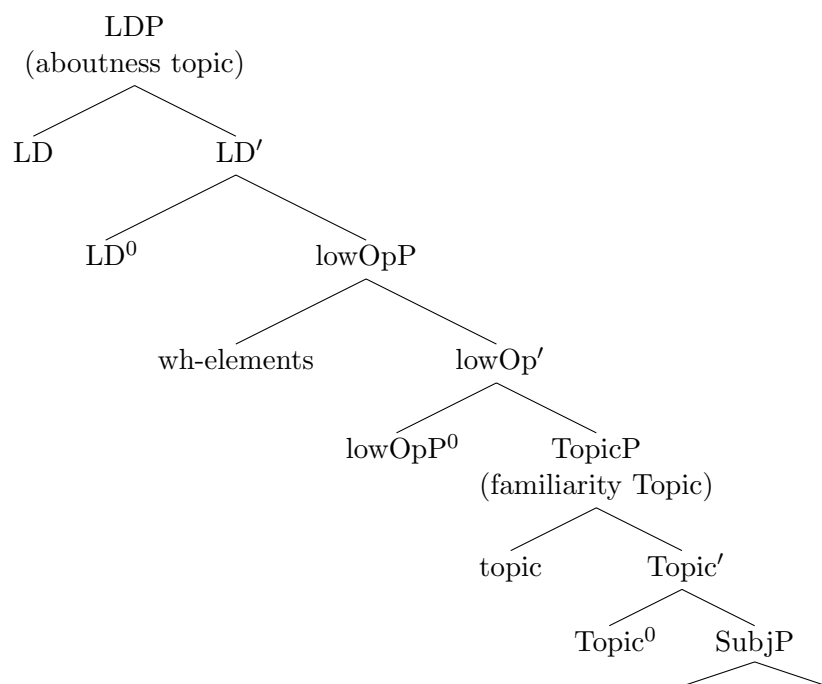
The mechanism that I have just sketched makes sense of only one part of the story, that is why a clitic copy is present and a topicalised DP is ruled out in postverbal position of wh-main interrogative clauses, but does not make sense of why a DP topic can then show up above a wh-element in the area hosting left dislocations. The fact that it can skip the lowest portion of CP because it is doubled by a clitic copy is present is clear, but why it has to be so it not evident.

Her I put forth a tentative hypothesis capitalising on the idea that the two areas dedicated to topics encode different semantic values: the lowest portion is the area where specificity is encoded (see above), whereas the highest one is dedicated to aboutness topics. Above, I briefly put forth the intuitive hypothesis that any left-dislocated argument has also to be specific, whereas it does not seem that any familiar topic has to be an aboutness topic as well. This relation cannot be expressed in terms of movement of the DP to be left-dislocated argument through a Spec position of the area hosting topicalizations, since if this were the case, i) that DP would be expected to be able to satisfy EPP and most important ii) no other topicalization would be possible, whereas we saw above that the order *left-dislocation - topic* is possible. The relation between left dislocation and topic is then realised by a clitic, which signalises that the XP doubled by it is both an aboutness topic and a familiarity topics, or that is has checked features in both the area hosting topicalization and in the one hosting left dislocations. On the basis of this idea, it can be said that left dislocations always have to skip the lowest portion of CP, since that position only encodes specificity realised by topicalizations.

Several technical solutions can be thought of in order to make sense of how left-dislocated DP and clitic are coindexed, for instance an explanation in terms of doubling (Belletti 2008, Poletto 2008, Grewendorf/Poletto 2009) might be called for. Grewendorf/Poletto (2009:35) adopt the idea of spitting and of the presence of a big-DP for making sense of Cimbrian V3 word orders (possible if the highest DP is doubled by a clitic) in the following way:

> We adopt this idea in the version developed in Poletto (2008), who assumes that clitics are the head of a Case projection KP and that KPs/DPs are phases and have an internal left periphery similar (though probably not identical) to the one of the CP.

(104) [KP [K cl] ...[TopicP [FocusP [GenderP [Number [NP]]]]]]

The left periphery internal to a DP, whose highest projection is a KaseP where the clitic head sits, contains Topic and Focus projections. If clitic doubling is a form of splitting of the KP [...] then the element moving to TopicP in languages which have clitic doubling is not the entire KP, but a lower projection. The KP projection containing the clitic is left behind and only a lower projection is subextracted. We propose that the subpart of KP moved out to the CP left periphery is precisely the internal TopicP, which leaves the clitic stranded in IP. [..]

This means that the constituent moved to the TopP in CP in languages with clitic doubling is a pure TopicP, in the technical sense that the constituent moved is not a DP/KP but precisely a TopP, which perfectly matches the TopP hosting it in CP. In languages where no clitic doubling is possible (because there exist no clitic heads), the only option is to pied-pipe the whole big DP/ KP to the CP left periphery.   Grewendorf/Poletto (2009:35)

What I do not find convincing in Grewendorf/Poletto's (2009) account is that a topic with a doubler, that is a left-dislocation in my terminology, is somehow structurally deficient with respect to a topic. In my account, on the contrary, left dislocations are reacher, since unify in them both the semantic features proper of topicalizations (specificity) and those of aboutness topics. I am also not convinced that the mechanism assumed by the authors can be used as such for Mòcheno: they claim that in left dislocations what moves to CP is the DP- "internal TopicP, which leaves the clitic stranded in IP". In this account the clitic is totally inert with respect to the semantics of the constructions, is simply a realization of case features, whereas it seems that in Mòcheno when it doubles a DP it does a completely different job, that is it realisises an aboutness topic. Also the absence of the clitic doubler is connected to a different semantics: the DP is interpreted as a familiarity topic.

Here, I cannot put forth my hypothesis, since in order to do so I need to have introduced the structure of the low left periphery and have made clear how the two peripheries interact with eachother; I can though briefly sketch how my argumentation follows.

My core idea is that the clitic is not inert, but that its presence is needed in order for a costituent to be left dislocated, that is to become an aboutness topic; in order to be an aboutness topics, a constituent has to be first a topic. If this cannot take place through movement to the Spec of a TopicP, a clitic has to be there. Syntactically, I distinguish two types of contexts in which this process can take place: those in which left dislocation is optional and those in which it is forced. Left dislocation is forced by an interrogative wh-element and we saw above that this blocks the realizations of a topic; I will analyse how this interacts with the checking of the specificity features by an XP to be left dislocated both in high and left periphery.

4.4   The syntax of focus and the structure of the highest portion of CP

In the previous section, I took into consideration the relative order possibilities of wh-elements, topicalizations and left dislocations in Mòcheno left periphery and proposing the structure in (271), repeated below as (272). One of the main goals of the discussion has been, I think, to reconcile syntax with semantics, since I have been able to basically confirm the structure of constituents showing up in the left periphery proposed in the literature, with the only difference that in Mòcheno the topic field is separated by lowOpP in two distinct areas containing left dislocations and topicalizations respectively. Moreover, the identification of a clear semantic content for the two topic constructions, familiarity topic in the lowest area and aboutness topic in the higher one, has allowed

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to capture in terms of different features the two constructions: a left-dislocated XP is not a structurally poorer argument, but on the contrary is richer, since it is both familiarity and aboutness topic. I have provided evidence in favour of the fact that in Mòcheno we can have multiple left dislocations, which I signale with a star[29]; the highest ones are scene setters, followed by arguments and the lowest semiarguments: all can co-occur with a topic triggering EPP[30]. Also lowOpP has to be thought of as being composed by several projections dedicated to different theta roles; I do not put a star, since multiple operators are ruled out.

(272)
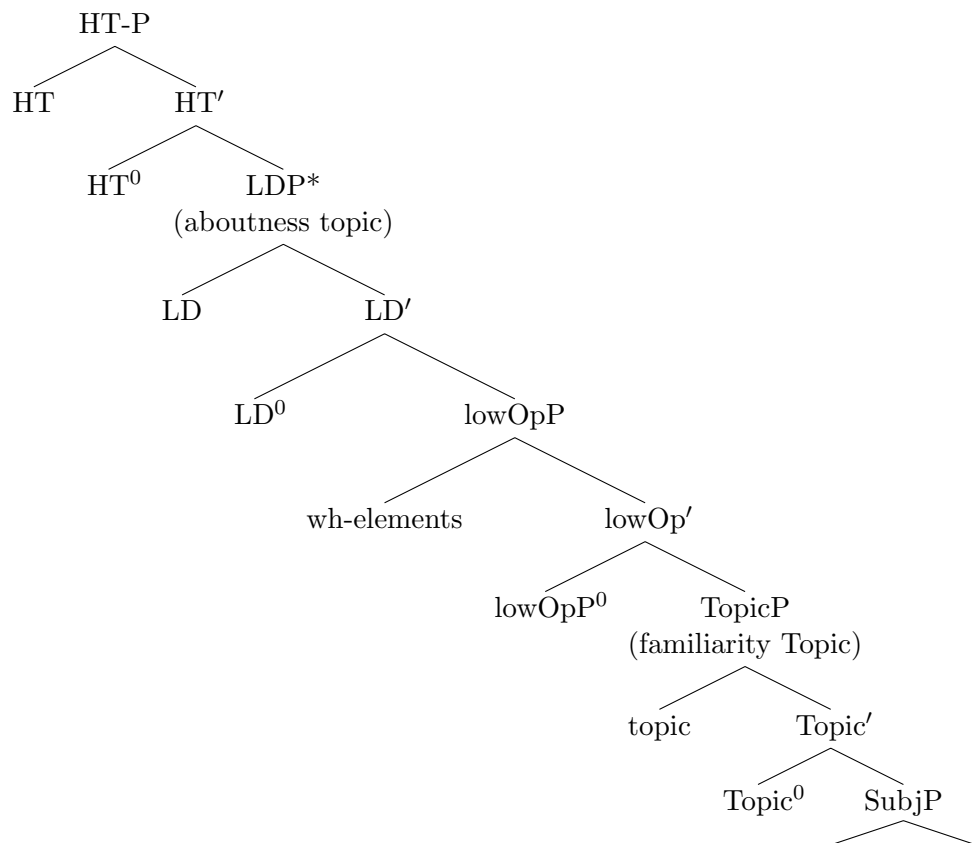
Now, what lacks in the structure derived so far are contrastive foci. I have decided to treat them in a dedicated section because, as expected, in Mòcheno foci do not behave as wh-elements as far as their structural position is concerned and interact in a different way with the constructions hosted in the left periphery. Therefore, foci can be dealt with only after the whole structure of Mòcheno CP is sketched.

In this last section, I will also consider some residual questions, such as the syntax of DP subjects, which will be considered in relation to all constructions dealt with in the chapter.

In this chapter, I have shown that contrastive foci pattern with interrogative wh-elements with respect to V2 and EPP: they can attract the finite verb to the head of the projection they are hosted in and force enclitis of the pronominal subject. The relevant examples are repeated in (273).

(273)   **a.** *A PUACH en de boteig hon-e kaft (ont net a penna)*

---

[29]It is not a sign of recursivity, but of multiple, ordered left dislocations

[30]This is why I do not assume in this structure that scene setters have a dedicated position: they behave as all left-dislocated items and are the highest elements within the portion of structure dedicated to left dislocations.

a book in the shop have-SUBJ CL bought and not a pen
b. *A PUACH hon-e kaft en de boteig (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop and not a pen
'It was a book that I bought in the shop, not a pen'
c. **A PUACH i hon kaft (ont net a penna)*
a book in the shop I have bought and not a pen
d. *A PUACH hon-e kaft*
a book have-SUBJ CL bought

The symmetry between the two types of operators with respect to EPP and realization of the pronominal subject, together with the fact that wh-elements and foci are thought (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004) to show up in the same area of CP, that is in its lowest portion. As we will see, in Mòcheno the two operators do not target the same Spec position within CP, but I will propose that foci move higher up in the structure, to another OpP. This clearly shows that there is a split between the two Operators and in the positions where the finite verb is attracted to CP by an XP able to satisfy EPP. Even though this finding is unexpected if one starts out from the structure of the left periphery given for Romance languages, there are cases in the literature in which such a split between the positions targeted by operators are reported. In chapter 2, I discussed Roberts' (1996) analysis of V2 in Old English and Poletto's (2002) study of the left periphery in a Rhaetoromance variety, which pointed precisely in the direction of a split between the positions targeted by operators.

Differently from these studies, I reject here the proposal that foci target ForceP, but I simply assume that they target a projection dedicated to operators that I call highOpP.

4.4.1 Foci and topics

In this subsection, I consider the possibility to combine foci with topicalizations and left dislocations of both arguments and PPs, providing evidence in favour of the idea that foci and wh-elements occupy two different structural positions. Then, considering the syntax of the hanging-topic construction, I will try to locate highOpP in the structure of Mòcheno left periphery.

We saw above that wh-elements can be preceded only by left-dislocated constituents and never by topicalizations. Verb arguments are all doubled by a clitic, semiargumental PPs are doubled by a pronominal form (P+pronoun) and adverbial PPs do not have a clitic. On the basis of the asymmetries observed in the distribution of these PPs between wh-main interrogatives and main declarative clauses, I proposed that in these cases the adverbial PP is doubled by a silent clitic corresponding to Italian *ci* legitimated by the wh-element.

In (274), I repeat the relevant examples.

(274)   **a.** *Gester der Mario$_j$ bos hot-*(er)$_j$ kaft?*
yesterday the Mario what has-SUBJ CL bought
b. *Gester s puach$_j$ ber hot-*(s)$_j$ kaft?*
yesterday the book who has-ACC CL bought
c. *Gester en de Maria$_j$ benn hoso-*(en)$_j$ gem a puach?*
yesterday to the Mary when have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book
d. *Gester van Nane$_j$ pet bem hoso klofft *(va im)$_j$*
yesterday of-the John with whom have-SUBJ CL spoken of him
e. *En de boteig, bos hoso kaft?*
in the shop what have-SUBJ CL bought

Above we also saw that in Mòcheno multiple left dislocations are possible; it cannot be spoken of recursivity, since, even though data are not complete for all wh-elements, the order in which these left dislocations occur is not free, but ordered according to the category of the left-dislocated constituent. Despite the asymmetries between adjuncts and argumental wh-elements, it can be said that all interrogative elements can be preceded by a frame (scene setter and locative PP) and by one topicalised argument; argumental wh-elements can be preceded by both other left-dislocated arguments, as repeated in (275a), whereas wh-elements with adjunct theta roles can be preceded by one argument and a comitative PP (in this order), as in (275b).

(275)   **a.** *Gester en de boteig s puach$_k$ en de Maria$_j$ ber hot-*(z)$_k$-*(en)$_j$ trog?*
         yesterday in the shop the book to the Mary who has-ACC CL-DAT CL brought
         'Yesterday who bought Mary the book in the shop?'
         b. *Gester der Mario$_k$ petn Luca benn hot-er$_k$ kaft s puach?*
         yesterday the Mario with-the Luca when has-SUBJ CL bought the book
         'When did Mario buy the book with Luca yesterday?'

Type of topic construction

Before discussion the data, it has to be said that according to the judgements of the informant it is not very natural to have an XP preceding a contrastive focus, even though possible under two conditions: i) the sentence-initial constituent has to be separated through comma-intonation from the focus and ii) semantically, it has to function as an aboutness topic.

According to the data I collected, in Mòcheno a focus can co-occur with a topic only if this is has a resumption in IP, that is if it is left-dislocated and not topicalised. This is shown in (358)[31].

(276)   **a.** *Der Mario$_k$, GESTER hot-*(er)$_k$ kaft s puach (ont net hait)*
         the Mario, yesterday has-SUBJ CL brought the book and not today
         'It was yesterday that Mario bought a book, not today'
         b. *A puach$_k$ OLLBE hot-er-*(z)$_k$ gem en de Maria*
         a book always has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL given to the Mary
         'It was always a book that he gave Mary'
         c. *En de Maria$_k$ A PUACH hone-*(en)$_k$ trog (ont net a penna)*
         to the Mary a book have-SUBJ CL DAT CLIT brought and not a pen
         'To Mary I brought a book and not a pen'
         d. *Petn Luca$_k$ OLLBE klofft der Mario *(pet im)$_k$*
         with-the Luca always speaks the John with him
         'John speaks of Luca all the time'

Differently from left-dislocations co-occuring with interrogative wh-elements, that can be preceded by PPs without any type of realised resumption, in a sentence involving a contrastive focalization, the focalization can only be preceded by scene setters (277c) and not by an adverbial PP such as a locative (277a,b).

(277)   **a.** **Vour de kirch$_k$ A PUACH hone (zem$_k$) trog (zem$_k$) ont net a penna*
         in front of the church a book have-SUBJ CL there brought there and not a pen
         b. **Petn staupsauger DER MARIO hot putzt s hauz (pet im$_k$) ont net der Luca*

---

[31]Following general practice, I write the correction of the contrastive focus at the end of the sentence.

with-the hoover the Mario has cleaned the house with it and not Luca
c. *Gester DER MARIO hot kaft a puach (ont net der Luca)*
yesterday the Mario has bought a book and not the Luca
'It was Mario that bought a book yesterday, not Luca'

The behaviour of adverbial PPs and semiarguments without pronominal doubler represents a first striking asymmetry with respect to the syntax of interrogative wh-elements, since adverbial PPs and semiarguments without resumption can precede wh-elements. Following the proposal that I put forth above, I suggest that the asymmetry with respect to the syntax of the considered PPs has to be made sense of assuming that a focus cannot license a silent clitic corresponding to Italian *ci*. The only XPs that can precede a focus are therefore those that can be doubled by a clitic or by a P+pronoun, or those that always have a silent clitic legitimated by the tensed verb, such as scene setters.

(278) *Descriptive generalization on the XPs that can precede a focus:*
  a. A focus cannot legitimate a silent clitic;
  b. Only XPs that always have a doubler or XPs that can establish a relation with IP can precede a focus.

Now, the restrictions concerning the can precede a focus represent a big difference with respect to the syntax of interrogatives wh-elements: in what follows, I will consider the other property of left-dislocations in wh-interrogative clauses, that is the possibility to have multiple left-dislocated items.

Possibility to have multiple left dislocations

As shown in (279), in Mòcheno it does not seem possible to combine two left-dislocated arguments before a focus, in any order.

(279) **a.** **Petn Nane_k en de Maria_j A PUACH hone-en_j trog pet ir_k (ont net a penna)*
    with-the John to the Mary a book have-DAT CL brought with her and not a pen
    b. **En de Maria_k petn Nane_j A PUACH hone-en_k trog pet im_j (and not a pen)*
    to the Mary with-the John a book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought with him and not a pen
    'It was a book that I brought Mary in front of the church with John, and not a pen'
    c. **Der Nane_k en de Maria_k A PUACH hot-er_k-en_j kaft ont net a penna*
    the John to the Mary a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen
    d. **En de Maria_j der Nane_k A PUACH hot-er_k-en_j kaft ont net a penna*
    to the Mary the John a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen
    'It was a book that John bought Mary, and not a pen'

Left-dislocated verb arguments cannot be combined with a scene setter, either: this is illustrated in (280) below.

(280) **a.** **Gester der Mario_k (gester) A PUACH hot-er_k kaft ont net a penna*
    yesterday the Mario yesterday a book has-SUBJ CL bought and not a pen
    b. **Gester en de Maria_k (gester) A PUACH hot-er-en_k kaft, ont net a penna*
    yesterday to the Mary yesterday a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen
    c. **Gester en de boteig A PUACH hot-er kaft, ont net a penna*

yesterday in the shop a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen

The data presented above clearly point to the fact that foci in Mòcheno i) allow for V3 word orders; ii) left-dislocated items are limited to just only one XP, that is multiple left dislocations are ruled out with focalization.

I think that there are two possible hypothesis that can be put forth in order to make sense of the lack of recursion of left dislocations above a focus. Either we think that foci show up higher up in the structure (as in Roberts 1996 and Poletto 2002), or that they are very low, that is the lowest portion of CP. This latter hypothesis is very suggestive and implies that contrastive focalizations are a development of topicalizations. Even though this idea might allow to make sense of several facts, especially the RM facts dealt with above, I reject is on the basis of one clear piece of data. Topicalizations can be preceded by several left dislocations: if foci were hosted in the same area as topics (or wh-elements), it would be expected that they could co-occur with several left dislocations, which is though not the case.

In order to capture all the empirical facts, I put forth the hypothesis that i) a focus does not move to the same OpP as interrogative wh-elements, but to a higher OpP; ii) this highOp can only be preceded by one position for left dislocations.

In (281), I sketch the position of foci in the structure of Mòcheno left periphery.

(281)
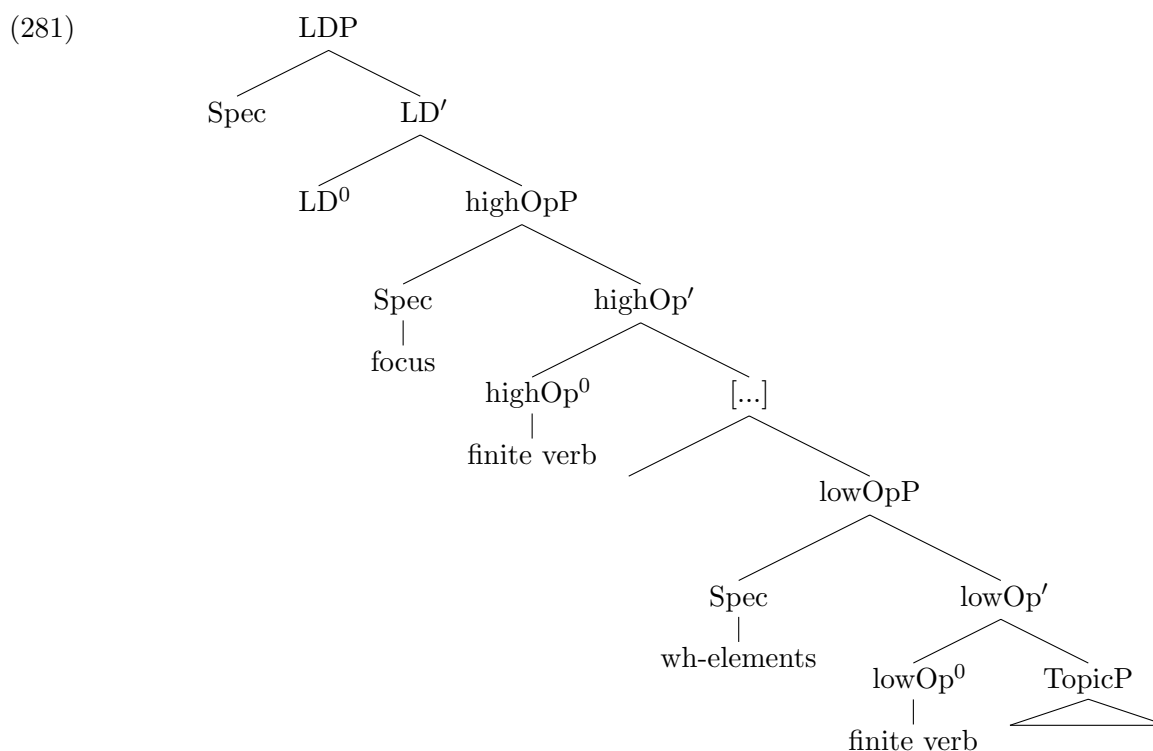
Before discussing in detail where highOpP is found and what its connections with lowOpP are, in what follows I want to discuss an interesting phenomenon found with foci in Mòcheno, which I think is particularly interesting with respect to the loss of a V2 of "Germanic" type, in which a linear restriction is imposed to the finite verb, in favour of a "Romance" V2, in which the V2 rule manifests itself in movement of the finite verb to CP in all sentences and multiple access to CP.

Above, we saw that in Mòcheno multiple left-dislocations and topicalizations are allowed but that, differently from Romance, there seem to be word order restrictions among the XPs that can

show up in the two areas hosting the two constructions. Even though generalizations are difficult due to the complexity of data, it seems that at least in some cases Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 2004) effects between topicalised or left-dislocated arguments take place. This is unexpected under Rizzi (2004), who claims that topics have no word order restrictions and appear in free order. As for Mòcheno, I think that the presence of word order restrictions among topics and of Relativised Minimality effects in some cases has to be taken as one effect of a V2 system that is moving from the Germanic type to the Romance one and does so in gradual steps.

What is completely unexpected, is that Relativised Minimality effects are found in Mòcheno between a focus and a left-dislocated item, as we will immediately see. This finding represents a counterexample to Rizzi's account of Relativised Minimality in terms of features, since his prediction is that XPs belonging to two different featural classes (as is the case of left-dislocations, which belong to the topic class and of foci, which form part of the operator class) cannot give rise to Relativised Minimality violations. From the point of view of the loss of the Germanic V2 system, it represents though a very important piece of data, since it witnesses what seems to be an initial step in the change, in which constituents are becoming different with respect to the possibility of satisfying EPP and a class of topics is emerging.

4.4.2 Relativised Minimality effects and the nature of topics

In what follows, I illustrate the presence of Relativised Minimality effects between a focused verb argument and the only left-dislocated argument allowed to show up before it. At the moment I do not have an answer to the question whether Relativised Minimality effects between focus and left dislocation are found only between verb arguments, or they are present also with other constituents.

Relativised Minimality violations between focused and left-dislocated verb arguments arise from the reconstructed order of arguments: *subject-indirect object-direct object*[32].

As shown in (282), a focused direct object can be preceded by both left-dislocated arguments.

(282) **a.** *En de Maria$_k$ A PUACH hot-er-*(en)$_k$ kaft (ont net a penna)*
to the Maria-IO a book-DO has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought (and not a pen)
'It was a book that he bought Mary and not a pen'
b. *Der Nane$_k$ A PUACH hot-*(er)$_k$ kaft en de Maria (ont net a penna)*
the John-SUBJ a book-DO has-SUBJ CL bought to the Mary and not a pen
'It was a book that John bought Mary, not a pen'

An indirect object, on the other hand, can only be preceded by a left-dislocated subject, as shown in (283).

(283) **a.** *Der Nane$_k$ EN DE MARIA hot-*(er)$_k$ kaft s puach (ont net en Luca)*
the John to the Mary-IO has-SUBJ CL bought the book (and not to Luca)
'It was for Mary that John bought a book, and not for Luca'
b. **A puach$_k$ EN DE MARIA hot-er-*(z)$_k$ kaft (ont net en Luca)*
a book-DO to the Mary-IO has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought (and not to Luca)
'It was for Mary that he bought a book, and not for Luca'

Finally, left-dislocation is ruled out in front of a focused subject (284).

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[32]This order is the unmarked order of verb arguments in German, but not in Italian. Interestingly, in Mòcheno the unmarked order of arguments in the double-object construction is *direct object-indirect object*: see last chapter on this.

(284)   **a.** *Z puach_k DER MARIO hot-z_k kaft (ont net der Nane)*
        the book-DO the Mario-SUBJ has-ACC CL bought (and not the John)
        'It was Mario who bought the book, and not John'
        b. *En de Maria_k DER MARIO hot-en_k kaft a puach (ont net der Nane)*
        to the Mary-IO the Mario has-DAT CL bought a book (and not the John)
        'It was Mario who bought Mary a book, and not John'

These data clearly illustrate that with foci there is not only a restriction with respect to the number of items that can be left-dislocated before a focus, but that in the case left-dislocated XP and focus belong to the same featural class, they give rise to Relativised Minimality effects.

This finding is particularly relevant for the raising of a V2 system in which the linear restriction concerning the position of the finite verb is lost and cases of V3 arise; in much general terms, these data represent one initial step of a system in which a split in constituents is taking place, a split between constituents that are able to satisfy EPP and constituents that cannot do so.

According to Grewendorf/Poletto (2009:33), Topics are special since they can by-pass Spec,FinP, where EPP is satisfied, and can move to a Spec positions higher up. Following Rizzi (2004), they propose that this can take place due to nature of topics with respect to operators: topics are "feature-empty", since they do not trigger Relativised Minimality effects among them and the only features they have are discourse features that have to be checked in the left periphery. Therefore, they do not move to check other features, to pick up features in the derivation, but only to check their discourse features. In this sense, topics are to be considered something external to the predication that cannot check anything internal to it: EPP therefore cannot be checked by a topic.

Grewendorf/Poletto's (2009) account for Cimbrian partially allows to make sense of Mòcheno wh-main interrogative clauses, where multiple topics are allowed; following their analysis, topics are special with respect to EPP, since they can skip the lowest portion of CP and co-occur with an operator, giving rise to V4, V5 cases. The idea that they are "feature empty" does not seem to be completely true, though, since in Mòcheno Relativised Minimality violations between topics occur.

Topics do not seem to be so external to the predication when it comes to foci: here topics showing up in the left-dislocation construction (doubling is obigatory) give rise to Relativised Minimality effects with foci. In this particular construction, cases of V4, V5 are ruled out and we can get only sentences with V3.

I think that a discussion in terms of features (topic vrs operator), nor the analysis in terms of spitting sketched above make the right predictions, or at least cannot be the only trigger behind the syntax of topics in languages. For Mòcheno I put forth the idea that the syntax of topics is in relation also to structural conditions and not only to feature empitness.

The fact that the syntactic behaviour of topics cannot only depend on their featural make up, but also on structural conditions, is rampant when considering Relativised Minimality effects between an operator and a topic. Now, from a descriptive point of view, the comparison between wh-main interrogative clauses and focalizations points out an important structural asymmetry between the two constructions that I sum up in the descriptive generalization in (285). The distribution of Relativised Minimality effects between operator and topic goes hand in hand with the possibility to have multiple topics: in wh-main interrogative this possibility is present and no RM violations are found; in sentences with a focus this possibility does not exist and RM violations between topic and operator arise.

(285)   *Descriptive generalization on Relativised Minimality between topic and operator (I):*
        a. Relativised Minimality effects arise when there is only one TopicP available;

b. No relativised Minimality effects arise when multiple TopicPs are present.

The other important asymmetry found in the two constructions with respect to RM between topic and operator regards the nature of the TopicP involved. We saw above, that wh-interrogative elements can be preceded by topics ordered according to the constituent category, with scene setters in the left-most positions followed by arguments and semiarguments (comitative PPs) in the lowest position, according to the structure repeated below in (286).

(286)
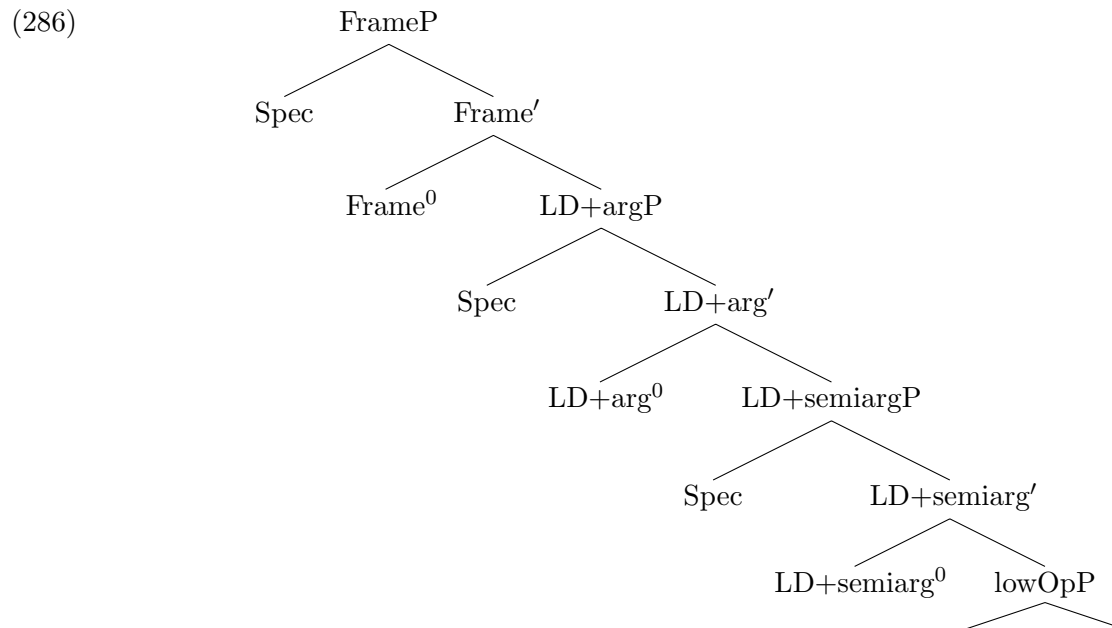
Now, the TopicP preceding a focus does not have this property, that is it is not specialised for one category of constituents, but can basically host i) scene setters, ii) verb arguments and ii) comitative PP, as repeated in (287).

(287)   **a.** *Gester DER MARIO hot kaft a puach (ont net der Luca)*
         yesterday the Mario has bought a book and not the Luca
         'It was Mario that bought a book yesterday, not Luca'
         b. *Der Mario$_k$, GESTER hot-*(er)$_k$ kaft s puach (ont net hait)*
         the Mario, yesterday has-SUBJ CL brought the book and not today
         'It was yesterday that Mario bought a book, not today'
         c. *Petn Luca$_k$ OLLBE klofft der Mario *(pet im)$_k$*
         with-the Luca always speaks the John with him
         'John speaks of Luca all the time'

I sum up this discussion in the descriptive generalization in (288).

(288)   *Descriptive generalization on Relativised Minimality between topic and operator (II):*
           a. Relativised Minimality effects arise when the only TopicP available is unspecialised for constituent category;
           b. No relativised Minimality effects arise when multiple TopicPs are present and they are specialised for constituent category.

The comparison between topics in wh-main interrogatives and in sentences beginning with a focus has shown that two are the conditions that have to be realised in order for RM violations between topic and operator not to arise: i) there have to be multiple TopicPs and ii) at least some TopicPs have to be specialised for constituent categories.

The problems dealt with and the descriptive generalizations reached for Mòcheno lead again to the crucial issue that I had to leave open in the previous section: why are left dislocations different from operators? The data on the interactions between left dislocation and focus add another piece to the puzzle, but do not allow to provide a concluding answer yet. I will try to do so in the last chapter, where I consider the structure of the low left periphery.

What can be done in this section is try to determine where highOpP is found and how the projection hosting the left dislocation preceding the focus has to be considered.

Most of the properties of this projections are typical of left dislocation (Benincà 2001), that is i) it involves PPs (and not DPs doubled by P+epithet/pronoun), ii) XPs are doubled by an obligatory clitic, but other properties are typical of hanging topics, such as i) the lack of multiple XP and ii) the possibility for only arguments and semiarguments to be hanging topics.

Moreover, Garzonio (2004:13), on the basis of data from the Fiorentino dialect, puts forth the hypothesis that also PPs can appear in the hanging-topic position. In his work Garzonio shows that in Fiorentino the particle *o* can only be preceded by a hanging topic and never by a left dislocation; when the particle is reduplicated, the lowest one can also be preceded by a PP, as shown in (289, from Garzonio 2004:13).

(289)   **a.** *O Gianni, o quando tu ci parli?*
PARTICLE John PARTICLE when SUBJ CL-PART CL speak
b. *O con Gianni, o quando tu ci parli?*
PARTICLE with John PARTICLE when SUBJ CL-PART CL speak
'When are you talking to John?'

This hypothesis relies on the assumption that the lowest particle *o* in the reduplication context shows up in the same position as in the cases it can only be preceded by a hanging topic; moreover, the hanging-topic construction is not identified on the basis of the possibility to be doubled by an epithet, but simply by looking at the nature of the constituent involved (PP vrs DP doubled by the clitic *ci*).

It is though very relevant for the present discussion to look if there is evidence in favour of an analysis of the XP preceding a focus in terms of hanging topics, or better if that constituent shows up in the same TopicP hosting a hanging topic.

As shown in (290), in fact, a focus cannot even by preceded by a scene setter and a hanging topic.

(290)   *Der Nane$_j$, gester A PUACH hot-er$_j$ kaft der sell tepp, ont net a penna$_j$*
the John yesteday a book has-SUBJ CL bought the that tepp and not a pen

In order to do so, I will consider the test that I consider the most reliable in order to distinguish left dislocation from hanging topic, that is the possibility to be doubled by an epithet.

4.4.3   On the position of highOpP and the syntax of hanging topics

In this subsection, I try to determine the position of highOpP by discussing the nature of the only constituent that can precede a focus: the left-dislocated item, in particular its relation to hanging topics. I think, in fact, that the only way to determine where highOpP is in the structure is taking

into examination its TopicP, since no other test is available, given i) only few constituents (one at time) can precede a focus and ii) that (as expected, since both operators can satisfy EPP) i) a focus cannot co-occur with a wh-element, as shown in (291a) and two foci in CP are ruled out as well (291b).

(291)   a. *(OLLBE) bo (OLLBE) hot-er kaft s puach
        always where always has-SUBJ CL bought the book
        b. *EN DE MARIA DER DAIN KAMAROT bare vourstelln
        to the Mary the your friend FUT-AUX-SUBJ CL introduce

Therefore, the only element that can give us a hint with respect to the positions of highOpP is its topic; in particular, if it turned out that it is in the hanging-topic position, the idea that highOpP is very high would be confirmed.

Syntactic behaviour of indirect objects and comitative

In this subsection, I take into consideration the syntax of indirect objects and comitative PPs showing up before a focus. I will consider: i) if they can be doubled by an epithet when they show up as PPs before the focus; ii) if they can be doubled when they show as DPs and the P is in the epithet; iii) is they precede the focus and be doubled by a pronoun. The syntax of these elements is crucial, since, as discussed in chapter 2, a hanging topic can be distinguished by a left dislocation precisely when a PP is involved.

As shown in (292), a PP preceding a focus cannot be doubled by an epithet[33].

(292)   a. *En Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone-en$_j$ trog en sell tepp$_j$, ont net a penna
        in Mario a book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought to the stupid, and not a penna
        'As for Mario, I brought that stupid thing a book and not a pen'
        b. *Petn Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone kaft petn sell tepp$_j$, ont net a penna
        with the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL bought with-the that stupid, and not a penna
        'As for Mario, I brought with that stupid thing a book and not a pen'

As shown in (293a), a focus cannot either be preceded by a DP doubled by a dative clitic and an epithet introduced by the preposition of dative complements *en*; the same if found for comitative complements (293b).

(293)   a. *Der Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone-en$_j$ trog en sell tepp$_j$, ont net a penna
        the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought to the stupid, and not a penna
        'As for Mario, I brought that stupid thing a book and not a pen'
        b. *Der Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone kaft petn sell tepp$_j$, ont net a penna
        the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL bought with-the that stupid, and not a penna
        'As for Mario, I brought with that stupid thing a book and not a pen'

In (294), I show that a DP functioning in the sentence as an indirect object or a comitative PP and preceding a focus, cannot be doubled by a clitic not a P+pronoun expressing case relations.

(294)   a. *Der Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone-en$_j$ trog, ont net a penna
        the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought and not a pen

---

[33]Here the indirect object is doubled also by an enclitic to the verb: recall that in Mòcheno doubling with an epithet is not enough and has to co-occur with a clitic.

'As for Mario, I brought him a book, and not a pen'
b. *Der Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone kaft pet im$_j$, ont net a penna*
the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL bought with him, and not a pen
'As for Mario, it was a book that I bought with him, and not a pen'

Therefore, the only way in which an indirect or a comitative PP can precede a focus is in the left-dislocation construction, that is the DP cannot be split from the preposition, as repeated in (295).

(295)   **a.** *En Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone-en$_j$ trog, ont net a penna*
to Mario a book have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought and not a pen
'As for Mario, I brought him a book, and not a pen'
b. *Petn Mario$_j$, A PUACH hone kaft pet im$_j$, ont net a penna*
the Mario a book have-SUBJ CL bought with him, and not a pen
'As for Mario, it was a book that I bought with him, and not a pen'

On the basis of the data presented above, I put forth the descriptive generalization in (296), where it is stated that indirect object and locative PP can only be left-dislocations when they precede a focus, and never hanging topics.

(296)   *Descriptive generalization on indirect object and comitative PP preceding a focus:*
An indirect object and a comitative PP can only be left-dislocated when they precede a focus.

In the next section, I apply the same tests to a subject and a direct object preceding a focus: as will become immediately clear, important asymmetries are present, which have motivated the decision to treat the two types of constituents in different subsections.

Syntactic behaviour of subject and direct object

A subject and a direct object preceding a focused item can be doubled by an epithet, as shown in (297a,b): notice, that the epithet is mediated by a clitic in IP.

(297)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, A PUACH hot-er$_j$ mer trog der sell tepp$_j$, ont net a penna*
the Mario a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL brought the that stupid, and not a pen
'As for Mario, that stupid thing brought me a book and not a pen'
b.   *Der Mario$_j$, gester hone-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$, ont net hait*
the Mario, yesterday have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen the that stupid
'As for Mario, it was yesterday that I saw that stupid thing, not today'

Recall that subject and direct object can precede a focus even if they are doubled by a clitic, as in (298).

(298)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$ GESTER hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach, ont net hait*
the Mario yesterday has-SUBJ CL bought the book and not today
'Mario bought the book yesterday, and not today'
b. *Der Mario$_j$ GESTER hone-en$_j$ zechen, ont net hait*
the Mario yesterday have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen, and not today
'As for Mario, I saw him yesterday, and not today'

In (299), I sum what we have seen so far about subject and direct object.

(299)   *Descriptive generalization on subject and indirect object preceding a focus:*
A subject and a direct object can be both hanging topics and left dislocations when they precede a focus.

Notice, that the asymmetries observed between indirect objects and comitatives on the one hand and subjects and direct objects on the other, points to, according to me, a different function of the clitic pronoun: in the case the argument receives case from the verb (subject and direct object), the clitic is a good doubler for the hanging topic, but if the argument gets case from a preposition (indirect object and comitative), the clitic is not enough to legitimate a DP in the hanging topic position if a focus intervenes, but also the preposition has to remanin on the noun, that is we must have a left dislocation.

In table (4.4), I sum up the distribution of verb arguments above a focus according to the type of doubling they allow for. Subject and direct object allow for doubling with both a clitic and an epithet; an indirect object and a comitative PP can be doubled by a clitic and a P+pron respectively only if they show up with the preposition, but cannot be doubled by an epithet in any case.

	XP[+pron.doubler]+focus	XP[+epithet]+focus
Subject	YES	YES
Direct obj.	YES	YES
Indirect obj.	YES*(P)	NO
Comitative PP	YES*(P)	NO

Table 4.4: Distribution of pronominal and epithet of arguments above focus

This will hopefully be dealt with in the last chapter, since is an issue related to the general problem of the nature of topics and left dislocations.

Now, coming back to the position of highOpP, these data have raised several intersting issues, but have not given an answer to the question I started from, that is if the TopicP above highOpP is actually the projection dedicated to hanging topics. The answer is partially positive, that is as far as subjects and objects are concerned, but indirect objects and comitative PPs do not fit into the picture.

In order to try to provide an answer, in the next section I go back to the wh-main interrogative clauses and main clauses and see how the different verb arguments behave in the hanging-topic construction.

Hanging topics in wh-main interrogatives

In order to distinguish hanging topics from left dislocations, I only use sentences with a scene setter preceding the wh-element: the scene setter is the highest left dislocation and since a wh-element triggers EPP and topicalizations and wh-elements cannot co-occur, it cannot be considered a topicalised element. As above, I consider resumptions realised both by a clitic and by an epithet.

As shown in (300a,b), a subject can precede a scene setter, but in this order, it can only be doubled by a clitic; also the inverted order scene setter-subject is possible (300c) and in this order

the subject is assumed to be a left dislocation[34].

(300)   **a.**   *Der Mario$_j$ gester bos hot-er$_j$ kaft?*
the Mario yesterday what has-SUBJ CL bought
'What did Mario buy yesterday?'
b.* *Der Mario$_j$, gester bos hot-er$_j$ kaft der sell tepp$_j$?*
the Mario yesterday what has-SUBJ CL bought the that stupid
'As for Mario, what did that stupid thing buy yesterday?'
c.   *Gester der Mario$_j$ bos hot-er$_j$ kaft?*
yesterday the Mario what has-SUBJ CL bought
'What did Mario buy yesterday?'

The data above point to the fact that a DP subject cannot be doubled by an epithet in wh-main interrogatives, but when it precedes a scene setter, it can only be doubled by a clitic. This is all extremely interesting, since it seems that doubling with an epithet i) is limited to the cases in which the DP subject precedes a focus and ii) if we want to speak in terms of structural positions, only a focus seems to able the position where a subject can be a hanging topic. Moreover, these data seem to indicate that there is a structural difference between a constituent analysed doubled by a clitic or doubled by an epithet.

The general impression that the possibility for a constituent to be doubled by an epithet is encoded in a projection that is not "visible" with all operators is reinforced when we consider the syntax of an indirect object. Above we saw that an indirect object cannot precede a focus as a DP doubled by a dative clitic or by a P+ epithet; as shown in (301), all this is possible in a wh-main interrogative clause.

(301)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, gester benn hoso-en$_j$ gem a puach?*
the Mario, yesterday when have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book
'As for Mario, when did you give him a book yesterday?'
b.   *Der Mario$_j$, gester benn hoso-en$_j$ gem a puach en sell tepp$_j$?*
the Mario, yesterday when have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL given a book to that stupid
'As for Mario, when did you give him a book yesterday to that stupid thing?'

The syntax of a direct object is not shared by the comitative semiargument, which as shown in (302), cannot appear as a DP in the left-most position in a wh-main interrogative clause and be doubled by either a P+pronoun or a P+epithet[35].

(302)   **a.** **Luca$_j$, gester bos hoso kaft pet im$_j$?*
Luca, yesterday what have-SUBJ CL bought with him
'As for Luca, what did you buy with him yesterday?'
b. **Luca$_j$, gester bos hoso kaft petn sell tepp$_j$?*
Luca, yesterday what havee-SUBJ CL bought with-the that stupid
'As for Luca, what did you buy with that stupid thing yesterday?'

The idea that the TopicP found before foci not visible with wh-elements seems to be confirmed by the following data, in which I have tried to combine an indirect object with the preposition

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[34]There can be asymmetries with respect to the thematic role of the wh-element: what I say here is valid only for the wh-elements involved.

[35]According to my field work, this seems to be due to an internal split between arguments and semiarguments, since an argumental selected by the verb such as *of + DP* behaves in this respect as in indirect object.

and a locative PP and a scene setter in this order. As shown in (310a,b) the result is always ungrammatical, and the only admitted order is the inverted one (310c,d), in which indirect object and comitative are left dislocated[36].

(303)   **a.** *En de Maria$_j$ gester bos hoso-en$_j$ kaft?*
to the Mary yesterday what have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought
'What did you buy Mary yesterday?'
b. *Petn Luca$_j$, gester bos hoso kaft pet im$_j$?*
with-the Luca, yesterday what have-SUBJ CL bought with him
'What did you buy with Luca yesterday?'
c. *Gester en de Maria$_j$ bos hoso-en$_j$ kaft?*
yesterday to the Mary what have-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought
'What did you buy Mary yesterday?'
d. *Gester petn Luca$_j$ bos hoso kaft pet im$_j$?*
yesterday with-the Luca what have-SUBJ CL bought with him
'What did you buy with Luca yesterday?'

Finally, in (304), I consider the syntactic behaviour of a direct object with respect to pronominal doubling and doubling with an epithet. Differently from all other cases considered so far, a direct object can be both doubled by a clitic and by an epithet when it shows up in the left-most position in a wh-main interrogative clause (304a,b); it can also show up in the position for left-dislocated arguments below scene setters.

(304)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, gester benn hoso-en$_j$ zechen?*
the Mario yesterday when have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
'As for Mario, when did you see him yesterday?'
b. *Der Mario$_j$, gester benn hoso-en$_j$ zechen der sell tepp$_j$?*
the Mario, yesterday when have-SUBJ CL seen the that stupid
'As for Mario, when did you see that stupid thing yesterday?'
c. *Gester der Mario$_j$ benn hoso-en$_j$ zechen?*
yesterday the Mario when have-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
'As for Mario, when did you see him yesterday?'

In table 4.6, I sum up the results of this subsection. We have seen that in wh-main interrogative clause there is a position that can host verb arguments above scene setters: this is the positions where I assumed in the first part of this chapter that hanging topics are hosted. This position can host subjects doubled by a clitic but not by an epithet; direct objects doubled by both epithet or clitic and indirect object without preposition that can be doubled by both clitic and epithet. Comitative PPs rule out both doublings. If we compare this results with those listed in table 4.6, we immediately see that in the case of an indirect object the possibility to be doubled by an epithet is given only in this position and if it shows up without the preposition.

A note on main declarative clauses

Finally, let's have a look at the distribution of epithet and pronominal doubler in main declarative clauses.

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[36]This piece of data confirms again the idea that left dislocations in Mòcheno are ordered.

	XP[+pron.doubler]+SceneS.+wh-	XP[+epithet]+SceneS.+wh-
Subject	YES	NO
Direct obj.	YES	YES
Indirect obj.	YES(*P)	YES(*P)
Comitative PP	NO	NO

Table 4.5: Distribution of pronominal and epithet of arguments above a scene setter in wh-interrogatives

As illustrated in (314), a direct object and an indirect object (without P) can be doubled by both clitic and epithet.

(305)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, i hon-en$_j$ nou net zechen hait der sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario, I have-ACC CL yet NEG seen today the that stupid
'As for Mario, I haven't seen that stupid thing yet today'
b. *Der Mario$_j$, i hon-en$_j$ nou net a puach gem der sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario, I have-DAT CL a book given to that stupid
'As for Mario, I haven't given a book to that stupid thing'

Also doubling with a clitic is possible in the same configuration, (313).

(306)   **a.** *Der Mario$_j$, i hon-en$_j$ nou net zechen hait*
the Mario, I have-ACC CL yet NEG seen today
'As for Mario, I haven't seen him yet today'
b. *Der Mario$_j$, i hon-en$_j$ nou net a puach gem*
the Mario, I have-DAT CL a book given
'As for Mario, I haven't given him a book yet'

The important pieces of data are given in (324a), where I show that an indirect object with the preposition cannot be doubled by a an epithet in main declarative clauses, that is main declaratives behave as wh-interrogatives in this respect. In (324b), I show that an argumental PP cannot be doubled by the clitic either in main declaratives: I take this to mean that the highest TopicP is not visible if a focus is not present in the sentence.

(307)   **a.** **En Mario$_j$ bare a puach tschenkn en sell tepp$_j$*
to Mario AUX FUT-SUBJ CL a book give to that stupid
b. **En Mario$_j$ morm bare-(en)$_j$ a puach tschenkn*
to Mario AUX FUT-SUBJ CL-DAT CL a book give

Coming now to the syntax of a DP subject, in (317) I show that a DP subject cannot precede a scene setter in a main declarative clause and be doubled by an epithet.

(308)   **Der Mario$_j$ gester hot-er$_j$ kaft a puach der sell tepp$_j$*
the Mario, yesterday has-SUBJ CL bought a book the that stupid
'As for Mario, that stupid thing bought a book yesterday'

This seems to be part of the much general restriction of the subject to not be able to be left dislocated in main declarative clauses (see above), as repeated in (316).

(309)   **a.** **Der Mario_j gester er_j-hot-er_j kaft a puach*

the Mario, yesterday SUBJ CL-has-SUBJ CL bought a book

'As for Mario, he bought a book yesterday'

b. *Der Mario gester hot kaft a puach*

the Mario yesterday has bought a book

'Mario bought a book'

	XP[+pron.doubler]+topic	**XP[+epithet]+topic**
Subject	NO	NO
Direct obj.	YES	YES
Indirect obj.	YES(*P)	YES(*P)
Comitative PP	?	?

Table 4.6: Distribution of pronominal and epithet of arguments above a scene setter in wh-interrogatives

Partial conclusions

I think that the discussion so far has clearly shown that what is classified as hanging-topic construction involves two projections according to Mòcheno data and that in this language the two positions are separated by highOpP. If the structural fact are rather clear, what is not clear at all why some constituents can be doubled by an epithet only in one position and by the clitic in the other (subject), by both epithet and clitic in both positions (direct object), or by epithet and clitic only in one position (indirect object). This distribution correlates with the type of sentence, since not all positions are available for all sentences. I think that the interaction between lower and higher phase plays a crucial role, and I hope to be able to come back to this point in the last chapter.

For the moment, I sum up the position of highOpP in the structure; I tentatively capture the properties of the two positions for hanging topics in terms of +/-case, with the lowest HT-P dedicated to XPs without case (DP doubled by a P+clitic/epithet), whereas the highest HT-P is for XPs with case. Why only subject and direct object can be doubled by the epithet remains unsolved.

166

(310)

```
                              HTP
                       ┌───────┴───────┐
                  XP[+case]            HT′
                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                             HT⁰              highOpP
                                        ┌────────┴────────┐
                                     focus            highOp′
                                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                                           highOp⁰            HT-P
                                                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                   XP[-case]           HT′
                                                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                             HT⁰              LD-P
                                                                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                                      Spec              LD′
                                                                               ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                                             LD⁰            lowOpP
                                                                                            △
```
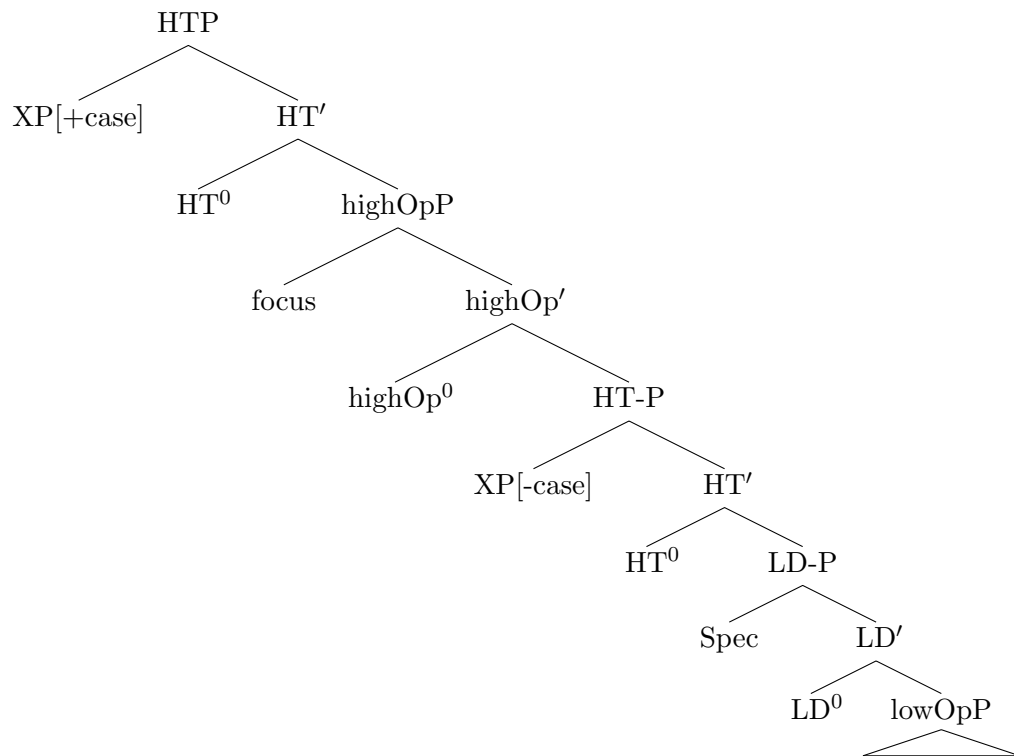
In what follows I have two consider two residual issues.

The first one the position of embedded wh-elements. In the previous chapter, I showed that embedded complementisers and embedded wh-elements show up in a very high position of CP, since they cannot be preceded by any topicalised element. In (311), I repeat the relevant examples.

(311)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok, i abia az(e) der compito gamocht hon*
he has DAT CL asked, I-strong how that-I-clitic done have
'He asked me how my exam was'
b. *Der Luca hot mer pfrok, de sai schbestetr benn aze (za) zechen hon*
the Luca has-DAT CL asked the his sister when that-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen have
'Luca asked me when I saw his sister'
c. *Er hot mer zok, van Nane benn ase klofft hon (va im)*
he has DAT CL said of-the John when that-I clitic spoken have of him
'He told me when I spoke of John'
d. *Er hot mer kontart, pet de dai schbester benn azo du striten host (pet ir)*
he has-DAT CL told with the your sister when that-SUBJ CL you fought have with her
'He told me when you discussed with your sister'

In the structures proposed in the previuos chapter I labelled the projection hosting embedded wh-element and complementiser highOpP: in the light of the properties shown by foci, which allow for one TopicP on their left, it cannot be assumed anymore that complementisers are in highOpP.

My new proposal is that the elements introducing embedded clauses are hosted in ForceP and this projection is above the highest HH-P, as shown in (312).

(312)

```
                          ForceP
                         /      \
                 embedded        Force′
                 wh-            /       \
                    complementiser      HT-P
                                       /    \
                              XP[+case]      HT′
                                            /    \
                                         HT⁰      highOp-P
                                                 /        \
                                            focus          highOp′
                                                          /       \
                                                    highOp⁰        HT-P
                                                                  /____\
```
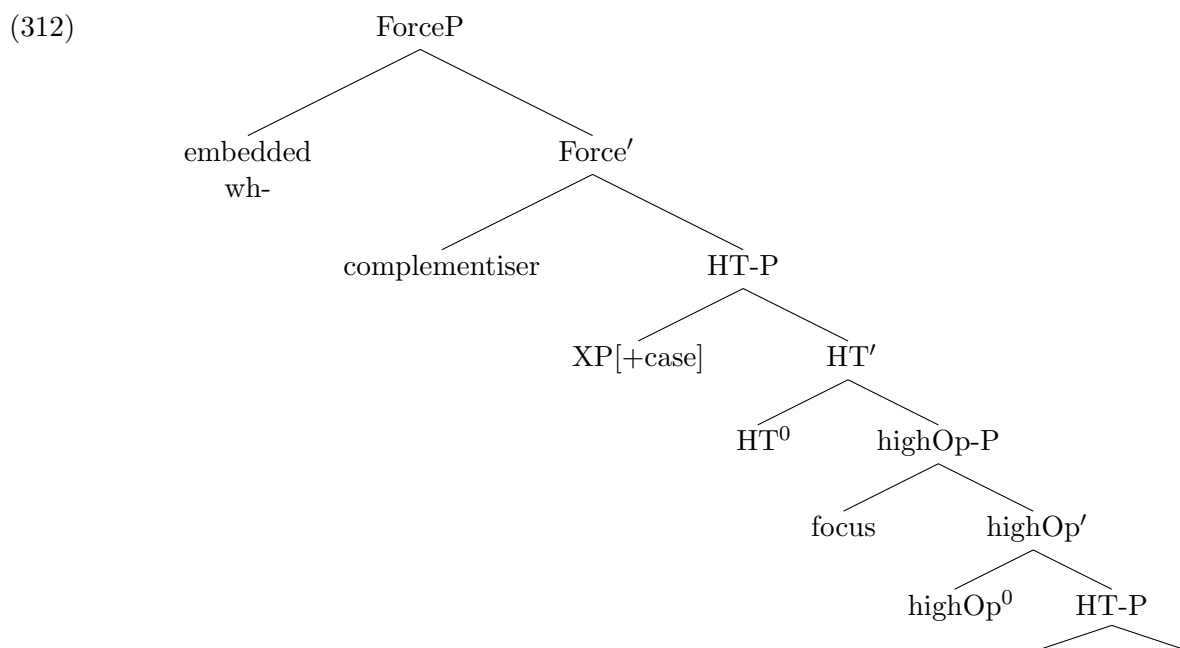
4.4.4   The syntax of DP subjects

In this last section, I want to go back to the issue I started with at the beginning of chaper 3 when I began this long discussion on Mòcheno V2, that is the possibility in this language to have subject-verb inversion with DP subjects.

In this chapter we have seen that DP subjects can be i) focused and ii) left- and right-dislocated (doubled by a weak or a clitic pronoun), but nothing has been said in the cases in which they precede a finite verb in main declarative clauses.

In order to provide an answer, I will consider the syntax of DP subjects in main declarative clauses with subject-verb inversion, comparing the properties of the DP subjects showing up after the finite verb with the distribution of weak, strong and clitic subject pronouns dealt with in the previous chapter. I will reach the conclusion that DP subjects in inversion contexts cannot be compared to strong nor weak subject pronouns, but have their own syntax, which can be made sense of by assuming that they are in Spec,TP. A DP subject realises the grammatical relations connected with a subject in Spec,TP, whereas weak and clitic have to do this in SubjP.

As for the cases in which a DP subject, I reject the idea that this word order is the result of lack of finite verb to CP, but claim that the DP subject has moved itself to CP in order to be topicalised; evidence will be provided in favour of this.

With this concluding section, I have the concluding argument against an analysis of Mòcheno as a V2 language with optional finite verb movement to CP: Mòcheno is a V2 language in which the finite verb always moves to CP, but in which subject-verb inversion is not always possible due to the presence of a split-CP.

Finally, I will offer an account for the fact that DP subjects have to be right- or left dislocated in wh-main interrogatives (and sentences with a focus) and cannot remain in Spec,TP. Capitalising on the idea that in Mòcheno the different types of subjects have undergone a specialization process and can only realise one feature connected to the subject (see previous chapter), and on the analysis of Romance interrogatives as involving new information in the wh-element and in the verb, whereas

all the rest is old information (Antinucci/Cinque 1977, Benincà 1988), I will claim that in wh-main interrogatives and in sentences with a focus a DP subject has to obligatory be marked as a topic. Since this cannot be realised in the lowest portion of CP, given that the two operators have saturated the Spec positions of all TopicPs (see above), this has to be realised through left- or right dislocation.

Therefore, the DP subject cannot show up in Spec,TP in sentences involving an operator, because in those sentences the subject is not simply a grammatical subject, but is also marked as old information.

DP subjects in main declarative clauses

First of all, it has to be said that free inversion in impossible in Mòcheno main declarative clauses; as shown in (313), a DP subject without clitic doubling can never follow the past participle.

(313)   **a.** *Gester en Luca hot gem (a puach) der Mario (a puach)*
         yesterday to Luca has given a book the Mario a book
         b. *Gester hot kaft der Mario a puach*
         yesterday has bought the Mario a book

In main declarative clauses in which EPP is triggered by a topic, a DP subject can generally follow a finite verb, but does not have to. This is illustrated in (314).

(314)   **a.** *Gester hot der Mario en de Maria a puach gem*
         yesterday has the Mario to the Mary a book given
         b. *Gester der Mario hot a puach gem en de Maria*
         yesterday the Mario has a book given to the Mary
         c. *Van Nane hot der Mario niamer klofft (*va im)*
         of-the John has the Mario spoken of him
         d. *Van Nane der Mario hot klofft (*va im)*
         of-the John the Mario has spoken

The syntax of the subject in (314) problematic for my account, since it has to be determined how it interacts with EPP. If it is thought to in fact that DP subject have to move through Spec,SubjP it is expected that they are ruled out in exaclty the same contexts as weak and strong pronouns. From a quick comparison, it can be immediately see that DP subjects do not share the same syntactic distribution of subject weak and clitic pronouns, which are thought to be hosted in the lowest portion of CP, in SubjP.

Let's begin with embedded clauses. As shown in (324) below, a DP subject can follow a complementiser without requiring clitic pronoun.

(315)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok benn az-(*ar) der Mario en Nane a puach kaft hot*
         b. *I vrog mer pet bem az(*ar) der Luca huamkert iz*
         c. *I vrog mar benn az der Luca de Nane pakemmp hot*
         d. *I vrog mer benn (*ar) der Nane hot za olla ingalont en sai fest*

In the previous chapter, we saw that the position immediately after a complementiser is ruled out for both strong and weak subject pronouns, as repeated in (316b,c) and that only a clitic can follow a complementiser and eventually be doubled by a strong form (316d).

(316)   **a.** *Er hot mer pfrok...*

       b. **abia az si der compito gamocht hot*

       c. **abia az de der compito gamocht hot*

       d. *abia az-sa (si) der compito gamocht hot*

What is more, clitic subjects cannot be separated from the complementiser by intervening material (317a); DP subject are often separated by the complementiser by adverbs (317b,c).

(317)   **a.** **Er hot mar pfrok abia az der compito <u>bar bir</u> gamocht hon*

       he has to me asked how as the exam we-clitic we-strong made have

       b. *I vrog mer bo az za en gluck der Nane a prief en sai voter schrip hot*

       c. *I vrog mer bo az za en gluck ollbe der Nane a prief en sai voter schrip hot*

As shown in (318), the same distribution of subject forms is found also in sentences beginning with a topic.

(318)   **a.** *Gester hot der Mario en de Maria a puach gem*

       yesterday has the Mario to the Mary a book given

       b. **Gester hot de en de Maria a puach gem*

       c. **Gester hot si en de Maria a puach gem*

       d. *Gester hot-sa si en de Maria a puach gem*

These data have shown two things. First of all, they have demonstrated that DP subjects cannot be considered as elements realising SubjP, because their syntax is incompatible with the one of weak and clitic subjects. Moreover, this comparison between the syntax of all the forms expressing the subject has shown that DP subject do not resemble the syntax of strong pronouns, either; this means that strong pronouns in Mòcheno are not to be taken as DPs.

The idea that I want to put forth in order to make sense of the position of the DP subject in the contexts just examined is that the DP subject shows up TP when subject-inversion takes place, whereas when it precedes the finite verb, the DP subject is topicalised in the lowest area (connected to familiarity, specificity) of the left periphery. The DP subject is completely different from all subject pronouns examined in this dissertations, therefore all analysis proposed for them cannot be applied as such to it: it cannot be assumed that the subject is in Spec,SubjP since it does not share the syntax of weak pronouns; it cannot be said that it has undergone a specilization process as strong subject pronouns, since if this were the case DP subjects would have the same distribution as strong pronouns, and this is not true.

In a main declarative clause where the DP subject has an unmarked reading, I assume that subject-verb inversion is derived through movement of the finite verb to CP with the subject remaining in Spec,TP.

(319)

```
                    LDP
              (aboutness topic)
               /          \
            LD            LD′
                        /     \
                     LD⁰       lowOpP
                              /      \
                       wh-elements   lowOp′
                                    /      \
                              lowOpP⁰      TopicP
                                       (familiarity Topic)
                                        /          \
                                    gester        Topic′
                                                 /      \
                                             hotⱼ       [...]
                                                         /    \
                                                            TP
                                                          /    \
                                                    der Mario   T′
                                                              /    \
                                                            tⱼ      IP
```
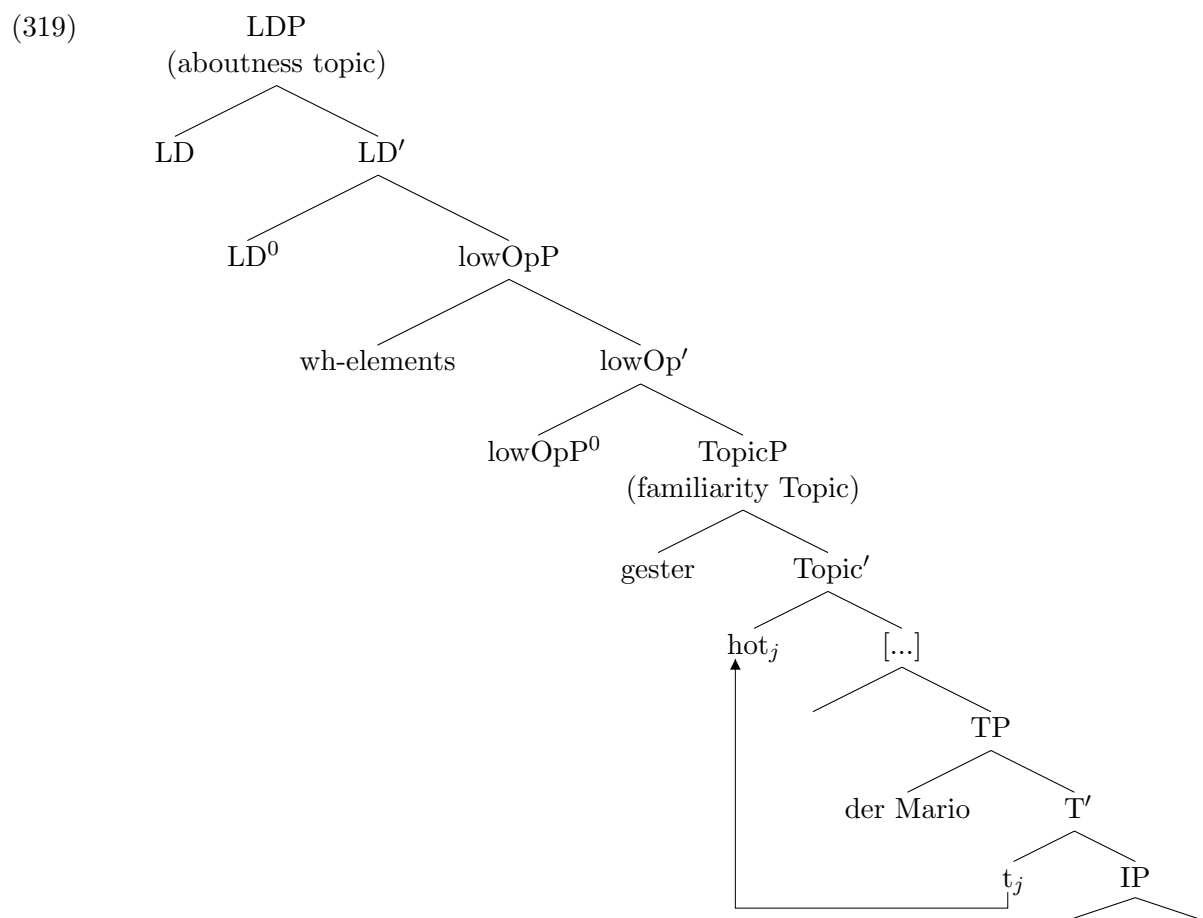
This structure predicts that an inverted DP subject is compatible with left dislocations on its left. This prediction is borne out by data: as shown in (320a,b) an inverted subject can be preceded by both a topicalised and a left-dislocated indirect object; as for a direct object, the clitic doubler seems to be obligatory or at least strongly preferred in both orders. This is not a problem for the present discussion on DP subjects, since it only implies that the direct object cannot satisfy EPP and the presence of a null operator has to been called for.

(320) **a.** *Gester en Luca hot der Mario a puach gem*
       b *En 1999 en Luca hot-en der Mario a puach gem*
       c. *Gester de Mariaₖ hot-*(sa)ₖ der Luca zechen*
       yesterday in the church the Mary has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen
       d. *De Mariaₖ gester hot-saₖ der Luca zechen*
       yesterday in the church the Mary has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL seen

The distribution of DP subjects with respect to topicalised direct objects, seems to point to the fact that direct objects of Mòcheno are becoming very similar to Romance direct objects, since they obligatory require clitic doubling when showing up in the left periphery. This means that direct objects are the first constituents that lose possibility to show up in both topicalization and left dislocation in favour of this latter construction.

In the case a DP subject does not show up after the finite verb, but precedes it, my assumption is that the DP subject is topicalised itself in the high left periphery, according to the proposal that I

put forth above when analysed the possibility for a subject to co-occur with other topicalised items. I analysed that fact by assuming that DP subjects are base-generated in a dedicated projection in CP and are not moved to CP from TP.

In the section above where I dealt with topicalization, I concluded that the projection hosting DP subject is found in the area for topicalizations; maybe this conclusion is wrong. If this were the case, it would be expected that a DP subject can precede a left dislocation: as shown in (321a) with an indirect object this is not the case. The DP subject has to precede in both cases in which the indirect object has or not a clitic doubler, that is both if it is left dislocated or not (321b).

(321)   a *Gester en Luca der Mario hot-en gem a puach*
         b. *Gester der Mario en Luca hot-(en) gem a puach*

The data above seem to point to the fact that a DP subject is generated in the area dedicated to left dislocations, even though it can never be doubled by a clitic; even though the syntax of subjects does not fit in the area of left dislocations, it my be relevant for two respects. First of all, it would be an indirect confirmation of what is known about the semantics of subjects: following Rizzi (2004), subjects are similar to topics since both involve "aboutness". In Mòcheno this semantics is encoded precisely in the area hosting left dislocations. The second relevant result is that DP subjects behave as left dislocations even when they lack clitic doubling: if they are actually left dislocations, it is expected that they can skip the lowest portion of CP and not satisfy EPP.

One piece of evidence in favour of this fact comes from the doubling patterns observed in the previous chapter, where I showed that a DP subject can be doubled by a preverbal weak subject pronoun in main declarative clauses; given that only third person plural and third person feminine have a weak subject pronoun, this doubling construction is limited to those persons. As can be seen in (322a), a DP subject withouth doubler can precede a locative PP, in a position that I assume is in area hosting left dislocations since scene setters precede (this rules out that it is a hanging topic position, if this were the case also doubling would be obligatory); if we consider a sentence in which the DP subject is represented by a third person plural feminine, as in (322b), we see that doubling with a weak pronoun becomes possible (but not obligatory). The order *scene setter - DP subject - locative PP* ensures that we do not have to do here with a hanging-topic construction, but with a left dislocation[37]. It is very relevant that a weak subject pronoun is the only way to double a DP subject: as shown in (322c), a clitic pronoun would be ungrammatical in this case.

(322)   a. *Gester der Nane en de boteig (*er/der)$_j$ hot-(*er)$_j$ kaft s puach*
         yesterday the John in the shop SUBJ CL-has-SUBJ CL bought the book
         b. *Gester de mama ont de muam$_j$ en de boteig (de)$_j$ hon kaft s puach*
         yesterday the mum and the aunt in the shop they-weak have bought the book
         c. **Gester de mama ont de muam$_j$ en de boteig hon-se$_j$ kaft s puach*
         yesterday the mum and the aunt in the shop they-weak have bought the book

In (323), I sketch the derivation of a sentence involving a DP subject showing up in the left periphery and doubled by a weak subject pronoun. I claim that in this case the DP subject is in a dedicated projection in the area dedicated to left-dislocated arguments, followed by a left-dislocated locative PP and the weak clitic is in Spec,SubjP where it triggers EPP. Further research is needed

---

[37]I do not have answer here for the fact that in Mòcheno subjects can be doubled by a weak pronoun in main declarative clauses and not by clitics. It seems though that subjects are to be considered a more conservative class with respect to the instantiation of a new system, in which doubling with a clitic is unmarked way to realised left dislocation.

in order to determine whether DP subjects that are not doubled by a weak subject have the same structure as the one in (323) with a silent weak clitic in Spec,SubjP triggering EPP or if in those cases the locative is actually the XP that triggers EPP.

(323)
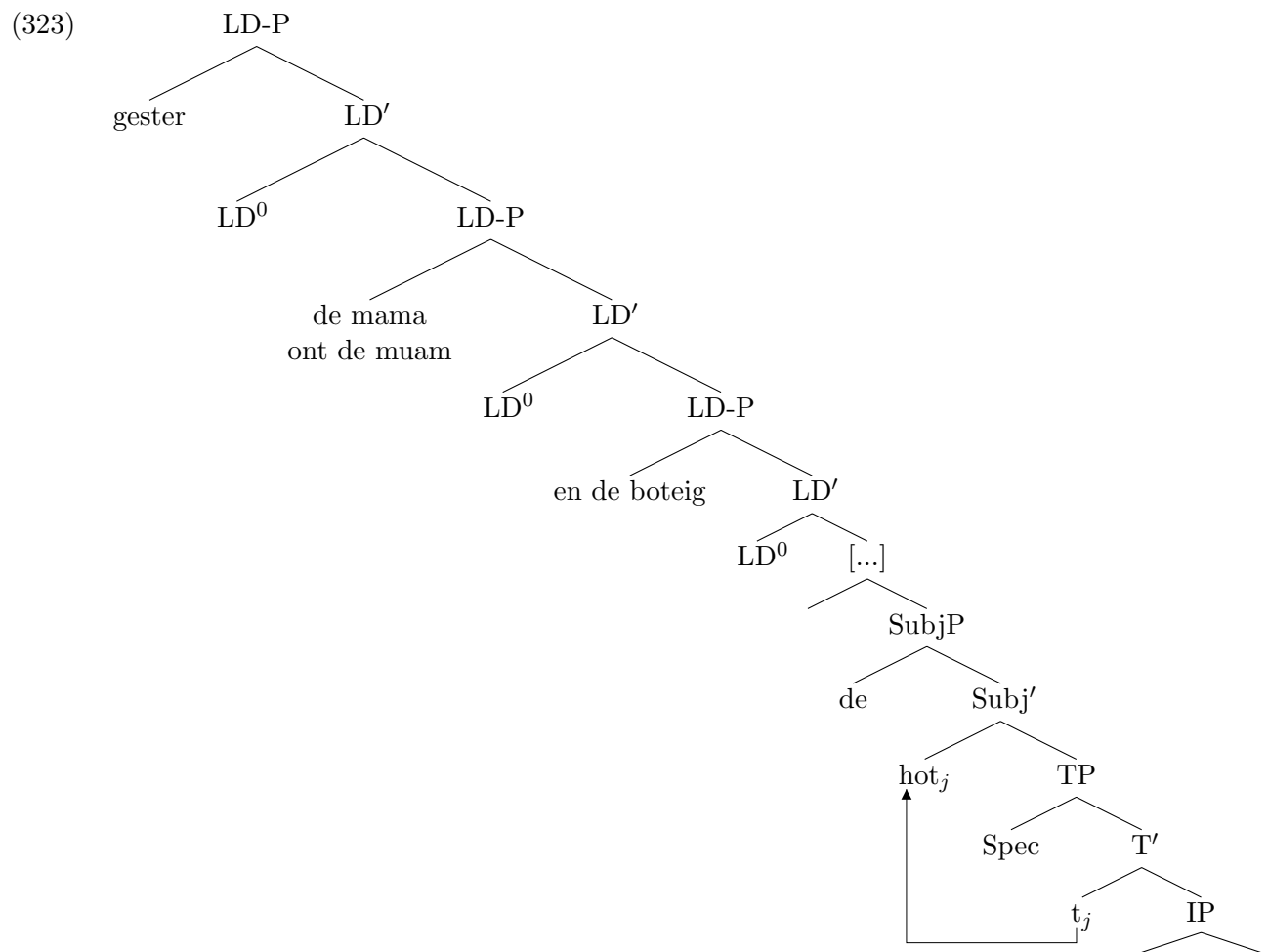
Now, the objection to the idea that DP subjects can show up in Mòcheno in at least two positions of the clause: in Spec,TP and in a dedicated position inside the area dedicated to left dislocations immediately raises one question: why is left-dislocation of a DP subject obligatory in wh-main interrogatives (see above)? That is, why cannot the subject remain in Spec,TP in that case?

My answer to this question relies on the discussion made above: a wh-element moving to the left periphery saturates all Spec of the lower portion of CP, which blocks the possibility for any constituent to be topicalised. Therefore, a constituent in order to be marked as a topic needs to be left-dislocated. My claim is that in a wh-main interrogative all constituents have to be marked as old information, as standardly assumed for Romance languages (see Antinucci/Cinque 1977, Benincà 1988, Cruschina 2009). Also a DP subject has to be marked as old information in a main interrogative: therefore it has to be doubled by a clitic and show up in either the low or the high periphery. A subject has to be doubled (cannot appear in the area for left dislocations without a clitic copy, as in main declaratives), since if the operator interferes the DP subject cannot maintain an agree relation with SubjP.

DP subjects in sentences beginning with a focus

The analysis proposed for wh-main interrogatives seems to be confirmed by the syntax of DP subjects in sentences involving a focus, for which it is expected that the focus extracted from the lowest portion of the clause blocks all Spec position where EPP can be triggered.

Now, apparently the hypothesis that a DP subject behaves in the same way in wh-main interrogatives and in sentences beginning with a focus does not hold, since in several cases the informant gives a sentence with a focus and the DP subject following the finite verb, as in (324).

(324)　　**a.** *Z PUACH hot der Mario en Luca gem*
the book has the Mario to Luca given
b. *EN DE MARIA hot der Nane a puach kaft*
to the Mary has the John a book bought

I think that despite apparences the sentences above are to be analysed as topicalizations in which the focus reading is reached through emphasis and not through syntactic movement.

The first piece of evidence in this directions comes from the impossibility to have multiple left dislocations before a focus (see above): this is unexpected under the idea that is shows up in the same area as topicalizations, since these are compatible with other XPs on their left.

Second piece of evidence comes from the informant's intuition that the most natural way to express the DP subject when correction of the focus is present is with a righ-dislocation, as in (325a), and crucially with this syntax the ban the number of XPs that can precede a focus remains (325b): this means that the focused item is in highOpP and the DP subject has been simply right-dislocated.

(325)　　**a.** *GESTER hot-er$_j$ kaft s puach der Mario$_j$, ont net hait*
yesterday has-SUBJ CL bought the book the Mario, and not today
b. **Gester en de Maria$_k$ A PUACH hot-er$_j$-en$_k$ kaft der Mario$_j$ ont net a penna*
yesterday to the Mary a book has-SUBJ CL bought the book the Mario, and not a pen
'
,

Finally, an important asymmetry between (324), that I assume is syntactically a topicalization, and (325), that involves syntactic movement to highOpP, regards word order. As shown in (326a), in the first OV syntax is possible, whereas in (326b,c) only VO syntax is possible. Since as we will see in the following chapters in Mòcheno VO syntax is obligatory with all operators, but not with topics, I conclude that (326a) involves a topicalization with emphasis, whereas (326c) is a focalization.

(326)　　**a.** *Z PUACH hot der Mario en Luca gem*
the book has the Mario to Luca given
b. **A PUACH hot-er en Luca (kaft) ont net a penna (kaft)*
a book has-SUBJ CL to Luca bought and not a pen bought
c. *A PUACH hot-er kaft en Luca ont net a penna*
a book has-SUBJ CL to Luca bought and not a pen

The data from focalization has evidenced that the derivation proposed for wh-main interrogatives can be maintained also for sentences beginning with a focus.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have provided evidence in favour of the idea that the V2 rule, to be understood as a requirement that imposes that the finite verb raises to a head of the CP in all sentences, is present and fully operative in Mòcheno, contrary to apparences. Through a detailed structure of the left periphery of Mòcheno and through the idea, supported by data, that not all constituents are identical with respect to the possibility to satisfy EPP, I showed that all orders deviant from strict V2 involve movement of the finite verb to CP, to different head according to the constituent in first position.

The hypothesis that EPP can be satisfied in four positions of the structure: in Spec,SubjP (weak pronoun), in Spec,TopicP (by one topic), in Spec,lowOpP (by an interrogative wh-element) and in Spec,highOpP (by a focus) and that these positions are at different hights, together with the idea that all XPs moving to their dedicated position able to satisfy EPP have to move through all other in-between positions able to satisfy EPP automatically allowed to made sense of i) the incompatibility of a higher and a lower constituent able to trigger EPP (*focus-topic/wh-element/weak-subject, *wh-element-topic/weak pronoun).

In (327), I represent all positions where EPP can be triggered in Mòcheno: trivially, a focus that has to move all the way to Spec,highOpP has to saturate all lower Spec positions on its way to its landing position.

(327)

```
highOpP
├── focus-EPP
└── highOp'
    ├── finite verb
    └── [...]
        └── lowOpP
            ├── wh-element-EPP
            └── lowOp'
                ├── finite verb
                └── [...]
                    └── TopicP
                        ├── topic-EPP
                        └── Topic'
                            ├── finite verb
                            └── [...]
                                └── SubjP
                                    ├── weak pron.-EPP
                                    └── Subj'
                                        ├── finite verb
                                        └── TP
```
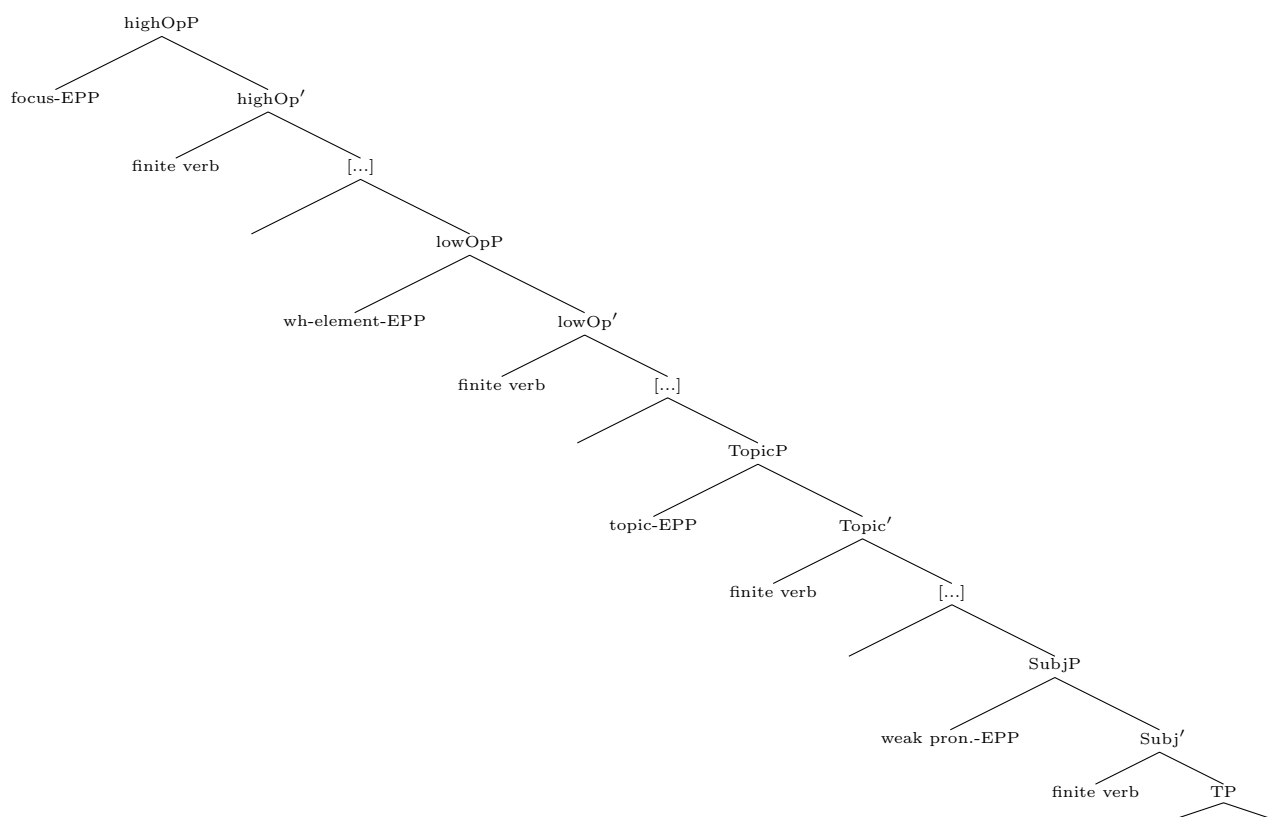
I want to underline that Mòcheno cannot be considered a residual V2 language, that is a language in which V2 is triggered only in criterial positions (Rizzi 1991), that is by wh-elements and foci, since my analysis has pointed out that EPP can be satisfied also by topicalizations and by weak subject pronouns. Mòcheno is though different from German, a language that can be

considered a non-residual-V2 language and in which the finite verb has to show up in the second linear position. I think that the difference between Mòcheno and German relies basically in the possibility to have a split-CP in the former but not in the latter; having a split-CP does not mean thought to have a structure such as the one in (327), since those positions cannot co-occur, but in the possibility to have left-dislocations above the XPs triggering EPP. Therefore, we might think that also standard German satisfies EPP in different positions of CP, even though this is not visible given that XPs triggering EPP cannot co-occur with left dislocations. I prefer not to speak of "criterial positions" or "EPP positions", but only of constituents that, for some reason, satisfy EPP: these constituents happen to have different positions in the structure, but EPP is primarily a feature connected to their nature (operator, topic) and only in a second moment with a position. I think that connecting EPP to one single Spec position, despite of not being supported by data, leads to the loss of the connection between the semantics of the constituent able to satisfy EPP and the phenomenon.

The possibility to have cases of V3,V4.. word orders has allowed to reconstruct the order of projections hosting the constituents able to satisfy EPP: speculating, I claim that what is responsible for the difference between Mòcheno and German is precisely the possibility of Mòcheno that left dislocations can intervene between the projections hosting the constituents able to satisfy EPP summed up, as sketched in the structure in (328)[38]. Commenting on the structure, we see that left dislocations are not activated in correspondence of all positions hosting XPs able to satisfy EPP, but only in correspondence of those hosting operators. This cannot be a case and confirms indirectly Bidese's (2008) observation that in Cimbrian the linear restriction on the positon of the finite verb (V2) is lost first in wh-main interrogatives, where topics with doubling co-occur with the operator. In the last chapter, I will come back to the nature of topics and try to offer an answer to the raising ot left dislocations.

(328)

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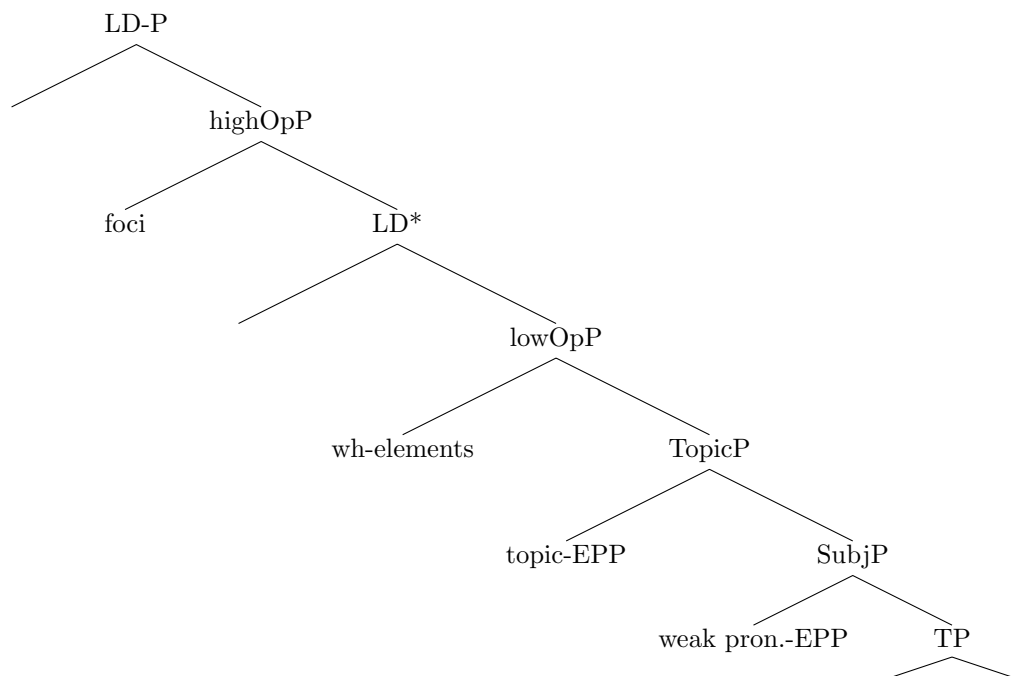
[38]In this structure, I label the projection hosting left-dislocated items and hanging topics (with the asymmetries seen above) above highOpP simply LD-P, as if it were a position for a left dislocation. For the same reason, I consider the position for hanging topics activated by wh-element simply one of the multiple dislocations, signed with *.

The hypothesis that I have just sketched for Mòcheno V2, together with the idea that different types of subjects realise different functions of subjects, allows to automatically make sense of the syntax of subjects.

First of all, let's recall the properties of the different subject forms. In table 4.7, I sum the properties of the subject pronominal forms considered so far.

	Gramm.relations	postverbal[finite V]	preverbal	topic/focus
DP	Spec,TP	YES	YES	YES
strong pron.	Spec,SubjP[in-between mov.]	*	YES	YES
weak pron.	Spec,SubjP	*	YES	*
clitic pron.	Subj^0	YES	*	*

Table 4.7: Specialization of subject forms

DP subjects realise the grammatical relations (agreement with the finite verb and case assignement) in Spec,TP; they can be topicalised and focused, but this cannot take place in Spec,TP but they have to move to a dedicated Spec in the high or in the low left periphery. When they are preverbal, DP subjects are in the high left periphery, when postverbal they can either be in Spec,TP (no doubling) or right-dislocated (with doubler). Strong pronouns do not have a dedicated position where they realise grammatical relation, since generally this is done by the clitic with whom they have to co-occur in several constructions; I assumed that they can realise grammatical relations in Spec,SubjP only through in-between movement when they are topicalised or focused in the left periphery. They are not compatible with Spec,TP in any case, since, differently from DP subjects, cannot follow the finite verb in subject-verb inversion (in that order we can have only a clitic). The fact that they show up preverbally is a direct consequence of the fact that they have specialised for topic and focus positions. Weak subject pronouns have specialised for grammatical features that they realise in Spec,SubjP; they can show up in absolute first position, where they satisfy EPP. They cannot show up in enclisis, since Spec,SubjP is a position where EPP can be satisfied and therefore blocked by operators and topics moving to other Spec positions where EPP can be triggered. Finally, subject clitics can only realised grammatical relations in enclisis and are the realizations of the head position of SubjP. They are forced to show up in all sentences involving an XP triggering EPP and a pronominal subject because Spec,SubjP has been saturated.

With all this in mind, we can go back to the descriptive generalization on Mòcheno subject-verb inversion (V2) that I proposed in chapter3:

(329)   **a.** In main declarative clauses beginning with a constituent different from the subject the finite verb can move to CP leading to subject-verb inversion;
          b. the subject-verb inversion rule is not obligatory.

In (330), I restate the V2 rule for Mòcheno.

(330)   *V2 rule in Mòcheno:*
          a. the finite verb has to raise to the head of the CP projection hosting the XP able to satisfy EPP;
          b. if EPP is satisfied by an operator, pronominal subjects are always enclitic and DP subjects are left dislocations;
          c. if EPP is satisfied by a topic, the DP subject is in Spec,TP giving rise to subject-verb inversion; pronominal subjects are enclitic;

    d. in main declarative clauses in which DP subjects precede the finite verb, they are topicalised in CP and the finite verb is in CP.

I think that the long discussion on Mòcheno V2 can be considered concluded; in what follows, I introduce the second big argument of this dissertation: OV/VO alternations in Mòcheno. The next chapter is an introductory chapter, where I briefly discuss base-word orders from a theoretical point of view, introducing all the relevant technicalities in order to make sense of the Mòcheno facts. I then discuss, in the light of Mòcheno, several hypothesis that have been put forth in order to account for mixed OV/VO languages, especially in diachronic language variation.

Chapter 5

An introduction to Mòcheno OV/VO word orders

5.1 Introduction

The main concern of this chapter is to introduce the issue of OV/VO word orders and to discuss it in relation with the system of Mòcheno, which I will try to make sense of in the next chapter.

Mòcheno is a non-standard language allowing for apparent optionality in the distribution of constituents with respect to the verb. In a main declarative clause with a non-finite verb form showing the so-called *Satzklammerstruktur* (XP - finite V - XP - past participle), which are the type of sentences that I will try first to make sense of[1] both OV and VO are admitted with basically all constituents and with no detectable pragmatic differences.

In (331), I show that a direct object can show up both before or after the past participle.

(331)   **a.** *Gester der Mario hot a/s puach galezen*
         yesterday the Mario has a/the book read
         b. *Gester der Mario hot galezen a/s puach*
         yesterday the Mario has read a/the book
         'Mario read the book yesterday'

The same distribution is found also with indirect objects (332), which also allow for the order

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[1]Differently from what is generally done in linguistic work on German, where phenomena are illustrated with embedded clauses, I decide to go out first from the syntax of main declarative clauses. The choice of German linguistics is due to the conviction (see among others Haider 1986:50) that the syntax of embedded clauses reflects the underlying base word order (OV), whereas the syntax of main declarative clauses is derived through the application of the V2 rule. Evidence against this idea (as pointed out to me by Cecilia Poletto, p.c.) is provided by acquisition studies; Clahsen (1982:68ff), for instance, shows that children acquiring German begin producing embedded clauses rather late, that is after the 40^{th} month, whereas main declaratives are produced earlier. What is more, embedded clauses are produced only after the child has acquired the V2 rule in main declarative clauses. I think that this fact clearly shows that in German OV word order does not reflect the base order previous to movement, otherwise it would be expected that children acquire first embedded clauses and then the V2 rule, whereas it goes the other way around.

That this assumption has to be taken as such also for Mòcheno is in no way obvious, especially in the light of the fact that little is known about the syntax of this language, which has never been studied before within the generative framework, except for the fact that it is ruled by optionality in almost all environments of syntax (see among others Rowley 2003 and the discussion below). Therefore, in this work, I will try to make sense of this optionality, since I am convinced that rules can be detected behind it, starting out from the syntax of main declarative clauses, without worrying about whether they are derived or not.

DO - past participle - IO, which I informally call "mixed syntax" (333c)[2].

(332) **a.** *Gester der Mario hot a puach en de Maria kaft*
yesterday the Mario has a book to the Mary bought
b. *Gester der Mario hot kaft a puach en de Maria*
yesterday the Mario has bought a book to the Mary
c. *Gester der Mario hot a puach kaft en de Maria*
yesterday the Mario has a book bought to the Mary
'Yesterday Mario bought Mary a book'

Also PPs can show up in both OV and VO word orders (333a,b).

(333) **a.** *Gester hone s puach en de boteig kaft*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the book in the shop bought
b. *Gester hone kaft s puach en de boteig*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL bought the book in the shop
'Yesterday I bought the book in the shop'
c. *I hon de mama om drai nomitto pakemm*
I have the mum at three o'clock afternoon met
d. *I hon pakemm de mama om drai nomitto*
I have the mum met at three o'clock afternoon
'I met my mum at three o'clock in the afternoon'

When two constituents are present in the lower portion of the clause a mixed word order, in which the direct object precedes the past participle and the PP follows, is possible for both argumental (334a) and circumstantial (334b) PPs.

(334) **a.** *Gester der Mario hot a puach kaft en de Maria*
yesterday the Mario has a book bought to the Mary
'Yesterday Mario bought Mary a book'
b *I hon a puach kaft en de boteig*
I have a book bought in the shop
'I bought a book in the shop'

In this chapter I will not propose a theoretical account able to make sense of the mixed OV/VO system of Mòcheno illustrated by the examples above, but I will give the theoretical basis upon which this will be done.

In the first part of the chapter I deal with the most relevant proposals put forth in the literature in order to make sense of base word orders. This introductory section will allow to introduce the theoretical background from which I start out, which is basically an antisymmetric (Kayne 1994) and cartographic (Cinque 1999, 2006) approach to word order. Most of the technical devices introduced in the literature will be used also for deriving Mòcheno word orders.

After illustrating how word orders can be derived within the adopted framework, in the second part of this chapter I will discuss for Mòcheno several factors which have been assumed in the literature to play a role in language change and language variation with respect to word order.

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[2]In mixed syntax Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 2004) violations are found and in this example the indirect object could not show up before the past participle followed by the DO. I will go back to mixed syntax when I analyse the syntax of main declarative clauses.

These factors, namely i) the role of morphology, ii) the presence of two grammars in competitions and iii) the role of information structure will be critically discussed in the light of Mòcheno data.

This discussion will show that none of this factors alone can be assumed to be responsible for variation in Mòcheno and that a more refined proposal is called for. Starting point in the direction of a formulation of a new proposal is Poletto's (2006) work on Old Italian discussed at the end of the chapter, which applies Jayaseelan's (2001) and Belletti's (2001, 2004) idea of the presence of a low vP periphery to the derivation of word order.

5.2 Theoretical accounts of base word orders

This introductory section on the theoretical accounts of base word orders is not meant in any sense to be a complete, detailed nor original (most of it is actually taken from Svenonius 2000) discussion of all the work that has been written on word order, which is one of the core arguments of syntactic research. The purpose of this section is twofold. On the one hand, I will give a sketchy overview of the problems that any theory of word order has to face and of the solutions proposed in the literature. On the other hand, I will introduce the fundamental assumptions of the framework adopted in this work, namely an antisymmetric cartographic approach, with respect to word order.

The choice to follow this type of approach to word order, rejecting therefore the latest developments of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), is due to the belief that cartography is the best theoretical mean in order to deal with the complexity of data of a non-standard language, such as Mòcheno, whose syntax has not been studied before. Such a complex system, in which optionality seems to be present in all syntactic environments, can be understood only through a detailed description of the underlying structure and of the rules leading to the superficial syntax.

The aims of my work are therefore completely different from those of Minimalism: the aim of minimalism is making sense of language faculty, whereas the aim of this work is to make sense of the syntax of Mòcheno.

5.2.1 The headedness parameter

At the beginning of generative grammar within the Principle and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1970), the question of base word orders was addressed in terms of parameter setting. In this approach it was claimed that cross-linguistic variation between VO and OV languages had to be made sense of by assuming a head parameter for deep VP structure.

In particular (Chomsky 1981:128ff, Stowell 1981:72f), it was assumed that in VO languages the head of VP precedes its complement, as shown in (335)[3].

---

[3]Here I follow the cited literature in assuming that the auxiliary verb is hosted in the head of a dedicated VP above the one hosting the lexical verb. Cinque (2004) assumes for Italian, on the basis of the distribution of clitic pronouns in restructuring contexts, that the auxiliary verb is hosted in the a functional head and is part of the functional structure projected by the verb; the same assumption is made for modal verbs. This discussion is though irrelevant, since in my dissertation I will only work at word order in main declarative clauses, where the auxiliary shows up in CP due to the application of the V2 rule. Therefore, I am not interested in the starting point of auxiliary movement, but rather in its landing position im CP.

(335)

```
                        VP
                    ┌───┴────┐
                   Aux       VP
                    │     ┌───┴───┐
                  have    V       NP
                          │       │
                        read   the book
```
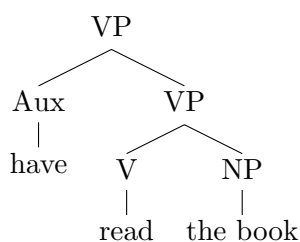
In OV languages, on the other hand, it is assumed that complements precede their heads, as sketched in the structure in (336).

(336)

```
                        VP
                    ┌───┴────┐
                   Aux       VP
                    │     ┌───┴───┐
                  have    NP       V
                          │        │
                      the book   read
```
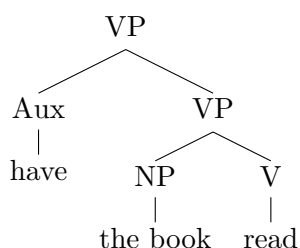
Two are the main shortcomings of the assumption of the existence of a head parameter.

On the one hand, the verb phrase becomes special with respect to other phrases, such as the noun phrase and the inflectional phrase, since it is the only phrase allowing for both head-final and head-initial structures to be parametrised by languages. On the other hand, several exceptions to strict OV or VO word orders are attested: it is difficult to treat such mixed system in terms of the headedness parameter. One way to do with it is to treat mixed systems as historical residue in a system moving from consistent OV word order to VO. The other way, is to propose a more detailed analysis of data in order to understand the regularities behind the distribution of the two orders inside one and the same system.

Within this last type of approach, Bach (1962) proposes, on the basis of German, that languages are consistently head-initial or head-final at Deep Structure and that apparent exception are due to movement operations. This idea allows to make sense of the asymmetric system of German, whose main declarative clauses are either V2 (with a simple tense) or have the so-called *Satzklammerstruktur* (with a complex tense: XP-finite V-lexical V), whereas embedded clauses are strictly OV. Bach (1968) proposes also the Universal Base Hypothesis (UBH) according to which i) all languages have the same underlying structure and ii) the superficial structure is derived via language-specific transformations.

Ross (1967a) proposes, in order to make sense of the word order patterns of German, that this language is actually an underlying VO language, whose OV word orders are to be derived via movement operations. This analysis of German leads him to distinguish between two types of OV languages: "superficial" OV languages, such as German, Hindi and Turkish, whose orders are the result of movement operations starting out from underlying VO, and "deep" OV languages, such as Japanese and Siouan, in which no movement operations affect constituents and whose superficial order reflects the underlying order of constituents.

The idea that superficial OV word order may be the result of different structural conditions, that is of movement operations in the case of the German-type of OV languages and of lack of movement in the "deep" OV languages, is appealing and stimulating, but as for syntactic theory, shifting of the nature of a language to its underlying structure might reveal itself as misleading. In particular Svenonius (2000) notes that [...] moving the "true" nature of a language to Deep

Structure runs the risk of losing Greenbergian correlations, which are stated over surface word order (Svenonius, 2000:5).

In order to avoid this, other proposals have been put forward in order to parametrise Surface Structure conditions. Kayne (1983) proposes that government is directional and that the direction is parametrised by languages. Koopman (1984: 106ff) and Travis (1984:32ff) propose the same for Case assignment; Koopman (1984: 120) applies this idea to theta role assignment. Haider (1992, 2000) proposes a general licensing principle, according to which licensing occurs to the left in OV languages and to the right in VO languages.

This approaches have to face a well-known property of OV/VO word orders, that is asymmetry: OV languages have, for instance, the preference for Genitive-Noun, whereas in VO languages the order Noun-Genitive is more common. The same can be said for the relative orders of verb arguments in the double-object construction (see Cinque 2008). Asymmetry is not made sense of in these approaches; Haider (1992, 2000), for instance, by assuming the underlying order to be universally OV makes sense of VO through the idea that the verb moves out of VP, whereas verb arguments remain *in-situ*, but cannot capture the cases in which OV and VO are asymmetric with respect to the order of constituents.

Even though it cannot make sense of all attested orders, Haider's hypothesis has the advantage of assuming a universal underlying base-order for all languages, namely OV, from which VO is derived. The idea of a universal underlying word order in the VP will be taken up and developed by Kayne (1994), who will arrive at the conclusion that the underlying word order is VO.

5.2.2   The antisymmetry of syntax

Bach's (1968) and Haider's (1992, 2000) idea that the underlying order inside the VP is universal across languages has been taken up again by Kayne (1994).

In his theory of Antisymmetry, Kayne proposes the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) whose consequences are that i) all phrases are headed; ii) there is at most one head per phrase; iii) Specifiers are adjuncts and iv) adjuncts precede heads. The LCA allows heads to adjoin to other heads, but not to Specifiers, and Specifiers to adjoin to other Specifiers, but not to heads. Movement can only be to the left. The LCA derives the order Specifier - Head - Complement and Kayne (1994) assumes that this order applies to all syntactic representations, even to those which come out at LF.

Kayne does not explicitly assume that his LCA also affects the structure of VP (and word order), but that also VP had to have the same structure as all other projection was a clear consequence of antisymmetry, especially in the light of the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991) along with the idea of the presence of an articulated IP structure (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990).

The structure of VP derived by antisymmetry, together with Larson's (1988) vP shell, is given in (337).

(337)

```
                            vP
                        ╱       ╲
                     DP           v′
                     │          ╱    ╲
                    Subj      V        VP
                              │      ╱    ╲
                              v    DP       V′
                                   │      ╱    ╲
                                   DO    V      SC
                                              ╱──╲
```
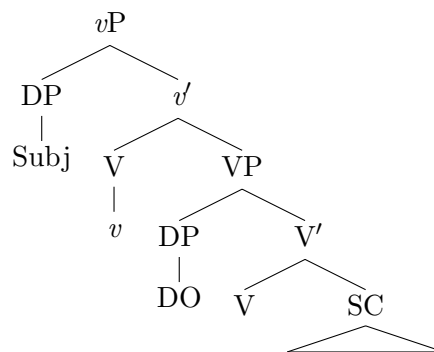
The possibility of deriving X' structure through one axiom opens up new perspectives for the theoretical accounts of word order, since it encloses the idea that the structure is universal. Under this perspective, the superficial word orders of the single languages have to be made sense of assuming language-specific rules, starting out, from an underlying VO order not assumed by theory but derived by antisymmetry.

Let's see how this approach makes sense of the OV syntax of the Dutch sentence in (338, from Zwart 1997, cited in Svenonius 2000:9).

(338)   *dat Jan het boek op de tafel will leggen*
         that Jan the book on the table will put
         '... that John will put the book on the table'

The first language-specific rules that has been assumed (Kayne 1994, Zwart 1993, 1997, Koster 1994) in order to make sense of OV starting out from underlying VO is movement of verb arguments to licensing positions (AgrOPs). According to this hypothesis, the superficial order of OV languages has to be derived through overt movement of the internal argument to an AgreementP above VP, as shown in (339); in VO languages, this movement is assumed to take place covertly.

(339)

```
                        AgrOP
                      ╱       ╲
                   Spec         AgrO′
                    ▲         ╱      ╲
                    │      AgrO⁰       VP
                    │               ╱    ╲
                    │            Spec      V′
                    │                    ╱   ╲
                    └────────────────   V     NP
```
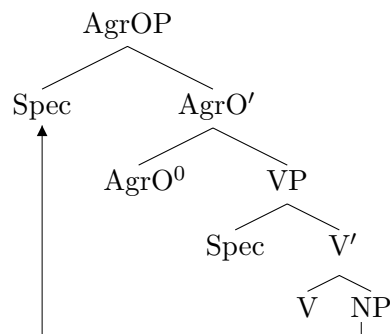
As for the asymmetries between OV and VO languages with respect to the syntactic behaviour of other constituents, such as adverbial PP and small-clause predicates, for which is cannot be claimed that AgrPs are involved, Zwart (1993, 1997) and Koster (1994) assume the presence a licensing positions for these elements found above VP. They call this licensing position PredP. The mechanism is the same: PPs and small-clauses predicates are generated as complements of the verb, in OV languages they move out of VP in order to be licensed in PredP, whereas in VO languages they are licensed covertly.

In (340, adapted from Svenonius:2000:9), I give a complete derivation of the Dutch sentence in (338) according to idea of the presence of AgreementPs and PredP above VP.

(340)

```
                    AgrSP
                   /     \
               Jan_j     AgrS'
                        /      \
                    AgrS⁰     AgrOP
                             /      \
                      het boek_i   AgrO'
                                  /      \
                             AgrO⁰      PredP
                                       /      \
                                op de tafel  Pred'
                                            /      \
                                        Pred⁰      VP
                                                  /    \
                                               Spec    V'
                                                      /   \
                                                   will    vP
                                                          /   \
                                                       t_j    v'
                                                             /    \
                                                         leggen   VP
                                                                 /   \
                                                              t_i    V'
                                                                    /   \
                                                                   V    PP
```
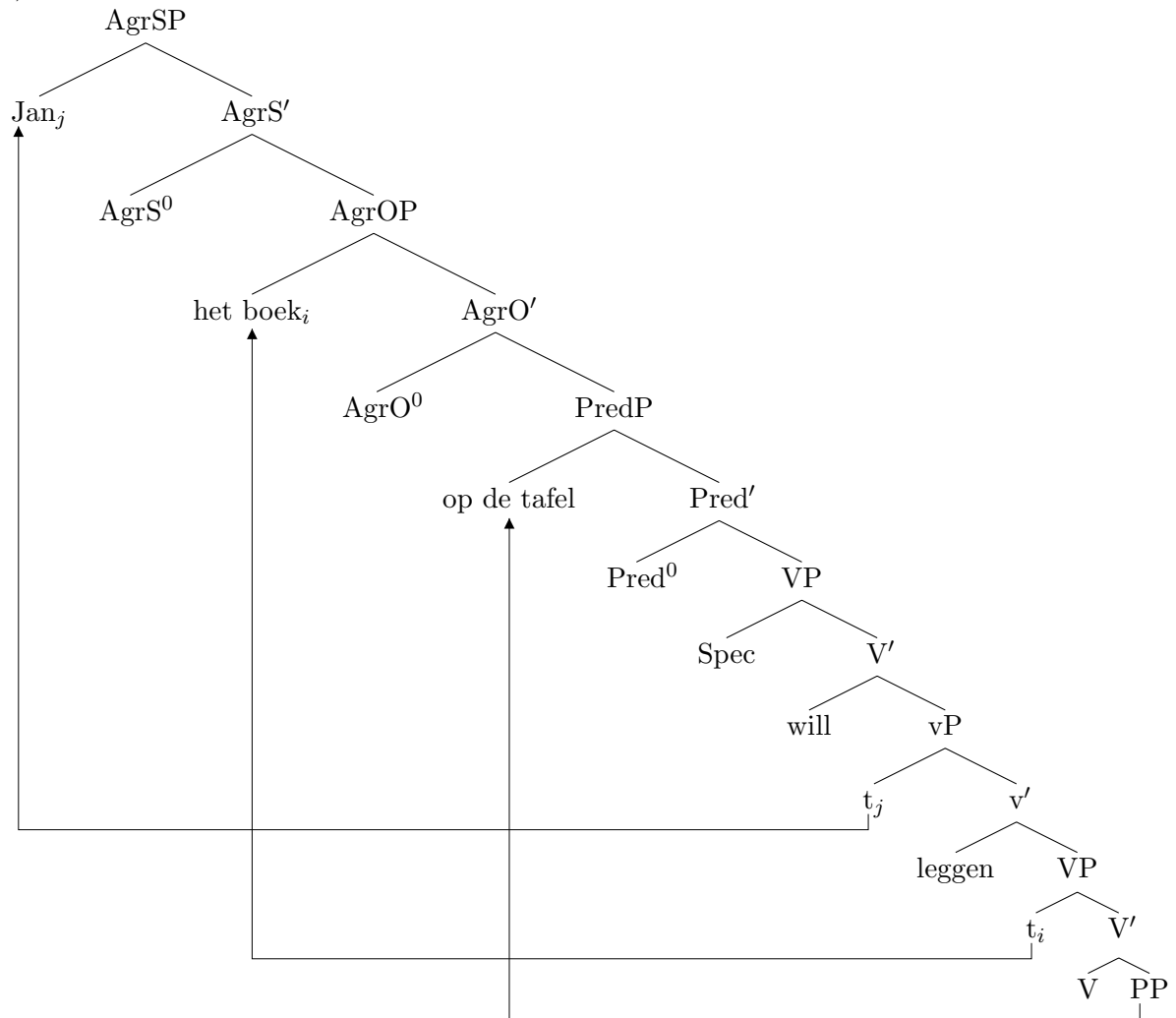
Several languages have been successfully analysed starting out from underlying VO word order along the lines of the derivation proposed in (340), for instance Yiddish (Diesing 1997), Old (Roberts 1997) and Middle English (van der Wurff 1997), Old Icelandic (Hróarsdóttir 2000), Modern German (Hinterhölzl 1997, 2006).

Kayne's account leaves though some unanswered questions.

First of all, it is not clear why in OV languages agreement features are consistently strong forcing verb arguments to raise, whereas in VO languages such features are consistently weak[4].

Then, languages showing mixed OV/VO word order represent again a challenge for the theory. For those mixed languages that in a certain moment of their history expressed case relations through morphology, it might be thought that the two orders are due to optional movement of the internal argument to AgrOP, along the lines of what has been proposed by Roberts (1993) for the movement of the finite verb to I in Middle English, which he claims is optional even when tense morphology is lost.

What is more, there are languages with rich morphology and VO order, such as Modern Icelandic (Hróarsdóttir 2000), which represent a clamorous counterexample to the the generalization put forth by a theory assuming that morphological case and OV word order are connected.

---

[4]For the connection between the presence of morphological case and word order, see below.

Finally, it is not clear how the symmetries in order of constituents between VO and OV languages, accounted for in Haider's (1992, 2000) theory through verb movement, are to be derived within the universal-base-VO approach, given that in this approach no verb movement is assumed.

Several proposals have been put forth within the antisymmetric framework in order to make sense of this last shortcoming of the theory.

One solution is to assume that constituents showing up in OV word order have not moved independently out of VP, but have moved together as a remnant, as proposed by Hinterhölzl (1997a:198, 1997b:14). The derivation for OV proposed by Hinterhölzl (1997a,b) is illustrated in (341, adapted from Svenonius 2000:10) with the same OV Dutch sentence considered above in (338).

(341)
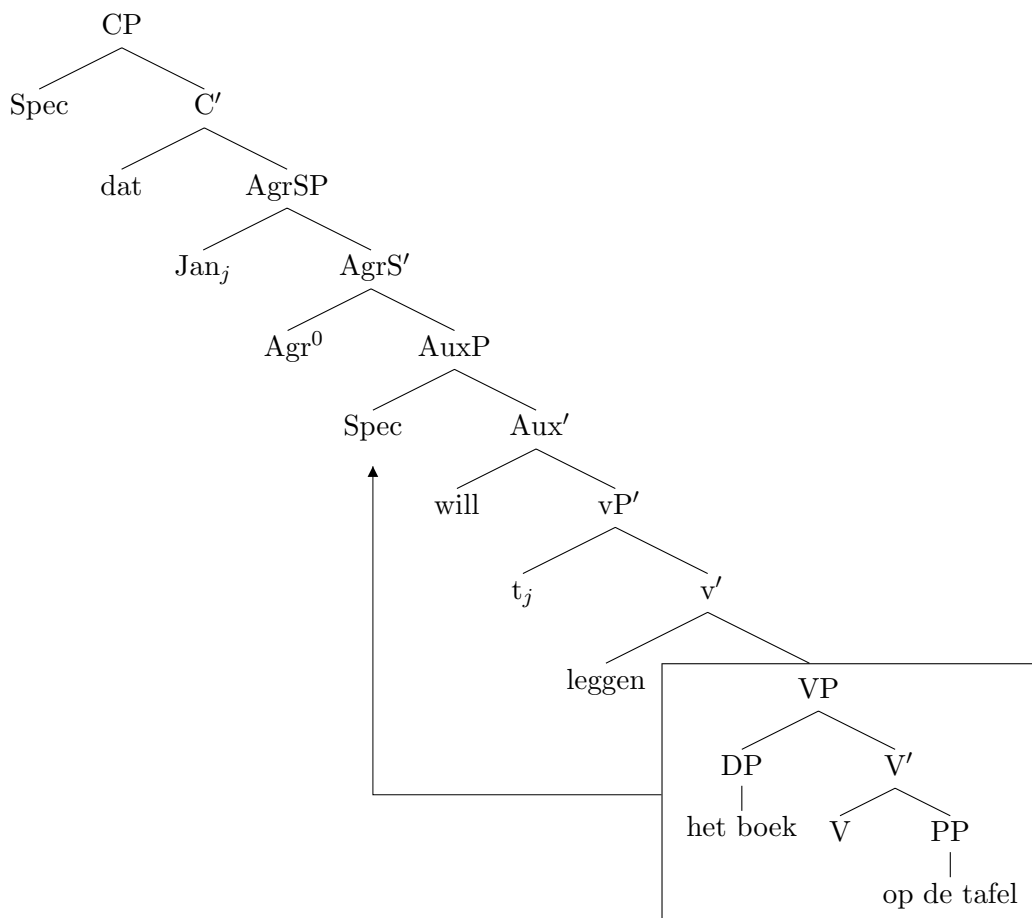
An implementation of Hinterhölzl's analysis is proposed by Kayne (1998) who proposed an analysis of VO that unifies the presence of AgrPs with verb movement. Kayne (1998) puts forth the idea that also in VO languages verb arguments move out of VP to AgrPs, but this movement is not visible since it is followed by remnant movement of VP, which gives rise to superficial VO. With this proposal Kayne suggests to eliminate covert movement in favour of the idea that all movements take place overtly. For the derivation of base word orders, this shift in the theory has as a consequence that agreement features are assumed to be strong in both OV and VO languages and the difference in superficial word orders is linked to the absence versus the presence of VP raising.

According to this proposal the derivation of an English sentence such as the one given in (342) would be the one sketched in (343).

(342)   *John bought the book in the shop*

(343)

AgrSP
- John$_j$
- Agr′
  - AgrS^0
  - FP
    - Spec
    - F′
      - F^0
      - AgrOP
        - the book$_i$
        - AgrO′
          - AgrO^0
          - PredP
            - in the shop$_k$
            - Pred′
              - Pred^0
              - vP
                - t$_j$
                - v′
                  - bought
                  - VP
                    - t$_i$
                    - V′
                      - V
                      - PP
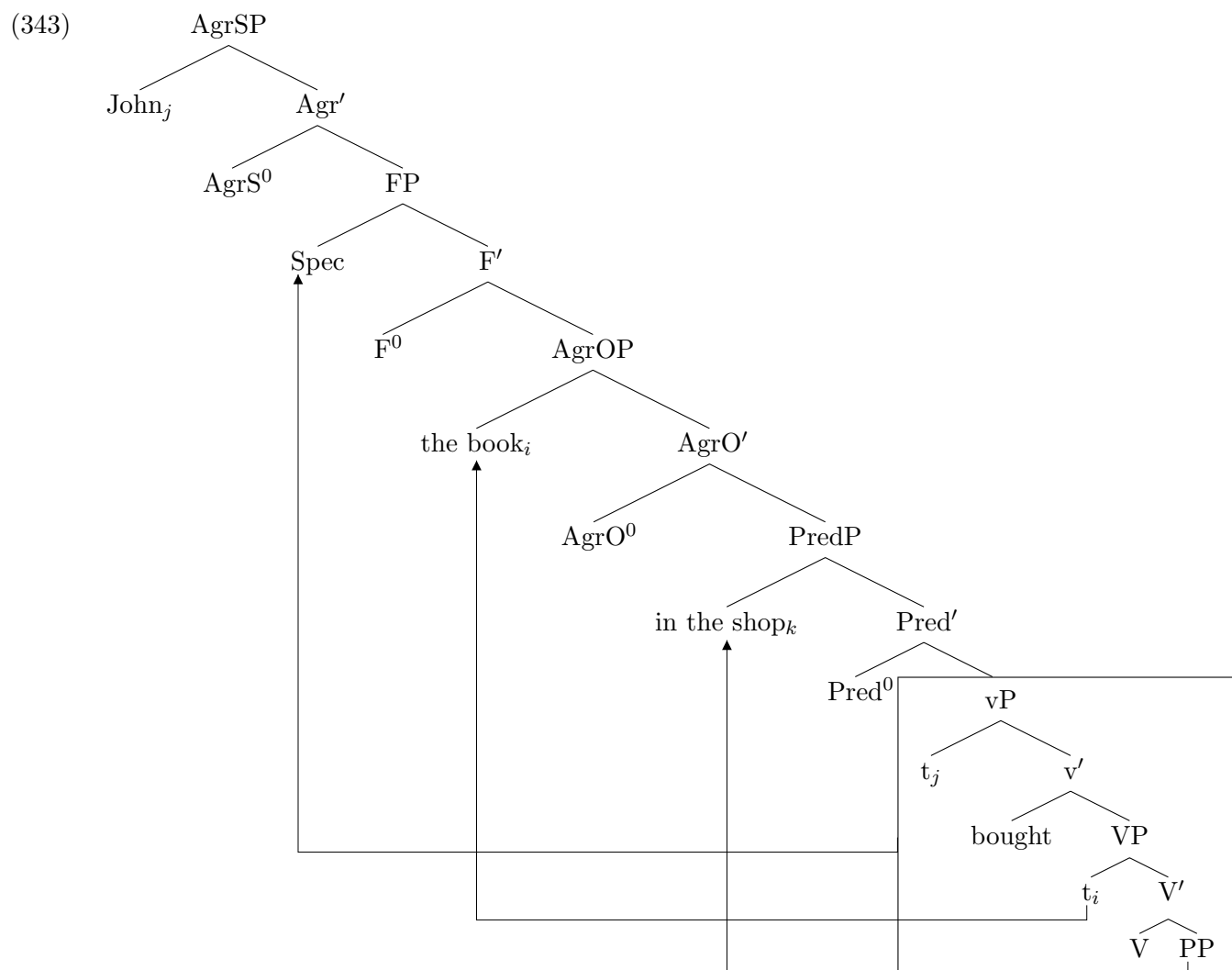
Kayne's (1998) hypothesis has found convincing support in Hróarsdóttir's (2000a,b) work on the diachrony of Icelandic, which has shown that the loss of OV word order from Old Icelandic to Modern Iceland can be connected to the setting of a new parameter, namely VP raising in Modern Icelandic. This allows to make sense of the quickness of the loss of OV in this language, which took place in one century.

In the next subsection, I will take into examination symmetries and mirror effects in the order of constituents between OV and VO languages, an issue that I have only briefly mentioned so far, but that is crucial to any theory of word order.

5.2.3   On symmetries and mirror effects

It has been noticed since the first typological work (Greenberg 1963, Boisson 1981) that the order of certain modifications varies among languages according to their position with respect to the category they modify (generally a head). These studies have identified a coherent pattern in the languages considered, according to which if the modifications precede the modified constituent,

they show up in a fixed order, whereas if they follow, they show up in either the same order or in its mirror image.

One famous case of this type of effect involves the order of modifiers with respect to the lexical D head and is stated in Greenberg's Universal 20.

> When any or all the items (demonstratives, numeral and descriptive adjectives) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite. (Greenberg, 1963:87)

The same effect is found by Cinque (2008) in several syntactic environments, namely in the order of: i) demonstrative, numerals and adjectives with respect to the noun; ii) attributive adjectives with respect to the noun; iii) adverbs with respect to the verb; iv) circumstantial PPs with respect to the verb; v) directional and locative preposition with respect to the NP; vi) (speech act) mood, tense and aspect morphemes and vii) auxiliaries (restructuring) verbs.

Interestingly, in a language the order of the modifications with respect to the category they modify coherently correlates with its OV or VO base-word order (Kayne 1994, Hinterhölzl 2002, Cinque 2006, 2008); therefore OV and VO languages do not only differ in relation to the position of objects with respect to the finite verb, but also "[...] in the order of modifiers and functional heads associated with distinct lexical heads" (Cinque 2008:1).

In order to illustrate the correlation between base word order and order of modifiers with respect to the modified functional head, I will consider the syntactic behaviour of circumstantial PPs, which have to be taken as modifications of the lexical verb. I have decided to concentrate only on the behaviour of these constituents, leaving aside all other cases of asymmetries discussed in the literature, because of their relevance for any theory of OV/VO word order variation.

Concentrating for the sake of concreteness on time, place and manner PP modifications, typological work (among others Boisson 1981, Cinque 2006, 2008) has shown that cross-linguistically their order can be captured by the generalization stated in (433). When all these PPs precede the verb, they can only show up in one order (Time-place-manner, 433a,b); if they follow the verb they can either show up in the same order (433c) or in its mirror image (433d).

(344) a. Time > Place > Manner > V
       b.*Manner > Place > Time > V
       c. V > Time > Place > Manner
       d. V > Manner > Place > Time

That there is a correlation between the order of PPs found cross-linguistically summed up in (433) and the base order of the language instantiating one of three possible pattern is shown when one looks at what orders are possible in what language. As shown in (345a), the order time-place-manner is found in OV languages, such as German (embedded clauses) and Basque, its mirror image is found in VO languages, such as Romance and English; the order time-place-manner is found postverbally in German main clauses (V2).

(345) a. Time > Place > Manner > V   German embedded clauses; Basque, Nambikuara
       b. V > Time > Place > Manner   German V2 clauses
       c. V > Manner > Place > Time   Romance, Vietnamese, Yoruba, English

In order to illustrate the generalizations in (345), I will take into consideration the order of adverbial PP pro-forms, since their syntactic behaviour is the most straightforward and allows to

illustrate the patterns in the easiest way[5]. The idea that the syntax of adverbial pro-form can be a reliable test for showing the base order of adverbial modification relies on the fact that they cannot be focused, but only show in one fixed order, assumed to be the order of merge.

As shown in (346), in standard German (Hinterhölzl 2002, Schweiker 2005, Cinque 2006, 2008) the order of adverbial PP pro-forms in both embedded (346a) and main (346b, from Cinque 2006:151, who cites Frey 2000:13) clauses can only be temporal-locative, as in (345a,b).

(346)   **a.** *Ich habe nur gehört, dass Hans* **wann wo** *darüber vortragen soll*
I have only heared that Hans sometimes somewhere on that talk should
    b. **Ich habe nur gehört, dass Hans* **wo wann** *darüber vortragen soll*
I have only heared that Hans somewhere sometimes on that talk should
'I have only heared that Hans is supposed to talk about that at some place at some point'
    c. *Hans sollte* **wann wo** *darüber vortragen*
Hans should sometimes somewhere on that talk
    d. **Hans sollte* **wo wann** *darüber vortragen*
Hans should somewhere sometimes on that talk
'Hans is supposed to talk about that at some place at some point'

The mirror effect, which is instantiated by VO languages, is illustrated in (347) with the adverbial PP pro-forms of Norwegian (347a,b, from Cinque 2006:151, citing Nilsen 2000:72f) and English (347c,d, from Cinque 2006:162, who attributes them to D. Permutter in p.c. with R. Kayne).

(347)   **a.** *Jeg motte ham* **der da**
I met him there then
    b. **Jeg motte ham* **da der**
I met him then there
    c. *He went* **there then**
    d. **He went* **then there**

The data above have shown that there is a clear connection between the order of modifiers with respect to the modified category and base word order: OV languages only have one order, VO languages generally have the mirror image of the order found in OV languages and more rarely the same order as the one of OV languages.

There is another possibility, that is that the two orders coexist in one and the same language. Cinque (2006:162, 2008:3) cites in this respect the order of dative and accusative clitics in Modern Greek which in preverbal position can only be dative-accusative, whereas in the postverbal one both orders dative-accusative and accusative-dative are admitted.

As for the case of circumstantial PPs, Dutch seems to be one language instantiating a mixed pattern with respect to the generalizations stated in (433)[6]. In the literature on Dutch (Koster 1974, 2000, Barbiers 1995, Zwart 1997) it has been noticed that circumstantial PPs show up with the order temporal-locative-manner (which is the one typical of OV languages, see (345a)) in verb-final clauses (348a, from Barbiers 1995:103, cited in Svenonius 2000:15) and with its mirror image manner-locative-temporal (typical of VO languages, (345c)) in sentences with VO word order, as (348b)[7].

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[5]For further evidence supporting the idea that PPs are ordered, such as scope effects, asymmetries in idioms, etc. see Schweikert 2005 and Cinque 2006.

[6]As we will see in the next chapter, Mòcheno is another language of this type.

[7]Dutch allows circumstantial PPs to show up after the past participle, violating strict OV word order. This possibility is found also in standard German.

(348)   **a.** *Hij is door 'n stuurfout met een knal op het hek gestrand*

he is through a steering error with a bang on the fence stranded

b. *Hij is gestrand op het hek met een knal door een sturrfout*

he is stranded on the fence with a bang through a steering error

'He got stranded on the fence with a bang because of a steering error'

What we have seen so far is that there seems to be a solid correlation between base word order and order of circumstantial PPs: most of the languages considered in the literature, only display one pattern, which is coherent with their OV or VO base order, whereas a few languages show a mixed pattern.

Let's come now to the proposals of derivation put forth in the literature in order to make sense of the orders illustrated in (345).

As far as the derivation of mirror images is concerned, Kayne (1994:52 ff) proposes a derivation known after Brody (1997) as roll-up: starting out from three elements in the order X-Y-Z a mirror image derivation is derived via movement of Z to a position above Y giving rise to the order Z-Y. The node dominating both Z and Y is then further moved above X obtaining the linear order Z-Y-X.

With respect to the case of PPs considered here, it is not clear from which structure movement starts out. Within an antisymmetric framework it has to be assumed that PPs are generated to the left of VP (see Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006); this assumption is not shared by all scholars and Svenonius (2003), for instance, claims that PPs are left-adjoined to VP. Svenonius' claim has though to be rejected if one takes seriously the data seen above in (347), which hint at the fact that the order of PPs is not free, which is not compatible with free adjunction.

Following Schweikert (2005) and Cinque (2006, 2008), I assume that circumstantial PPs are merged in a universal fixed order, which corresponds to the order found in OV languages (349).

(349)   Temporal > Locative > Manner > Complements > VP

The two main linear orders found among languages, namely the one corresponding to the base-order of merge in (349) or its mirror image, are derived assuming that "there are two ways in which the VP can raise: either pied-piping the phrase immediately dominating the Spec to which it has moved (with the effect of reversing the order of merge [...] or not pied-piping it" (Cinque 2006:154).

In (350), I give the derivation involving VP movement and pied piping, which leads to superficial VO with the PPs showing up in the mirror image of the order of PPs found in OV languages.

(350)
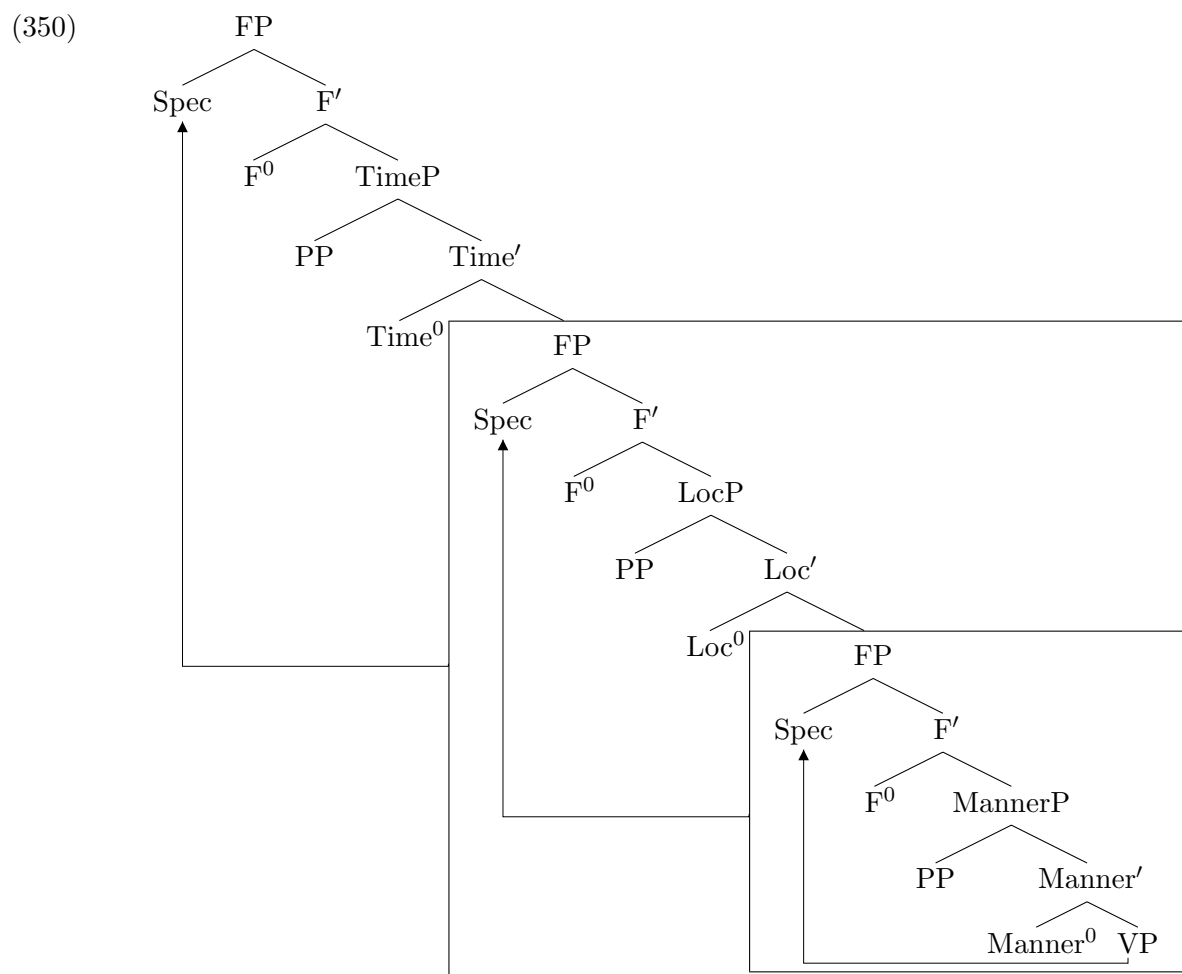
In (351) I give the structure of a sentence in which VP raises above PP modifications without pipe piping, giving rise to VO syntax with the same order of PP modifications found in an OV language.

(351)

FP
├── Spec
└── F′
    ├── F⁰
    └── TimeP
        ├── PP
        └── Time′
            ├── Time⁰
            └── FP
                ├── Spec
                └── F′
                    ├── F⁰
                    └── LocP
                        ├── PP
                        └── Loc′
                            ├── Loc⁰
                            └── FP
                                ├── Spec
                                └── F′
                                    ├── F⁰
                                    └── MannerP
                                        ├── PP
                                        └── Manner′
                                            ├── Manner⁰
                                            └── VP
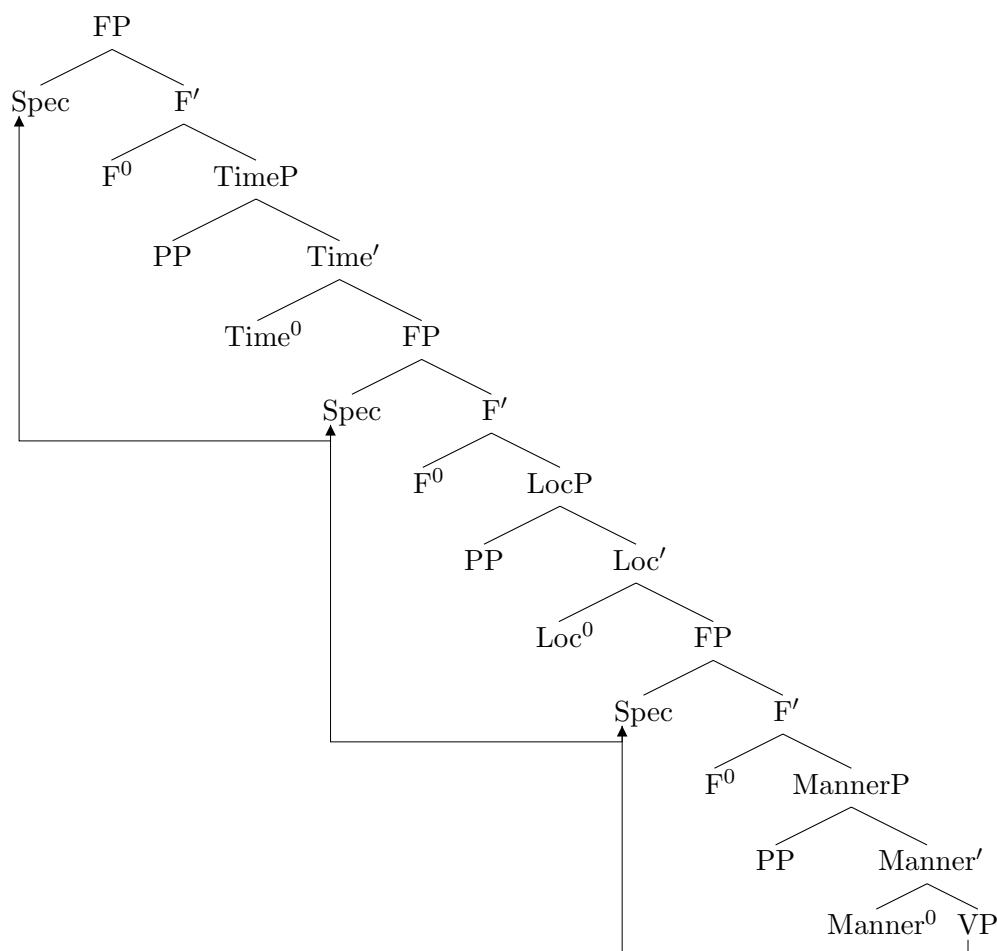
5.2.4 Partial conclusions

In this first part of the chapter, I have briefly discussed the most influential theoretical proposals that have been put forth in order to make sense of word order. The cited work will constitute the theoretical background of my research on Mòcheno OV/VO word orders and all my proposals concerning the derivation of linear orders in this language will start out from Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric theory and Cinque's (2006,2008) proposals on the structure of the clause.

In the next section, I will tackle the second big issue of this introductory chapter, namely what the triggers for variation with respect to word order are, testing for Mòcheno several proposals put forth in literature. As we will see, most of these proposals rely on synchronic analysis and have then been applied to OV/VO alternations mainly in diachronic language change, which was long considered the prototypical empirical domain for variation.

5.3 On the factors triggering word order variation

In this section I will consider four hypothesis that have been put forth in the literature in order to make sense of language change in base word order and will discuss if they can be applied to Mòcheno OV/VO system.

I will start discussing the relevance of case morphology for word order, showing how the connection between the two phenomena seems to be loose both on general grounds and on the basis of

Mòcheno data. Then, I will introduce the arguments proposed within the "double-base hypothesis" (Kroch 1989) in order to make sense of variation, discussing them in detail on the basis of Mòcheno data; much space will be given to this particular hypothesis, since in basically all previous work on Mòcheno syntax variation in base word order had been made sense of assuming the presence of a Romance and a German grammar in the speaker's mind. Relying on several pieces of evidence coming from a comparative analysis of Mòcheno VO and Romance VO, on the one hand, and of Mòcheno OV and German OV, on the other, I will show that the double-base hypothesis has to be rejected for this language and that variation takes place within one single grammar, in which the two orders are specialised for different functions.

I will then take into consideration the results of several studies that have tried to make sense of the distribution of constituents with respect to the finite verb in the diachrony of German (Hinterhölzl 2009, Hinterhölzl/Petrova 2009) and English (Taylor/Pintzuk 2008, 2009) on the basis of information structure. I will discuss if the factors assumed in these studies to be responsible for the distribution of XPs with respect to the finite verb can make sense of Mòcheno word orders in main declarative clauses, that is of the distribution of constituents with respect to the past participle (in the *Satzklammerstruktur*).

Finally, I will discuss Poletto's (2006) work on OV word orders in Old Italian, which she makes sense of assuming the presence of a low left periphery (Jayaseelan) encoding discourse features. This last approach, which tries to put together information structure and syntax, is the one I will follow in my account of Mòcheno OV/VO word orders in the next chapter.

5.3.1   The role of morphology

In this subsection I will briefly discuss the relation between word order and morphology, both on much general terms and in relation with the syntax of Mòcheno.

It has been a general idea since the earliest work inside the framework of functionalism (Meillet 1903), that free word order and rich case morphology are to be considered two sides of the same coin and that languages allow for free word order only when they express case on arguments through morphology. Consequence of this idea is that the loss of free word order (with consequent fixation of one base order) has to be related to the loss of a rich morphological case system, whose function was to disambiguate the function of the constituents in the sentence.

This type of approach was applied to the syntax of Latin, which has been considered a "free-word-order language", since in this language the two conditions on word order posited by functionalists are met: rich case system and coexistence of both OV and VO (see discussion in Polo 2004).

I think that the notion of free word order used for defining systems with mixed OV/VO word orders and the claim that there is a connection between "free order" and the presence of a rich morphological case system are very misleading.

As far as the term free word order is concerned, I find improper its use in order to refer to one core issue of grammar such as base word order, which I do not think can be ruled, at any stage of the history of one single language, by optionality, as the idea of "free" implies. I would rather speak of languages with mixed OV/VO systems, a definition which does not imply that the two orders are optional, but simply coexist in the same language. It seems more appropriate (and less misleading) to use "free order" in relation to languages with fixed base order, such as Italian or German, that can optionally change, under certain conditions, the order of constituents in a sentence, independently of their base order. The optional movement operations leading to permutations in the linear word order do not affect base order.

Let's come now to the relation between morphology and "free order", considered on the basis of

the two usages of the term "free order" defined above: the first usage in which "free order" refers to base word order and the second one in which is used to refer to optional permutations of the order of constituents inside one language.

I think that as above, the role of morphology cannot be called for in relation to base word orders (OV/VO), but is only useful within one single language with stable base order. In this respect, Hinterhölzl (2006:63) shows that in German (which is considered a free-order language on the basis of the property of scrambling) there is a correlation between the possibility of permuting the order of constituents and case morphology. This is evidenced according to Hinterhölzl by the comparison with another language with scrambling but without case morphology, that is Dutch: in German it is possible to permuted the order of scrambled arguments, whereas in Dutch this is ruled out.

Even though this hypothesis has to face the counterexamples of Icelandic, where a shifted object cannot cross a subject even though DPs have rich case morphology (Vikner 1995) and of Italian, considered a free-order language, despite of the lack of case morphology on DPs, the correlation between the properties of scrambling and case morphology seems to hold at least for the specific case of German and Dutch and has to be taken into consideration in order to put forth a more general hypothesis.

Now, the plausible connection between morphology and syntax has been assumed to hold also to the diachronic change of languages with mixed OV/VO system.

Roberts (1997), for instance, assumes for Old English that:

> [...] the loss of OV orders was caused by the loss of a strong N-feature on AgrO, a development which is related to the loss of morphological case on DPs[...]. In this way, the word-order change in English can be viewed as an instance of a typical kind of change: the loss of an overt movement ruled caused by the loss of the morphological trigger for a strong feature of a functional head. (Roberts 1997:423)

The correlation between base word order and morphology has though proved not to hold. Weerman (1997) notices that the correlation between case morphology base word order is problematic for languages with mixed OV/VO orders and also among OV languages Dutch represents a counterexample to the hypothesis, given that it is OV but lacks case morphology. Also Mòcheno patterns with Dutch, since it has lost case morphology on DPs, but still has OV word orders. Icelandic represents the other case ruled out by the theory, that a VO language with rich case morphology (among others Hroóarsdóttir 2000).

What is more, the correlation between the OV position and morphological case does not seem to hold even for those languages that had in their older stages a case system and the possibility for OV word order. For Old English, Pintzuk (1996) has shown through a quantitative study of *Beowulf* that case-marked objects show up preverbally and postverbally at the same rate, which is unexpected under the assumption that VO order is connected with lack of movement for case-feature checking, since the expectation would be the opposite one, namely that case-marked objects mainly show up before the past participle.

The last argument that I want to mention against a direct correlation between morphological case and OV/VO word orders comes from the case study of the syntax of Latin by Polo (2004a,b). In her work, the author argues against the idea that OV/VO word orders in Latin are due to optionality connected with the classification of Latin as a "free-word order" language (in its base order) and puts forth the hypothesis that alternations have to be made sense of in terms of movement rules connected to information structure starting out from a coherently underlying OV language.

She starts out from the striking quantitative piece of data showing that in the texts she considered the word order found in unmarked sentences is predominantly OV (70% in main clauses, 77%

in subordinate clauses, Polo 2004b:211); this goes against the idea that in Latin OV and VO orders are in free variation and completely optional, since in that case a rate of around 50% would be expected. This finding already makes suspicious the classification of Latin as a free-order language in relation to its base order.

Now, most of the deviating VO word orders identified in the texts can be linked to syntactically marked constructions, such as left- and right dislocations or focalizations. That VO orders are actually to be connected to marked constructions is confirmed by the the considered text, which is a trilingual (Latin, Italian and Slovene) version of the *Satyricon* (*Cena Trimalchionis*) by Petronius: also in the translations, the Latin VO orders correspond to marked constructions.

Only a small percentage (+/-10%, 47/479) of the VO sentences identified in the sample does not fit into the hypothesis that VO word order is possible only in marked constructions[8], but crucially in all these VO sentences (100%, 47/47) the postponed direct object has morphological case, as shown in (352, from Polo 2004b: 232).

(352)   *quemadmodum Cassandra occidit* **filios suos**
          in what way Cassandra killed children+ACC hers+ACC
          'in what way Cassandra killed her children'

I think that the argumentation coming from Polo's work has to be taken, due to her detailed analysis of data, as striking and very convincing evidence against an approach to OV/VO in terms of connection between syntax and morphology.

In this subsection on the connection between morphology and syntax, I did not intend to defend the idea that morphology does not play a role in syntax and in particular in "free-order" languages, since, as shown by Hinterhölzl's (2006) discussion of scrambling in German and Dutch, there seems to be a connection between some phenomena of optional permutation of arguments and case morphology. What I criticised, providing arguments from the literature, is the application of the idea of a connection between syntax and morphology to word order in diachronic change, which has the consequence of considering alternations with respect to word order as optional phenomena, just like permutations similar to scrambling.

In the next subsection, I will examine another very influencing hypothesis that has been put forth in order to make sense of OV/VO alternations in diachronic change, that is the double-base hypothesis.

5.3.2   Double-base hypothesis

In the study of language change, a very productive line of research is the one initiated by Kroch (1989) with his double-base hypothesis and tested for several languages, such as Old French and Middle English (Kroch 1989), Early Yiddish (Santorini, 1989), Old English (Pintzuk 1991, 1996, 1998), ancient Greek (Taylor 1990), Middle Spanish (Fontana, 1993) and Old(er) Icelandic (Rögnvaldsson 1994/1995)

According to this hypothesis, variation has to be put into relation with the presence of two competing grammars, which are both present in the speaker's competence; in particular

> [...] speakers learning a language in the course of a gradual change learn two sets of well-formed principles for certain grammatical subsystems [...] over historic time pressures associated with usage (presumably processing or discourse function based) drive out one of the alternatives. (Kroch 1989a:349)

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[8]Polo assumes that the presence of unmarked sentences with VO syntax is to be taken as in instance of a new grammar, which starts with postposition of definite constituents.

With respect to Mòcheno, this hypothesis has to be discussed in detail considered the special historical and sociolinguistics situation of this language. Historically, in fact, the Fersina valley was populated between the XIII and the XIV centuries (Rogger 1979) by settlers moving from different areas of South and North Tirol; this particular situation of isolation from German-speaking populations and of contact with Romance languages led to an early situation of bilingualism/diglossia among the inhabitants of the valley. The good competence in both Romance and Mòcheno shown by the population of the valley made many scholars (among others Zamboni, 1979:90, Heller 1979:119, Togni 1993:172, Rowley 2003:289,291) assume, especially with respect to syntax, that all orders deviant from standard German were to be linked to Romance influence[9]. This idea can be taken as a rough and pre-theoretical formulation of the idea of the presence of two competing grammars, as systematically stated in the double-base hypothesis.

According to the double-base hypothesis, language change occurs as a consequence of the competition of two or more syntactic phenomena during a certain period of time. In this analysis it is assumed that variation is due to:

> [...] competition between grammars with distinct parameter settings which are strictly incompatible within a single grammar, in a situation in which language users are bi- or multi-dialectal. Thus the variation occurs within the individual, and is to be understood in terms of a recurrent linguistic phenomenon, that of code switching or register switching. [...] Thus it is not entire grammars that are in competition, but rather incompatible options within a grammar. The question immediately arises as to the number of different parameters (or features) that can vary simultaneously. In principle there should be no limit (beyond that of learnability). (Pintzuk, Tsoulas and Warner 2000:12,13)

According to this hypothesis, speakers can acquire two systems: this is evidenced "[...] not only by the existence of bilingual children, but also by the use of intrasentential code-switching by some bilingual speakers (Pintzuk 1999:9)".

The competition between grammars results in variation for a certain time in the direction, though, of a replacement of old forms by new ones. Kroch (1989) proposes that this process takes place slowly at the beginning, then faster in the middle and at the end of the development it tails off, when the old forms have become rare. This process is represented by an S-shaped curve.

Given that language change takes place following an S-shaped curve, a trigger for this change has to be assumed. Extra-linguistic factors such are sociolinguistic or frequency of the variants (Sprouse and Vance 1999) are called for:

> If the choice between structures is truly optional in grammatical terms, as van der Wurff (1997) argues, then, if nothing else were involved, we might expect to find random fluctuations in usage rather than the steady progress of an S-shaped curve. Since this is not what we typically find, there must be factors external to grammar which are responsible for this progress. So the hypothesis of grammatical optionality is consistent with the relevance of sociolinguistically

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[9]This hypothesis is backed up by the sociolinguistic situation of Mòcheno, but is unmotivated from a comparative point of view. As pointed out to me by Cecilia Poletto (p.c.), in fact, also several dialectal varieties of German spoken in Switzerland allow for VO, think for instance of the phenomenon of verb-raising and verb-projection raising (Haegeman/van Riemsdijk 1986) and for those cases no explanation in terms of language contact has been called for. The same argument is represented by Icelandic, a language that changed its base order from OV to VO in one century (among others Hròarsdòttir 2000) and can be replicated for Scandinavian languages in general, which all lost OV independently of contact with VO languages. These comparative facts clearly hint that the change from OV to OV can be an independent development of the system and make suspicious that syntactic change can only happen due to contact. Therefore, I think that the contact hypothesis has to be called for only as a "last resort", when all explications internal to the system have proved not to hold.

driven, or processing, or other communicative pressures to the progress of change.   (Pintzuk, Tsoulas and Warner 2000:13)

The double-base hypothesis, despite its apparent capability to easily make sense of variation, has received several critics based on theoretical motivations, in particular Svenonius (2000) notices that:

> This idea has been invoked in other cases of optionality, but should, I feel, always be regarded with skepticism. If a single speaker can control two different grammars which are identical except for a single parameter setting, then optionality should be rampant. This type of explanation is only appealing if the two different grammars in question are significantly different. If two different constructions belong to two different grammars, then speakers should sense a difference in register or style when they compare the constructions.   (Svenonius 2000:280)

In the next subsection, I will apply the idea of the presence of two grammars to Mòcheno, providing evidence in favour of the idea that, from a synchronic point of view, the presence of the two word orders OV and VO cannot be made sense of through the assumption of the presence in the speakers' mind of a German and a Romance grammar in competition.

Mòcheno and the presence of two grammars

As far as the particular case of Mòcheno OV/VO is concerned, there seems to be robust evidence against the idea that OV and VO word orders in this language have to be made sense of assuming the interaction of two competing grammars. In what follows I will limit myself (see Cognola 2009 for a more detailed treatment of this) to just mentioning the most relevant properties of Mòcheno syntax with respect to the double-base hypothesis, showing that i) optionality of word orders is not found in all syntactic environments and ii) when both OV and VO are possible, their properties are not the same as German and Romance respectively. These facts will lead me to the conclusion that OV/VO word orders in Mòcheno are not the result of the presence of two competing grammars, but the result of the properties of one grammar in which both orders coexist and are specialised for different functions.

The comparison between Mòcheno and standard German, on the one hand, and between Mòcheno and Italian/Trentino dialect is obviously an abstraction, that is the definition of what grammars are involved in the situation of contact is arbitrary.

As far as German is concerned, it is highly improbable that the settlers that moved from Tirol to the Fersina valley between the XII and the XIV centuries spoke a language identical to standard German, but we do not anything of this language since no old text written in Mòcheno has come to us. Therefore, it is not licit to assume that the Germanic grammar in competition with Mòcheno corresponds more or less to the one of standard German, as is implicitly assumed in all work on Mòcheno (among others Zamboni, 1979:90, Heller 1979:119, Togni 1993:172, Rowley 2003:289,291), which points out at the fact that all differences from standard German found in Mòcheno are due to the influence of Romance. It might well be that these differences with respect to standard German were already present in the dialect spoken by the first settlers, also in the light of the fact that Mòcheno is very conservative (as is typical of isolated varieties, Dal Negro 2004) in other environments of its grammar (Krazmayer 1960 on the lexicon and Hornung 1979 on phonology). In this respect, the contact with Romance would have only favoured the preservation of the original system, given that both "Germanic" and Romance systems shared the same abstract properties, as is typical of syntactic contact (Benincà 1994). In order to give a conclusive answer, one would

have to take into consideration the variety of Middle High German spoken in Tirol and compare its syntax with the one of Mòcheno.

According to me, also the notion of "Romance" is problematic, since it is not obvious that Mòcheno has been influenced by modern Romance. In Cognola (2007), I developed a hypothesis for the maintenance of long scrambling in restructuring contexts in Mòcheno that relied on the idea that this Germanic phenomenon (ruled out in modern Romance) has been preserved (whereas many others have been lost) because it was possible in Old Romance. In this sense, the conservation of long scrambling was made possible by the correspondence of the abstract properties of restructuring between the two languages in contact, again as proposed by Benincà (1994).

Therefore, the notions of Romance and German used here are very slippery and probably do not correspond to the real languages in competition involved in the case of Mòcheno.

Despite of this, in what follows I will focus on standard German and contact modern Romance (standard Italian and Trentino dialect), since, as already said, this is the way scholars go in the work on Mòcheno cited above when they propose that Mòcheno has been influenced by Romance and I will show that this way of intending contact does not make the right predictions with respect to the synchronic facts of the language. In particular, I will show that there is not a direct correspondence between a "Germanic" linear order or phenomenon in Mòcheno and the same order or construction in German and there is no correspondence between "Romance" orders and constructions of Mòcheno and the same orders or constructions in Italian/Trentino.

This finding highlights the originality of Mòcheno syntax, but does not say anything conclusive concerning the matter of contact, which implies considering the variety of Middle High German spoken in Tirol, Old and modern Romance and goes beyond the scopes of this dissertation.

Let's come now to the discussion of linguistic data in order to determine whether Mòcheno OV/VO system is the manifestation of two different grammars in competition.

We saw above that Mòcheno allows for both OV and VO word orders in main declarative clauses (the relevant examples are repeated below in 353); according to the judgements of the informants the two sentences do not differ pragmatically in any respect.

(353)   **a.** *Gester der Mario hot a/s puach galezen*
yesterday the Mario has a/the book read
b. *Gester der Mario hot galezen a/s puach*
yesterday the Mario has read a/the book
'Mario read the book yesterday'

As already mentioned, the availability of both orders and their semantic equivalence led many scholar to assume that VO was the result of the influence of the Romance contact varieties on the German grammar and that the two systems were in free in variation. It has though remained unnoticed in the previous literature, that both orders are not possible in all types of sentences but that wh-main interrogative clauses and sentences beginning with a focused item are obligatory VO[10]. This is illustrated in (354) with two examples (more will be given in the next chapter).

(354)   **a.** *Benn hoso kaft s puach?*
when have-SUBJ CL bought the book
b. **Benn hoso s puach kaft?*
when have-SUBJ CL the book bought
'When did you buy the book?'

---

[10]Basically all wh-main interrogatives are VO, whereas word order in sentences beginning with a focus varies in relation to the area of extraction of the focused constituent. This will dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

c. *KA PERSEN hone kaft a puach, ont net ka Trient*
in Pergine have-SUBJ CL bought a book, and not in Trento
d. **KA PERSEN hone a puach kaft, ont net ka Trient*
in Pergine have-SUBJ CL a book bought, and not in Trento
'It was in Pergine where I bought a book, not in Trento'

The ungrammatically of (354b) and (354d) is striking in itself, since it is completely unexpected given the expectation coming from the double-base hypothesis that optionality is possible in all sectors of grammar ("rampant" in Svenonius' words), since both German and Romance grammars are available for the speaker.

The second set of arguments against an explication of Mòcheno mixed system in terms of double-base comes from the contrastive analysis of Mòcheno OV and VO with German and Romance respectively. The prediction made by the double-base hypothesis is that Mòcheno OV and Mòcheno VO have to share all the abstract properties of German and Romance contact varieties respectively, given that they are the expression of these two systems in competition.

Let's examine fist Mòcheno and Romance VO.

In (355), I take into consideration the syntax of low adverbs (in the sense of Cinque 1999), which in the Romance contact varieties obligatory follow the past participle. As shown in (355a,b), in Mòcheno the manner adverb *schia*[11] can only show up before the past participle; in the Romance contact varieties (Trentino regional Italian: (355c,d) and Trentino dialect: (355e,f), on the contrary, the manner adverb can only show up after the past participle[12].

(355)   **a.** *Der papa hot <u>schia</u> puzt s hauz*
the dad has well cleaned the house
b. **Der papa hot putzt <u>schia</u> s hauz*
the dad has cleaned well the house
c. *Il papà ha pulito <u>bene</u> la casa*
the dad has cleaned well the house
d. **Il papà ha <u>bene</u> pulito la casa*
the dad has well cleaned the house
e. *El papà l'ha netà <u>ben</u> el cuarter*
the dad has cleaned well the house
f. **El papà l'ha <u>ben</u> netà el cuarter*
the dad has well cleaned the house
'Dad has cleaned well the house'

Mòcheno and contact Romance VO show an asymmetric behaviour also with regard to *in-situ* focalization. As shown in (356), in Mòcheno *in-situ* focalization is perfectly grammatical with OV syntax (356a) and odd with VO word order (356b); in the Romance contact varieties this is not the case, since *in-situ* focalization is possible only with VO syntax (356c,d,e,f), as expected in stable VO languages.

(356)   **a.** *Gester hone a puach ont net a penna kaft*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL a book and not a pen bought
b. **/??Gester hone kaft a puach ont net a penna*

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[11]The same is found also with other low adverbs, such as *gonz*, "completely". See next chapter.

[12]The Trentino sentence in (355e,f) is grammatical if the adverb *ben* is not used as a manner adverb, but as a modal element with presuppositional reading. In Mòcheno, *schia* cannot have this reading.

yesterday have-SUBJ CL bought a book and not a pen
c. *Ieri ho comprato un libro e non una penna*
yesterday have bought a book and not a pen
d. **Ieri ho un libro e non una penna comprato*
yesterday have a book and not a pen bought
e. *Algeri ho tolt en libro, no miga na pena*
yesterday have bought a book and not a pen
f. **Algeri ho en libro, no miga na pena tolt*
yesterday have a book and not a pen bought
'It was a book that I bought yesterday, not a pen'

The last piece of data that I want to consider for the contrastive analysis of Mòcheno and contact Romance VO refers to the observation that in several syntactic constructions the possibility of having OV or VO is influenced by the type of constituent showing up in first position. This is immediately accounted for by the fact that Mòcheno is a V2 language, differently from the Romance contact varieties, but is also extremely relevant for the general theory of OV, since it tells that word order might be in relation with V2 also in main declarative clauses[13]. This fact is unexpected within the double-base hypothesis and clearly shows that Mòcheno linear order is the result of conditions on the whole clause and not the expression of the system of contact Romance.

In order to illustrate the correlation between lower (OV) and higher phase (V2), I will use again the case of *in-situ* focalization, even though similar effects can be found with several constructions. The distribution of *in-situ* focalization in Mòcheno illustrated above in (356a,b) ceases to be valid as soon as we consider a sentence beginning with the subject (357): in this case *in-situ* focalization becomes grammatical with both OV and VO word orders (357a,b). This is unexpected under the assumption that VO reflects the Romance system, since no asymmetry such as the one in (356) and (357) is present in it.

(357)　　**a.** *Der papa hot a puach ont net a penna kaft*
　　　　　the dad has a book and not a pen bought
　　　　　b. *Der papa hot kaft a puach ont net a penna*
　　　　　the dad has bought a book and not a pen
　　　　　'It was a book that dad bought yesterday, not a pen'

I think that the contrastive analysis of Mòcheno and contact Romance VO has shown that the idea that Mòcheno VO is the output of the same system as contact Romance VO languages is very suspicious and has to be rejected on the basis of the fact that the two systems diverge in relevant respects.

Let's consider now the properties of OV word order in Mòcheno. In what follows, I will show, through the contrastive analysis of German and Mòcheno OV, that also OV word order cannot be taken as the reflection of the abstract properties of the grammar of standard German, since the two syntactic systems are not identical.

In order to do so, I will consider only one argument, which is though central in Germanic languages, namely scrambling of direct objects[14].

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[13]Since den Besten's (1983) classical work, in fact, the relation between CP and OV has been assumed to manifest itself only in the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses.

[14]Here I do not want to tackle the scrambling phenomenon from a theoretical point of view (on the topic see among others, Webelhuth 1985, Grewendorf/Sternefeld 1990, Corver/van Riemsdijk 1994, Grewendorf 2005, Hinterhölzl 2006), but simply point out, through a comparative analysis of German and Mòcheno, that the latter language lacks scrambling of direct object of the German type.

It is known (see among other Kratzer 1989, Diesing 1992, 1997, Länzinger 1998, Hinterhölzl 2000, 2006) that in standard German the unmarked position for a definite direct object is above sentential adverbs (358a) (and clausal negation)[15]; if the direct object remains below sentential adverbs (and negation) it gets a focus reading (358b). All the examples are adapted from Hinterhölzl (2006:92,ff).

(358)   **a.** *weil Hans das Buch oft sorgfältig gelesen hat*
         since John the book often carefully read has
         'Since John often read the book carefully'
         b. *weil Hans oft das Buch sorgfältig gelesen hat*
         since John often the book+FOC carefully read has
         'It was the book that John read carefully'

Indefinite objects, on the other hand, show up in their unmarked position after sentential adverbs and negation (359a); if they precede sentential adverbs, they receive a specific reading (359b).

(359)   **a.** *weil Hans oft ein Buch sorgfältig gelesen hat*
         since John often a book carefully read has
         'Since John often read a book carefully'
         b. *weil Hans ein Buch oft sorgfältig gelesen hat*
         since Hans a book+SPEC often carefully read has
         'Since John often read a particular book carefully'

In German it has to be assumed that verb arguments all leave the VP (Brugger/Poletto 1995, Hinterhölzl 2006) and move to what Hinterhölzl (2006) assumes to be licensing positions found above low adverbs.

(360)   **a.** *weil Hans das Buch/ein Buch sorgfältig gelesen hat*
         since Hans the book/a book carefully read has
         b. *??weil Hans sorgfältig das Buch/ein Buch gelesen hat*
         since Hans carefully the book/a book read has
         'Since Hans read the book/a book carefully'

In (361) I give the structure of the German clause proposed by Hinterhölzl (2006:99): definite DPs scramble to a position above sentential adverbs, whereas indefinite DPs move to an area below sentential adverbs and above manner adverbs.

(361)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ T [Scrambled-DPs [S-Adv [Neg [Focus [AgrNom [AgrDat [AgrAcc [Manner[Pred [V]]]]]]]]]]]]

Let's move now to Mòcheno. At first sight the structure of an OV Mòcheno sentence looks like a German sentence (362): the unmarked position of the direct object is before the completive adverb and below sentential adverbs, just like in German (361).

(362)   *Der Mario hot schua en de sai zimmer a puach gonz galezen*
         the Mario has already in the his room a book completely read

---

[15]I will not consider here examples with sentential negation, since I cannot use the position of negation as a reliable test for Mòcheno; this language, in fact, has a complex syntax of negation similar, among Germanic languages, only to the one of Afrikaans (Theresa Biberauer, p.c).

'Mario has already read a whole book in his bedroom'

Consider now the unmarked position of a definite direct object with respect to a sentential adverb and an adverb such as *schua*, "already", which, according to Cinque (1999) is found below sentential adverbs[16]. As shown in (363a,b), the unmarked position of a definite direct object is below the considered adverbs.

(363)　**a.** *Der Mario hot ofters s puach en de sai zimmer gonz galezen*
the Mario has oft the book in the his room completely read
'Mario has often read the whole book in his bedroom'
b. *Der papa hot schua s hauz petn staupsauger schia putzt*
the dad has already the house with-the hoover well cleaned
'Dad has already cleaned the house with the hoover'

The data above indicate that in Mòcheno a definite direct object does not have to obligatory scramble above sentential adverbs.

Scrambling is though possible, as shown in (364a); in the case the definite direct object is scrambled above sentential adverbs, the sentence is not unmarked, but the direct object receives a marked topic reading. The informant, who is bilingual, translates a Mòcheno sentence with scrambled definite direct object with an Italian left-dislocation involving the direct object (364b)[17].

(364)　**a.** *Der Mario hot s puach schua kaft*
the Mario has the book already bought
b. *Mario_i, il libro lo_i ha già comprato*
the Mario, the book ACC CL has already bought
'As for the book, Mario as already bought it'

Indefinite direct objects show a different pattern from the definite ones with the respect to the property of scrambling. As shown in (365a), it is not possible to scramble an indefinite direct object over sentential adverbs; the only grammatical position is below them.

(365)　**a.** **Der Mario hot a puach schua kaft*
the Mario has a book already bought
b. *Der Mario hot schua a puach kaft*
the Mario has a book already bought
'Mario has already bought a book'

The only way to get a scrambled indefinite direct object is in the doubled-object construction: as shown in (366a,b), in this case the indefinite direct object receives again a marked topic reading.

(366)　**a.** *Der Mario hot a puach schua en de sai prueder kaft*
the Mario has a book already in the his brother bought

---

[16]The choice to consider also the adverb "already" depends on the the fact that "often" can be ambiguous between a sentential and a constituent reading, whereas "already" is more straightforwardly interpreted as having scope on the sentence, and not on a constituent. The results with respect to scrambling are the same, since if a constituent follows "already" it has to follow also "often", given that the latter is higher in the IP domain (Cinque 1999).

[17]The data in (364) clearly point at the correlation between Germanic scrambling (and object shift) and Romance dislocation structures, as already noticed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997. I will go back to this in the following chapters.

b. *Mario, un libro$_i$ l$_i$'ha già regalato a suo fratello*
Mario a book ACC-CL has already given to his brother
'As for books, Mario has already bought one for his brother'

I think that the comparative analysis of German and Mòcheno OV word order has convincingly shown that the two languages differ with respect to one crucial property, namely scrambling of direct objects above sentential adverbs.

In German the position above sentential adverbs is linked to specificity: definite direct objects have to scramble above sentential adverbs in order to get an unmarked reading and, if they remain below them, they get a focus reading. Indefinite direct objects normally show up below sentential adverbs and, when they precede them, they receive a marked specific reading. In Mòcheno, on the contrary, the unmarked position for both definite and indefinite direct objects is below sentential adverbs; scrambling of the direct object above sentential adverbs leads to a marked topic reading for both definite and indefinite object and scrambling of the indefinite object is not always possible.

On the basis of the comparative analysis of Mòcheno OV/VO word orders and German and Romance respectively, I reject for the particular case of Mòcheno, that its mixed system can be considered the result of the presence of two grammars in competition. The two orders are rather to be considered as the result of one grammar, in which the two orders coexist and whose distribution depends on internal properties of the system.

As said at the beginning of this subsection, this finding represents only the first step towards the understanding of the contact situation of Mòcheno, which can be reached only considering all the languages involved, that is Middle High German, Old Romance and modern Romance.

In the next section, I will deal with the role of information structure for word order variation and word order change and discuss for Mòcheno the proposals put forth in the literature.

5.3.3   The role of information structure

It is a very well known fact that word order in natural languages is dependent on information structure and pragmatics. Take, for instance, cases of OSV word orders in Italian where the object is pragmatically marked, either as a focus (new information) or as a left-dislocation (old information) (Benincà 1988, 2001, 2006, Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997).

For some languages, such as Hungarian (Horváth 1986, Farkas 1986, Kiss 1987), the Chandic languages (Tuller 1992) and Basque (Laka/Uriagereka 1987, Urbina 1989), it has been claimed that the preverbal position is linked to focus; in Finnish (Vilkuna 1995, Holmberg 2000) it has been shown that the preverbal position is linked to old information.

Another well-studied case of interaction between information structure and syntax is the distribution of V2 in Norwegian (Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005), which has been shown to be linked to the informational status of the constituents involved. The rules connected to information structure and determining the distribution of V2 in Norwegian have also been shown (Westergaard 2009) to be learned early by children, who are sensitive to the "micro-cues" leading to word order change. The same conclusion has been reached also for the acquisition of subject and object shift in Norwegian (see for instance Anderssen, Bentzen, Rodina and Westergaard 2007).

The idea, based on striking syncronic evidence, that syntax and information structure are connected, has been applied to language change (among others Bies 1996 on Early High German, Hinterhölzl 2009 and Hinterhölzl/Petrova (2009) on Old High German, Pintzuk/Taylor 2006 on Old English among others), in particular to the distribution of OV and VO word orders. Assuming that mixed word orders are the result of the application of different rules connected to information structure has the advantage of making sense of variation within one and the same grammar, rejecting

the idea that the two orders reflect two underlying grammars (this is the way Hinterhölzl 2009 goes for, whereas Taylor and Pintzuk 2008, 2009 claim that both head-initial and head-final VP and IP were available in Old English).

Two are the main ideas of the information structure approach applied to OV/VO in diachrony. The first one is the general observation that in several languages old/given information tends to precede new/relevant information ("Given Before New Principle" of Gundel 1988). The second one is the correlation between information structure and syntactic weight, with heavy constituents tending to show up postverbally being since they are mostly new information (Behaghel's (1932) "Law of the heaviest constituents", *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*). The implicit idea of this approach is that the verb represents a border between old (preverbal) and new (postverbal) information.

In what follows, I will take into consideration two studies on word order in the diachrony of two languages with mixed OV/VO systems, that is Old High German and Old English.

Hinterhölzl's account of Old High German

Hinterhölzl (2009:50) proposes, on the basis of the analysis of Tatian's translations of religious texts, that in Old High German information had the distribution given in (367): old information preceded contrastive focus before the verb, whereas presentational focus was possible only in the postverbal position.

(367)   [C [background/contrastive focus [V [presentational focus]]]]

Looking first at the distribution of given and new information, Hinterhölzl (2009:48) provides the following evidence in favour of the structure in (367).

In (368) the discourse-given DP *din ouga* is preposed, whereas the constituent carrying new information *luttar* shows up after the verb. The Old-High-German pattern diverges from the one of Latin.

(368)   **a.** *Lucerna corporis est <u>oculus</u>/ si* **fuerit** *<u>oculus</u> tuus simplex/ totum corpus tuum lucidum* **erit**
          b. *liohfaz thes lihhamen is ouga/ oba <u>thin ouga</u>* **uuirdit** *<u>luttar</u> / thanne ist al thin lihhamo liohter*   *(T 69, 21ff)*
          light the body-GEN is eye. if your eye becomes light, then is all your body brighter
          'The light of the body is the eye. If your eye becomes the light, then all your body becomes full of light'

In (369) two examples of new constituents showing up postverbally.

(369)   **a.** *qui vocatur petrus*
          b. *ther giheizan ist petrus*   *(T 54,15)*
          who called is petrus
          'Who is called Peter'
          c. *et obtulerunt ei/ omnes male habentes/ [...] et qui <u>demonia</u>* **habebant**
          d. *inti bráhtun imo/ alle ubil habante/ [...] inti thie thár* **habetun** *<u>diuual</u>*
          and brought him all evil having [...] and those that had devil
          'and they brought him those who were sick and those who had the devil'

The claim that a preverbal contrastive focus position is found in Old High German is supported, according to Hinterhölzl (2009), by the examples below (370) and (371) from Hinterhölzl (2009:51).

In (370) a contrastive focalization of the indirect object *mannon*, 'to the men', is involved. In Latin (370a), the contrastively focused arguments shows up after the verb, whereas in Tatian's translation (370b) it precedes the verb. Hinterhölzl takes this to mean that in Old High German there is a position for focused items before the verb.

(370)   **a.**   *tu autem cum ieiunas/ unge caput tuum / et faciem tuam laua/ ne* **uideatis** <u>*hominibus*</u>/ *ieiunans. Sed patri tuo*
        b. *thane thu fastes/ salbo thin houbit/ Inti thin annuzi thuath/ zithiu thaz thu* <u>*mannon*</u> *nisís* **gisehan**/ *fastenti. úzouh thinemo fater*   (T 68, 29-32)
        when you fast, anoint your head and your face wash, so that you men-DAT-NEG not appear fasting, but your father-DAT
        'when you are fasting, anoint your head. Then wash your face, so that you will not appear to the others to be fasting. But to you father.'

The contrastive focus position is involved, according to Hinterhölzl, also in the syntax of (371: my glosses), where a PP shows up before the verb (*sín gihórte*). This order is not the unmarked one, according to his analysis, since the *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder* predicts that a constituent is "[...] placed preverbally if it is realised as a pronoun or a single noun but postverbally if it is made heavy by modification" (Hinterhölzl 2009:50). In the case at hand, the unmarked position for a PP would be the postverbal one; its showing up preverbally has to be taken as an instance of contrastive focalization.

(371)   **a.**   *orantes autem. nolite multum loqui/ sicut ethnici./ putant enim quia* <u>*in multiloquio*</u> **exaudiantur**
        b.   *betonte nicur et filu sprehan/ sósó thie heidanon mán/ sie uuanen thaz sie* <u>*in iro filusprahhi*</u>/ **sín gihórte**   T 67, 23-26
        praying be careful not to much speak as the heathen man they think. that they in their many words are heard
        'And when you pray, do not use vain repetitions as the heathens do. For they think that they will be heard for their many words'

Notice that all cases of OV/VO discussed by Hinterhölzl (2009) involve the distribution of constituents with respect to the finite verb forms; this because in Old German analytic verb forms had not been developed yet. I will not test the role of information structure in relation to the distribution of constituents with respect to the finite verb, since my concern here is the position of constituents with respect to the past participle. In my analysis, cases of OV with the finite verb are to be analysed as involving the high left periphery.

Taylor and Pintzuk's analysis of Old English

Before coming to Mòcheno, I want to discuss Taylor and Pintzuk (2008, 2009) quantitative approach to OV/VO variation in Old English considered in terms of information structure. Even though they go out from basically the same cases of OV as Hinterhölzl (2009), due to scarcity of sentences with compound tenses in the corpus, their analysis allows to better define the correlation between constituent weight, information status and syntactic position, expressed in Hinterhölzl (2009) by the *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*.

Taylor and Pintzuk (2009) show through a quantitative analysis of subordinate clauses of three Old English texts (*Martyrology*, IX century, *Heptateuch*, late X century and *Apollonius of Tyre*)

that there is a strong tendency for new objects to show up postverbally (68%), whereas given objects tend to show up in preverbal position (54%)[18]. This is illustrated in table 5.1.

Another relevant result coming from Taylor and Pintzuk's (2009) work is that in the texts considered the correlation among syntactic weight, informational status (new information) and syntactic position (VO) is not so obvious as assumed by Hinterhölzl (2009), but that a split between two main types of heavy constituents has to be made.

On the one hand, heavy constituents with a post-modification, such as a clause or a PP, predominantly occur postverbally, independently of their informational status (Taylor and Pintzuk 2009:21); this is shown in (5.3).

With phrases made heavy by number of words, such a clear effect on syntactic position is not found, even though Taylor and Pintzuk (2009:8) claim that "length in terms of words count still has an effect".

Taylor and Pintzuk (2009:8) conclude that despite the observed correlation between syntactic position and syntactic weight "information status cannot simply be reduced to object weight".

The main contributions of the approach to word order in terms of information structure given by the work by Hinterhölzl and Taylor and Pintzuk is having identified i) a tendency in the distribution of constituents with respect to the finite verb according to their being new or old information; ii) a tendency for heavy constituents to show up postverbally and iii) two main classes of heavy constituents: those involving XPs with post-modifications and those made heavy by number of words.

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[18]The percentage of preverbal given objects is slightly higher than the one of postverbal ones; the fact that almost 50% of sentences involving given objects show VO order calls, in my opinion, for a refinement of the theory.

	Preverbal	Postverbal	%Postverbal
Given objects	29	25	46%
New objects	11	23	68%

Table 5.1: Distribution of given and new objects in subordinate clauses in all texts

	Preverbal	Postverbal	%Postverbal
Given objects	2	11	85%
New objects	1	6	86%

Table 5.2: Distribution with respect to the verb of constituents made heavy by a clause or a PP

Number of Words	Preverbal	Postverbal	%Preverbal
1	73	44	62%
2	90	126	42%
3	10	44	19%
4+	0	7	100%

Table 5.3: Distribution with respect to the verb of XPs made heavy by number of words

Mòcheno and the role of information structure

In what follows I will first discuss if the results of the information-structure approach, can be replicated for Mòcheno OV/VO word orders, which differently from the studies cited above involve analytic verb forms; this means, that I will look at the distribution of constituents with respect to the past participle. In this respect, I will try to determine if there is evidence in favour of the claim that the preverbal position is dedicated to given/old information and the postverbal one to relevant/new information also when the verb is realised by a past participle. Then, I will tackle the question of the relation between constituent weight and syntactic distribution with respect to the past participle, trying to find out if also in Mòcheno there is a correlation between heavy constituents and postverbal position, as in the Old Germanic languages studied in the literature.

In order to test the correlation between type of information and position with respect to the past participle, I will take into consideration the syntax of Mòcheno wh-main declarative clauses.

It is generally accepted that, semantically, wh-main interrogative clauses have a strict structure: the wh-element and the verb represent new information, whereas all other constituents are considered given information. In Italian, this partition is reflected in syntax (Antinucci/Cinque 1977, Benincà 1988), since all given constituents, also a subject NP, have to obligatory be syntactically marked as old information. This can take place either in the left periphery, or below the past participle: in the former case constituents are left-dislocated, in the latter case they can either be right-dislocated (Cecchetto 1999, 2000) or marginalised (Cardinaletti 2002)[19].

Now, let's see how Mòcheno realises wh-main interrogatives. The prediction made by the information-structure approaches discussed above is that in a language with mixed OV/VO, OV is dedicated to old information, whereas VO is preferred for new information; given the semantic structure of wh-main interrogatives, this hypothesis predicts that in Mòcheno OV word order has to be obligatory, or at least preferred, in this construction[20].

As we already know, this prediction is not borne out, since in Mocheno wh-main interrogative clauses are obligatory VO; this is illustrated with the examples below (372).

(372)   **a.** *Benn hoso kaft s puach?*
         when have-SUBJ CL bought the book
         b. **Benn hoso kaft s puach?*
         when have-SUBJ CL the book bought
         'When did you buy the book?'

The data above clearly show that the approach in terms of information structure, as formulated for language change, does not make the right predictions with respect to Mòcheno OV/VO system. In this language, in fact, the postparticipial position can (and has to in certain constructions, such as wh-main interrogatives) host old information, which is unexpected in the information structure hypothesis as stated in the literature.

The correlation between postverbal position and old information is found in Mòcheno also in another marked construction, namely right-dislocation. As shown below in (373), a right-dislocated direct object can only show up after the past participle, that is VO syntax is obligatory.

(373)   **a.** *I hon en$_i$ gester zechen der mai prueder$_i$*

---

[19]In not all varieties of Italian emargination is possible. In some Italian dialects spoken in the Toscana region and in the South of Italy all XPs following the verb in wh-main interrogative clauses have to be dislocated (p.c. of Paola Benincà, see also the ASIT database and Cruschina 2009).

[20]Notice that OV is precisely the preferred order found in wh-main interrogative clauses of Finnish, see Vilkuna 1994, Holmberg 2000.

I have-ACC PRON yesterday seen the my brother
b. *I hon en$_i$ (gester) der mai prueder$_i$ zechen*
I have-ACC PRON yesterday the my brother seen
'I saw my brother yesterday'

A possible objection to the claim that the correlation between new information and postparticipial position does not hold for Mòcheno is that the constructions used to illustrate this fact, namely wh-main interrogatives and right-dislocations, cannot be considered original of the language, but are to be considered borrowings from the Romance contact varieties. This idea would be supported both by the sociolinguistic situation of Mòcheno and by the presence of right-dislocation, which does not exist in German[21].

I think that this objection has to be rejected on the basis of two considerations.

The first one is that, as shown in the previous subsection with respect to the double-base hypothesis, it is not correct to take all VO orders, or all orders deviant from standard German, to be instances of Romance syntax, since the contrastive analysis of the abstract properties of the Romance and Mòcheno constructions shows that the two languages diverge in their abstract properties.

If the syntax of wh-main interrogatives were the result of the borrowing of the Romance abstract rules, the two systems would be expected to be identical: again, this is not the case, as evidenced by the syntax of adverbs.

As shown in (374), in Mòcheno all adverbs, included low adverbs in the sense of Cinque (1999), have to be preverbal in wh-main interrogatives.

(374) **a.** *Pet bem hoso <u>ollbe</u> kaft a puach?*
when have-SUBJ CL always bought a book
b. **Pet bem hoso kaft <u>(ollbe)</u> a puach <u>(ollbe)</u>?*
when have-SUBJ CL always a book bought always
'With whom did you always buy a book?'
c. *Benn hoso <u>schia</u> putzt s hauz?*
when have-SUBJ CL well cleaned the house
d. **Benn hoso putzt <u>(schia)</u> s hauz <u>(schia)</u>?*
when have-SUBJ CL cleaned well the house well
'When did you cleaned well the house?'

In the Romance contact varieties, on the contrary, all low adverbs have to follow the past participle (375c,d)[22], whereas other adverbs allow for both pre- and postverbal position with different scope effects (375a,b).

(375) **a.** *Con chi hai <u>(sempre)</u> comprato <u>(sempre)</u> un libro?*
with whom have-you always bought always a book
b. *Con chi elo che t'ai <u>(sempre)</u> tolt <u>(sempre)</u> en libro?*
with whom-is-it that you have always bought always a book
'With whom did you always buy a book?'

---

[21]The presence of left- and right dislocation in Mòcheno but not in German has to be put into relation to the presence in the former language but not in the latter one of clitic pronouns. This of course cannot be taken as a borrowing from Romance, but has to be taken as a natural development in the system, which spontaneously developed a class of clitics.

[22]In the Trentino example (375d), the low adverb *ben* cannot have the presuppositional reading found in main declarative clauses, so the sentence with preverbal *ben* is always ungrammatical.

c. *Quando hai (*bene) pulito <u>bene</u> la casa?*
when have-you bene cleaned well the house
d. *Quand-elo che t'ai (*ben) netà su <u>ben</u> el cuarter?*
when is-it that you have well cleaned up well the flat
'When did you cleaned well the house?'

These asymmetries are unexpected and cannot be made sense of if one assumes that Mòcheno forms wh-main interrogative clauses following the Romance model.

As for the presence of the right-dislocation construction, which is absent in standard German, I do not think that it is necessary to assume that it has entered the system through direct contact with Romance, but has to be considered the results of two properties found in Mòcheno but not in standard German: i) the presence of clitic pronouns and ii) the lack of rigid OV.

I have already illustrated in detail the idea that the mixed OV/OV system of Mòcheno cannot be taken as the result of the presence of two grammars, so I will not comment further on the possible objection that lack of German OV in Mòcheno is the result of contact with Romance.

With respect to clitic pronouns, it is not necessary to assume that their presence is the result of contact with Romance, since a clitic system has been developed in several languages which have never lived a situation of contact with languages with clitics, take for instance the raising of a system of subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects (among others Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà 1985, Poletto 2000)[23].

What is more, Mòcheno and Trentino clitic systems differ with two respects: i) doubling of an NP with a clitic subject and ii) position of object clitics.

As for doubling, Trentino allows an NP subject to be doubled by a clitic (see Brandi/Cordin 1981), which is not possible in Mòcheno[24] (376a,b). As for the syntax of object pronouns, in Trentino we see that they are proclitics (376c), whereas in Mòcheno, as in Cimbrian (among others Poletto/Tomaselli 2002, 2004 and Bidese 2008), they have to follow the finite verb (376d)[25].

(376)   **a.** *El Mario *(l)'ha comprà en libro*
the Mario-SUBJ CL has bought a book
b. *Der Mario (*er/der) hot kaft a puach*
the Mario-SUBJ CL has bought a book
'Mario bought a book'
c. *El libro l'ha (*lo) tolt el Mario*
the book ACC CL has ACC CL taken the Mario
'Mario took the book'
d. *Der Mario (*en) hot-en der Luca zechen*
the Mario ACC PRON has-ACC PRON the Luca seen

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[23]I do not commit myself is considering the reduced pronominal forms found in Germanic varieties clitics, even though this is the claim Haegeman (1990) makes for reduced subject pronominal forms in West Flemish. In chapter 3, I briefly discussed Haegeman (1990)'s work comparing it with the situation in Mòcheno; from this comparison that, as far as subject pronouns are concerned, Mòcheno has developed three classes (clitics, weak and strong), whereas West Flemish has two series (weak and strong).

[24]As shown in chapter 4, this would only be possible if the subject where thematised in the left periphery and separated from the finite verb by a constituent.

[25]In this work I have not tried to determine the right classification of object pronouns, but it seems that those involved in dislocation constructions are actually clitics. This seems to be confirmed by their distribution in embedded clauses, where they show up next to subject clitics in the *Wackernagelposition* and before strong pronouns: *Z kind az-<u>o-en</u> du a puach gem host iz der mai cousin*
the child that-SUBJ CL-DAT CL you a book given have-2SG is the my cousin
"The child to whom you gave the book is my cousin".

'Luca saw Mario'

I think that the discussion in this subsection has shown that Mòcheno does not pattern with the Old Germanic languages according to the distribution of information with respect to the past participle, even though also in Mòcheno a correlation between syntactic position and type of information exists. The correlation is the inverted one with respect to Germanic: in Mòcheno the postverbal position seems to be linked to old information (topic), whereas in Old Germanic this position was dedicated to new information (focus). This finding recalls Polo's (2004) work on Latin, which shows that in this coherently OV language the majority of VO orders are linked to dislocation constructions and focalizations.

These results clearly hint at the fact that VO is only a label referring to the linear order to constituents, which does not capture the whole properties of VO languages. For instance, Mòcheno VO is different from Italian VO (see the position of all classes of adverbs in the two languages), and this can be captured only within a hypothesis that assumes that i) VO is the result of different structural conditions and i) the verb can move to different positions in order to give rise to VO.

Mòcheno and the role of heaviness

The second core idea of the approach in terms of information structure applied to language change is that there is a correlation between heaviness of constituents and information structure. This is shown, according to Hinterhölzl (2009), by the fact that in Old High German the unmarked position for heavy constituents is, in accordance to Behagel's *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*, the postverbal one, which, in his analysis in terms of information structure, is the are encoding new/relevant information. Taylor and Pintzuk's (2008, 2009) quantitative analysis of Old English has then partly shown that in this language the correlation between information structure and heaviness assumed by Hinterhölzl (2009) does not hold, since heavy constituents tend to appear postverbally independently of their being given or new information.

In what follows, I want to briefly discuss the results of a short questionnaire designed to test for Mòcheno i) if heaviness plays a role in determining constituent placement with respect to the past participle and, in case of a positive answer, ii) if the preferred position is after the past participle (VO) as is the case of Old English and Old High German.

In the questionnaire, composed of 25 sentences that the informant was asked to translate during three different interviews, heaviness of constituents is looked at considering, on the one hand, constituents with post-modifications such as i) full relative clauses (5); ii) reduced relative clauses (4); iii) PPs (4) and, on the other hand, XPs made heavy by several modifications of the head, such as complex DPs with several APs (in direct and indirect modification in the sense of Cinque 2009) modifying D (total: 9 sentences). Three sentences were given in order to test the role of focalization and will not be commented on; I will also not comment on the data on PPs and reduced relative clauses, since here I have few data.

As far as post-modifications are concerned, the sentences were not created paying attention to the type of relative clause involved in the post-modification, since the hypothesis to be tested was that heaviness in itself played a role and not the type of relative clause realising the post-modification. Therefore, the results that I will comment on in this subsection were completely unexpected and are not backed up by strong empirical evidence, given that in the questionnaire we do not have the same number of sentences involving reduced and appositive relative clauses, as would be recommendable in order to reach reliable conclusions. In further interviews, though, I tested the hypothesis presented in this subsection and verified that it actually holds: its theoretical account will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Therefore the scope of this section is only to point out that i) it is not heaviness *per se* that plays a role in constituent placing and ii) it is the type of modification (type of relative clause) that forces VO syntax; no theoretical hypothesis will be put forth.

Let's examine first the former type of heavy constituents, namely XPs modified by a relative clause. As we will see, the distribution of the XPs modified by these modifications depends on the nature of the modifications themselves, namely in their being restrictive or non-restrictive[26] relative clauses[27].

In order to distinguish between the two types of relative clauses (restrictive versus non-restrictive) one clear test would be to look at the type of introducing element in the English translation, given that English distinguishes syntactically[28] between restrictive and appositive relative clauses.

As shown in (377a), a restrictive on the object can be introduced by the complementiser *that*, by a wh-element or by a silent complementiser; a restrictive on the subject can only be introduced by a complementiser or by a wh-element (377b), whereas an appositive is compatible only with a wh-element (377c).

(377)   **a.** *I saw the girl that/who/⊘ you met*   *restrictive on the object*
        b. *I saw the girl that/who/*⊘ went away yesterday*   *restrictive on the subject*
        c. *This table, which/*that/*⊘ I bought yesterday*   *appositive*

Unfortunately, the sentences that I created in order to test the role of heaviness were not well-designed, since they were not ment to test the types of relative clause but only relative clauses in general. Therefore, there are some cases in which the two readings are possible: in this cases, I will try to distinguish between the two types of relatives using semantics. Restrictive relative clauses introduce a central information in order to identify or define the antecedent of the relative clause, whereas an appositive relative clause introduces extra information to an already identified NP.

In any case, I will go back to this issue in the next chapters.

Let's begin with the data. As shown in (378), in all cases in the questionnaire in which an XP is modified by a full restrictive relative clause (4/4), the only grammatical word order is VO. The fact that the relative clauses are all restrictive is confirmed by the English translation, in which only the complementiser can show up.

(378)   **a.** *Gester hone tschenkt en de maim mama [s puach az schrip hot de schbster van Nane]*
        (S.1a)
        yesterday have-SUBJ CL given to the my mum the book that written has the sister of-the
        John
        b. **Gester hone en de maim mama [s puach (tschenkt) az schrip hot de schbster van Nane] (tschenkt)*   *(S.1b)*
        yesterday have-SUBJ CL to the my mum the book given that written has the sister of-the
        John given
        'Yesterday I gave my mum the book that/which/*oslash* was written by John's sister'
        c. *Verten der Nane iz ollto za schule gongen [pet de corriera va 6.15 az ollbe de studenten az ka Trient gea neman]*   *(S.3a)*

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[26]I follow here Cinque's (2009), who relies on Jespersen 1924, Larson and Marusic 2004, work on APs in defining the main types of (reduced) relative clauses as restrictive and non-restrictive. The type of non-restrictive relative (appositive or definitory) is not relevant for the purposes of the present discussion.

[27]The sentences were asked in three different interviews carried out at a distance of two months one from the other (18[th] May 2009, 3[rd] July 2009 and 18[th] September 2009) and the informant always answered coherently with respect to the criteria detected behind the distribution of heavy constituents. I think that this is enough proof for considering my analysis reliable.

[28]In Mòcheno all relative clauses are introduced by the complementiser *az*, "that".

last year the John is everyday to school gone with the bus of 6.15 that always the student that to Trento go take

d. **Verten der Nane iz ollto za schule [pet de corriera va 6.15 az ollbe de studenten az ka Trient gea neman] gongen* *(S.3b)*

last year the John is everyday to school with the bus of 6.15 that always the student that to Trento go take gone

'Last year John went everyday to school on the 6.15 bus that/which/*oslash* all students going to Trento get'

The only relative clause not fitting into the pattern illustrated above in (378) is the one given in (379), which allows for both OV and VO word orders.

(379)   **a.** *De mai mama en de teich hot [an oltn nummer varen enciclopedia$_j$ az ber-en$_j$ unz vargessn gahop hom za hom] pfuntn* *(S.6a)*

the mum in the attic has an old number of-the encyclopedia that we-ACC CL-REFL PRON forget had have to have found

b. *De mai mama en de teich hot pfuntn [an oltn nummer varen enciclopedia$_j$ az ber-en$_j$ unz vargessn gahop hom za hom]* *(S.6b)*

the mum in the attic has found an old number of-the encyclopedia that we-ACC CL-REFL PRON forget had have to have

'Mum found an old volume of that encyclopedia in the attic that/which we did not know we had'

Notice, that this relative clause is the only ambiguous one between the restrictive and the non-restrictive reading, as shown by the translations into English given in (380)[29].

(380)   *[an oltn nummer varen enciclopedia$_j$ az ber-en$_j$ unz vargessn gahop hom za hom]*

an old volume of the encyclopedia that/which/*oslash* we had forgot to have (restrictive)

an old volume of the encyclopedia, which/*that/*oslash* we had forgot to have (non-restrictive)

From this first discussion of the data on full relative clauses we can draw the descriptive generalization stated in (381), which I take as a working hypothesis for the comment of the other sentences of the questionnaire.

(381)   **a.** An XP made heavy by a full restrictive relative clause can only show up after the past participle;

b. If a relative clause is ambiguous between a restrictive and a non-restrictive reading, both OV and VO are possible.

The hypothesis emerging from the descriptive generalization in (381) above is that in Mòcheno it is not heaviness itself that plays a role in determining constituents placement, but rather the type of post-modification (restrictive vrs. non-restrictive) involved. In particular, the hypothesis to be tested is that XPs modified by a non-restrictive relative clause have to show up before the past participle, whereas XPs modified by a restrictive relative clause have to follow the past participle, as sketched in (382).

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[29]The presence on the complementiser introducing the relative clause of an accusative clitic co-indexed with the DP modified by the relative clause might be taken as an instance of the fact that the relative clause is an appositive (non-restrictive), as is the case in Northern Italian dialects (Paola Benicà, p.c.). As we will see below, though, an unambiguously non-restrictive relative clause forces OV, which I take as evidence in favour of the claim that (379) has both readings, therefore both orders are possible.

(382)   XP+non-restrictive - PAST PARTICIPLE - XP+restrictive relative

I think that the discussion of the data involving post-modification has shown that in Mòcheno it is not possible to draw a clear correlation between the heaviness of a constituent and the postverbal position, as claimed for Old English and Old High German. What determines the syntactic position of heavy constituents does not seem to be generically heaviness, but rather the type of referentiality conveyed by the post-modification. This finding hints at the fact that what is behind constituent placement are subtler and abstract properties than heaviness and that heaviness itself is a misleading property to consider, since it covers the real triggers for the distribution of constituents.

Now let's have a look at the data involving the other type of heavy constituents, namely DPs made heavy by several modifications of the head. The prediction made by the approaches in terms of information structure is that these types of heavy constituents tend to show up in the postverbal position. My fieldwork has shown that for Mòcheno the correlation between DPs made heavy by number of APs and postverbal position does not hold and heavy DPs in terms of number of words can show up in both OV and VO word orders, as light DPs.

As shown in (383, 3/3), both OV and VO are admitted by heavy DPs.

(383)   **a.** *Z sell to avn morkt hone pakemm [der mai olt barba va Palai]*   (S.17a)
the that day at the market have-SUBJ CL met the my old uncle of Palù
b. *Z sell to avn morkt hone[der mai olt barba va Palai] pakemm*   (S.17b)
the that day at the market have-SUBJ CL the my old uncle of Palù met
'The other day I met at the market my olt uncle from Palù'
c. *Verten mai prueder hot-mer [a schiana baiza maia va boll va Irlont] kaft*   (S.21a)
last year my brother has-DAT CL a nice white pullover of wool from Ireland bought
d. *Verten mai prueder hot-mer kaft [a schiana baiza maia va boll va Irlont]*   (S.21b)
last year my brother has-DAT CL bought a nice white pullover of wool from Ireland
'Last year my brother bought me a nice white Aran cardigan'
e. *De mai mama hot pfuntn [a lieps kloaz roaz kazl] en bolt*   (S.20a)
the my mum has found a nice small red cat in forest
f. *De mai mama en bolt hot [a lieps kloaz roaz kazl] pfunten*   (S.20c)
the my mum in the forest has found a nice small red cat

The same holds for a heavy indirect objects, as shown in(384) below.

(384)   **a.** *De mama hot a gaschenk [ver de inzer olt taitch muam] kaft*   (S.13a)
the mum has a present for the our old German aunt bought
b. *De mama hot a gaschenk kaft [ver de inzer olt taitch muam]*   (S.13b)
the mum has a present bought for the our old German aunt
'Mum bought a book for our old German aunt'

Recall, that direct object and indirect objects can show up in both orders also when they are not heavy: my claim is that here heaviness in terms of number of words does not count in argument placement.

It might be though that the data presented in relation to heavy DPs are not reliable since APs in both direct and indirect modification have been combined (given that what had to be tested was precisely the role of heaviness). In another interview I tested sentences involving DPs with one AP in both direct and indirect modification and then DPs with both types of APs. The result was that both orders were possible, with VO being the only possible word order in sentences that implied a sort of continuation (to be specified below).

Let's look first at data. In (385), I shown that a DP composed by a noun and an AP in direct modification can show up in both OV and VO, with VO being the preferred order when the sentence needs to be carried on.

(385)   **a.** *Der Nane hot der amerikanische ingenieur pakemm*
          the John has the American engineer met
          b. *Der Nane hot pakemm der amerikanische ingenieur [to be continued]*
          the John has the American met engineer
          'John met the American engineer'
          c. *Gester hone a sborzer kotz zechen*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL a black cat seen
          d. *Gester hone zechen a sborzer kotz [to be continued]*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL seen a black cat
          'Yesterday I saw a black cat'

The same distribution is found with APs in indirect modification, as in the examples in (386a,b), and when both APs are combined (386c,d).

(386)   **a.** *Gester hone a schianz dierndel pakemm*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL a nice girl met
          b. *Gester hone pakemm a schianz dierndel [to be continued]*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL seen an interesting film
          'Yesterday I met a nice girl'
          c. *Gester hone a schian taischen auto kaft*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL a nice German car bought
          d. *Gester hone kaft a schian taischen auto [to be continued]*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL bought a nice Germanc car
          'Yesterday I bought a nice German car'

What kind of modification is needed by DPs in VO word order? As shown in the examples in (387), the DP has to modified again by a restrictive relative clause (387a,b) or by a sentence specifying the event (387c). Again, it seems that the only constructions that really have a heaviness effect are restrictive relative clauses.

(387)   **a.** *Der Nane hot pakemm der amerikanische ingenieur az der projekt van bruck gamocht hot*
          the John has the American met engineer that the project of-the bridge done has
          'John met the American engineer who made the project of the bridge'
          b. *Gester hone zechen a schboarza kotz az mir umtschaukt hot*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL a black cat that DAT PRON PREF-seen has
          'Yesterday I saw a black cat that stared at me'
          c. *Gester hone pakemm an schianz dierndel az mer kontart hot...*
          yesterday have-SUBJ CL a nice girl that DAT PRON told has
          'Yesterday I met a nice girl who told met that...'
          d. *Der Nane hot kaft an schian taischen auto ver za viarn de Maria auz*
          the John has bought a nice German auto for to bring the Mary out
          'John bought a nice Germanc car in order to bring out Mary'

To sum up what we have seen so far on the role of heaviness with respect to DPs made heavy by several modifications, it seems that i) heaviness in these terms has no effect on OV/VO word orders; ii) what plays a role is the presence of a (silent) restrictive relative clause modifying the DP and forcing VO syntax.

The conclusion that I want to take from this discussion on heaviness is that for Mòcheno no one-to-one correlation between the heaviness of the constituent and it syntactic position with respect to the non-finite verb form could be found. For XPs made heavy by number of words, basically no effect of heaviness on word order was found, whereas for post-modifications the notion of heaviness turned out to be a loose and misleading notion hiding the real triggers determining constituent placement. In Mòcheno, in fact, it is not the heaviness of the post-modification in itself to be relevant for the distribution of constituents, but the type of post-modification, that is its being restrictive or non-restrictive.

In the next and concluding subsection, I will discuss one last idea that has been put forth recently in order to make sense of word order variation (Poletto 2006), that is the idea that a low left periphery of the clause might be involved in determining word order. This type of approach, which tries to unify information structure and syntactic structure assuming the presence of functional projections with discourse-related features, will be the one that I will follow for Mòcheno and Poletto's (2006) analysis will be the starting point for my discussion of data in the next chapter.

5.3.4 On the role of the low left periphery

As far as I know, the only proposal in the literature trying to apply to word orders the idea of the presence of a low left periphery, whose presence has independently been claimed for (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, 2004), is the one put forth for Old Italian OV word orders by Poletto (2006). Again, as we have seen several times in this chapter, an idea originally proposed for synchronic data has been applied to diachrony.

Poletto (2006) starts out from noticing that in Old Italian, a V2 language which can be analysed as a VO language[30], cases of OV orders could be found.

In (388), I give some examples from Poletto (2006:266) showing that the unmarked order of Old Italian is VO.

(388) **a.** *Tenea un savio greco in pregione*   *(Novellino, 125,6)*
    kept a wise Greek in prison
    'He kept a wise Greek in prison'
    b. *fece menare il destriere al campo*   *(Novellino, 126,13)*
    made lead the horse to-the camp
    'He got the horse led to the camp'

In Old Italian it is though possible to find sentences like the ones given below in (389), where a direct object (389a), a PP (389b) or an adverb (389c) show up before the past participle.

(389) **a.** *Allora il cavalero, che'n sì alto mestero avea <u>la mente</u>* **misa** *(Brunetto Latini,*
    Tesoretto, v. 1975)
    then the knight that in so high work has the mind set

---

[30]As far as I know, only Renzi and Salvi have proposed to analyse Old Italian as an OV language. This claim raises though several problems, since all cases of VO word order (the majority of occurrences) have to be made sense of assuming some sort of rule. Poletto's (2006) analysis goes out from the idea that Old Italian is VO, as Modern Italian, and that OV word orders are to be derived via a movement rule which moves constituents to a position of the low left periphery.

'Then the knight, who had set his mind on so high a work'
b. *Ed essendo <u>dell'unico guernimento</u> già* **ispogliato**   *(Bono Giamboni, Orosio, 411,1)*
and being of the only ornament already stripped
'And since he was already taken his only ornament'
c. *e holla già <u>molte volte</u>* **letta** *nella Bibbia*   *(Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, 15,22)*
and have-ACC PRON already many times read in the Bible
'I have read it many times in the Bible'

The possibility of having OV orders in this language is tightly related to another property, lost in modern Italian, that is agreement between the past participle and a direct-object DP[31]. This fact had already been noticed by Egerland (1996, quoted in Poletto 2006:169), who proposes the descriptive generalization that when past participle agreement is lost, OV is reduced and finally lost as well.

In order to make sense of the connection between past participle agreement and OV word orders, Poletto (2006:170) puts forth the idea that "OV structures are to be intended as cases of overt movement through a position encoding strong features for object agreement on their way to Focus". The constituent showing up in OV syntax is then to be analysed as a lowFocus (or a lowTopic) and, in the case it is a direct-object DP, agreement is obligatory.

In (391), I illustrate how this derivation works for a sentence such as (390).

(390)   *che egli avea il maleficio commesso*
          that he had the crime committed
          'That he had committed the crime'

(391)

As for cases of VO word orders there are two possible derivations according to the presence or absence of past participle agreement, which we saw is obligatory only in OV syntax. For those cases in which agreement is present, such as (392), it has to be assumed that both the past participle and the direct-object DP raise to AgrOP, and that the linear order is to be derived via movement of the past participle to the lowest head of the low left periphery, that is to the head of lowFocusP. The derivation is given below in (393).

(392)   *quando il notaio ha letta la proposta*

      when the notary has read+AGR the proposal+AGR

      'When the notary read the proposal'

(393)
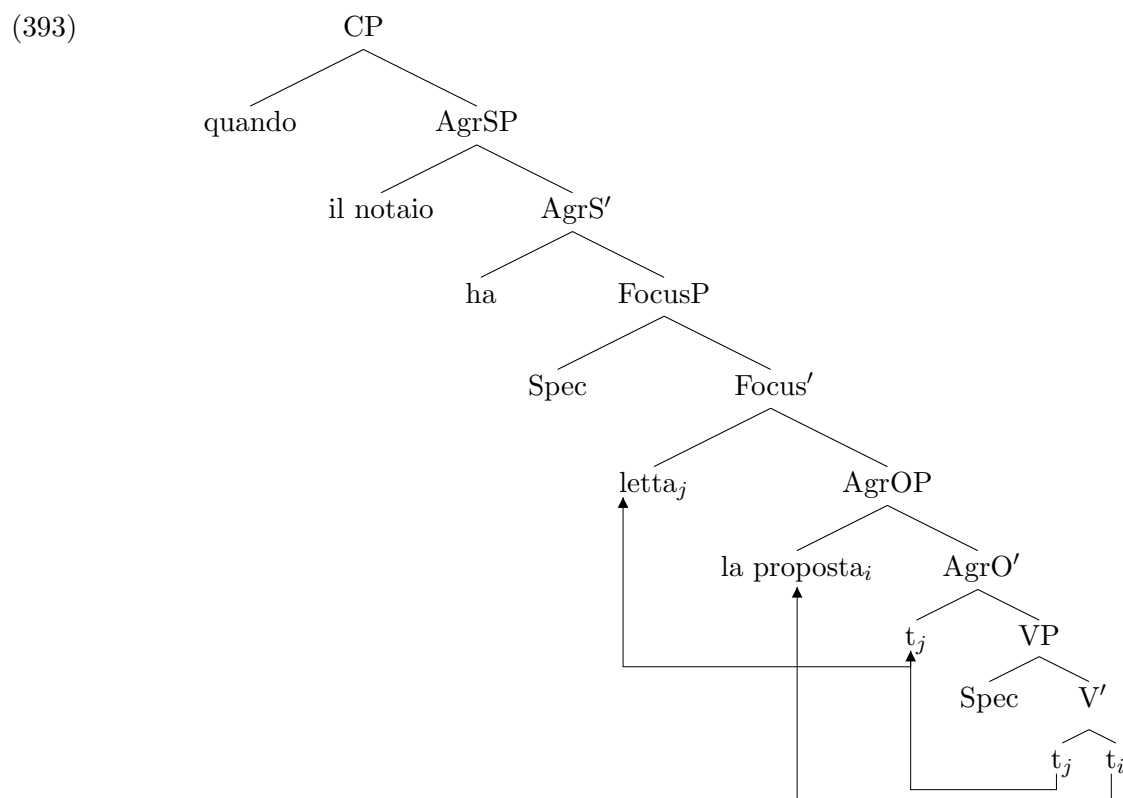
As for those cases of VO word order without agreement (394), Poletto's idea is that the direct object remains in its base position, whereas the past participle raises via head movement to the lowest head of the low left periphery, as shown in (395).

(394)   *quando il notaio ha letto la proposta*

      when the notary has read the proposal

      'When the notary read the proposal'

(395)

```
                        CP
                   ╱         ╲
              quando        AgrSP
                          ╱        ╲
                    il notaio      AgrS′
                                 ╱       ╲
                              ha         FocusP
                                      ╱          ╲
                                   Spec          Focus′
                                              ╱          ╲
                                          letto_j        AgrSP
                                                       ╱        ╲
                                                    Spec        AgrO′
                                                             ╱        ╲
                                                          t_j         VP
                                                                   ╱       ╲
                                                                Spec        V′
                                                                          ╱      ╲
                                                                       t_j    la proposta
```

The idea that the lower phase functions the same way as the higher one, with a sort of low V2, that is past participle movement to the low left periphery and movement of constituents to SpecPs of TopicPs or FocusPs, is strongly supported also (see Poletto 2006 for other arguments) by the fact that V2, IP-scrambling and past participle agreement are lost at the same time (XVI century). The fact that all properties of the Medieval system are lost at the same time has to be taken as clear evidence in favour of the idea that they were dependent on one abstract property of the system. This abstract property is V2, which affects both the higher phase with the finite verb and the lower phase with the past participle.

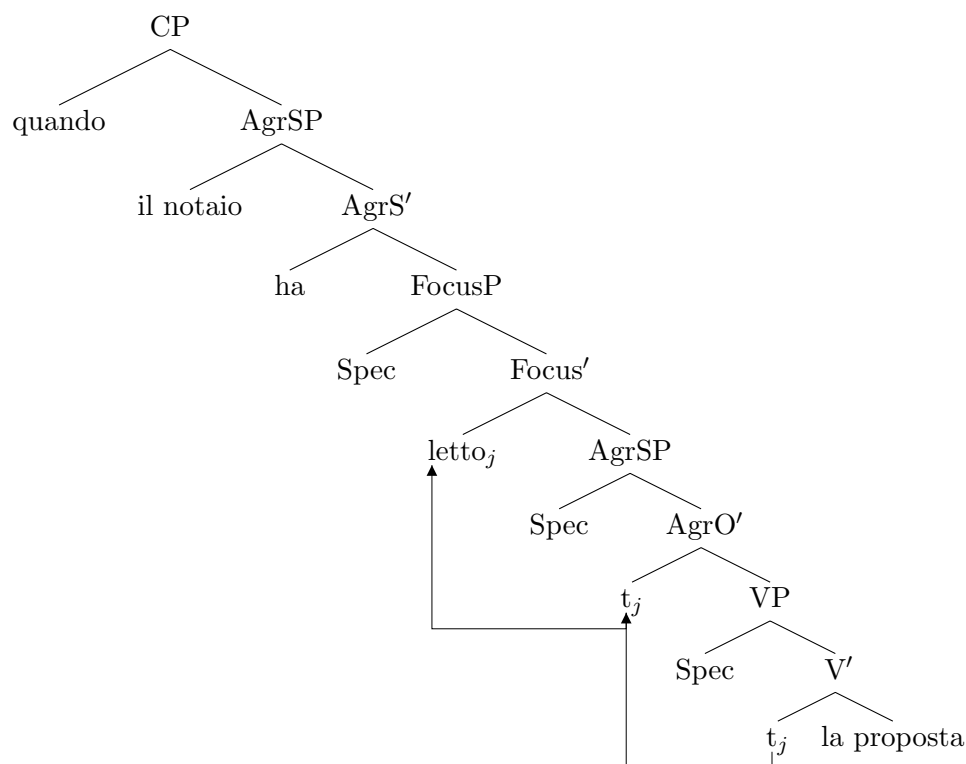The idea of the parallel phases will be the core idea of the next chapter, where I will try to make sense of OV/VO word orders in Mòcheno exploring for this language the hypothesis of the presence of a V2 system such as the one assumed for Old Italian by Poletto (2006).

5.4 Conclusions

In this first chapter I have discussed the main issues concerning i) the derivation of base word orders and ii) the triggers of language change and variation with respect to Mòcheno, putting the basis for my analysis.

In the first part of the chapter, I gave an overlook of the most relevant proposals put forth in the literature in order to make sense of base word order. This theoretical introduction aimed at giving the background I will start from when dealing with the derivation of Mòcheno data; my proposals sets themselves in the antisymmetric framework (Kayne 1994) and assume the structure of the clause proposed by Cinque (1990, 2006, 2008).

The second part of the chapter was dedicated to a detailed discussion for Mòcheno of the factors proposed in the literature to be responsible for base word order change and word order variation. All of them were partially or completely rejected on the basis of the characteristics of Mòcheno.

The first factor assumed in the literature to be related to base word order change and variation (among others Meillet 1903 and Roberts 1997) and that I discussed was case morphology. The idea of a correlation between base word orders and case morphology has been criticised with very convincing arguments on the basis of both diachrony (Old English, Pintzuk 1996, Latin Polo, 2004) and sinchrony (Hróarsdóttir 2000, Weerman 1997). As for Mòcheno, which has lost case morphology on DPs, this idea might work only under the condition of assuming that verb arguments keep on raising to agreement positions, even when case morphology is lost (as assumed for V movement in Old French by Roberts 1993). This hypothesis is extremely weak and does not make sense of data in an interesting way; what is more, the problem of the distribution of PPs remains unsolved.

The second hypothesis that was discussed and rejected for Mòcheno mixed system is the double-base hypothesis (Kroch 1989), according to which language variation is dependent on the presence of two competing grammars in the speaker's mind. This idea has been given particular attention, since in all previous work on Mòcheno syntax (Zamboni 1979, Heller 1979, Togni 1993, Rowley 2003) it is assumed, on the basis of the sociolinguistic situation of Mòcheno, that the presence of two orders was to be linked to the presence of a Romance and a German system in the speaker's linguistic competence.

Now, this idea was proved not to hold for Mòcheno on the basis of two arguments: i) the possibility in Mòcheno of having only one word order in certain constructions, such as wh-main interrogative clauses and ii) the contrastive analysis of Romance VO and Mòcheno VO on the one hand and of German OV and Mòcheno OV, which showed that Mòcheno does not share the abstract properties of Romance nor German, even when the linear orders among the languages correspond.

This discussion has shown that in Mòcheno only one grammar is present in which both OV and VO are possible under certain conditions.

I then tackled the approach to language change and variation in terms of information structure, discussing Hinterhölzl's (2009) and Taylor and Pintzuk's (2008. 2009) accounts of Old High German and Old English mixed OV/VO systems. I tested for Mòcheno the two core ideas of this work, namely i) that there is a correlation between preverbal position and given information and between the postverbal position and new information; and ii) that heavy constituents tend to show up postverbally due to their being new information.

As for the first assumption, I showed that the distribution of information in Mòcheno seems to work the other way around with respect to Old Germanic languages, since in sentences forcing the presence of old information such as wh-main declarative or right dislocations the given constituents can only be postverbal.

Also the role of heaviness in the distribution of constituents has shown not to hold for Mòcheno. As far as the effect of heaviness in XPs made heavy by number of words is concerned, I showed that with most of constituents no effect was detectable, that is both OV and VO were possible. As for XPs with post-modification, I showed that the category relevant in determining constituent placement is not heaviness itself, but rather the type of modification (restrictive or non-restrictive).

These findings point out at the fact that the distribution of word orders in Mòcheno is dependent of subtler and more abstract properties than heaviness or position with respect to the finite verb, which are though in relation with information structure.

In order to be able to put together the role of information structure and the abstractness behind the distribution of Mòcheno word orders, I finally dealt with Poletto's (2006) work on cases of OV word orders in Old Italian. Her work puts the idea of the presence of a low left periphery (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, 2004) together with the derivation of marked OV word orders in a VO language. The idea that projections with discourse-related features are involved in base word orders is the last issue of this first chapter and the one from which I will start in the next one.

Chapter 6

Mòcheno OV/VO word orders

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed several possible approaches to OV/VO word orders, providing evidence that none of them allows to completely capture the Mòcheno facts and that a new proposal had to be called for.

As it was the case of the V2 phenomenon, much attention was paid to the work that considers word orders the result of Romance influence on a German grammar (among others Zamboni, 1979:90, Heller 1979:119, Togni 1993:172, Rowley 2003:289,291), since this type of explanation has been the only one given by scholars that have dealt with Mòcheno syntax so far. I think that there are good reasons for not considering Mòcheno OV/VO word order alternations as the expression of two competing grammars, but rather as the expression of one system in which the two orders co-exist and have specialised for what we can informally call different comunicative functions (to be specified).

The proposal that I will put forth in this chapter in order to make sense of Mòcheno OV/VO word orders relies on the observation that in sentences beginning with an operator, in Mòcheno only VO syntax is possible. This is illustrated in (396).

(396)   **a.** *Benn hoso kaft s puach?*
        when have-SUBJ CL bought the book
        b. **Benn hoso s puach kaft?*
        when have-SUBJ CL the book bought
        c. *A PUACH hone kaft en de boteig (ont net a penna)*
        a book have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop and not a pen
        d. **A PUACH hone en de boteig kaft (ont net a penna)*
        a book have-SUBJ in the shop bought and not a pen

We saw in chapters 3 and 4 that sentences involving an operator in first position are special not only with respect to word order, but that these constituents belong to the class of constituents able to trigger EPP, that is they can attract the finite verb to the head of the projection where they are hosted creating a Spec-head configuration.

In (397), I repeat the relevant examples: nothing can intervene between an interrogative wh-element or a focus and a pronominal subject has to be realised by an enclitic pronoun.

(397)   **a.** **Pet bem s puach hot-(er) kaft?*
        with whom the book has-SUBJ CL bought

b. **Pet bem er hot kaft s puach?*
with whom SUBJ PRON has bought the book
'With whom did he buy the book'
c. **PETN LUCA s puach hot-(er) kaft (ont net petn Nane)*
with-the Luca the book has-SUBJ CL bought and not with-the John
d. **PETN LUCA er hot kaft s puach (ont net petn Nane)*
with-the Luca SUBJ PRON has bought the book and not with-the John
'It was with Luca that he bought the book, and not with John'

This striking symmetry between the two portions of the clause in Mòcheno can be captured through the descriptive generalization in (398), where I state that if EPP is triggered by an operator, VO syntax is obligatory.

(398)   *Descriptive generalization on word order in Mòcheno*
          When EPP is triggered by an operator, VO word oder is obligatory

Notice that the fact that in Germanic, and in German in particular, there is a close relation between EPP and the phenomenon of V2 and word order, that is between higher and lower portions of the clause, has already been pointed out in den Besten's (1983) classical work on V2, where he defined V2 as:

(399)   **a.** one Verb Preposing rule moves the finite verb to the complementizer in root sentences;
          b. two or one root transformations transferring a constituent into the left-most position
          of COMP.   (den Besten 1985:60)

From this definition of V2 the asymmetry between German main and embedded clauses follows straight: V2 and complementiser compete in the two languages for the same head position in CP and therefore cannot co-occur; if a complementiser shows up in CP the finite verb has to remain in its base position (OV), if it lacks, V2 is possible.

Mòcheno distribution of word orders summed up in the descriptive generalization in (398) seems to point in the same direction as German, that is in the direction of a strict correlation between V2 and word order, that is between higher and lower portion of the clause. The only difference between German and Mòcheno in this respect is that in German this connection is visible only in the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses, whereas in Mòcheno the connection between V2 and word order manifests itself also in main declarative clauses.

The proposal that I want to put forth in order to make sense of word orders in Mòcheno is that i) in the lowest portion of the clause there is a vP periphery (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, 2004, Poletto 2006) whose structure is identical to the one of the high left periphery given in chapter 4, ii) some constituents trigger a lower EPP, that is have to realise, in their dedicated positions of the vP periphery, a Spec-head configuration with the past participle; iii) when constituents that can trigger EPP reach their dedicated position, they saturate all other intervening positions able to trigger EPP as well; iv) operators can have topics to their left.

As for wh-main interrogatives, I want to put forth the idea that VO word orders are the result of the same mechanism that leads to V3,V4... word orders in main declarative clauses: this means to say that the XPs preceding the past participle in wh-main interrogatives are comparable to the topics (left dislocations) that precede the wh-element in the left periphery.

(400)   **a.** *S puach ber hot-s kaft?*
          the book who has-ACC CL bought

b. *Ber hot kaft s puach?*
who has-ACC CL bought the book

As we will see this simple idea, together with the assumption that an XP moving to CP has to saturate all positions of the vP periphery able to trigger EPP, allows to make sense of Mòcheno facts in an interesting way.

6.2   VO word orders in wh-main interrogative clauses

In this section, I introduce the characteristics of Mòcheno VO syntax taking into examination the structure of wh-main interrogative clauses. What will be presented in this section is entirely valid also for main declarative clauses with VO word order, but not for sentences beginning with a focus; the other types of sentences will though be treated in two dedicated sections.

I have decided to begin with wh-main interrogative clauses, because these sentences, differently from main declarative clauses, are obligatory VO and represent therefore one clear case in which optionality does not exist, but only one word order is possible. On the basis of the order of constituents in wh-main interrogatives, I will propose a first analysis that allows to make sense of data in an easy way, but does not capture the connection between presence of an operator and VO word order.

Starting out from this proposal, I will provide arguments in favour of an alternative analysis in terms of interaction between peripheries, showing that in order to capture how this interaction takes place, a detailed structure of the lowest portion of the clause has to be reconstructed and this can be done only by looking at the syntax of Mòcheno OV main declarative clauses.

6.2.1   Syntax of verb arguments

As already said, in Mòcheno wh-main interrogative clauses are obligatory VO with the majority of constituents.

Let's consider first the position of verb arguments[1] with respect to the past participle. In (401), I show that indirect objects (401a,b), +/- human direct objects (401c-f) and two PPs selected by the verb (401g-l) have to obligatory follow the past participle.

(401)   **a.** *Bos hoso kaft ver/en de dai muam?*
what have-SUBJ CL for/to the your aunt
b. **Bos hoso ver/en de dai muam kaft?*
what have-SUBJ CL for/to the your aunt bought
'What did you buy for your aunt?'
c. *Bo hoso pakemmt der Mario?*
where have-SUBJ CL met the Mario
d. **Bo hoso der Mario pakemmt?*
where have-SUBJ CL the Mario met
'Where did you meet Mario?'
e. *Pet bem hoso kaft s/a puach?*
with whom have-SUBJ CL bought the/a book
f. **Pet bem hoso s/a puach kaft?*
with whom have-SUBJ CL the/a book bought

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[1]I do not consider the syntax of the subject here, see chapters 3 and 4 on this.

'With whom did you buy the/a book?'
g. *Pet bem iz-er gongen ka Trient?*
with whom is-SUBJ PRON gone to Trento
h. **Pet bem iz-er ka Trient gongen?*
with whom is-SUBJ PRON to Trento gone
'With whom did he go to Trento?'
i. *Benn hoso klofft van Nane?*
when have-SUBJ CL spoken of-the John
i. **Benn hoso van Nane klofft?*
when have-SUBJ CL of-the John spoken
'When did you speak of John?'

Also semiargumental PPs, such as comitative and instrumental PPs pattern together with argumental PPs in not allowing for OV syntax, see (402).

(402)   **a.** *Bos hot-er kaft petn Nane?*
what has-SUBJ CL bought with-the John
b. **Bos hot-er petn Nane kaft?*
what has-SUBJ CL with-the John bought
c. *Ber hot putzt petn staupsauger?*
who has cleaned with-the hoover
d. **Ber hot petn staupsauger putzt?*
who has with-the hoover cleaned
'Who cleaned with the hoover?'

We can sum up the distribution of constituents in wh-main interrogatives described so far in the descriptive generalization in (403).

(403)   *Descriptive generalization on word order in wh-main interrogatives (I):*
All verb arguments and semiargumental PPs have to follow the past participle.

Syntax of Quantifiers

In this subsection, I briefly consider the syntax of quantifiers with respect to OV/VO word orders.

In the first part of this dissertation, I have not paid attention to the syntactic behaviour of quantifiers, but their syntax is generally considered in the studies on word order alternations (see among many others Grewendorf/Poletto 2005); therefore, I will consider them in this last chapter.

As shown in (404), positive quantifiers seem to pattern with other constituents, since they only allow for VO syntax.

(404)   **a.** *Pet bem hoso kaft eppaz?*
with whom have-SUBJ CL bought something
b. **Pet bem hoso eppaz kaft?*
with whom have-SUBJ CL something bought
c. *Benn hoso pakemmp olla de daina studenten?*
when have-SUBJ CL met all the your students
d. **Benn hoso olla de daina studenten pakemmp?*
when have-SUBJ CL all the your students met

'When did you meet all your students?'
e. *Bo hot-sa kaft ollz?*
where has-SUBJ CL bought everything
f. **Bo hot-sa ollz kaft?*
where has-SUBJ CL everything bought
'Where did she buy everything?'

Negative quantifiers, on the other hand, are obligatory OV also in wh-main interrogative clauses, see (405).

(405)   **a.** *Ber hot kua kinder pakemmt?*
who has no children met
b. **Ber hot pakemmt kua kinder?*
who has met no children
'Who met no children?'
c. *En bem hoso nicht trog?*
to whom have-SUBJ CL nothing brought
d. **En bem hoso trog nicht?*
to whom have-SUBJ CL brought nothing
'Whom did you bring anything'

The syntax of quantifiers can be captured in the following descriptive generalization (406).

(406)   *Descriptive generalization on word order in wh-main interrogatives (II):*
a. Positive quantifiers are obligatory VO;
b. Negative quentifiers are obligatory OV.

6.2.2   The syntax of adverbs

In what follows, I consider the syntax of adverbs as far as their position with respect to the past participle is concerned. Here, I focus on low adverbs and sentential adverbs (Cinque 1999), since these are classes that are relevant for word orders and for the lowest portion of the clause[2].

Here, I only focus on the syntax of Aspect completive and on manner adverbs.

As shown in (407), low adverbs are obligatory OV in main declarative clauses.

(407)   **a.** *Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j <u>schia</u> galezen s puach?*   *Manner*
the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL well read the book
b. **Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j galezen <u>schia</u> s puach?*   *Manner*
the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL read well the book
c. *Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j <u>gonz</u> galezen s puach?*   *AspCompl*
the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL completely read the book
d. **Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j galezen <u>gonz</u> s puach?*   *AspCompl*
the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL read completely the book
e. *Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j <u>pahenn</u> galezen s puach?*   *Manner*
the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL quickly read the book
f. **Der Luca_j, benn hot-er_j galezen <u>pahenn</u> s puach?*   *Manner*

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[2]High adverbs in the sense of Cinque (1999) are mostly subject-oriented and show up in the higher portion of IP.

the Luca, when has-SUBJ CL read quickly the book
'When did Luca read the book with pleasure/well/completely/quickly the book?'

In (408), I give some examples showing that in Mòcheno wh-main interrogative clauses also adverbs showing up in the *Mittelfeld*[3] according to Cinque (1999) have to precede the past participle and can never follow it.

(408)   **a.** *Petn Luca, bos hot-er_j <u>ollbe</u> kaft der Nane_j?*   *AspPerf*
             with-the Luca what has-SUBJ CL always bought the John
             b. **Petn Luca, bos hot-er_j kaft <u>ollbe</u> der Nane_j?*   *AspPerf*
             with-the Luca what has-SUBJ CL bought always the John
             'What did John alway buy with Luca?'
             c. *Ber hot <u>ofters</u> putzt s haus?*   *AspFreq*
             who has often cleaned the house
             d. **Ber hot putzt <u>ofters</u> s haus?*   *AspFreq*
             who has cleaned often the house
             'Who has often cleaned the house?'
             e. *Pet biavle hoso <u>schua</u> klofft?*   *T(Anterior)*
             with how many have-SUBJ CL already spoken
             f. **Pet biavle hoso klofft <u>schua</u>?*   *T(Anterior)*
             with how many have-SUBJ CL already spoken
             'With how many people have you already spoken?'

The two classes of of adverbs can co-occur and their order is fixed, as shown in (409).

(409)   **a.** *Ber hot <u>ollbe schia</u> galezen s puach?*
             who has always well read the book
             b. **Ber hot <u>schia ollbe</u> galezen s puach?*
             who has always well always read the book
             'Who has always read the book well?'
             c. *Pet bem hot-er <u>schua pahenn</u> galezen s puach?*
             with whom has-SUBJ already quickly read the book
             d. **Pet bem hot-er <u>pahenn schua</u> galezen s puach?*
             with whom has-SUBJ quickly already read the book
             'With whom has he already read the book quickly?'

As usual, I sum up these facts in the descriptive generalization below in (410).

(410)   *Descriptive generalization on word order in wh-main interrogatives (III):*
             Adverbs of the *Mittelfeld* and low adverbs are obligatory OV.

The description of the empirical facts has shown a straight pattern with respect to wh-main interrogative clauses: basically all constituents except for i) negative quantifiers and ii) adverbs are obligatory VO.

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[3]With the term *Mittelfeld* adverbs I intend all classes of adverbs showing up between Asp RepetitiveI and Asp Prospective, according to Cinque's (1999) classification.

6.2.3 One possible account

The empirical facts can apparently be captured in an easy and economical way in terms of optional past participle movement relying on the discussion of OV word order in the previous chapter. It can be assumed that all verb arguments have to always leave their base-positions in VP and move to their Spec,AgrPs or licensing positions; the past participle can either remain in VP or move above the licensing position of arguments All other constituents preceding the past participle are in their base positions; negative quantifiers are in Spec,NegP, where they have to check their negative feature. Mòcheno would have then to be considered a VO language in which the past participle moves very little and does not pass low adverbs.

This derivation is sketched in (411) focusing on the syntax of a direct object: the direct object leaves VP, moves to Spec,AgrOP, the past participle raises to the head of AgrOP and then can either remain there or move higher up.

(411)
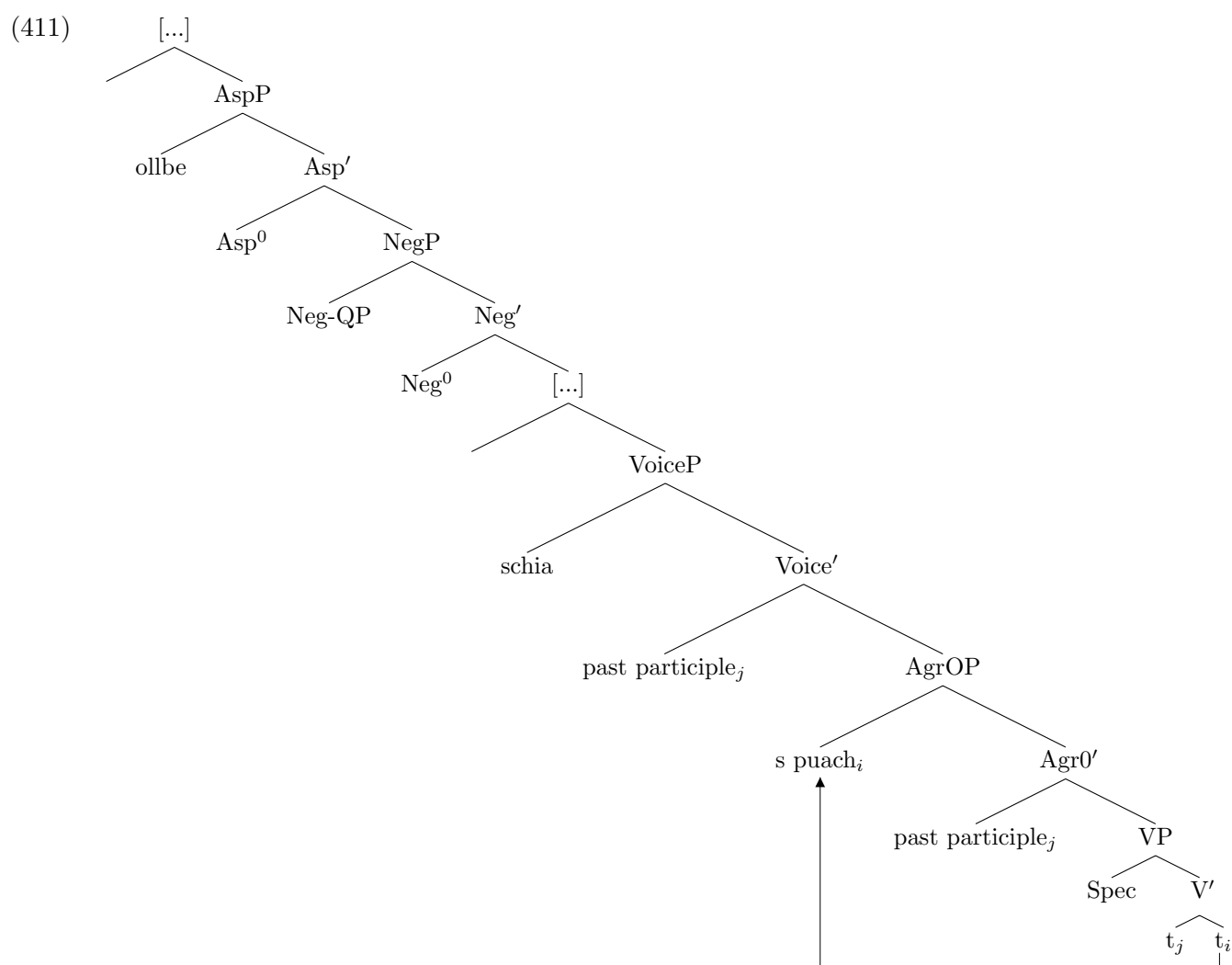
The structure given above apparently allows to make sense of data in an easy and straightforward way, by assuming that VO syntax is derived through optional past participle movement pass the licensing positions of verb arguments.

By assuming optional past participle movement, though, we are replicating a mechanism that has been proved not to hold, since the idea of optional past participle movement recalls the idea

of optional finite verb movement to CP responsible of subject-verb inversion in V2 contexts; in chapters 3 and 4, I showed that in Mòcheno the finite verb moves to CP in all sentences and that lack of subject-verb inversion depends on the fact that the subject is topicalised itself. It might turn out that also in the lower phase what looks like optionality is determined by rules internal to the systems, which are not easy to see due to other factors, as is the case of movement of the finite verb to CP, which is opaque due to the presence of a split-CP in Mòcheno.

The idea that it cannot really be spoken of optionality with respect to past participle movement, comes to the fact that the past participle has to raise precisely in wh-main interrogatives, whereas in main declaratives OV is possible and the preferred order for unmarked sentences. This fact is something that has to be made sense of in a theory that really wants to capture Mòcheno OV/VO word orders.

In this respect, another shortcoming (or at least one idea that has to be motivated through empirical evidence) of a derivation such as the one proposed above becomes evident, that is the idea that all XPs following the past participle are in their licensing A positions. In chapter 4, I provided evidence in favour of the idea that in Mòcheno, just as in Romance languages (Antinucci/Cinque 1977, Benincà 1988), sentences beginning with an operator (focus or interrogative wh-element) have a fixed syntactic structure, according to which all constituents different from the wh-element and verb have to be marginalised or right-dislocated. This fixed syntactic structure reflects the semantics of sentences involving an operator: operator and verb express new information, whereas all other constituents (subject included) are old information.

Following the approach adopted in this work, where it is assumed (on the basis of empirical evidence[4]) that discourse-effects are not got for free in base positions, but are always connected to TopicPs or OpPs encoding discourse-features that have to be checked through movement in a one-to-one relation between semantics and syntax, the idea the XPs following the past participle are in base-positions has to be evaluated on the basis of empirical evidence and cannot be accepted as such without verifying it.

On the basis of these considerations and in the light of the discussion in chapters 3 and 4, where it was demonstrated that for Mòcheno V2 that optionality is apparent, in what follows I will take in consideration much data and discuss in detail the predictions made by the derivation given above.

In what follows, I begin constructing my argumentation by looking at the cominations of constituents following the past participle with a twofold goal: first of all showing that VO word order is technically derived through past participle movement (as in Cinque 2006) and then showing that the distribution of the two verb arguments and of a verb argument and an adverbial PP strongly resembles the combinations of constituents discussed for the high left periphery. In particular, I will provide evidence in favour of the idea that i) verb arguments are never in their base-position where they follow the past participle, but in two TopicPs and that the direct object in the lower phase behaves as a subject in the highest one.

6.3   Evidence in favour of past participle movement in VO word order

In this subsection, I take into consideration some arguments in favour of one crucial assumption of my account of VO word order in Mòcheno, that is that the past partiple is not in its base position in VO syntax, but it has moved (to the edge of the vP periphery, to trigger EPP in the highest head

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[4]It seems to me that this hypothesis finds positive evidence especially in the distribution of subject pronouns, where it is rampant that the different forms present in the paradigm have undergone a specialization process and some of them can only realised A positions, whereas others only A' positions.

targeted by the wh-element on its way to CP). In this section, I want to simply provide arguments in favour of the idea that in VO word order the past participle has moved; only in a second moment I will try to give an account for the reason why it has to move, defending the hypothesis already sketched.

In order to provide evidence in favour of past participle movement, I will also consider main declarative clauses with OV word oder, since their syntax is crucial for my argumentation. Main declarative clauses will be dealt with later in this chaper, focusing on the asymmetries between OV and VO syntax.

6.3.1 Syntax of adverbial PPs

In the previous subsection, I Finally, in (412) I consider the distribution of adverbial PPs with respect to the past participle: as expected, the only position for adverbial PPs is after the past participle.

(412)   **a.** *Bos hoso kaft en de boteig?*
         what have-SUBJ CL bought in the shop
         b. **Bos hoso en de boteig kaft?*
         what have-SUBJ CL in the shop bought
         c. *Ber hot-er zechen no en vourmess/geser?*
         who has-SUBJ CL seen after lunch/yesterday
         d. **Ber hot-er no en vourmess/gester zechen?*
         who has-SUBJ CL after lunch seen
         'Who did he see after lunch/yesterday?'
         e. *Bos hoso galezen pet gaist?*
         what have-SUBJ CL read with passion
         f. **Bos hoso pet gaist galezen*
         what have-SUBJ CL with passion read
         'What did you read with passion?'

In the previous chapter, I discussed the importance of symmetries and mirrors within a theory of word orders, focusing mainly on the syntax of adverbial PPs. Relying strongly on Cinque's (2008) argumentation, I showed that an analysis of adverbial PPs in terms of universally ordered modifications of VP allows to capture the word orders found cross-linguistically in an interesting way, according to which the superficial word order of PPs in the different languages is determined by the position of the modified head and how it moves passing the modifications starting out from a universal order of modifications. The interesting point is that the combinations are predictable, since modifications are ordered in a universal structure and the head can have three positions: it can stay put, it can move via head movement or via head movement plus pied piping. This simple mechanism allows to derive the word order patterns of modifications of a head (as in the DP, see Greenberg Universal 20) in several different languages families[5].

This approach to head modifications, despite being supported by several pieces of evidence as far as PPs are concerned (Schweikert 2005), is compatible with antisymmetry (Kayne 1994), which is a welcome result, which allows to abandone the idea of the presence of PredP where all PPs were assumed (among others Zwart 1997, Koster 1994) to move.

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[5]As Cinque (2008) points out, other assumptions have to be made when the number of languages considered arise; for the Mòcheno fact, this account is though enough.

Focusing on time, place and manner adverbial PPs, Cinque (2006,2008) assumes that the universal underlying order of these modifications is found in OV languages, which reflect the base-order previous to movement of the verb. As shown in (413a) this order is time-place-manner and is typical of OV languages. The same order of modifications can be found after the verb, (413b): in this case the verb has moved via head movement through all intervening PPs. In VO languages the most frequent order of adverbial modifications is though the mirror image of the order found in OV languages (Cinque 2008), as shown in (413c). The crucial fact is that the order of modifications cannot be changed if the finite verb does not move: cross-linguistically the same order of modifications of Romance is never found in a OV language (413d).

(413)   a. Time > Place > Manner > V   German embedded clauses; Basque, Nambikuara
         b. V > Time > Place > Manner   German V2 clauses
         c. V > Manner > Place > Time   Romance, Vietnamese, Yoruba, English
         d.*Manner > Place > Time > V

Now, let's see what order(s) of PPs are found in Mòcheno wh-main interrogative clauses. As shown in (414), three orders of PPs are grammatical; according to the judgments of the informant, they are not all equivalent from the semantic point of view. The first one, in which we find an order in which the past participle (or the whole VP, see below) has moved above PPs pied piping them (414a), is the unmarked sentence, in which the speakers is asking in a natural way. In (414b), where the the past participle has moved without pied piping, the attention is on the manner adverb; the same in (414c), where attention is on the book whereas all other information is somehow in the background. The clear judgement is that the doubt expressed by the interrogative clause is put on the last constituent in these latter two versions. In (414d) I give the only ungrammatical version, where can be seen that no pied piping is possible if the direct object remains below adverbial PPs.
      ¿¿¿ e' la stessa differenza tra familiarity ed aboutness?

(414)   **a.** *Benn hoso galezen s puach pet geist en dai zimmer?*   *DO-MANNER-LOC*
        when have-SUB CL read the book with passion in your room
        b. *Benn hoso galezen s puach en dai zimmer pet geist?*   *DO-LOC-MANNER*
        when have-SUB CL read the book in your room with passion
        c. *Benn hoso galezen en dai zimmer pet geist s puach?*   *LOC-MANNER-DO*
         when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
        d. **Benn hoso galezen pet gaist en dai zimmer s puach?*   **MANNER-LOC-DO*
         when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
        'When did you read the book with passion in your room?'

The data above have shown that the unmarked order of adverbial PPs is in Mòcheno is VO and that the order of PPs after the past participle is compatible with both derivations, that is with and withouth pied piping, as proposed by Cinque (2006).

In order to show that in Mòcheno VO word order with PPs is actually derived in the way predicted by Cinque, I look at the syntax of adverbial PPs in main clauses with OV syntax; the prediction on the basis of the discussion above is that if the past participle does not move (as assumed in OV word order), adverbial PPs can only show up in one fixed order, that is in their order of merge *time-place-manner*.

As shown in (415), this prediction is borne out. In sentences with OV word order, in which the finite verb is assumed to stay put preceded by all adverbial modifications in their order of merge, there is only one possible order for adverbial PPs: *time-place-manner* (415a); all other orders of adverbial Pps are ruled out (415b,c,d).

(415)   **a.** *Gester hone de korten no en vormess en mai omt pet cura auspfillt   TEMP-LOC-MANN*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL have the forms yesterday in my office carefully PREF-filled

b. **Gester hone de korten en mai omt pet cura not en vormess auspfillt   LOC-MANN-TEMP*
yesteday have the forms in my office carefully after lunch PREF-filled

c. **Gester hone de korten en mai omt no en vormess pet cura auspfillt   LOC-TEMP-MANN*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the forms in my office after lunch carefully PREF-filled

d. **Gester hone de korten pet cura en omt no en vormess auspfillt MANN-LOC-TEMP*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the forms carefully in my office after lunch PREF-filled
'Yesterday I filled in the forms carefully in my office after lunch'

The comparison between the syntax of adverbial PPs in wh-main declarative clauses (VO syntax) and in main declarative clauses with OV syntax has provided emipirical evidence for an analysis of Mòcheno VO word order along the lines of Cinque (2006, 2008), that is in terms of past participle movement from a low position past all adverbial PPs with or without pied piping.

Moreover, the finding that in OV syntax the order of PPs cannot be changed since the past participle does not move represents a hint in favour of the idea that OV syntax reflects in Mòcheno the base structure of the clause previous to any movements changing the order of constituents. In this respect, sentences with OV syntax can tell what happens in the lowest portion of the clause previous to past participle moment, and in a second moment, how past participle movement changes this underlying order.

The idea that OV word order in Mòcheno actually reflects base order and that VO is due to past participle movement is further supported by the sentences in (416), where I tried to combine a direct object in a sentence in which all adverbial PPs precede the past participle in their order of merge. As shown in (416a), if all PPs precede the finite verb, the direct object cannot appear in VO syntax, but its only grammatical position is before the past participle, as can be seen in (416b).

(416)   **a.** **Gester hone no en vormess en mai omt pet cura auspfillt de korten*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL yesterday in my office carefully PREF-filled the forms

b. *Gester hone de korten no en vormess en mai omt pet cura auspfillt   TEMP-LOC-MANN*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the forms yesterday in my office carefully PREF-filled

The data above show that in Mòcheno main declarative clauses, VO word order is possible only if the past participle has moved and not if it stays put. This means that the position of the direct object is part of a cluster of properties and is not independent of the syntax of the past participle.

I sum up this finding in the descriptive generalization in (417).

(417)   *Descriptive generalization on the position of the direct object:*
a. The direct object has to follow the past participle only if this has moved from its base position to a dedicated position above the area hosting adverbial PPs;
b. The direct object has to precede the past participle only if this has not moved from its base position.

The descriptive generalization above is already counterevidence to the structure proposed in (411). First of all, in that structure VO word order is derived through movement of the past participle above AgrOP. The data presented in this section have shown that the past participle has to pass also all adverbial PPs in order to create linear VO word order. The structure has at least

to be refined with a position for adverbial PPs, which given the fact that the past participle can never be followed by any adverb, has to be below VoiceP, as shown in (418).

(418)
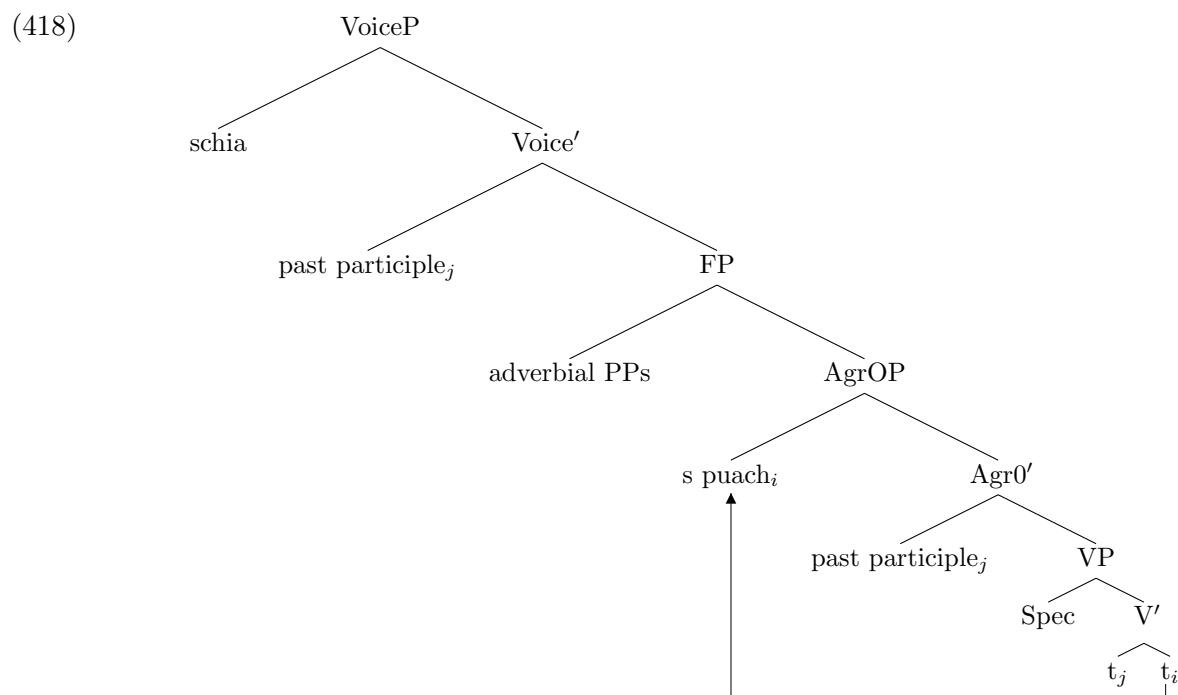
Secondly, that structure predicts that in the case of lack of past participle movement the unmarked order of consituents has to be *manner adverbs-adverbial PPs-direct object-past participle*. The data in (417) above have already shown that in cases of sentences with OV word oder involving adverbial PPs and a direct object, this precedes adverbial PPs, but nothing is said with respect to i) the obligatoriness of this order and ii) on the position of manner adverbs.

In order to test this prediction, in what follows I take into consideration the position of the direct object in main declarative clauses with OV word order and its distribution with respect to i) adverbial PPs; ii) other argumental PPs and iii) sentential and low adverbs.

Let's begin with determining the position of the direct object with respect to low adverbs.

6.3.2 Position of the direct object with respect to low adverbs and adverbial PPs

Focusing for the moment on the position of the direct object with respect to low adverbs, in (419) I show that the unmarked position for a direct object is before low adverbs. In (419a,b) we see that the direct object cannot follow the completive *gonz*, but can follow the manner adverb *schia* if this is focused (419c,d). The same syntactic behaviour is shared by the adverbs: *pahenn*, "quickly" and *schlect*, "badly".

(419) **a.** *Der Luca hot schua s/a puach <u>gonz</u> galezen*
  the Luca has already the/a book completely read
  b. **Der Luca hot schua <u>gonz</u> s/a puach galezen*
  the Luca has already completely the/a book read
  'Luca has already read the/a whole book'
  c. *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz <u>schia</u> putzt*
  the mam has already/always the house well cleaned

d. *De mama hot schua/ollbe <u>SCHIA</u> s hauz putzt (ont net presapoc)*
the mam has already/always well the house cleaned and not superficially
'Mum has already/always cleaned well the house'

The fact that in Mòcheno sentences with OV word order direct objects have to precede low adverbs in the unmarked order points to the fact, following standard assumptions made for standard German (among others Brugger/Poletto 1995 and Hinterhölzl 2006), that in Mòcheno the direct object always leaves VP in sentences with OV word order and targets a position that is found above low adverbs.

This finding falsifies the prediction made by the structure in (418), according to which the direct object moves out of VP to a projection found below low adverbs and speaks in favour of the idea that the direct object moves out to VP a Spec position of a projection found above the position of low adverbs, as sketched in (420), where I assume that this projection is AgrOP.

(420)
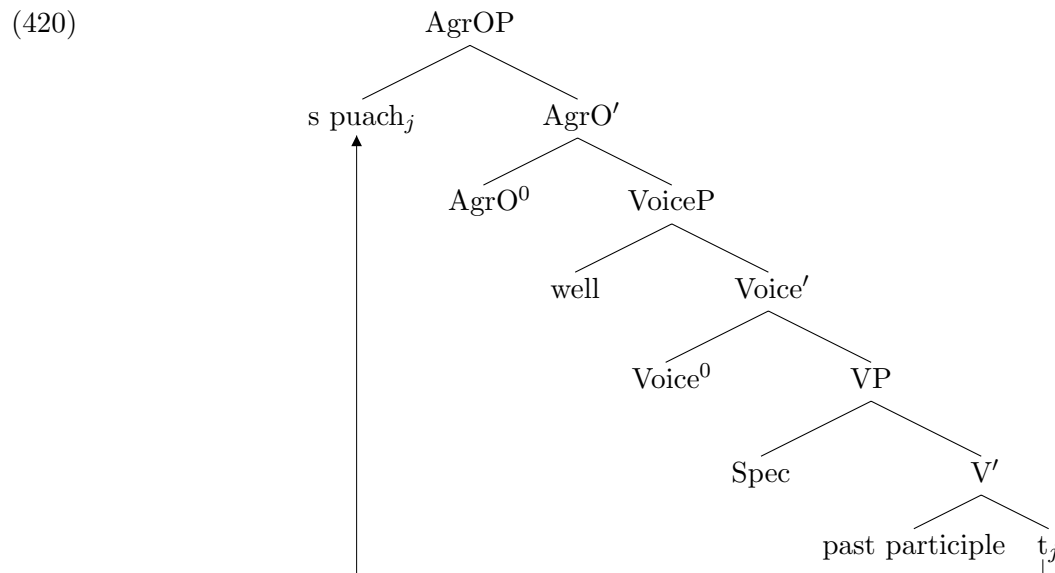
If we compare the order of direct objects and low adverbs in OV and in VO syntax, we find out that they one the mirror image of the other, as summed up in the following descriptive generalization (421):

(421)   *Descriptive generalization on the order of direct object-low adverbs:*
          a. In OV syntax these constituents show up in the order *direct object-low adverbs*;
          b. In VO syntax they show up in the mirror image *low adverbs-direct object.*

The other prediction made by the structure in (418) that has to be verified is the position of the direct object with respect to adverbial PPs and low adverbs. The expectation is that a direct object has to follow also adverbial PPs.

As shown in (422), this expectation is not borne out, since the unmarked position of a direct object is before an adverbial PP (422a,c); when the direct object follows the adverbial PP, it gets a marked focus reading (422b,d). A focus reading would be possible also for the adverbial PP following the direct object, but, differently form the case of the direct object, this reading is not obligatory but only possible.

(422)   **a.** *De mama hot schua s hauz petn staupsauger putzt*

the mam has already the house with-the hoover cleaned

b. *De mama hot schua petn staupsauger S HAUZ putzt*

the mam has already with-the hoover the house cleaned

'Mam has already cleaned the house with the hoover'

c. *Der Luca hot schua a puach en de boteig kaft*

the Luca has already a book in the shop bought

d. *Der Luca hot schua en de boteig A PUACH kaft*

the Luca has already a book in the shop bought

'Luca has alredy bought a book in the shop'

Before adding the position of adverbial PPs to the structure of Mòcheno OV syntax, I want to look at the position of both direct object and adverbial PP with respect to low adverbs.

As shown in (423), there are two possible orders of low adverbs, adverbial PPs and a direct object in OV syntax. The first one, illustrated in (423a,d) is the one in which a direct object is followed by the adverbial PP and the adverb has scope on the verb; the other can be seen in (423b,e) and is the one in which the adverb precedes the adverbial PP. What is not possible, is the order in (423c,f), in which the low adverb predeces both direct object and adverbial PP.

(423) **a.** *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz petn staupssauger <u>schia</u> putzt*

the mam has already/always the house with-the hoover well cleaned

b. *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz <u>schia</u> petn staupsauger putzt*

the mam has already/always the house well with-the hoover cleaned

c. *??De mama hot schua/ollbe <u>schia</u> s hauz petn staupsauger putzt*

the mam has already/always well the house with-the hoover cleaned

'Mum has already/always cleaned well the house with the hoover'

d. *Der Luca hot s puach kan meir <u>gonz</u> galezen*

the Luca has the book at-the see completely read

e. *Der Luca hot s puach <u>gonz</u> kan meir galezen*

the Luca has the book completely at-the see read

f. *??Der Luca hot <u>gonz</u> s puach kan meir galezen*

the Luca has completely the book at-the see read

'Luca read the whole book at the see side'

Without considering for the moment the syntax of the cases in which the low adverb precedes the adverbial PP and other marked orders, in (424) I sketch the structure derived so far: direct objects leave VP and move to a position that is higher that the projections hosting adverbial PPs and low adverbs.

(424)

AgrOP
├── s puach$_j$
└── AgrO′
    ├── AgrO^0
    └── FP
        ├── adverbial PP
        └── VoiceP
            ├── well
            └── Voice′
                ├── Voice^0
                └── VP
                    ├── Spec
                    └── V′
                        ├── past participle
                        └── t$_j$

In (425), I try to combine two low adverbs. As shown in (425a,b), completive *gonz* has to precede manner *schia*

(425)   **a.** *Gester hone schua s hauz gonz schia putzt*   *manner-AspCompl I*
        yesterday have-SUBJ CL already the house completely well cleaned
        b. **Gester hone schua s hauz schia gonz putzt*   *AspCompl I-manner*
        yesterday have-SUBJ CL already the house well completely cleaned

A note on the double-object construction and argumental PPs

In (426), I show that in Mòcheno the unmarked order of arguments in the double-object construction is direct object-indirect object; the inverted order can only be used in order to focus the direct object. Also for an indirect object the same observation made above for adverbial PPs holds: in the unmarked order *direct object-indirect object* the latter argument could be focused, but would not have to, differently from a direct object in that position.

(426)   **a.** *De mama hot schua s puach en de Maria gem*
        the mam has already the book to the Mary given
        b. *De mama hot schua en de Maria S PUACH gem*
        the mam has already to the Mary the book given
        'Mam has already given Mary the book'
        c. *Der dai kamarot hot der Mario en de Maria vourstellt*
        the your friend has the Mario-DO to the Mary introduced
        d. *Der dai kamarot hot en de Maria DER MARIO vourstellt*
        the your friend has the Mary the Mario-DO introduced
        'Your friend introduced Mary into Mario'

As illustrated in (427), argumental PPs seem to show up in a lower position with respect to adverbial PPs. In (427a,b) I show that a PP selected by the verb cannot precede the manner adverb

schia, whereas this is generally possible[6]; in (427c,d) can be seen that an indirect object cannot precede an adverbial PP.

(427) **a.** *Hait hone schua s holz schia en de holzlhitt galekt*
today have-SUBJ CL already the wood well in the wood case put
b. *??Hait hone schua s holz en de holzlhitt schia galekt*
today have-SUBJ CL already the wood in the wood case well put
c. *Hait hot-er schua s puach petn aoto en de Maria gem*
today has-SUBJ CL already the book with-the car to the Mary given
d. **Hait hot-er schua s puach en de Maria petn aoto gem*
today has-SUBJ CL already the book to the Mary with the car given
'He has already brought Mary the book by car'

In (428), I sketch the structure derived so far. Selected PPs appear immediately above VP and below VoiceP, in a projection that I label PredP (Hinterhölzl 2006), adverbial PPs precede low adverbs and the direct object precedes adverbial PPs, in a position that for the moment I call AgrOP.

(428)

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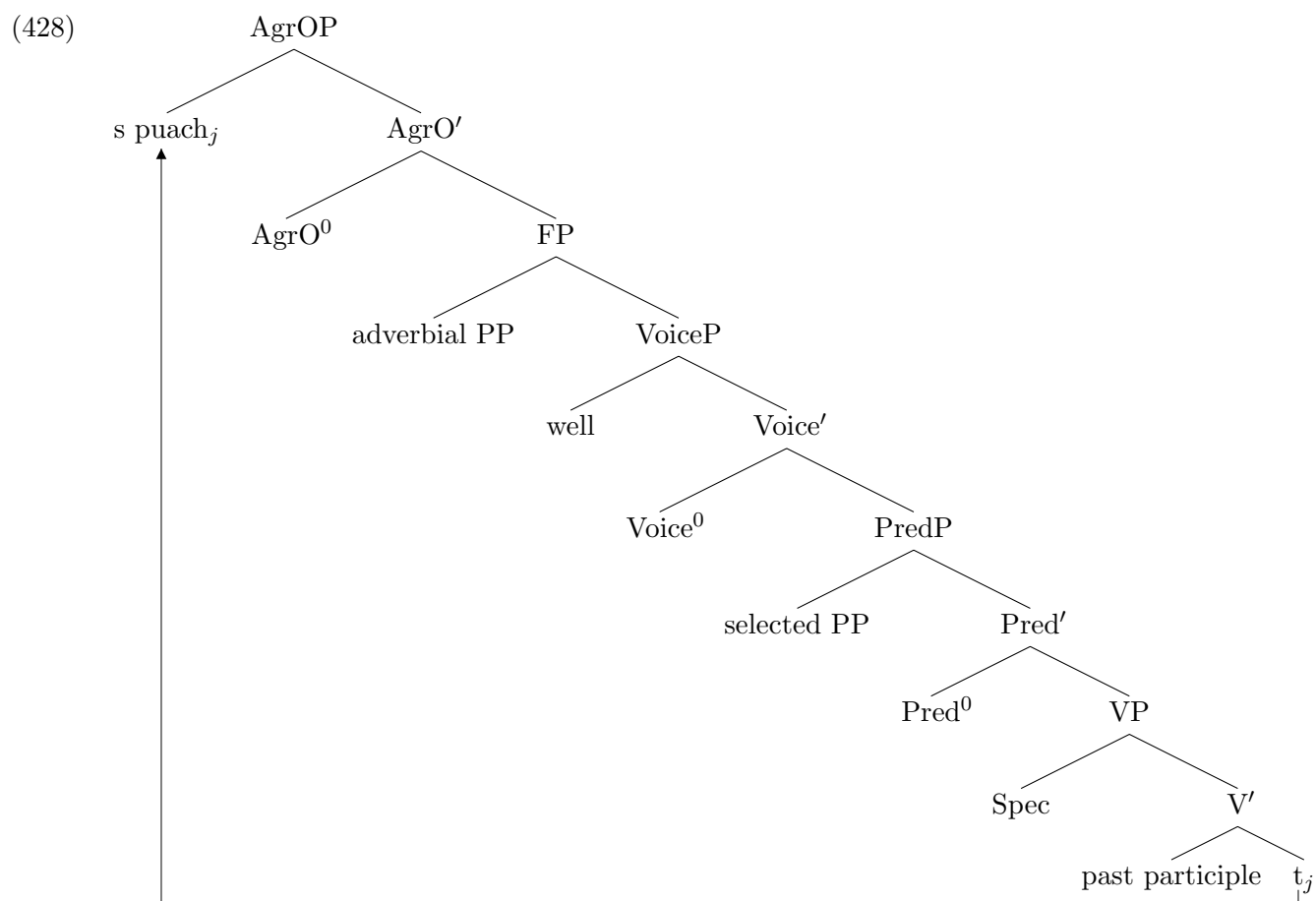
[6]Below, I discuss this fact by showing that the order *schia* - adverbial PP is derived through movement of the low adverb above adverbial PPs. The fact that *schia* has always to precede argumental PPs shows that the base-position of these elements is lower that VoiceP.

After reconstructing the order of constituents in OV syntax summed up (428), in the next subsection I consider the order of verb arguments and PPs in VO sentences, in order to determine how the past participle raises, and if mirror effects arise.

6.3.3   Order of verb arguments and PPs in VO sentences

In (428) I gave the structure of the lowest portion of the clause in main declarative clauses with OV syntax; following the previous discussion on the order of adverbial PPs and relying on Cinque (2006, 2008), I take the order of OV sentences to be the base order previous to movement of the past participle.

Now, in this subsection I look at what word orders involving arguments, argumental PPs and low adverbs are possible in VO sentences.

Focusing first on the order of a direct object and an adverbial PP, in (429) I show that both orders found in OV syntax are possible: the unmarked position for the direct object is before the adverbial PP (429a,c), whereas in the inverted one the direct object gets a focus reading (429b,d).

(429)   **a.** *Gester der tata hot putzt s haus petn staupsauger*
yesterday the dad has cleaned the house with-the hoover
b. *Gester der tata hot putz pet staupsauger S HAUZ*
yesterday the dad has cleaned with-the hoover the house
c. *I hon zechen de Maria az en plotz*
I have seen the Mary in the square
d. *I hon zechen az en plotz DE MARIA*
I have seen in the square the Mary
'I saw Mary in the square'

I think that these data have shown that VO word order is surely derived via past participle movement, but no pied piping takes place in the case a direct object and an adverbial PP are present in the clause.

Now, what about the position of low adverbs. As shown in (430), low adverbs cannot stay in any positions after the past participle, but can only precede it (see also above).

(430)   **a.** **Gester der tata hot putzt (schia) s haus (schia) petn staupsauger (schia)*
yesterday the dad has well cleaned the house well with-the hoover well
b. **Gester der tata hot putzt (schia) petn staupsauger (schia) s hauz (schia)*
yesterday the dad has cleaned well with-the hoover well the house well
c. *Gester der tata hot schia putz pet staupsauger*
yesterday the dad has well cleaned the house with-the hoover the house

Recall, that the past participle in VO syntax is always followed by adverbial PPs and can also pied pipe them, as repeated in (486).

(431)   **a.** *Benn hoso galezen s puach pet geist en dai zimmer?*   *DO-MANNER-LOC*
when have-SUB CL read the book with passion in your room
b. *Benn hoso galezen s puach en dai zimmer pet geist?*   *DO-LOC-MANNER*
when have-SUB CL read the book in your room with passion
c. *Benn hoso galezen en dai zimmer pet geist s puach?*   *LOC-MANNER-DO*
when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
d. **Benn hoso galezen pet gaist en dai zimmer s puach?*   **MANNER-LOC-DO*

when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
'When did you read the book with passion in your room?'

The data discussed in this section have shown that in Mòcheno the hypothesis that OV syntax reflects base word order previous to movement of the past participle and that VO word order is derived via past participle (without or with pied piping) movement above verb arguments and adverbial PPs leads to positive results, since it allows to make sense of the syntax of VO and OV word order in a straightforward way.

This hypothesis has though to fact one problem, that is the syntax of low adverbs, which, contrary to expectations made on the basis of the base structure reconstructed for OV word order (428) and on the idea that VO syntax is derived by simply moving the past participle above the area hosting verb arguments and adverbial PPs, have all to precede the past participle in VO word order, as repeated in (432a).

(432) **a.** *Ber hot putzt (schia/gonz) s hauz (schia/gonz) petn staupsauger (schia/gonz)?*
who has cleaned well/completely the house well/completely with the hoover well/completely
b. *Der Nane hot putzt (schia/gonz) s hauz (schia/gonz) petn staupsauger (schia/gonz)*
the John has cleaned well/completely the house well/completely with the hoover well/completely

In what follows, I try to reconcile the structure in (428) and the idea that VO word order is derived through past participle movement by examining the syntax of low adverbs and compare its properties with those of separable prefixes, providing evidence in favour of the fact that low adverbs, just as separable prefixes, are generated immediately VP, as can be seen in Mòcheno OV main clauses, but that in sentences with VO word order they have to move above verb arguments and adverbial PPs.

6.3.4 Scope properties of low adverbs

Cinque (1999:14ff) shows that in Italian the unmarked position for low adverbs is below the past participle and before verb complements, as in (433a,c); in the case low adverbs follow verb arguments, they get a marked reading (433b,d).

(433) **a.** *Gianni ha rifatto bene i compiti*
John has redone well the homework
b. *Gianni ha rifatto i compiti BENE*
John has redone the homework well
c. *Gianni ha dato tutto a Maria*
John has given everything to Mary
d. *Gianni ha dato a Maria TUTTO*
John has given to Mary everything

Cinque provides several arguments against considering the examples above as an indication for the need to hypothesise the presence of two areas where low adverbs can be generated, but puts forth the idea that all cases in which low adverbs follow verb complements, the past participle together with verb arguments have moved above the low adverb.

In (434), I sketch how this derivation works.

(434)

```
                        FP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            Spec                  F′
         ┌───┴───┐          ┌─────┴─────┐
    rifatto i compiti_VP   F⁰         VoiceP
                                   ┌────┴────┐
                                 bene      Voice′
                                        ┌────┴────┐
                                      Voice⁰    t_VP
```
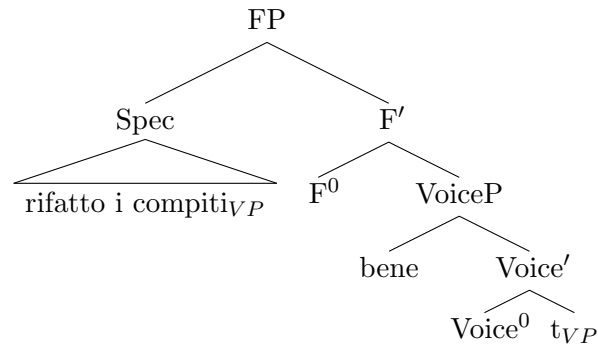
Let's see now if Cinque's derivation for the Italian cases can help with the Mòcheno OV and VO ones, in particular if the orders of adverbs in Mòcheno can somehow be reduced to the same scope effects on the one hand and to a similiar derivation on the other.

Now, in (435a,b), I repeat the examples in which low adverbs show up in their unmarked positions in OV syntax, that is below verb arguments and adverbial PP immediately before the past participle. In these examples, the manner adverb scopes on the event. As shown in (435c,d), this reading is reached in Italian with the order *past participle-manner adverb-verb arguments*.

(435) **a.** *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz petn staupssauger <u>schia putzt</u>*
the mam has already/always the house with-the hoover well cleaned
b. *Der Luca hot s puach kan meir <u>gonz galezen</u>*
the Luca has the book at-the see completely read
c. *La mamma ha già <u>pulito bene</u> la casa con l'aspirapolvere*
the mam has already cleaned well the house with-the hoover
d. *Luca ha <u>letto completamente</u> il libro al mare*
Luca has read all the book at see

When manner adverbs precede an adverbial PP in Mòcheno sentences with OV word order, as in (436a,b), we have different scope properties: low adverbs do not scope over the event, but over verb and PP.

(436) **a.** *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz <u>schia</u> [petn staupsauger putzt]*
the mam has already/always the house well with-the hoover cleaned
b. *Der Luca hot s puach <u>gonz kan meir</u> galezen*
the Luca has the book completely at-the see read

It is very relevant that in Mòcheno low adverbs cannot scope over the event if they precede both direct object and adverbial PP, as repeated in (453)[7].

(437) **a.** *??De mama hot schua/ollbe <u>schia</u> s hauz petn staupsauger putzt*
the mam has already/always well the house with-the hoover cleaned
b. *??Der Luca hot <u>gonz</u> s puach kan meir galezen*
the Luca has completely the book at-the see read

---

[7]According to my field work this generalization holds as long as an adverb of the *Mittelfeld* is present; it it lacks it is possible to move low adverbs above verb arguments. That position seems to be a TopicP of the lowest portion of CP, where familiarity topics are hosted (see chapter 4); interestingly, manner adverbs can be topicalised in the high left periphery, but not focused: *SCHIA hot-er galezen s puach ont net presapoc. I cannot go into the details of the syntax of adverbs in the left periphery.

'Luca read the whole book at the see side'

The analysis of the scope properties of low adverbs in Italian and in Mòcheno OV syntax has shown that in Mòcheno low adverbs can scope over the event only when they immediately precede the past participle; when they precede it, they can only scope over verb and PP. A direct object can never be in the scope of a low adverb. In Italian, we have the inverted pattern: scope over the event is reached when low adverbs precede verb arguments.

These data point to the fact that the order *low adverb-adverbial PP* is a derived order, in which the low adverb gets a marked reading. I think that this has to be made sense of by assuming that the low adverb can move independently to the Spec position of a TopicP or a FocusP of the vP periphery. Differently from Italian, it seems to me that for Mòcheno it has to be assumed that low adverbs can move independently of past participle.

In (438), I sketch how the derivation of a sentence in which a manner adverb precedes an adverbial PP. According to the syntax of manner adverbs, we have derived a structure in which the vP periphery precedes low adverbs and is below the position targeted by the direct object leaving VP: this is evidenced by the fact that low adverbs with a marked reading can never precede a direct object,

(438)
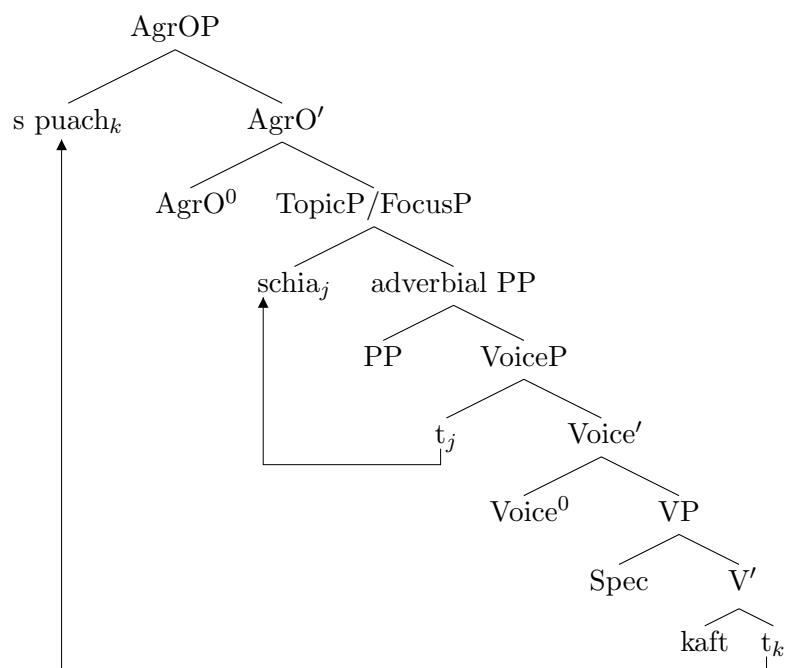
The discussion so far has allowed to give an answer to only one question, that is why two word orders of low adverbs are possible in OV syntax and why they have different scope properties. It has also shown that low adverbs are hosted in Spec positions and are not weak elements, since they can be focused. The asymmetries with respect to the scope properties of low adverbs in OV syntax have been made sense of by assuming that low adverbs can move from their base-position above VP from where they have an unmarked reading (scope over the event) to a FocusP from where they scope over the PP.

No conclusions have been reached with respect to the problem I started from, that is why low adverbs are the only constituents that can precede the past participle in Mòcheno VO, contrary to the predictions made on the basis of the order of constituents in Mòcheno OV.

Let's determine what scope properties the low adverb preceding the past participle in VO syntax has. I illustrate this point with the most straightforward case, that is with the AspCompletiveII realised by *gonz*, since with *schia* it is not easy to see what its scope properties are.

According to the judgement of the informant, a sentence such as (439), in which the low adverb precedes the past participle and direct object and PP follow is ambiguous between the two possible scopes of *gonz*, even though the most natural is scope over the event.

(439)   *Der Luca hot schua gonz galezen s puach kan meir*
         the Luca has already completely read the book at-the see
         'Luca read the whole book at the see side/ Luca finished the book at the see side'

We saw above that in Mòcheno sentences with OV syntax, scope-over-the-event reading is possible only if the low adverbs precedes the past participle and that independent movement of the low adverb above verb arguments is ruled out. This fact, together with the discussion above, clearly shows that the position of the low adverb in (439) is a derived position and that the possibility for the low adverb to appear there is connected to past participle movement: if the past participle moves, also the low adverb can move.

In what follows, I want to propose that, despite apparences, low adverbs can move independetly above the past participle in VO syntax, that is they are not moved in a bigger constituent in which they precede the past participle. The hypothesis that I want to put forth is that in Mòcheno low adverbs behave syntactically as separable prefixes and not as adverbs in the proper sense. This idea might seem speculative at first sight, but I think that there are good reasons for proposing it.

6.3.5   A note on separable prefixes

In this subsection, I want to provide evidence that the syntactic behaviour of low adverbs can be captured if we assume that they behave as separable prefixes and that in sentences with VO word order they have to move from their base-position above VP to a higher position above verb arguments. This position is found in the same area where I assume the past participle moves to in order to give rise to VO syntax (see above).

At first sight the idea that low adverbs are to be treated as prefixes seems to be wrong. If low adverbs were inseparable prefixes, it would be expected that they always had to precede the root, as is the case of inseparable prefixes (440a,b); as shown in (440c) this prediction is not borne out, since a low adverb cannot precede a verb in the present form, but has to obligatory follow it (440d).

(440)   **a.** *I hon ga-denken de mama*
         I have INSEP-PREF-think the mum
         b. **I hon denken de mama ga*
         I have think the mum INSEP-PREF
         'I thought of my mam'
         c. **Der Mario schia putzt s hauz*
         the Mario well cleans the house
         d. *Der Mario putzt schia s hauz*
         the Mario cleans well the house
         'Mario cleans well the house'

On ths basis of the data in (440), I put forth the hypothesis that low adverbs do not behave as inseparable prefixes, but as the separable ones[8].

In order to provide evidence for this idea, I have to describe first the syntax of inseparable prefixes in Mòcheno, which is different from the one of separable prefixes of standard German (see Rowley 2003:293ff).

When the prefix verb shows up in the present tense, the prefix has to follow the root, as shown in (441a,b); this means that no *Satzklammerstruktur* is possible with separable prefix verbs, differently from German (441c,d).

(441) **a.** *Ber schikt vort der prief?*
who sends SEP PREF the letter
b. **Ber schikt der prief vort?*
who sends the letter SEP PREF
'Who sends the letter?'
c. *Hans gibt zuviel Geld aus*
John gives too much money SEP PREF
d. **Hans gibt aus zuviel Geld*
John gives SEP PREF too much money
'John gives away too much money'

When the verb with separable prefix shows up as as past participle, the separable prefix has to obligatory precede the verbal root, as shown in (442a-d); this is the same syntax as standard German (442e).

(442) **a.** *Ber hot vortschickt der priaf?*
who has SEP PRE-sent the letter
b. **Ber hot schickt vort der priaf?*
who has sent-SEP PREF the letter
'Who sent the letter?'
c. *Er hot upfunkt s puach*
he has SEP PREF-begonnen the book
d. **Er hot pfunkt u s puach*
he has begonnen SEP PREF the book
'He has begonnen the book'
e. *Hans hat zuviel Geld ausgegeben*
John has too much money SEP PREF-given
'John gave away too much money'

The pattern shown by separable prefixes of Mòcheno apparently recalls the one shown by Romance dialect, in particular Veneto (Benincà/Poletto 2005) and Trentino (Cordin 2008) varieties, since also these dialects no *Satzklammerstruktur* is possible with a present tense (443a,b), but differently from Mòcheno the prefix cannot precede the past participle (443c,d).

(443) **a.** *El Mario el mola fora le galine tute le matine*   *Trentino*

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[8]Following Damonte/Padovan 2009, I assume that inseparable prefixes of Mòcheno are to be analysed as heads that form part of the root, whereas inseparable prefixes are hosted in Spec positions. The idea that low adverbs behave as separable prefixes and not as the inseparable ones also implies that low adverbs are Spec and not heads, which is a positive result.

Mario leaves outside the hens every morning

b. **El Mario el mola le galine fora tute le matine*   *Trentino*

Mario leaves the hens outside every morning

'Mario let the hens out every morning'

c. *Chi è lo che ha magnà fora tut?*   *Trentino*

who is-PRON that has eaten out everything

d. **Chi è lo che ha fora magnà tut?*   *Trentino*

who is-PRON that has out eaten everything

'Who has finished off everything?'

In order to make sense of the distribution of separable prefixes in Mòcheno, I put forth the idea that separable prefixes in main declarative clauses do not show up in their base-position (above VP), nor have moved together with the verb, but I put forth the idea that they have moved independently above verb arguments. I claim that the Spec position targeted by prefixes when they move from their base-position is in the same area to which the past participle raises in Mòcheno sentences with VO word order.

The first piece of evidence in favour of an analysis of separable prefixes as the one sketched above comes from the sentences in (444), where I give one argument against the idea that the separable prefix following the tensed root has moved together with the verb. If tensed lexical verb and separable prefix had moved together in this order, it would be expected that they cannot be separated by intervening material. As shown in (444a,b), this prediction is not borne out, since *Mittelfeld* adverbs hasve to intervene between root and prefix.

(444)   **a.** *Der Nane <u>schickt</u> niamer/ollbe <u>vort</u> an priaf en Luca*

           the John sends never/always SEP PREF a letter to Luca

         b. **Der Nane <u>schickt vort</u> niamer/ollbe an priaf en Luca*

           the John sends SEP PREF never/always a letter to Luca

           'John never sends a letter to Luca'

I take the data in (444) to point to the fact that the separable prefix in the sentences above does not move with the finite verb, but moves independently to an area found below *Mittelfeld*-adverbs and above verb arguments.

In (445), I provide one argument in favour of the idea that the position of separable prefixes above verb arguments is a derived position and not a base position; I will rely on the syntax of a small class of separable prefixes, such as *u-*, which corresponds to German *an*. As shown in (445), the prefix *u-* can show up in two positions of the clause: either in the last position giving rise to a *Satzklammerstruktur* (445a), or in the same position as other separable prefixes, that is above verb arguments and below NegP as in (445b).

(445)   **a.** *Der Nane <u>pfunkt</u> niamer s puach avn tisch <u>u</u>*

           the John begins never the book on the table SEP-PREF

         b. *Der Nane <u>pfunkt</u> niamer <u>u</u> s puach avn tisch*

           the John begins never SEP-PREF the book on the table

           'John never begins the book on the table'

I take the data in (445) to point to the fact that separable prefixes in Mòcheno are base-generated in a low position, immediately above VP and below verb arguments and adverbial PPs; when they appear above verb arguments, I assume that they have moved there. Only a small class

still maintains the possibility to remain in the base-position and to raise above verb arguments, but I assume that this possibility was once common to all separable prefixes.

In (446) I formalise this proposal. I assume that separable prefixes are the realization of the Spec position of an Aspectual or Adverbial head in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, as proposed by Damonte/Padovan 2009, and that in main declarative clauses they have to move from their base-position above VP to a higher position above the verb arguments and below NegP. The finite verb raises with head movement to the head of CP where it is attracted by the XP in first position.

(446)

```
TopicP
├── Der Mario_i
└── Topic′
    ├── schickt_j
    └── TP
        ├── t_i
        └── T′
            ├── t_j
            └── [...]
                └── NegP
                    ├── niamer
                    └── Neg′
                        ├── t_j
                        └── FP
                            ├── vort_k
                            └── F′
                                ├── t_j
                                └── AgrOP
                                    ├── a prief_m
                                    └── AgrO′
                                        ├── t_j
                                        └── AspP
                                            ├── t_k
                                            └── Asp′
                                                ├── t_j
                                                └── VP
                                                    ├── Spec
                                                    └── V′
                                                        ├── t_j
                                                        └── t_m
```
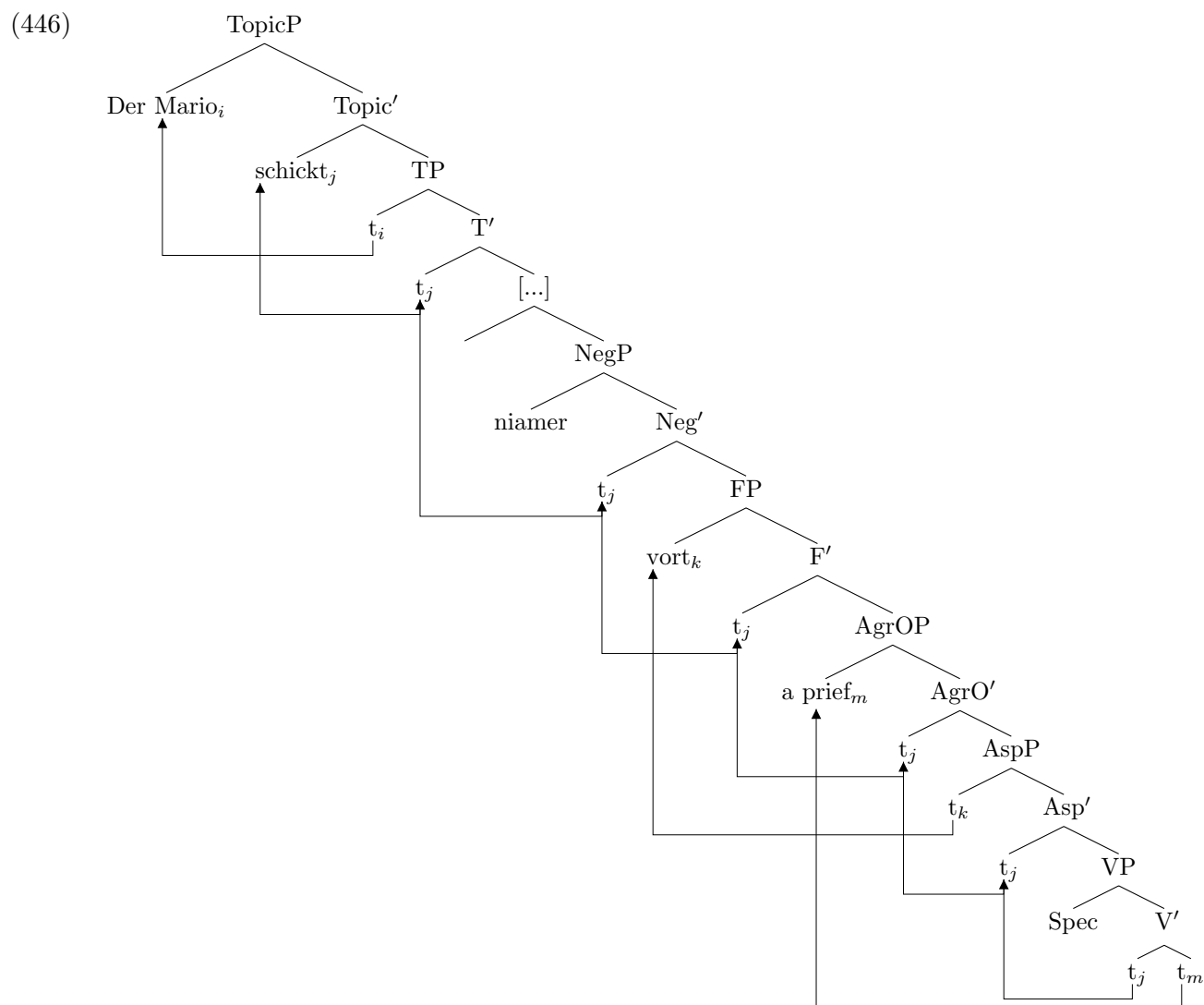
The analysis proposed in (446) for verb prefixes can successfully be applied to the cases in which the root is a past participle. As repeated in (449), when the root is a past participle, the prefix has to precede the root (449a); when the past participle in the form *prefix-root* is formed, both OV and VO word orders are possible (449b,c).

(447) **a.** **Der Mario hot (der prief) schicken vort (der prief)*
the Mario has the letter sent PREF the letter
b. *Der Mario hot s prief vortschicken*
the Mario has the letter PREF-sent
c. *Der Mario hot vortschicken der prief*

the Mario has PREF-sent the letter

'Mario sent the letter'

Assuming that VO word order is derived through past participle movement (see above), whereas OV syntax reflects base-word order previous to movement of the verb, I propose that sentences (449b,c) have to be derived proposing that i) in OV syntax both past participle and separable prefix remain in their base-positions above VP and ii) in VO syntax the prefix has moved independently above verb arguments (as in sentences with a present tense), and the past participle has moved itself to the head of the AspP hosting the prefix. This means that the differences in the position of the prefix in sentences with a tensed main verb and sentences with a past participle are due to the fact that a finite verb has to only move to the head of the higher AspP to whose Spec the prefix moves, since it has to move to TP and CP, whereas the past participle has to remain there, once it has left its base position above VP[9].

In (448), I sketch the derivation of a sentence with a past participle with a separable prefix and VO word order.

---

[9]Further evidence in favour of the idea that separable prefixes can move in Mòcheno also when the lexical verb is a past participle comes from the fact that in this languages prefixes can be separated from their root in verb complexes and precede a modal verb, see the following example from the variety of Palù: *hom <u>auz</u> gamiazt gia za kaven*, "We had to out, in order to buy" (Rowley 2003:295).

(448)

TopicP
- Der Mario$_i$ Topic′
  - hot$_n$ TP
    - t$_i$ T′
      - t$_n$ [...]
        - NegP
          - niamer   Neg′
            - Neg^0 FP
              - vort$_k$ F′
                - schickt   AgrOP
                  - a prief$_m$ AgrO′
                    - t$_j$ AspP
                      - t$_k$ Asp′
                        - t$_j$ VP
                          - Spec   V′
                            - t$_j$ t$_m$
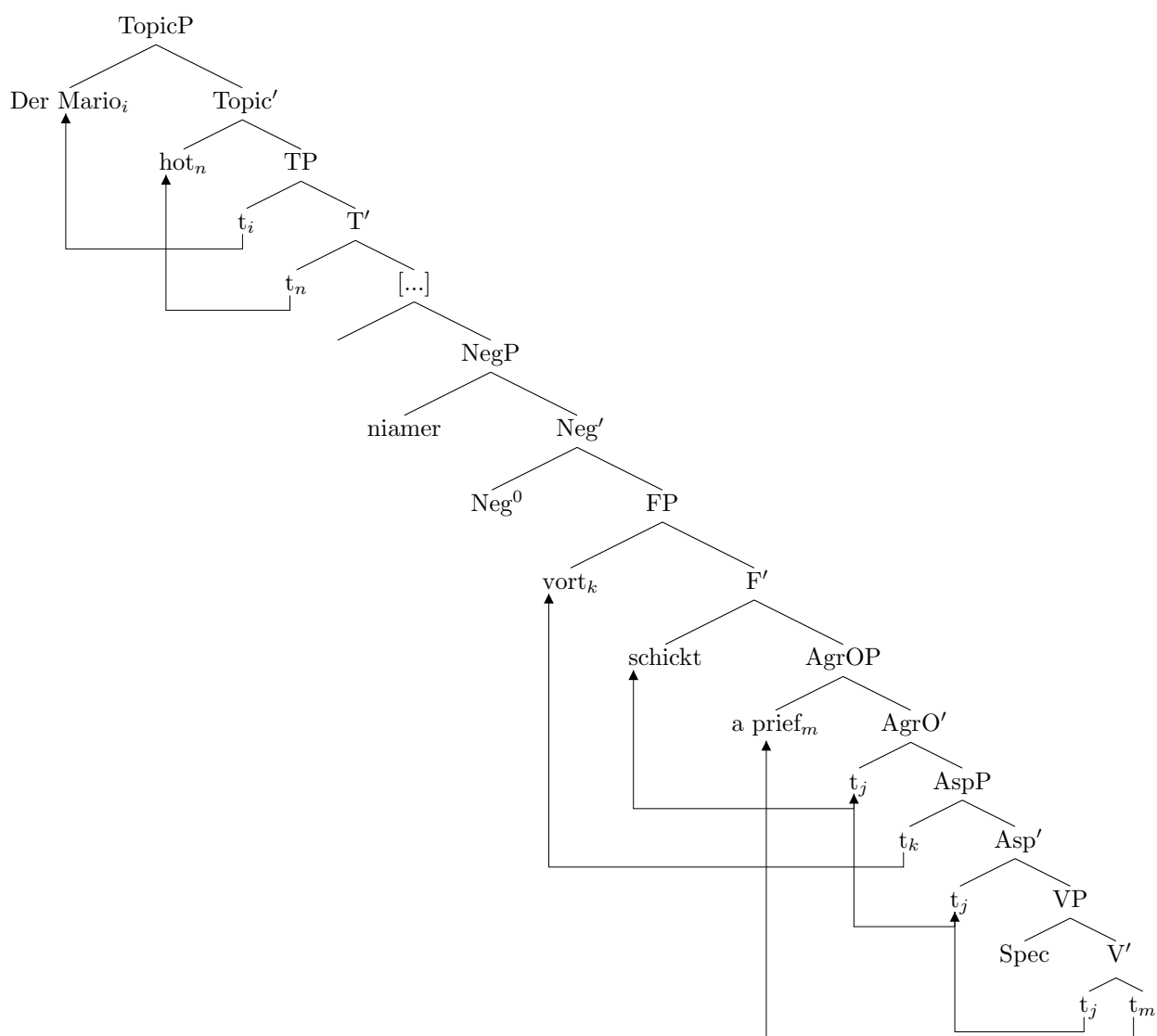
Now, the syntactic behaviour of separable prefixes is identical to the one of low adverbs considered above.

With respect to the distribution of separable prefixes and low adverbs on the past participle, in (449a,b) we see that both elements have to precede the past participle; both OV and VO syntax are admitted in a sentence with a compound tense, and both prefix and low adverb have to precede the past participle with both OV and VO (449c-f).

(449)   **a.** **Der Mario hot (der prief) schicken vort (der prief)*
the Mario has the letter sent PREF the letter
    b. **Der Mario hot (der prief) schrip schia (der prief)*
the Mario has the letter written well the letter
    c. *Der Mario hot s prief vortschicken*
the Mario has the letter PREF-sent
    d. *Der Mario hot der prief schia schrip*
the Mario has the letter well written
    e. *Der Mario hot vortschicken der prief*
the Mario has PREF-sent the letter

f. *Der Mario hot schia schrip der prief*

the Mario has well written the letter

In sentences with a simple tense, we see again a symmetry between separable prefixes and low adverbs: as shown in (450), both separable prefixes and low adverbs have to obligatory follow the considered adverbs and precede verb arguments.

(450)   **a.** *Der Nane schickt niamer/ollbe vort a priaf en Luca*

the John sends never/always SEP PREF a letter to Luca

b. **Der Nane schickt vort niamer/ollbe a priaf en Luca*

the John sends SEP PREF never/always a letter to Luca

c. *Der Nane putzt niamer/ollbe schia s hauz*

the John cleans never/always well the house

d. **Der Nane putzt schia ollbe/niamer s hauz*

the John cleans well never/always the house

On the basis of the evidence provided in favour of the idea that separable prefixes and low adverbs have the same distribution and on the basis of the analysis of separable prefixes given above, I put forth the hypothesis that low adverbs have to always precede the past participle in sentences in which all verb arguments and adverbial PPs follow the past participle (VO) because they behave as separable prefixes. Therefore, I reject the idea that the order *low adverb-past participle-verb arguments* is derived by movement of low adverbs and past partiple above verb arguments, and assume that linear order is derived in two steps: i) first the low adverb moves above verb arguments and ii) the past participle raises to the head of the projection in whose Spec the low adverb is to be found.

I have to assume that in the case two low adverbs are present in the clause, as in (451a), both of them have to move above verb arguments and adverbial PPs; this proposal is supported by the order of low adverbs preceding the past participle in a VO sentence, which as shown in (451b), can only be the base order (Asp Completive I preceding manner, see Cinque 1999). The fact that the order of the two adverbs cannot be changed is evidence if favour of a derivation similar to the one proposed by Cinque (1999) for cases of low adverbs following past participle and verb complements (see 434 above), which are derived through movement of a larger constituent containing verb complements.

(451)   **a.** *Ber hot gonz schia putzt s hauz petn staupsauger?*   *AspCompletiveI-manner*

who has completely well cleaned the house with-the hoover

b. **Ber hot schia gonz putzt s hauz petn staupsauger?*   *manner-AspCompletiveI*

who has well completely cleaned the house with-the hoover

In the structure in (452), I give the derivation of a VO sentence according to the idea that low adverbs have to move above verb arguments to the Spec of the projection hosting the past participle in its head.

(452)

```
TopicP
├── Der Mario_i
└── Topic′
    ├── hot_n
    └── TP
        ├── t_i
        └── T′
            ├── t_n
            └── [...]
                └── NegP
                    ├── niamer
                    └── Neg′
                        ├── Neg^0
                        └── FP
                            ├── schia_k
                            └── F′
                                ├── putzt_j
                                └── AgrOP
                                    ├── s hauz_m
                                    └── AgrO′
                                        ├── t_j
                                        └── VoiceP
                                            ├── t_k
                                            └── Voice′
                                                ├── t_j
                                                └── VP
                                                    ├── Spec
                                                    └── V′
                                                        ├── t_j
                                                        └── t_m
```
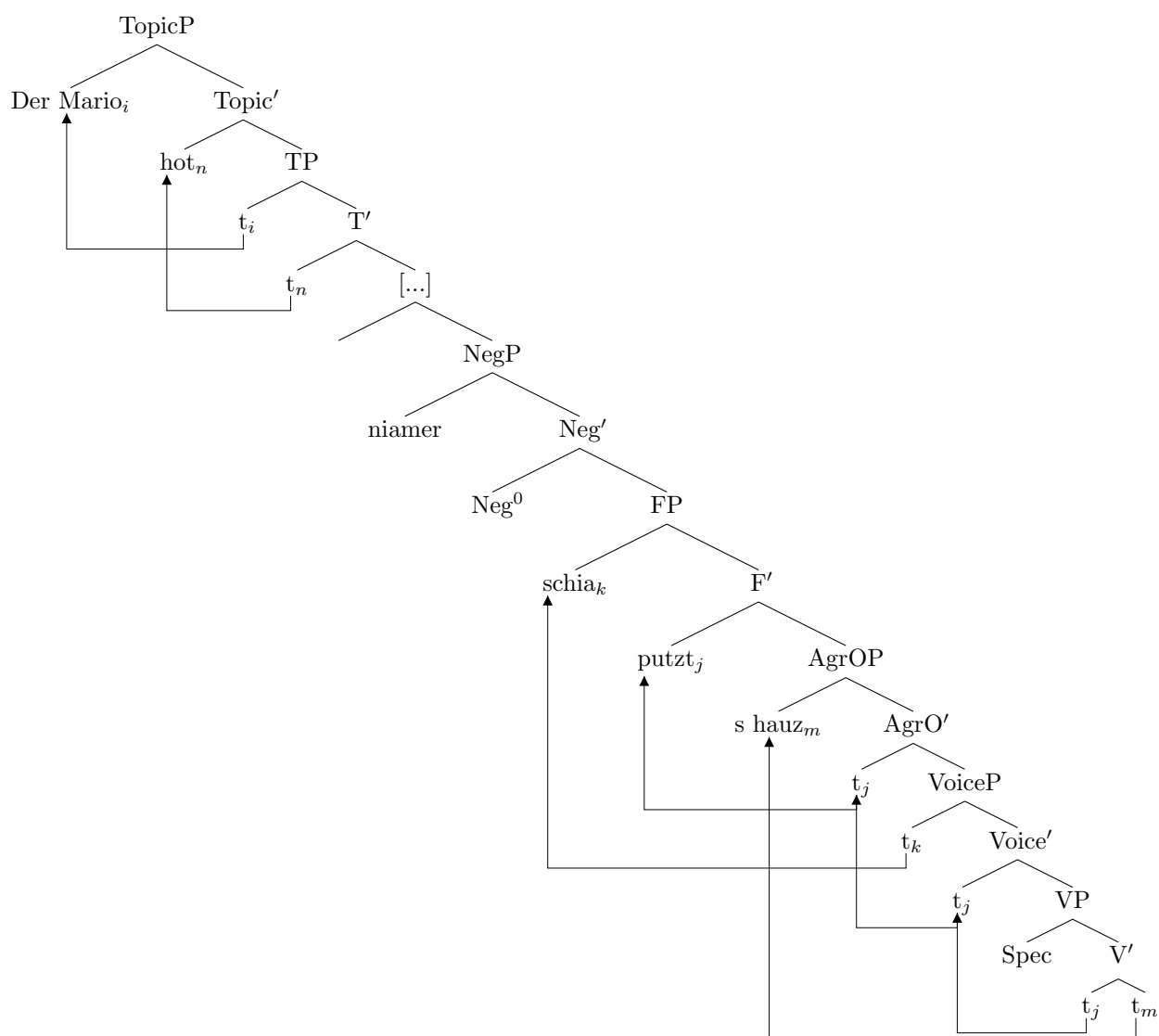
In this subsection, I have proposed an analysis of the syntax of low adverbs able to capture their syntactic distribution within the hypothesis that they are base-generated immediately above VP, which is their unmarked position in Mòcheno main declaratives with OV word order, and have to move above verb arguments in all VO sentences. The same pattern has been shown to be shared also by separable prefixes, which seems to point to the fact that separable prefixes and low adverbs belong to the same class of elements expressing low aspectuality and undergoing the same syntactic distribution.

One welcome result that I have reached in this subsection has been to connect the distribution of low adverbs and separable prefixes to VO word orders.

This is evident for low adverbs. As repeated in (453a,b), low adverbs cannot precede verb arguments in sentences with OV syntax, but can in a VO sentence, such as (453c,d).

(453) **a.** *??De mama hot schua/ollbe <u>schia</u> s hauz petn staupsauger putzt*
       the mam has already/always well the house with-the hoover cleaned
       b. *??Der Luca hot <u>gonz</u> s puach kan meir galezen*
       the Luca has completely the book at-the see read
       c. *De mama hot schua/ollbe schia putzt s hauz*

the mum has already/always well cleaned the house
d. *Der Luca hot gonz galezen s puach*
the Luca has completely read the book

Also the position of separable prefixes can be seen as a reflex of VO syntax, that is of the fact that most separable prefixes have to raise above verb arguments in VO sentences, that is in sentences with a simple tense (order: *finite verb-Mittelfeld adverbs-prefix-verb arguments*) and in VO sentences with a past participle. In this latter case the order is *auxiliary-Mittelfeld adverbs-prefix-past participle-verb arguments*, since in Mòcheno VO sentences the past participle moves to the same area hosting the prefix. In sentences with OV word order, both prefix and past participle remain in their base-positions above VP.

In the next subsection, I take into examination the last issue to be dealt with in order to show that VO word orders are derived through past participle movement starting out from the same structure as OV syntax, that is the position of *Mittelfeld* adverbs. As we have briefly seen above, these adverbs seem to be the border between the higher phase and the position targeted by the movement of the constituents giving rise to VO syntax, that is past participle, low adverbs and separable prefixes.

6.3.6 Position of verb arguments with respect to adverbs of the *Mittelfeld*

In this subsection, I take into examination the positions of verb arguments and adverbial PPs with respect to *Mittelfeld* adverbs in both OV and VO syntax in order to show that the past participle can never move higher that these adverbs in VO word orders. As already said, *Mittelfeld* adverbs is a cover term for several classes of adverbs identified by Cinque (1999) showing up between Asp RepetitiveI and Asp Prospective and listed in (454, from Cinque 1999:106).

(454)   [again $Asp_{repetitiveI}$ [often $Asp_{frequentativeI}$ [intentionally $Mod_{volitional}$ [quickly $Asp_{celerativeI}$ [already Tanterior [no longer $Asp_{terminative}$ [still $Asp_{continuative}$ [always $Asp_{perfect?}$ [just $Asp_{retrospective}$ [soon $Asp_{proximative}$ [briefly $Asp_{durative}$]]]]]]]]]]]

The main concern here is not to consider all classes of adverbs showing up in the *Mittelfeld* of Mòcheno, nor to determine their hierarchical order, but to simply show that all adverbs belonging to the classes considered have to show up before verb arguments. The possibility to create a border between lower and higher phases through the syntactic position of the adverbs considered is of great relevance for the whole analysis here and provides immediate evidence for the proposal made above concerning the syntax of separable prefixes and low adverbs.

As shown in (455a,d), the unmarked position of adverbs expressing Asp Repetitive I and Asp Frequentative I is above verb arguments; under certain conditions (see below) one of the two adverbs can scope over the PP (455b,e), but the pre-participial position is always ruled out (455c,f).

(455)   **a.** *I hon bider de Maria vour de kirch zechen*   *Asp RepetI*
        I have again the Mary in front the church seen
        b. *I hon de Maria bider vour de kirch zechen*   *Asp RepetI*
        I have the Mary again in front the church seen
        c. **I hon de Maria vour de kirch bider zechen*   *Asp RepetI*
        I have the Mary in front the church again seen
        'I have seen again Mary in front of the church'
        d. *I hon ofters a puach en de boteig kaft*   *AspFreqI*
        I have often a book in the shop bought

e. *I hon s puach <u>ofters</u> en de boteig kaft*   *AspFreqI*
I have the book often in the shop bought
f. **I hon a puach en de boteig <u>ofters</u> kaft*   *AspFreqI*
'I have bought a book often in the shop'

Let's look now at the distribution of verb arguments with respect to adverbs realising T anterior and Asp perfective. As it was the case of the adverbs examined above, scope over the event (unmarked reading) is reached if the adverb precedes verb arguments (456a,d); the adverbs can scope over the PP (456b,e), but they can never precede the past participle (456c,f).

(456)   **a.** *I hon <u>schua</u> s puach en de boteig kaft*   *T anterior*
I have already the book in the shop bought
    b. *I hon s puach <u>schua</u> en de boteig kaft*   *T anterior*
I have the book already in the shop bought
    c. **I hon s puach en de boteig <u>schua</u> kaft*   *T anterior*
I have the book in the shop already bought
'I have already bought the book in the shop'
    d. *Verten hone <u>ollbe</u> s hauz petn staupsauger putzt*   *AspPerfect*
last year have-SUBJ CL always the house with-the hoover cleaned
    e. *Verten hone s hauz <u>ollbe</u> petn staupsauger putzt*   *AspPerfect*
last year have-SUBJ CL the house always with-the hoover cleaned
    f. *Verten hone s hauz petn staupsauger <u>ollbe</u> putzt*   *AspPerfect*
last year have-SUBJ CL the house with-the hoover always cleaned
'Last year I always cleaned the house with the hoover'

The data just considered have shown that in Mòcheno *Mittelfeld* adverbs have to precede verb arguments and adverbial PPs in their unmarked reading, that is when they scope over the event. A direct object can precede *Mittelfeld* adverbs, leading to a scope reading over the PP[10], but in no case can the adverb precede the past participle (differently from low adverbs).

In (457), I combine low adverbs and *Mittelfeld* adverbs, showing that the former have to precede the past participle, whereas the latter have to predede verb arguments.

(457)   **a.** *Der tata hot <u>ollbe/ofters</u> s hauz petn staupsauger <u>schia/pahenn/gonz</u> putzt*
the dad has always/often the house with the hoover well/quickly/completely cleaned
    b. **Der tata hot <u>schia/pahenn/gonz</u> s hauz petn staupsauger <u>ollbe/ofters</u> putzt*
the dad has well/quickly/completely the house with the hoover always/often cleaned

The pattern described by the data in (457) allows to capture the majority of cases, but there are though unpredicted asymmetries, such as those in (458), when *already* and *well* are combined. As shown in (458a), when the two adverbs are combined in a sentence where only a direct object appears, they have to obligatory follow the verb argument; if they show up alone with the direct object they behave as predicted (458b,c). The relevant piece of data is though that their order cannot be changed (458d), which allows to propose an explanation in terms of movement of the direct object, which is forced for some reasons to show up before T anterior in this particular sentence.

(458)   **a.** *Der Mario hot s puach schua schia galezen*

---

[10]Below, I will propose that this order is derived through movement of the direct object to a TopicP of the left periphery.

the Mario has the book already well read

b. *Der Mario hot schua s puach galezen*

the Mario has already the book read

c. *Der Mario hot s puach schia galezen*

the Mario has the book well read

d. **Der Mario hot s puach schia schua galezen*

the Mario has the book well already bought

As already anticipated, in VO syntax *Mittelfeld* adverbs have to obligatory precede the past participle in VO syntax: according to the hypothesis, the past participle has to raise above verb arguments and adverbial PPs and below *Mittelfeld* adverbs.

(459)   **a.** *Der Mario hot ollbe pahenn auspfillt de korten*

the Mario has always quickly SEP PREF-filled the forms

b. **Der Mario hot pahenn auspfillt ollbe de korten*

the Mario has quickly SEP PREF-filled always the forms

'Mario has always filled in the forms quickly'

c. *Hait hot-er schua schia putzt s hauz*

today has-SUBJ CL already well cleaned the house

d. **Hait hot-er schia putzt schua s hauz*

today has-SUBJ CL well cleaned already the house

'He has already cleaned the house well today'

6.3.7 Partial conclusions

In this section, I have tried to provide evidence in favour of the idea that Mòcheno VO syntax is derived via movement of the past participle from its base-position in VP to a head position above verb arguments and adverbial PP, coherently with Cinque (2006, 2008). In order to do so, I considered the word orders of constituents in Mòcheno OV syntax, which on the basis of the order of adverbial PPs (only the order of merge *time-place-manner*), I took to reflect the base word order previous to movements. The analysis of word order patterns in Mòcheno sentences with OV word order allowed to reconstruct a completely different base structure from the one sketched by looking only at sentences with VO word order, that I repeat in (460). The past participle is preceded by adverbs realising completive aspect and manner modifications; direct objects have to precede these adverbs and also eventually present adverbial PPs. *Middlefeld* adverbs are higher up.

I provided evidence in favour of the idea that VO syntax is derived starting out from this structure through past participle movement to the head of a projection that I call FP. I showed that this projection is involved in all manifestations of VO word order and not only in past participle movement, since it can also host separable prefixes and low adverbs in its Spec position. Low adverbs and separable prefixes leave their base position independently of the movement of the verb, that is they are not moved as part of a bigger constituent with the verb. This point is very important since below I want to put forth the idea that the past participle raises, in the majority of cases, through head movement in Mòcheno VO sentences.

(460)

```
                              AspP
                          ╱        ╲
              Mittelfeld adv.       FP
                                 ╱     ╲
                              Spec      F′
                                     ╱     ╲
                                   F⁰       AgrOP
                                          ╱       ╲
                            direct object_j        AgrO′
                                               ╱        ╲
                                            AgrO⁰        AdverbialP
                                                      ╱          ╲
                                            adverbial PP          AspCompP
                                                               ╱         ╲
                                                            gonz          VoiceP
                                                                        ╱      ╲
                                                                     schia      VP
                                                                             ╱    ╲
                                                                          Spec     V′
                                                                                 ╱   ╲
                                                                          past part   t_j
```
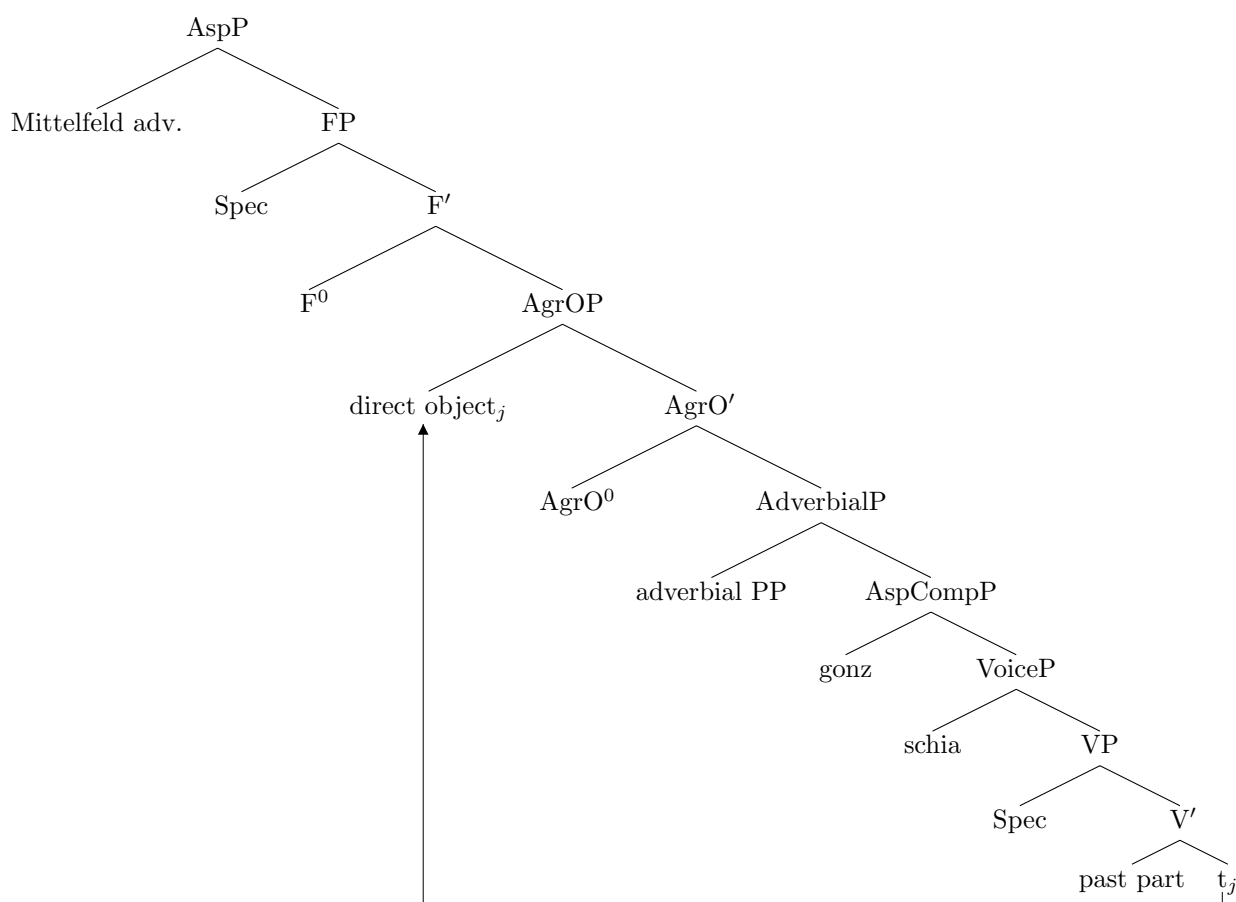
So far I have illustrated how word orders are derived: OV word order basically reflects base word order with no past participle movement, whereas VO is derived via past participle movement and raising of low adverbs or separable prefixes; in what follows, I want to give an answer to the question why the past participle can or has to raise in Mòcheno.

In the next section, I will put forth my proposal, which relies on the idea the vP periphery is involved in word order (as in Poletto 2006), in a way to be determined below.

6.4   On the role of the vP periphery in word orders

In this section, I want to put forth my theoretical account of past participle movement in Mòcheno by assuming that the past participle functions as the finite verb in the higher phase and that its position is dependent on a sort of V2 rule involving the vP periphery.

In order to show this, I will start out from the assumption (Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006) that the vP periphery has the same structure as the high left periphery and that the V2 rule functions in the same way as in the higher phase.

In chapter 4, I dealt in detail with the structure of Mòcheno CP, showing that in this peripheral area two types of constituents can be hosted.

The first class is composed by constituents able to be pragmatical subject of the sentence (EPP) and to attract the finite verb to the head of the projection in which they are hosted in order to create a Spec-head configuration; to this class belong interrogative wh-elements, foci and topicalizations. On the basis of their interactions with topics, I showed that these constituents are not hosted in

one and the same Spec, but are moved to dedicated projections found at different hights within CP, as shown in (461).

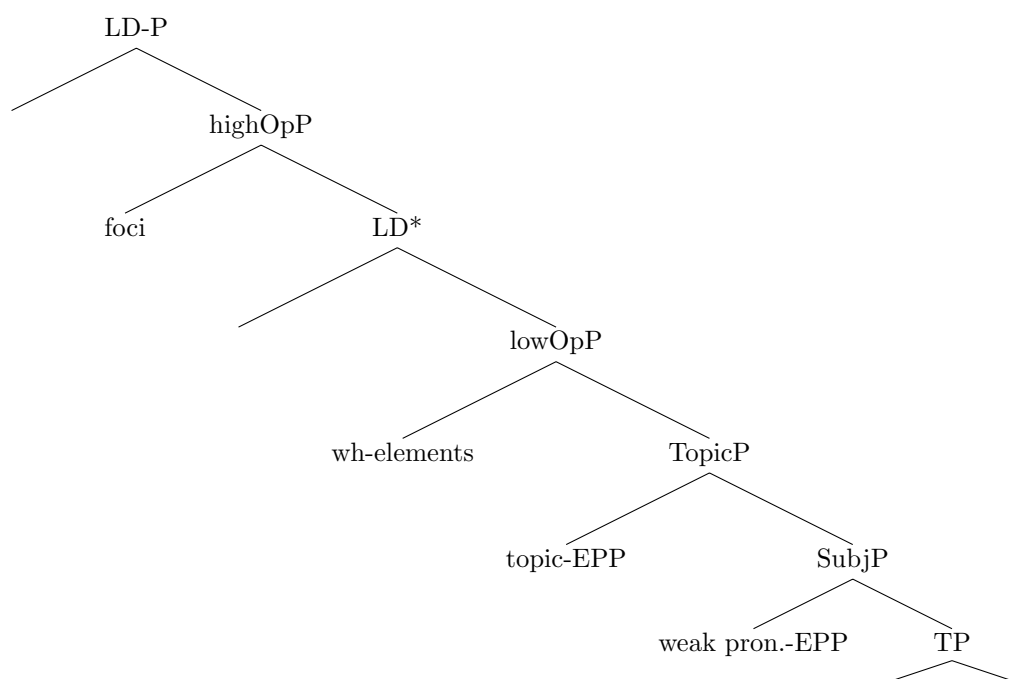This finding is crucial for two issues.

First of all, the fact that constituents able to trigger EPP and be pragmatical subjects move to different positions, allowed to make sense of the empirical data, according to which two XPs able to trigger EPP cannot co-occur. This is predicted by a structure in which i) EPP can be satisfied once in one sentence, ii) if it is satisfied in the lower part of CP, nothing can move through that low Spec (bottle neck); iii) XPs moving higher up (such as foci) saturate all Spec positions of the in-between projections able to trigger EPP. This mechanism allows to exclude the unattested orders: *focus-wh/*focus-topicalization; *focus-wh; *wh-topic; *topic-wh.

Secondly, this finding allowed to reject for Mòcheno the idea that EPP is a property of one functional head of the lowest portion of CP (FinP), as proposed in the literature on V2, to which the finite verb has to move and to whose Spec then an XP is forced to raise in order to trigger EPP. In my account, verb movement to CP is a consequence of the presence of a pragmatical subject, and not the trigger for movement of the constituent in first position.

(461)
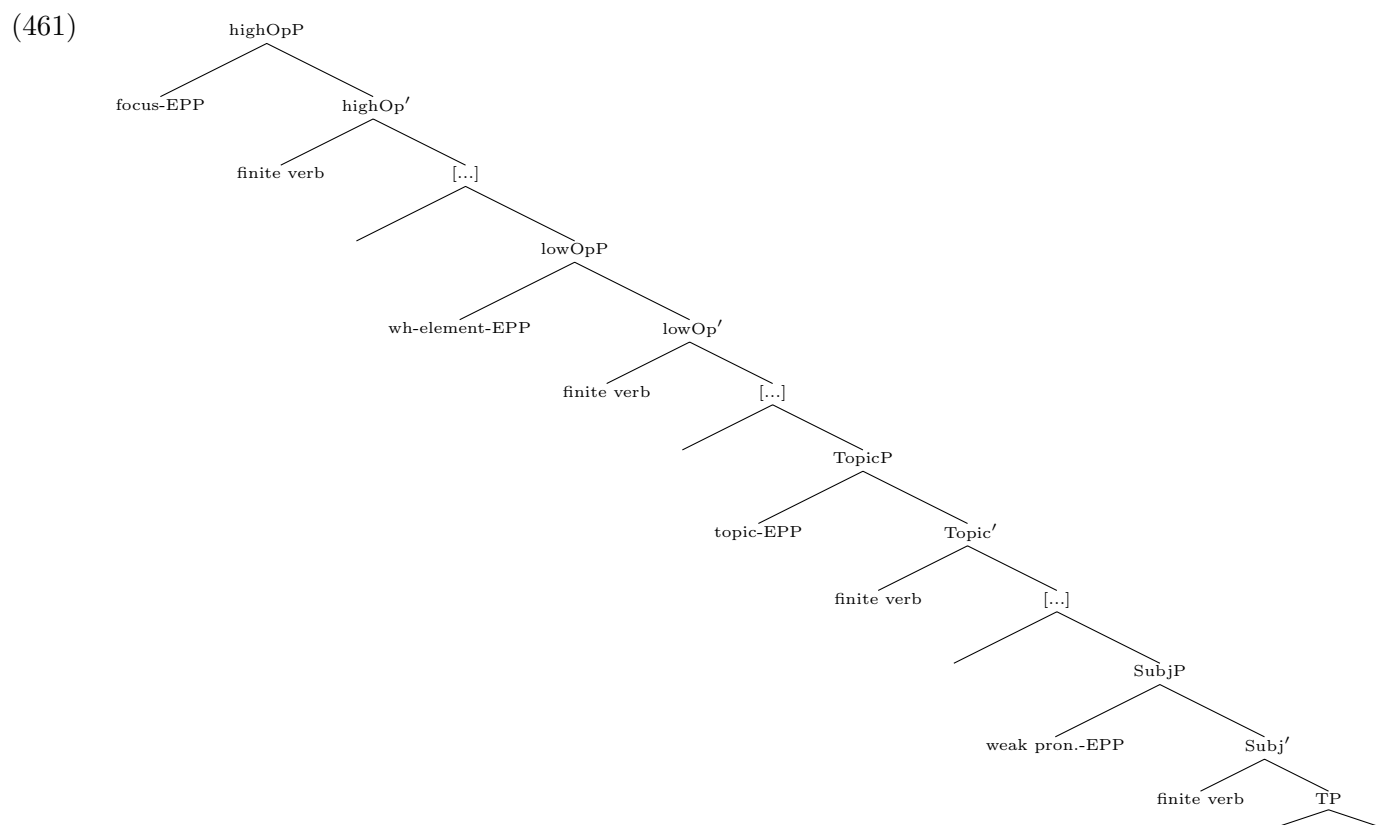
With respect to the structure of CP, we also saw that all constituents able to trigger EPP can be preceded by TopicPs, according to the structure in (462). These constituents are adverbial PPs and left-dislocated verb arguments and semiarguments; the most important thing to keep in mind is that different constituents able to trigger EPP can be preceded by a different number (and type) of TopicPs. Recall for instance the data on the asymmetries in the hanging topic construction, which showed that the left-most TopicP is not "visible" in wh-main interrogatives but can only be activated by a focus.

(462)

```
                    LD-P
                   /    \
                 highOpP
                /      \
             foci       LD*
                       /    \
                    lowOpP
                   /      \
            wh-elements    TopicP
                          /     \
                   topic-EPP     SubjP
                                /     \
                        weak pron.-EPP  TP
                                       /\
                                      /__\
```

Now, in what follows I want to show how the idea that word orders in Mòcheno are ruled by a mechanism similar to V2, with the only difference that in the lower phase the past participle is involved, can make sense of word order patterns involving the past participle. I will begin with the straightforward cases, that is with sentences involving an operator, through which I will show how EPP functions in the lower phase: an XP able to satisfy EPP in the lower phase attracts the past participle in the head of the projection it is hosted in order to create a Spec-head configuration.

In this subsection, I want to provide evidence in favour of the idea that VO word order can be positively described as the result of the same mechanism determining V2 in the higher phase: an XP able to trigger EPP attracts the verb in the head of the projection in whose Spec it is hosted.

This mechanism is not immediately visible in sentences with OV word order, but can be seen in wh-main interrogatives and in sentences beginning with a focus, which are obligatory VO. I want to make sense of this fact by assuming that an operator extracted from the lower phase has to first move to the corresponding OpP of the vP periphery; by doing so, it triggers EPP also in the lower phase and forces past participle movement.

6.4.1 Low V2 and interrogative wh-elements

We saw at the beginning of this chapter that in Mòcheno in main wh-interrogative clauses are VO: as repeated in (463), verb arguments (401a-d), adverbial PPs (401e,f) and positive quantifiers (401g,h) have to follow the past participle.

(463)   **a.** *Bos hoso kaft ver/en de dai muam?*
        what have-SUBJ CL for/to the your aunt
        b. **Bos hoso ver/en de dai muam kaft?*
        what have-SUBJ CL for/to the your aunt bought
        'What did you buy for your aunt?'
        c. *Pet bem hoso kaft s/a puach?*
        with whom have-SUBJ CL bought the/a book

d. **Pet bem hoso s/a puach kaft?*

with whom have-SUBJ CL the/a book bought

'With whom did you buy the/a book?'

e. *Bos hot-er kaft petn Nane?*

what has-SUBJ CL bought with-the John

f. **Bos hot-er petn Nane kaft?*

what has-SUBJ CL with-the John bought

g. *Pet bem hoso kaft eppaz?*

with whom have-SUBJ CL bought something

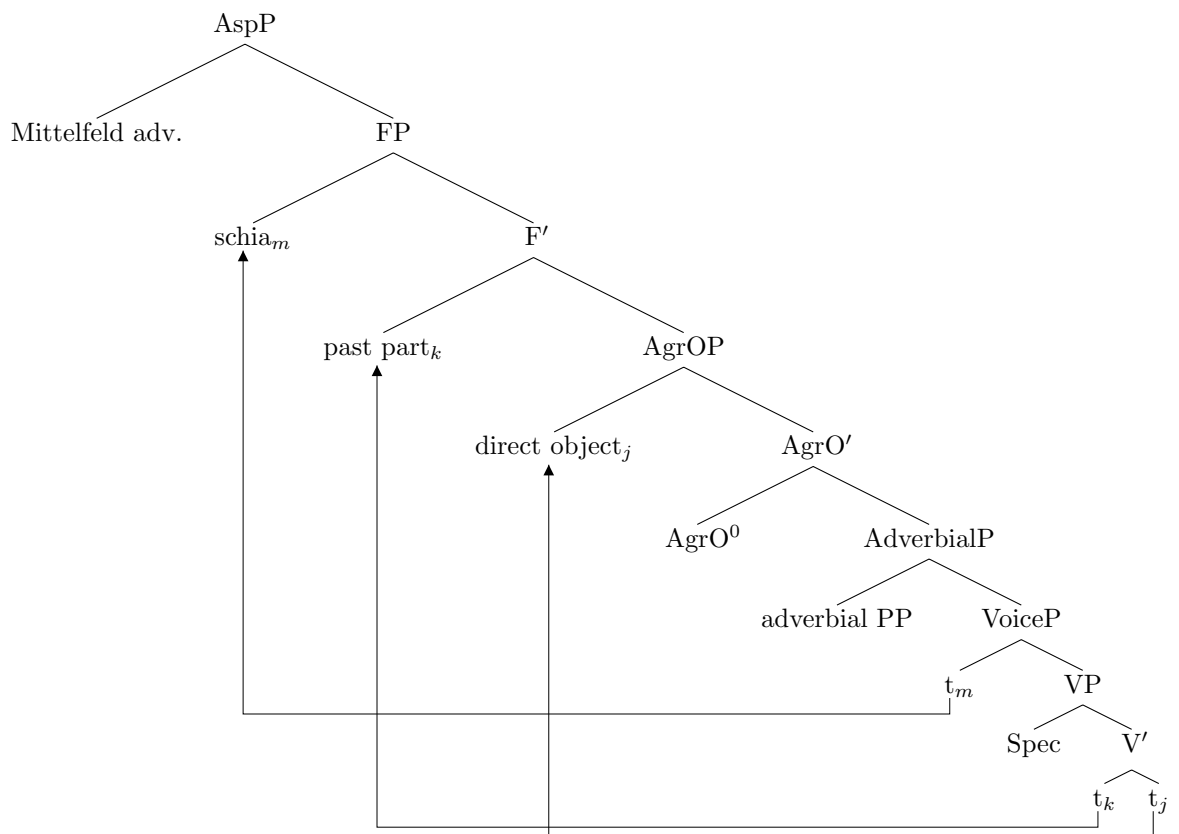**h.** **Pet bem hoso eppaz kaft?*

with whom have-SUBJ CL something bought

The only exceptions to strict VO order in wh- main interrogative are represented by the position of negative quantifiers and low adverbs, as repeated in (464).

(464)   **a.** *Ber hot kua kinder pakemmt?*

who has no children met

b. **Ber hot pakemmt kua kinder?*

who has met no children

'Who met no children?'

c. *Ber hot schia putzt s hauz?*

who has well cleaned the house

d. **Ber hot putzt schia s hauz?*

who has cleaned well the house

'Who has cleaned well the house?'

Above I have provided evidence that in sentences with VO word order the past participle has moved from its base position above verb arguments and adverbial PPs starting out from the base structure reconstructed looking at word order patterns in Mòcheno sentences with OV word order (no past participle movement). Both exceptions have been made sense of by assuming that NegP (just as *Mittelfeld* adverbs) is above the landing position of the past participle in VO word orders and negative QPs have to always show up in NegP; whereas, low adverbs have to raise from their base position above verb arguments and adverbial PPs in sentences with VO word order.

In (465), I sketch the structure of a main interrogative clause according to the proposal above.

(465)

```
                         AspP
                    ╱         ╲
          Mittelfeld adv.      FP
                           ╱       ╲
                      schia_m        F′
                                 ╱        ╲
                           past part_k      AgrOP
                                        ╱         ╲
                              direct object_j       AgrO′
                                               ╱         ╲
                                          AgrO⁰           AdverbialP
                                                      ╱            ╲
                                              adverbial PP          VoiceP
                                                                ╱        ╲
                                                              t_m         VP
                                                                      ╱       ╲
                                                                   Spec        V′
                                                                           ╱    ╲
                                                                         t_k     t_j
```

The structure above makes sense of linear order but does not capture the connection between interrogative wh-element and VO word order.

Now, let's assume that the position targeted by the past participle in VO word order has to do with the vP periphery and that the vP periphery is hosted in the area hosting verb arguments, that is above low completive aspect and VoiceP and below *Mittelfeld* adverbs, as sketched in (466)[11].

---

[11]In this structure, I only identify the position of the vP periphery with respect to adverbs: this is not a complete structure.

(466)

```
                              AspP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
               Mittelfeld            vP periphery
                  adv.          ┌────────┴────────┐
                            vP periphery      AspCompP
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        gonz        AspComp′
                                               ┌───────┴───────┐
                                           AspComp⁰         VoiceP
                                                       ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                     schia         Voice′
                                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                           Voice⁰          VP
                                                                     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                   Spec            V′
                                                                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                                         past part        DO
```
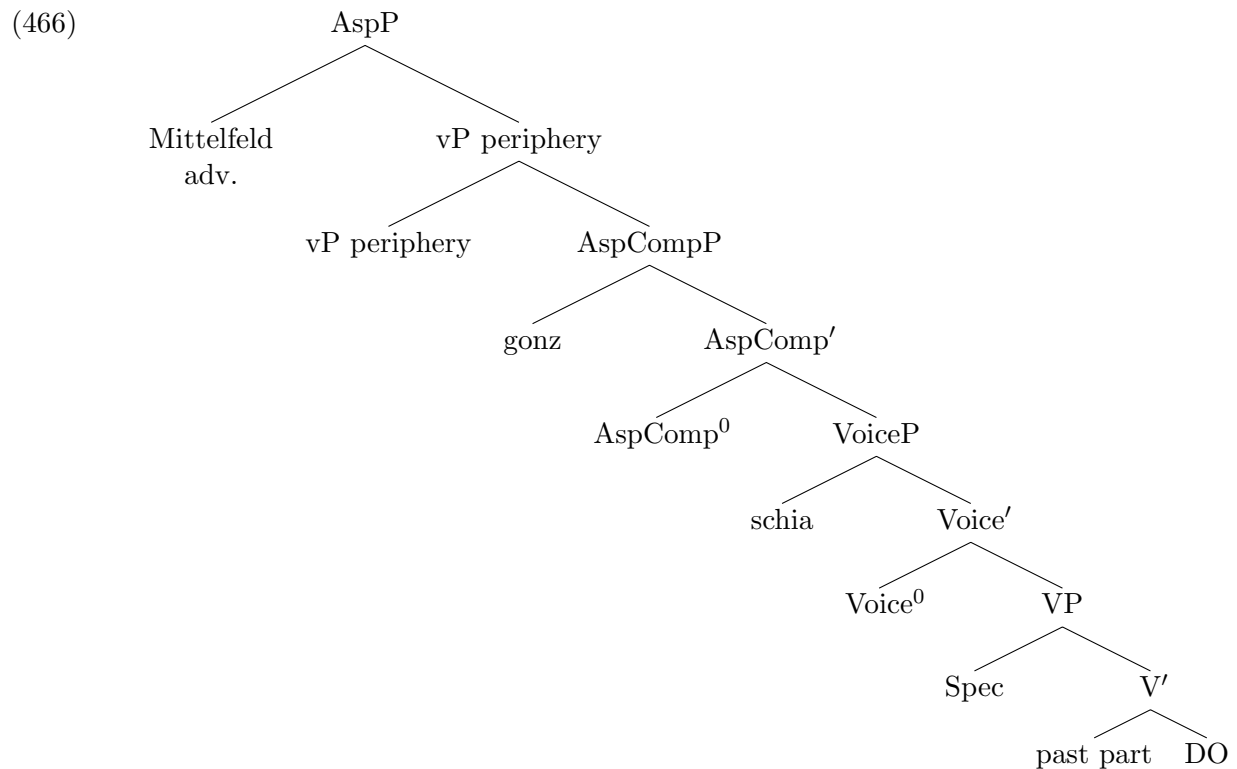
Moving to EPP, let's consider now, on the basis of what is known about the structure of the high left periphery, the positions relevant for EPP and verb movement.

As sketched in (467), I assume that in the vP periphery the projections able to trigger EPP are the same as those able to trigger EPP in the higher phase according to the type of constituent involved: topics, interrogative wh-elements and foci are all able to trigger EPP and attract the verb to the head where they are hosted in order to form a Spec-head configuration with it.

(467)

```
                          AspP
                         /    \
                 Mittelfeld    highOpP
                 adv.         /      \
                     focus=EPP        highOp′
                                     /      \
                               highOp⁰       lowOpP
                                            /      \
                               wh-element=EPP       lowOp1
                                                   /      \
                                            lowOp⁰        TopicP
                                                         /      \
                                                topic=EPP        Topic′
                                                                /      \
                                                          Topic⁰        VoiceP
                                                                       /      \
                                                                   schia       VP
```
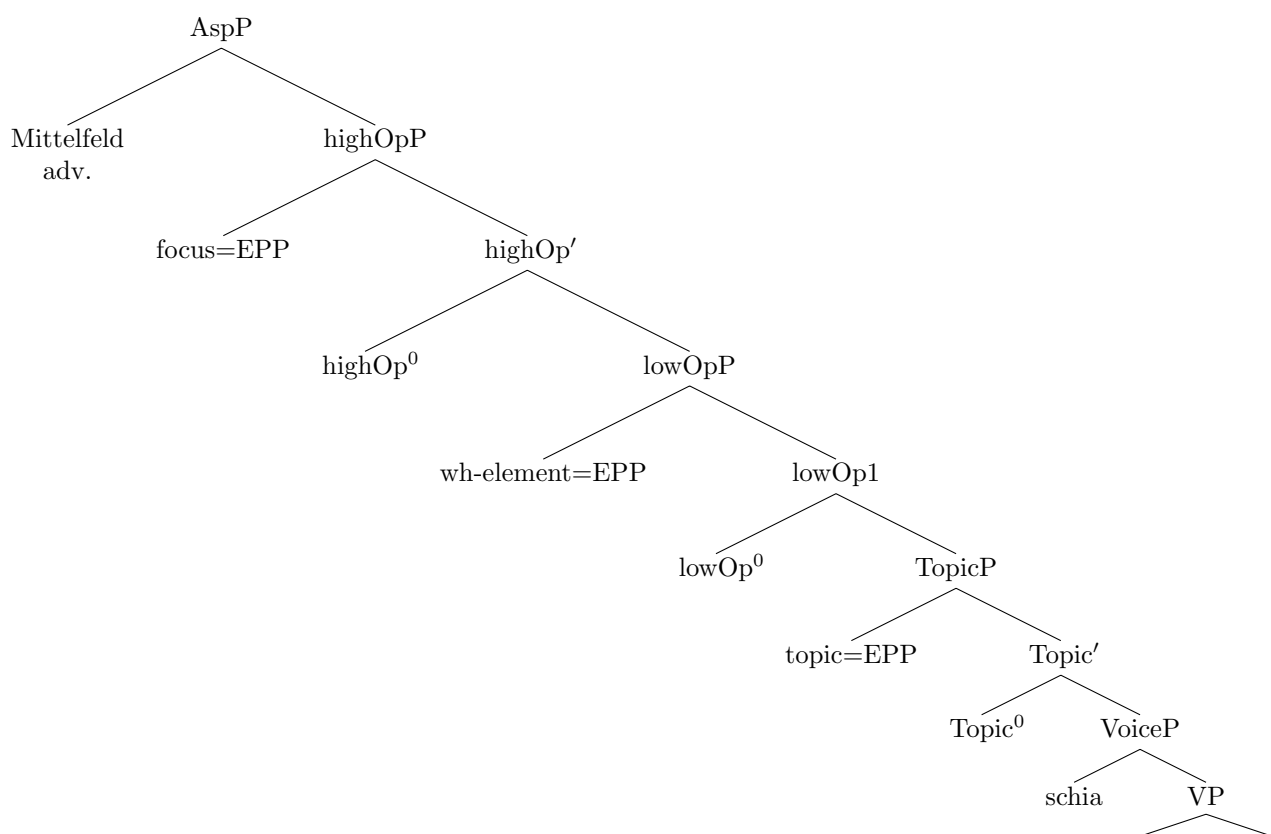
According to the structure proposed in (467), a wh-element on its way to CP is supposed to move through all Spec of the projections of the vP periphery able to trigger EPP; since Spec,HighOpP is the highest projection of the vP periphery able to host an operator and to trigger EPP, it is expected that if my account is correct the past participle has to raise to the head of highOpP in VO sentences.

This hypothesis can be tested on the basis of what we know about the structure of the high left periphery. In chapter 4, we saw that when EPP is triggered by a focus, a topicalised item can precede the focus; in (468), I repeat the relevant example.

(468)   *En de Maria$_j$ A PUACH hone-en$_j$ trog pet (ont net a penna)*
          to the Mary a book have-DAT CL brought and not a pen
          'It was a book that I brought Mary, and not a pen'

If the wh-element on its way to CP triggers low EPP in Spec,HighOpP and forces the past participle to raise to the head of highOpP in order to create a Spec-head configuration, as expected under (467), the prediction is that the past participle can be preceded by a topicalised constituent, as is the case of a focus in the high left periphery.

As shown in (469) this prediction is not borne out: no XP can precede the past participle when this has moves from its base position in order to give rise to VO syntax.

(469)   **a.** *Ber hot en de boteig kaft s puach?*
          who has in the shop bought the book
          b. *Ber hot a puach kaft en de boteig?*
          who has a book bought in the shop

'Who bought a book in the shop?'

On the basis of this fact, I conclude that a wh-element does not trigger EPP in Spec,HighOpP, but higher up, in a position that I assume corresponds to ForceP and is the edge of the vP periphery and the lower phase in much general terms. This low ForceP is the projection to whose head the past participle has to move in all instances of VO word order and corresponds to the projection FP found below *Mittelfeld* adverbs and above verb arguments.

The proposal is formalised in the structure in (470). A wh-element extracted from the lower phase and moved to CP has to move through all Spec position of the projections of the vP periphery able to trigger EPP; since the wh-element is extracted and does not remain in the lowest portion of the clause, it has to move all the way up to Spec,ForceP, that is to the edge of the vP periphery. The past participle is attracted to the head of ForceP for reasons of EPP and gives rise to VO word order.

(470)
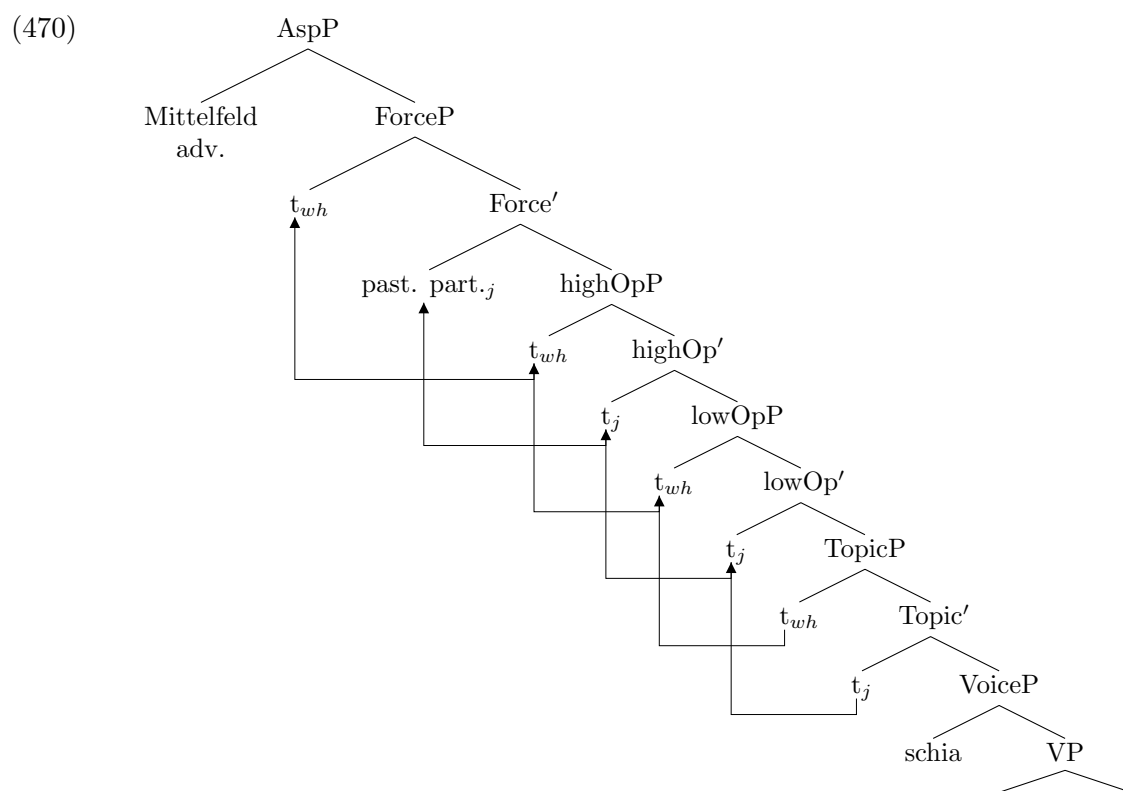
In this subsection, I have proposed an account of Mòcheno VO word order in wh main interrogatives able to capture the connection between past participle movement and presence of a wh-element. The core idea is the peripheral areas of the clause i) have the same structure and a V2 rule involving a finite verb in the higher phase and the past participle in the lowest one; ii) a wh-element extracted from the lower phase can trigger EPP in both phases.

According to this proposal, the two peripheral areas "see eachother" and this is particuarly evident in the case an XP is extracted from the lower phase and moved to CP; as we will see below, this is true also for other cases.

Before taking into examination sentences beginning with a focus, which are expected to be obligatory VO and to pattern with wh-interrogatives if my account is correct, I would like to comment on my assumption of the presence of ForceP in the vP periphery. This might be taken

as an *ad hoc* stipulation, especially in the light of the current ideas on the structure of the low left periphery, which is assumed to be deficitary with respect to the higher one and to be composed by only TopicPs and FocusP (Belletti 2004, Poletto 2008). According to me. the idea of the presence of ForceP in the vP periphery is supported not only by the empirical data discussed above, but also by two theoretical assumptions.

In the theory of phases (Chomsky 2001, Svenonius 2004), it is assumed that only XP that have reached the edge of the lower phase can be further moved and procede with the derivation: in my account, ForceP is the edge of the vP periphery (and of the lower phase) and is the last projection targeted by an extracted XP. Moreover, the definition of ForceP given by Rizzi (1997:283) is of a projection that "faces the outside", which is able to marking clausal type; in my account here, lowForceP is the projection that faces the outside, since it is the projections to which all XPs have to move in order to be extracted and is connection between lower and higher phase. It is the projection of the vP periphery that faces the high periphery.

A note on *why* and yes/no questions

The idea that VO is the result of a V2 rule operating in the lower phase and involving a wh-element (that triggers EPP) and the past participle (that raises to the head of the projection where EPP has been triggered, in wh-main interrogatives to ForceP) predicts that if the wh-element showing up in sentence-initial position has not been moved from the lower phase, VO is not obligatory, but only a possibility as in main declarative clauses.

This prediction can be verified by looking at the syntactic behaviour of *why* main declarative clauses, since, according to Rizzi (2001), this wh-element is not extracted from the lower phase but base-generated directly in CP[12].

As shown in (471), the expectation that *why* does not force VO syntax is borne out: in why-main interrogatives, the past participle can remain in its base-position (471a), raise to the head of Force (471b) or showing up between direct object and PP (471c)[13]. All these constructions are possible in main declarative clauses.

(471)   **a.** *Babai hot-er a puach en de boteig kaft?*
        why has-SUBJ CL a book in the shop bought
        b. *Babai hot-er kaft a puach en de boteig kaft?*
        why has-SUBJ CL bought a book in the shop
        c. *Babai hot-er a puach kaft en de boteig?*
        why has-SUBJ CL a book bought in the shop
        'Why did he buy a book in the shop?'

The other expectation is that also in yes/no questions VO syntax is not forced, since no wh-element is involved. As shown in (472) this prediction is partially borne out, since in yes/no main interrogative clauses VO is possible (472a), but we can also have mixed syntax (472b); OV syntax is though impossible (472c). In what follows, I will try to make sense of this fact.

(472)   **a.** *Hoso kaft a puach en Nane?*
        have-SUBJ CL bought a book to John
        b. *Hoso a puach kaft en Nane?*
        have-SUBJ CL a book bought to John

---

[12]In chapter 4, I have provided evidence from the distribution of DP subjects in favour of the fact that also in Mòcheno *why* is not moved to CP but base-generated there.

[13]This last type of syntax can informally be called "mixed syntax" and has not been treated yet. See below.

c. *Hoso kaft a puach en Nane?*
have-SUBJ CL bought a book to John
'Did you buy John a book?'

The idea that wh-elements can trigger EPP also in the lower phase and by doing so attract the past participle above the vP periphery has been fully confirmed by why-main interrogatives, and partly confirmed by yes/no main interrogatives, which can only show mixed syntax.

6.4.2 Low V2 and foci

In this subsection, I take into consideration the position of the past participle in sentences beginning with a focused item in order to further test the idea that in Mòcheno EPP has to satisfied also in the vP periphery and in the case of extraction of an operator, this moves to the edge of the vP periphery and forces the past participle to raise above the periphery.

The expectation is that a sentence beginning with a focus has to pattern as a wh-main interrogative clauses: the VO position has to be the only grammatical one for verb arguments and adverbial PPs.

As shown in (473), this prediction is borne out: if a direct object or an indirect object are focused in CP, and eventually present PP has to follow the past participle.

(473)　　**a.** *A PUACH hot-er schua kaft en de boteig*
　　　　a book has-SUBJ PRON already bought in the shop
　　　　b. **A PUACH hot-er schua en de boteig kaft*
　　　　a book has-SUBJ PRON already in the shop bought
　　　　'It is a book that he has already bought in the shop'
　　　　c. *EN DE MARIA hone schua gem s puach*
　　　　to the Mary has-SUBJ CL already given the book
　　　　d. **EN DE MARIA hone schua s puach gem*
　　　　to the Mary has-SUBJ CL already the book given
　　　　'It is to Mary that I have already given the book'

As shown in (40), VO syntax is obligatory also with focussed adverbial PPs.

(474)　　**a.** *VOUR DE KIRCH hone pakemmt der mai cousin (ont net ka mai hauz)*
　　　　in front the church have-SUBJ CL met the my cousin (and not at my place)
　　　　b. **VOUR DE KIRCH hone der mai cousin pakemmt (ont net ka mai hauz)*
　　　　in front the church have-SUBJ CL the my cousin met (and not at my place)
　　　　'It was in front of the church that I met my cousin, and not at my place'
　　　　c. *GESTER hone vortschickt der sell prief (ont ne de vourder boch)*
　　　　yesterday have-SUBJ CL PREF-sent the that letter (and not last week)
　　　　d. **GESTER hone der sell prief vortschickt (ont ne de vourder boch)*
　　　　yesterday have-SUBJ CL the that letter PREF-sent (and not last week)
　　　　'It was yesterday that I posted that letter, not last week'
　　　　e. *PETN STAUPSAUGER hone schia putzt s dai zimmer (ont net petn stroz)*
　　　　with-the hoover have-SUBJ CL well cleaned the your room (and not with-the cloth)
　　　　f. **PETN STAUPSAUGER hone s dai zimmer schia putzt (ont net petn stroz)*
　　　　with-the hoover have-SUBJ CL well the your room cleaned (and not with-the cloth)
　　　　'It was with the hoover that I cleaned well your room, not with the cloth'
　　　　g. *BEIL Z RENK hone ganommen de corriera (ont net vern kolt)*

because the rain have-SUBJ CL taken the bus (and not for-the cold)

h. **BEIL Z RENK hone de corriera ganommen (ont net vern kolt)*

because the rain have-SUBJ CL the bus taken (and not for-the cold)

'It was because of the rain that I took the bus, and not because it was cold'

As expected, in sentences involving a contrastive focus in CP the only XPs that have to precede the past participle are all classes of adverbs (475a,b) and negative QPs (475c,d). This is all predicted by the hypothesis that the past participle raises to ForceP, which is found below *Mittelfeld* adverbs and Negation, and that low adverbs have to move to the edge of the periphery as well.

(475)   **a.** *PETN STAUPSAUGER hot-er ollbe schia putzt s hauz (ont net petn stroz)*

with-the hoover has-SUBJ CL well cleaned the house and not with-the cloth

b. **PETN STAUPSAUGER hot-er ollbe putzt schia s hauz (ont net petn stroz)*

with-the hoover has-SUBJ CL always cleaned well the house and not with-the cloth

'It was with the hoover that he has always cleaned well the house'

c. *EN HAUZ VA DE MARIA hone nicht trok (ont net van Nane)*

in house of the Mary have-SUBJ CL nothing brought and not of the John

d. **EN HAUZ VA DE MARIA hone trok nicht (ont net van Nane)*

in house of the Mary have-SUBJ CL brough nothing and not of the John

'It was to Mary's where I did not bring anything, not to John's'

With respect to the position where extracted foci trigger EPP in the vP periphery, I think that the examples in (473) and (474) are already strong evidence against the assumption that foci satisfy EPP in Spec,highOpP of the vP periphery, since if this were the case, it would be expected that one XP could precede the past participle (see above), which is not though possible[14].

In (476), I give the derivation of the lowest portion of a sentence beginning with an extracted focus: as above, the focused item moves through all Spec positions of the projections hosting XPs able to trigger EPP up to ForceP to whose head the past participle is attracted.

---

[14]In previous work, I made the assumption that extracted foci could actually trigger EPP in Spec,HighOpP of the vP periphery, since in some cases material could precede the past participle even in presence of a constrastive focus in CP. Those examples are though not to be treated as cases of extracted focalization, but of focalization through emphasis of a topicalization (see chapter 4).

(476)
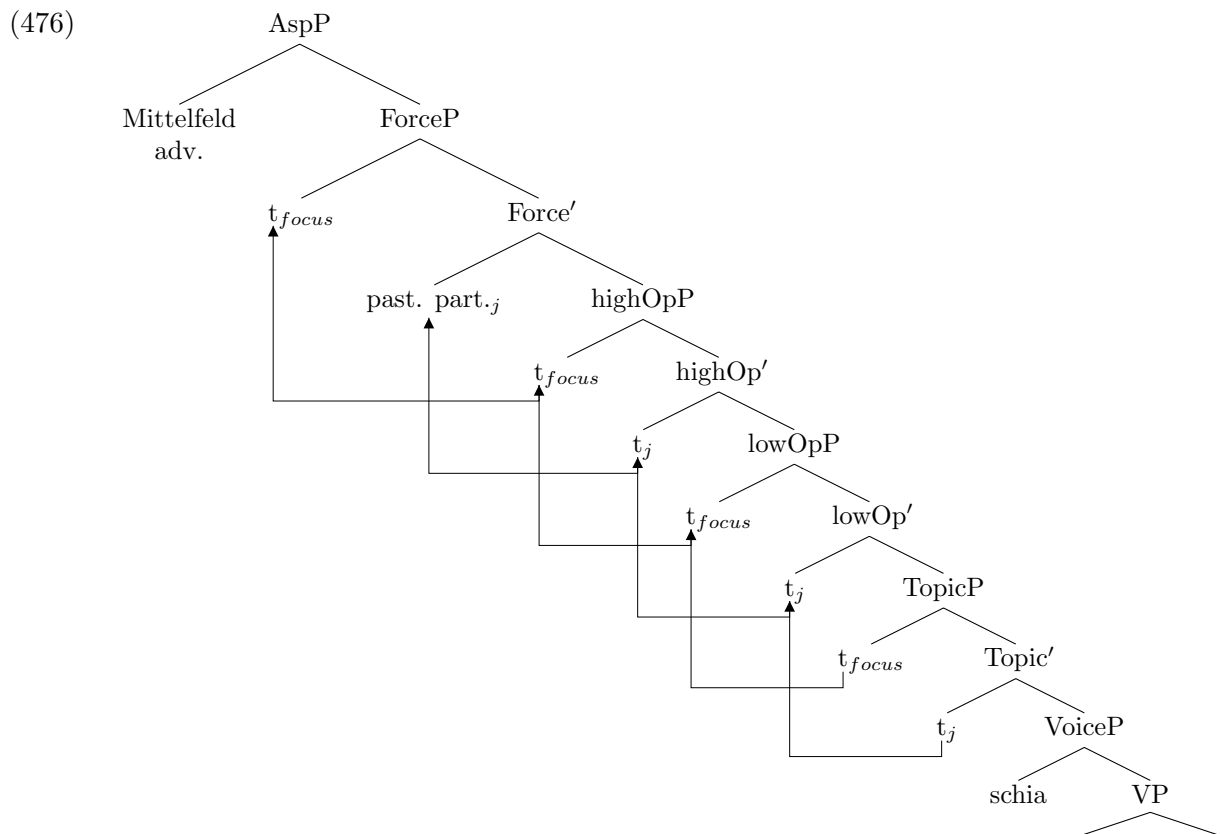
In the next section, I provide an argument in favour of the idea that only foci that have been extracted from below the low left periphery can trigger EPP anb block OV movement in the way just described.

A note on focused XPs extracted from above the vP periphery

In this subsection, I briefly consider the syntax of focused subjects and focused comitative PPs, which do not pattern with the focused above.

As shown in (477), in fact, both a focused subject and a focused comitative (on the subject) PP allow for both VO and OV syntax.

(477)   **a.** *DER MARIO hot schua kaft s puach (ont net der Nane)*
the Mario has already bought the book (and not John)
b. *DER MARIO hot schua s puach kaft (ont net der Nane)*
the Mario has already the book bought (and not John)
'It is Mario who has already bought the book, not John'
c. *PET DE MAMA hone ausputzt s hauz (ont net pet de mai muam)*
with the mum have-SUBJ CL PREF-cleaned the house (and not with the aunt)
d. *PET DE MAMA hone s hauz ausputzt (ont net pet de mai muam)*
with the mum have-SUBJ CL the house PREF-cleaned (and not with the aunt)
'It was with my mum that I cleaned the house, not with my aunt'

In interpret this fact by assuming that a focused subject and a focused comitative PP are not extracted from below the vP periphery in order to be focused, but are moved to CP directly from IP.

Notice, that no asymmetries of this type are observed with wh-elements: as shown in (478), a wh-element with subject theta role (478a,b) and a wh-element with comitative theta role (478c,d) force VO syntax.

(478)   **a.** *Ber hot kaft s puach?*
        who has bought the book
        b. **Ber hot s puach kaft?*
        who has the book bought
        'Who bought the book?'
        c. *Pet bem hoso putzt s hauz?*
        with whom have-SUBJ CL cleaned the house
        d. **Pet bem hoso s hauz putzt?*
        with whom have-SUBJ CL the house cleaned
        'With whom did you clean the house?'

I do not have an explanation to offer for the asymmetry observed between focused subjects/comitative PPs and wh-elements with subject and comitative theta roles, except for the descriptive observations that all interrogative wh-elements have to always be extracted from the lower phase, whereas foci do not have to. Why it has to be so, I leave open for further research.

So far, I have shown that the idea of a presence of a vP periphery in which EPP has to be satisfied the same way as in the higher one has led to positive results: under the assumption that extracted operators have to move through lowForceP and that this in-between forces past participle movement (Spec-head configuration), the relation between past participle movement and presence of an operator in CP has been captured in a straigtforward way.

This derivation has also allowed to capture the descriptive generalization (Antinucci/Cinque 1977, Benincà 1988) according to which in Romance wh-main interrogative clauses all XPs following the past participle are known/old information. According to the analysis proposed here, any operator extracted from below the vP periphery has to saturate all OpPs on its way to CP, therefore only TopicPs (or base-positions, but see below) are expected to be available for constituents following the past participle.

This discussion leads to the second issue that has to be dealt with in relation to the vP periphery, that is the syntax of the positions for Topics activated by operators. Given that in CP operators can activate a certain number of Topics, it is expected that also in the vP periphery TopicP can be activated by in-between movement of operators. It has though to be assumed that Topics of the vP periphery do not precede the past participle, since the past participle has to raise to the head of ForceP due to EPP reasons. This means therefore, that in Mòcheno wh-main interrogatives and in sentences beginning with a focus, topics are found among verb arguments and adverbial PPs that have to follow the past participle.

In what follows, I will show that in wh-main interrogative and in sentences beginning with a focus all XPs following the past participle are actually topics.

6.4.3   Low Topics and focalizations

We saw above that in Mòcheno a focused XP extracted from below the vP periphery forces VO syntax: below in (479), I repeat the relevant examples.

(479)   **a.** *A PUACH hot-er schua kaft en de boteig*
          a book has-SUBJ PRON already bought in the shop
          b. **A PUACH hot-er schua en de boteig kaft*
          a book has-SUBJ PRON already in the shop bought
          'It is a book that he has already bought in the shop'
          c. *VOUR DE KIRCH hone pakemmt der mai cousin (ont net ka mai hauz)*
          in front the church have-SUBJ CL met the my cousin (and not at my place)
          d. **VOUR DE KIRCH hone der mai cousin pakemmt (ont net ka mai hauz)*
          in front the church have-SUBJ CL the my cousin met (and not at my place)
          'It was in front of the church that I met my cousin, and not at my place'

On the basis of what we know of the structure of the high left periphery of Mòcheno, it is expected that a focus activates at least one TopicP to its left; since the past participle moves to the head of lowForceP in sentences beginning with a focus, we cannot immediately see this TopicP, but it has to be assumed that it is there and is involved in word order changes among the constituents following the past participle.

Unexpectedly under the assumption I started with, in (480) I show that in Mòcheno it is not possible to have two adverbial PPs following the past participle in a sentence with a contrastive focus in CP; as shown in (479) above, if we had only one PP following the past participle, the sentences would be grammatical.

(480)   **a.** **A PUACH hot-er kaft en de boteig no en vourmess*
          a book has-SUBJ PRON bought in the shop after lunch
          b. **A PUACH hot-er kaft no en vourmess en de boteig*
          a book has-SUBJ PRON bought after lunch in the shop
          'It was a puach that he bought in the shop after lunch'
          c. **S ZIMMER hot der Mario putz petn staupsauger pet cura (ont net der auto)*
          the room has the Mario cleaned with-the hoover carefully
          d. **Z ZIMMER hot der Mario putzt pet cura petn staupsauger (ont net der auto)*
          the room has the Mario cleaned carefully with-the hoover and not the car
          'It was his bedroom that Mario cleaned well with the hoover, and not his car'

The only way to get a grammatical sentence with two adverbial PPs and a contrastively focused subject is to move one PP to the left periphery and to focalise the direct object *in-situ*, as shown in (481).

(481)   **a.** *No en vourmess hone en de boteig A PUACH kaft (ont net a penna)*
          after-the lunch have-SUBJ CL in the shop a book bought and not a pen
          'It was a book that I bought after lunch in the shop, and not a pen'
          b. *Petn staupsauger der Mario hot pet cura Z ZIMMER putzt (ont net der auto)*
          with-the hoover the Mario has carefully the room cleaned not the car
          'It was his room that Mario cleaned carefully with the hoover, not his car'

The comparison between the data in (479) and in (480), together with what we know of Mòcheno high left periphey clearly points to a striking symmetry between high left periphery and vP periphery and to the manifestation of one and the same phenomenon, that is the activation of only one TopicP by a focus, in the two phases.

Let's see what supports the idea that a focus can activate one topic in both phases. We saw in the chapter 4, that in the case of a contrative focus in CP, this can be preceded only by one

Topic, as repeated in (482); with rather complex data, I also showed that that TopicP above focus is not visible in wh-main interrogatives nor in main declarative clauses, therefore, I concluded that in Mòcheno different operators activate their dedicated Topic field.

(482)   **a.** *Der Nane$_k$ en de Maria$_k$ A PUACH hot-er$_k$-en$_j$ kaft ont net a penna*
the John to the Mary a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen
    b. *En de Maria$_j$ der Nane$_k$ A PUACH hot-er$_k$-en$_j$ kaft ont net a penna*
to the Mary the John a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought and not a pen
    c. *En de Maria$_k$ A PUACH hot-er$_k$-en$_j$ kaft der Nane ont net a penna*
to the Mary a book has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought the Nane and not a pen
'It was a book that John bought Mary, and not a pen'

In a sentence beginning with a focus, the activation of only one TopicP takes place also in the lower phase, since the examples above repeated in (483) are the mirror image of those in (482), where it could be seen that a focus in CP can only activate one TopicP on its left.

(483)   **a.** *A PUACH hot-er kaft en de boteig no en vourmess*
a book has-SUBJ PRON bought in the shop after lunch
    b. *A PUACH hot-er kaft no en vourmess en de boteig*
a book has-SUBJ PRON bought after lunch in the shop
    c. *No en vourmess hone en de boteig A PUACH kaft (ont net a penna)*
after-the lunch have-SUBJ CL in the shop a book bought and not a pen
'It was a puach that he bought in the shop after lunch'

The data discussed in this subsection lead to the following descriptive generalization, where I state the symmetry between higher and lower phase with respect to the number of TopicPs activated by a focus; in point b. I push the reasoning one step further, and consider the symmetry between higher and lower phase as evidence in favour of the fact that the PP following the past participle in sentences beginning with a focus is a topic.

(484)   *Descriptive generalization on TopicPs and contrastive foci:*
    a. A focus can activate only one TopicP to its left in both phases;
    b. The constituent following the past participle in a sentence beginning with a focus, is a Topic.

In (485) I give the structure of a sentence beginning with a focus complete of the TopicP. It has to underlined that the data presented above clearly point to the fact that a focused verb argument blocks all TopicPs available with a wh-element, otherwise it would be expected that the past participle in sentences beginning with a focus could be followed by more XPs. This is an indirect piece of evidence that TopicPs can only precede Operators, that topics exist because an operator is present. In order to capture this fact technically, I claim that the XP to be focused moves through all Spec positions dedicated to the constituents able to trigger EPP and that activates its own Topic only in HighOpP: TopicPs cannot be activated through in-between movement.

(485)

```
                          ForceP
                         /      \
                      t_k       Force'
                       ↑       /      \
                       |  past part_j  TopicP
                       |      ↑      /      \
                       |      |  en de boteig  Topic'
                       |      |          /    \
                       |      |        t_j    highOpP
                       |      |         ↑     /     \
                       |      |         |   t_k    highOp'
                       |      |         |    ↑    /      \
                       |      |         |    |  t_j     lowOpP
                       |      |         |    |   ↑     /      \
                       |      |         |    |   |   t_k    lowOp'
                       |      |         |    |   |    ↑    /     \
                       |      |         |    |   |    |  t_j    [...]
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   ↑    /    \
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   |   VP
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   |  /   \
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   | Spec  V'
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   |      /  \
                       |      |         |    |   |    |   |    t_j  t_k
```
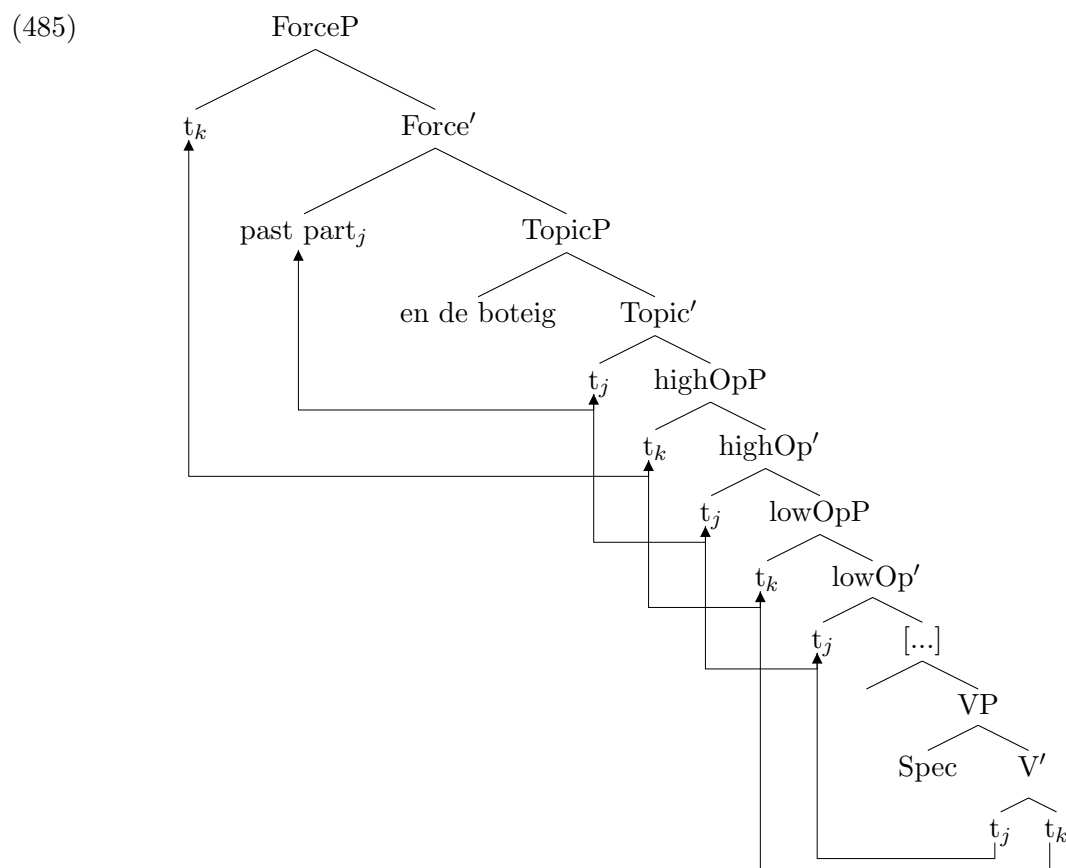
As is evident from the structure above, a focused item is allowed to skip an intervening Spec position of a TopicP: this is the inverted mechanism that we saw is operative in the high left periphery, where a topic can skip the Spec position filled by an operator.

Now, in this subsection I have provided evidence in favour of the fact that in Mòcheno the XP following a past participle in sentences beginning with a focus is a topic and that the fact that there only be one topic in this type of sentence is precisely what is expected under the hypothesis that any operator extracted from the lower phase replicates its syntactic behaviour (EPP and activation of TopicP(s)) in the vP periphery. In the next section, I look at the syntax of the XPs following the past participle in wh-main interrogative clauses. Here, the expectation is that i) several XPs can appear after the past participle, given that wh-elements activate multiple topics in the high left periphery and ii) they are all topics, considered the distribution of postverbal PPs in sentences beginning with a focus.

6.4.4 Low Topics in wh-main interrogatives

In this section, I take into consideration the syntax of XPs following the past participle according to the hypothesis (to be tested) that there be several XPs in the lowest portion of the clause, just as multiple topics are allowed to precede a wh-element in the high left periphery.

As shown in (486), the first prediction is borne out: in wh-main declarative clauses, differently from sentences beginning with a focus, several PPs can follow the past participle (the base order of PPs assumed by Cinque 2006 is *time-place-manner*).

(486)   **a.** *Benn hoso galezen s puach pet geist en dai zimmer?*   *DO-MANNER-LOC*
          when have-SUB CL read the book with passion in your room

       b. *Benn hoso galezen s puach en dai zimmer pet geist?*   *DO-LOC-MANNER*
       when have-SUB CL read the book in your room with passion
       c. *Benn hoso galezen en dai zimmer pet geist s puach?*   *LOC-MANNER-DO*
       when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
       d. **Benn hoso galezen pet gaist en dai zimmer s puach?*   **MANNER-LOC-DO*
       when have-SUB CL read in your room carefully the book
       'When did you read the book with passion in your room?'

I explicitly assume that the fact that in wh-main interrogative clauses several XPs can follow the past participle depends on the possibility of an interrogative wh-element to activate multiple TopicPs in the vP periphery; under this assumption the XPs following the past participle have to be seen as multiple topics activated by wh-elements in the left periphery.

In the high left periphery, wh-elements activate a series of left-dislocated items appearing in a fixed order according to constituent category: as repeated in (487), scene setters and locative PPs precede verb arguments and semiarguments. One crucial assumption made in chapter (4) was that only XP with doubling can be topicalised above a wh-element.

(487)   Scene setter - locative PP - verb arguments - semiarguments - wh-element

As for the lower phase, I showed that the order of constituents in OV syntax (thought to reflect base word order) is the one repeated in in (487): is has to be noticed that the direct object shows up before all other considered constituents.

(488)   direct object - adverbial PPs - low adverbs - argumental PPs

Sentence (486a), where pied piping has taken place, is problematic for my account, since pied piping can only take place if what moves if the whole VP (past participle followed by the direct object) and not only the past participle, as I proposed in order to capture the relation between extraction of an operator and VO in terms of EPP in the vP periphery. Since all other sentences are compatible with a derivation in terms of low V2, I leave the issue of the derivation of this specific sentence open for further research.

What I wanted to show in this subsection is that there is a close correlation between the number of topics that are activated by an operator in the higher phase (CP) and with the number of topics that can appear after the past participle in sentences involving an operator in first position, as if postparticipial modifications and high peripheral topics were one and the same phenomenon in two different phases.

Unfortunately, I cannot give a detailed typology of the different TopicPs hosted in the lower phase.

6.4.5   Partial conclusions

In this section, I have shown through the clearest case, that is throuhg the syntax of sentences involving an operator, that the structure of the clause in Mòcheno is actually determined by the relation between the highest and the lowest phase, in the way summed up in (489).

(489)   If EPP is triggered by an operator, VO syntax is obligatory.

The interdependence between the two areas of the clause and in particular between V2 and word order recalls the syntax of German (den Besten 1983), where the position of the finite verb

depends on the presence or absence of a complementiser; in Mòcheno the general principle is the same, that is the XP in first position interferes with the position of a verb form, with the only difference that this interference i) regards the position of the finite verb and ii) affects main clauses and not main versus embedded clauses as in German.

I have tried to make sense of this interdependece between V2 and word order by proposing that i) VO word order is not the base word order, but a derived order involving past participle movement from its base-position to a position above verb arguments and adverbial PPs (Cinque 2006, 2008, Kayne 1994); ii) this movement is obligatory in wh- main interrogatives and in sentences beginning with a focus because the area involved in extraction is the vP periphery; iii) operators are able to trigger EPP also in the lower phase and since they are extracted the landing site of the past participle is the edge (as in the derivation by phases) of the vP periphery, that is lowForceP.

The idea that the vP periphery functions in the way as the higher one has led to positive results with respect to the distribution of low Topics (that is adverbial PPs in the sentences considered): it has been shown, that wh-elements are able to activate several lowTopicPs, just as they do in the high periphery, whereas foci activate only one TopicP in both CP and vP periphery. The distribution of Topics in the lower phase is another piece of evidence in favour of the idea that operators extracted from the lower phase function in Mòcheno in the same way as in the high left periphery: they saturate all Specs of the projections able to trigger EPP and activate their topic field only when they have reached their landing site.

Now, in what follows I want to provide evidence in favour of the fact that the two peripheries of the clause see eachother also in main declarative clauses and that the interaction between them determines OV or VO syntax, which will be shown are not in free distribution, but are the results of two different structural conditions. This finding allows to eliminate optionality from the description of Mòcheno OV/VO syntax.

6.5 Role of the peripheries in main declaratives

In this section, I will show that the interdependence between the two peripheries of the clause is cannot only be seen in the case of sentences involving an operator, but is present in all other sentences of Mòcheno, even though this is not immediately to be seen.

6.5.1 Distribution of subject pronouns in the doubling construction

In order to introduce evidence in favour of the ideas that the two peripheries are connected even when no operator is present, I would like to go back to the phenomenon of subject doubling that I deat with in chapter 3. In that chapter and at the end of chapter 4 we saw that in Mòcheno subject doubling can only involve subject pronouns and never DP subjects and that the pronominal forms involved are subject clitic and weak pronouns and the strong one.

In (490) I repeat the relevant examples. In the case EPP is triggered by a topic or by embedded wh-element, i) an enclitic has to be present; ii) the strong pronoun is pragmatically marked; iii) material can intervene between the strong pronoun and the clitic

(490)   **a.** *Gester hot-*(se) SI kaft s puach*
         yesterday has-she-clitic she-strong bought the book
         b. *abia az-*(se) SI s puach kaft hot*
         how that she-clitic she-strong the book bought has
         c. *Gester hot-*(se) s puach SI kaft*
         yesterday has-she-clitic the book she-strong bought

> **d.** *abia az-*(se) s puach SI kaft hot*
> how that she-clitic the book she-strong bought has

When EPP is satisfied by a weak subject pronoun, on the other hand, doubling is possible, as repeated in (491a), but no material can intervene between finite verb and strong pronoun (491b), which I interpreted as a piece of evidence in favour of the fact that weak subject pronouns are very low in CP.

(491) **a.** *De hot si s puach kaft*
       she-weak she-strong the book bought
       b. **De hot s puach si kaft*
       she-weak has the book she-strong bought
       'She bought the book'

The presence of a topicalised item below the finite verb in the sentences involving subject doubling in (490) is problematic for the account of EPP and V2 that I gave in chapter 4, since my analysis predicts that an XP able to trigger EPP saturates all Spec positions of the projections dedicated to other constituents able to trigger EPP on its way to its dedicated position. Therefore, as far as main declarative clauses are concerned[15], I have to propose that the XP in first position has to be analysed as a left-dislocated constituent, EPP is triggered by a silent operator, and the XP following the finite verb is a familiarity topic, as sketched in (492). The finite verb is attracted to the head of lowOpP even though the familiarity topic would be able to trigger EPP.

(492)
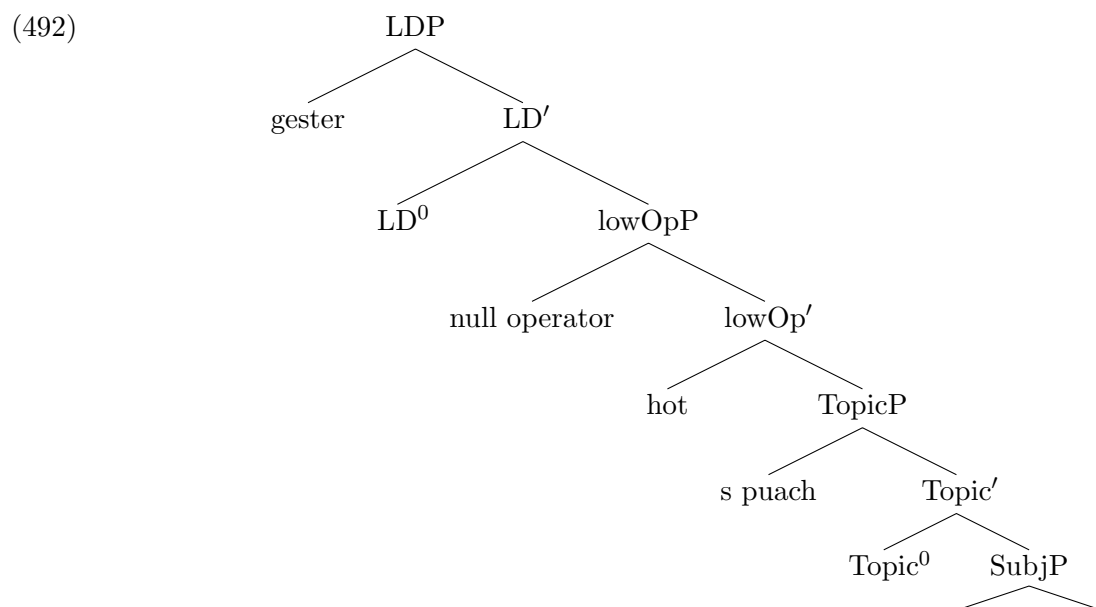
The possibility to have a strucure such as (492) in main declarative clauses, in which the finite verb attracted to the head of lowOpP by a null operator is followed by a familiarity topic, leads to the consequence that also postverbal DP subjects might have to be analysed as instances of topicalizations and of the subject being in Spec,TP, as I proposed in chapter 4. I think that

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[15]My account does not make sense of the presence of a topicalization in an embedded clause: for the momemnt, I have no proposal to offer and I have to leave this issue unsolved for further research.

the two analysis of DP subjects do not exclude eachother: postverbal DP subjects are primarily syntactic subjects, that is they can show up in Spec,TP, and can also be topicalised in the area dedicated to familiarity topics, when the structural conditions allow it[16].

Now, let's try to determine what position is targeted by the strong pronoun in cases of subject doubling. In order to do so, I will consider the position of the strong pronoun with respect to *Mittelfeld* adverbs.

As shown in (493a,b), the strong subject pronoun cannot precede nor follow the topicalised direct object if also a *Mittelfeld* adverb is present in the sentence.

(493) a. **Gester hot-<u>se</u> <u>SI</u> s puach <u>SI</u> schua kaft s puach*
       yesterday has-she-clitic she-strong the book she-strong already bought the book
       b. **Er hot mer zok, az-ar <u>ER</u> s puach <u>ER</u> schua/ollbe kaft hot*
       he has-DAT PRON asked that SUBJ CL he-strong the book he-strong already/always bought has
       'He told me that he has already/always bought the book'

The only grammatical position for the strong pronoun in doubling contexts where also a topic is present is below low adverbs (494a,b), that is, according to the discussion above, in the area where the vP periphery is found

(494) a. *Gester hot-ar s puach schua ER kaft*
       yesterday has-SUBJ CL the book already he-strong bought
       b. *Er hot mer zok, az-ar s puach schua/ollbe ER kaft hot*
       he has-DAT PRON said that SUBJ CL the book already/always he-strong bought has

Also when a higher topic is ruled out, as in the case of a sentence in which EPP is triggered by a weak subject pronoun such as the one in (495), the strong pronoun has to obligatory follow a *Mittelfeld* adverb such as *always*.

(495) a. *De hot schua/ollbe si s puach kaft*
       she-weak has already/always she-strong the book bought
       b. **De hot si schua/ollbe s puach kaft*
       she-weak has she-strong already/always the book bought

Now, these data are very relevant in two respects. First of all, they point to the fact that in Mòcheno there is only one position of familiarity topics, since if we had two, it would be expected that the strong pronoun could co-occur with the topicalised direct object in (494a,b), which is though not the case. The second important result is that the position of the strong pronoun is not in the highest portion of the clause, but in the lower one. Considered the clear judgement of the informant, who claims that the strong pronoun has a pragmatically marked reading (topic or focus) in the doubling construction and that, according to my typology, strong pronouns have specialised for topic and focus readings, I put forth the idea that the strong pronouns in the doubling construction are in the vP periphery.

In order to show that this proposal is correct, in what follows I consider doubling patterns in sentences involving an operator in sentence-initial position: if my analysis is right, the strong pronoun can only be postverbal in these sentences and has to be analysed as a topic, since in these

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[16]It might be thought that when DP subjects following the finite verb are preceded by adverbs, they are in Spec,TP, whereas, when adverbs follow, DP subjects are topicalised in CP.

sentences all postparticipial constituents are topics (see above). If these predictions are borne out, we have a clear piece of evidence in favour of the fact that also in main declarative clauses strong pronouns are in the vP periphery; this is less evident that in sentences involving an operator, since in main declarative clauses both lowTopicP and lowFocusP are available.

Pronominal doubling in wh-interrogative and sentences with a focus

In this subsection, I consider the distribution of strong pronouns in doubling patterns in sentences involving an operator, in order to show that strong pronouns in this construction target a Spec position of either a TopicP or a FocusP. The prediction is that in the case of wh-main interrogatives and sentences with a focus, strong pronouns can only have a topic reading, since all OpPs have been saturated by the operator on its way to CP; syntactically, the strong pronoun is predicted to follow the past participle, that is to show up in the vP periphery.

In (496), I illustrate pronominal doubling in a wh-main interrogative clause. Syntactically, it has to be noticed that the only position for the strong subject pronoun is after the past participle, as expected under the assumption that it has to appear in one position of the vP periphery. According to the judgements of the informant, the strong pronoun can only have here an "aboutness" reading[17].

(496)   **a.** *Pet bem hot-<u>ar</u> (er) schua (er) kaft s puach?*
          with whom has-SUBJ CL he already he bought the book
          b. *Pet bem hot-<u>ar</u> schua kaft <u>er</u> s puach?*
          with whom has-SUBJ CL bought he the book
          'And he, with whom did he buy the book?'
          c. *Pet bem hon <u>bar</u> (bir) schua (bir) kaft s puach en Nane?*
          with whom have-SUBJ CL we already we bought the book to John
          d. *Ber hon <u>bar</u> schua kaft <u>BIR</u> s puach en Nane?*
          with whom have-SUBJ CL alredy bought we the book to John
          'And we, with whom did we buy John the book?'

The idea that in wh-main interrogatives the strong subject pronoun can only get a topic reading, together with the fact that interrogative wh-elements move to a low Spec of CP, leads to the expectation that a strong pronoun can also precede the wh-element, that is that is can also be left-dislocated in the high left periphery. In (497), I show that a strong pronoun can precede an interrogative wh-element with a topic reading.

(497)   **a.** *Bir, benn ho*(bar) kaft s puach en Nane?*
          we when have-SUBJ CL bought the book to John
          'And we, when did we buy John the book?'

---

[17]According to the results of my research, the pattern of doubling described in this section is rather robust and the only case not fitting into the pattern is the second person singular, for which the informant claims that both subject pronouns can follow the finite verb: *Bos hoso <u>du</u> kaft en Nane?*, "What did you buy for John?". Also the version with right-dislocated strong pronoun is though possible: *Bos hoso kaft <u>du</u> en Nane?*. I think that the asymmetry shown by the second person singular in this concrete sentence can be put into relation to at least two properties of Mòcheno syntax appearing in this sentence. First of all, the enclitic pronoun *o* can only be a clitic, whereas all other enclitics considered in the examples are homophones with weak pronouns. The categorial status of *o* with respect to other pronouns might play a role in the observed asymmetry in doubling. The second thing to be said is that in Mòcheno wh-elements with different theta role move to different positions of the left periphery (see chapter 4) and this might lead to variation in other environments of grammar, in this case in the distribution of pronouns in doubling. Further research is though needed in order to give an answer to this issue.

b. *Er, pet bem hot-*(er) kaft s puach?*
he with whom has-SUBJ CL bought the book
'And he, with whom did he buy the book?'

The same distribution of pronouns is found in doubling configurations in sentences beginning with a focus, as in (498); the strong pronoun has alway an aboutness reading[18].

(498)   **a.** **A PUACH hon<u>e i</u> kaft (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL I bought and not a pen
b. *A PUACH hon<u>e</u> kaft <u>i</u> (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL bought I and not a pen
'And I, bought a book, not a pen'
c. **A PUACH hon<u>bar bir</u> kaft (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL we bought and not a pen
d. *A PUACH hon<u>bar</u> kaft <u>bir</u> (ont net a penna)*
a book have-SUBJ CL bought we and not a pen
'And we, it was a book that we bought, not a pen'

The data discussed in this subsection are extremely relevant.

First of all, they have shown that when the clear context is created (sentences with an operator) in order to identify the vP periphery, it can demonstrated that certain pragmatically marked readings are actually reached using one projection of the vP periphery and are not got "for free" in base-position.

This finding allows to see doubling patterns in main declarative clauses in a different way, since if the analysis of wh-main interrogatives and sentences with a focus is correct, it is expected that strong pronouns appear in the vP periphery also in main declaratives, also if this cannot be immediately seen. In much general tems, if this idea is right, it predicts that the vP periphery is operative also when we do not see it, that is in OV clauses where the past participle stays put, that is in OV clauses. Here, I want to push this idea futher and propose that the vP periphery is always operative, at least for the syntax of some constituents, that have to move from their base-position in any sentence.

In what follows, I will motivate the idea that some constituents have to show up in the vP periphery in any case they appear in the lower phase and then I will try to determine the functioning of the vP periphery in main declarative clauses, capitalising on the idea that the vP periphery functions in the same way as the higher one and EPP can be triggered in different projections by different pragmatical subjects.

6.5.2 On the position of verb arguments in the lower phase

In this subsection, I take into consideration the syntax of the direct object in the lowest phase and propose that direct objects do not show up in Spec,AgrOP when they appear in the lowest portion of the clause, but are in a lowTopicP above all other constituents.

In (499), I repeat the order of constituents in the lower portion of the clause in main declaratives with OV word order. Argumental PPs have to immediately precede the VP, they are preceded by *well*, that is preceded by adverbial PPs and the direct object. Direct objects can only be preceded in the unmarked order by *Mittelfeld* adverbs (see above).

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[18]These data seem to point to the fact that when a topic is doubled by a clitic is gets an aboutness interpretation in both phases.

(499)

```
                        AgrOP
                       /     \
                 s puach_j    AgrO'
                             /     \
                          AgrO^0    FP
                                   /    \
                          adverbial PP   VoiceP
                                        /      \
                                      well    Voice'
                                             /      \
                                         Voice^0    PredP
                                                   /      \
                                            selected PP   Pred'
                                                         /     \
                                                     Pred^0     VP
                                                               /    \
                                                             Spec    V'
                                                                    /   \
                                                        past participle  t_j
```
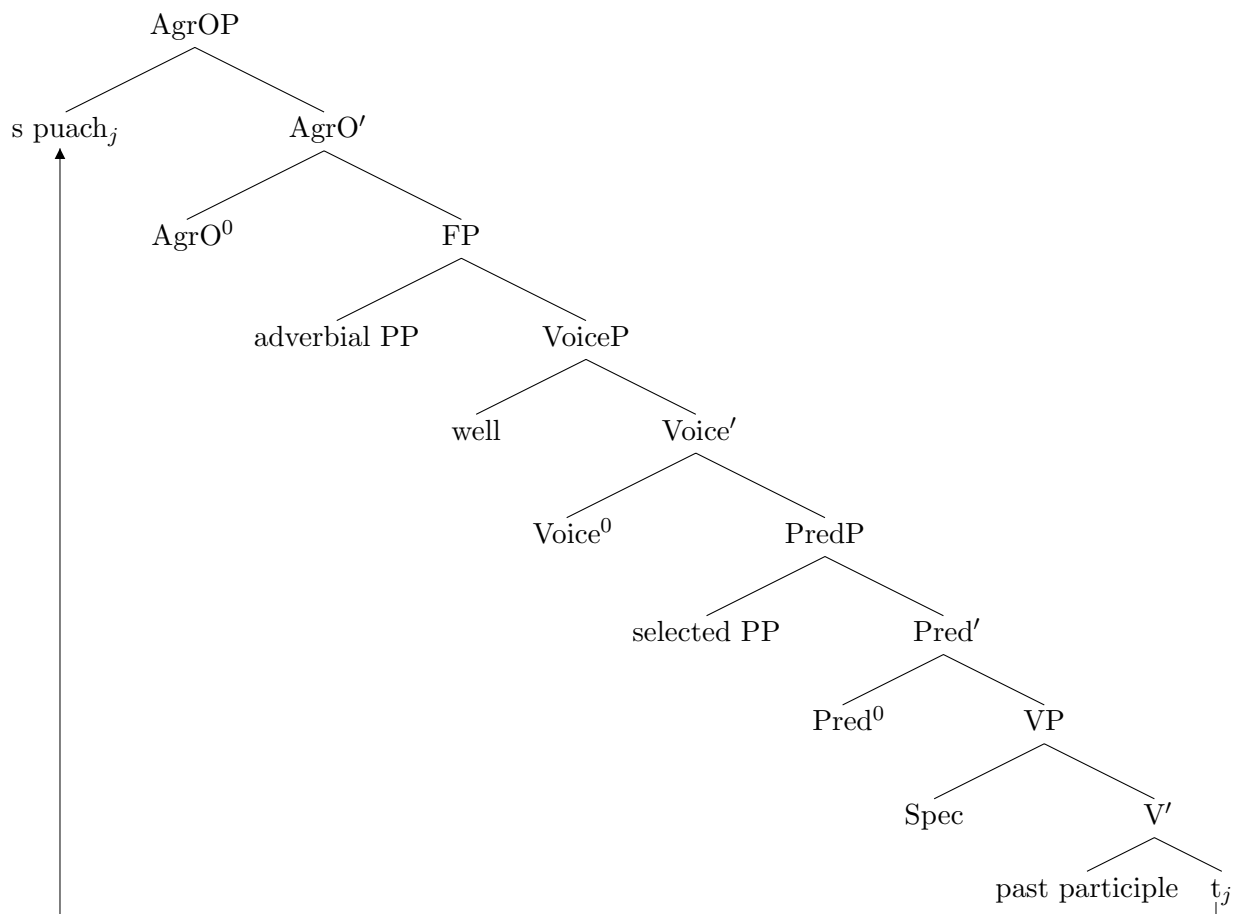
The structure above shows a clear asymmetry in the syntactic behaviour of direct object and indirect object and is unexpected under the analysis of standard German, where, as we saw in the previous chapter, both verb arguments have to precede manner adverbs, as repeated in the structure in (500, from Hinterhölzl (2006:99)).

(500)   [CP [TP T [Scrambled-DPs [S-Adv [Neg [Focus [AgrNom [AgrDat [AgrAcc [Manner[Pred [V]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The asymmetry between verb arguments in their position with respect to low adverbs and adverbial PPs in Mòcheno and the comparison with the German facts in (500) clearly show that in Mòcheno verb arguments are not two AgrPs, since if this were the case, it would be expected that both arguments either preceded or followed manner modifications.

Given the assumption that verb arguments do not show up in two AgrPs, it has to be determined in what kind of positions they are hosted in.

In order to try and solve this problem, I would like to first recall the data on RM effects between a focus and a topic discussed in chapter 4 and repeated below in (282). From the analysis of the combinatory possibilities of a focus and a topic, I reconstructed that an indirect object and a direct object are subject to RM effects starting out from the order: *indirect object-direct object.*

(501)   **a.** *En de Maria_k A PUACH hot-er-*(en)_k kaft (ont net a penna)*
         to the Maria-IO a book-DO has-SUBJ CL-DAT CL bought (and not a pen)
         'It was a book that he bought Mary and not a pen'

b. *Der Nane_k A PUACH hot-*(er)_k kaft en de Maria (ont net a penna)*
the John-SUBJ a book-DO has-SUBJ CL bought to the Mary and not a pen
'It was a book that John bought Mary, not a pen'
c. *Der Nane_k EN DE MARIA hot-*(er)_k kaft s puach (ont net en Luca)*
the John to the Mary-IO has-SUBJ CL bought the book (and not to Luca)
'It was for Mary that John bought a book, and not for Luca'
d. **A puach_k EN DE MARIA hot-er-*(z)_k kaft (ont net en Luca)*
a book-DO to the Mary-IO has-SUBJ CL-ACC CL bought (and not to Luca)
'It was for Mary that he bought a book, and not for Luca'

As already noticed (see above), the order *indirect object-direct object* is never the unmarked order of verb aguments in Mòcheno, but the unmarked order of arguments in both OV and in all types of VO sentences is *direct object-indirect object.*

On the basis of the fact that the reconstructed order of verb arguments giving rise to RM effects is never the unmarked order of verb arguments in the double-object construction, I would like to propose that i) the order reconstructed from RM effects is the base-order and ii) the order found in all sentences is a derived order.

The former claim is motivated by the observed asymmetries and by the comparison with standard German, where the order *indirect object-direct object* is the unmarked order of arguments in the double-object construction in all sentences, but it is difficult to find further evidence, given that this order is never present in Mòcheno. In (502), I give the structure of AgrPs[19].

(502)
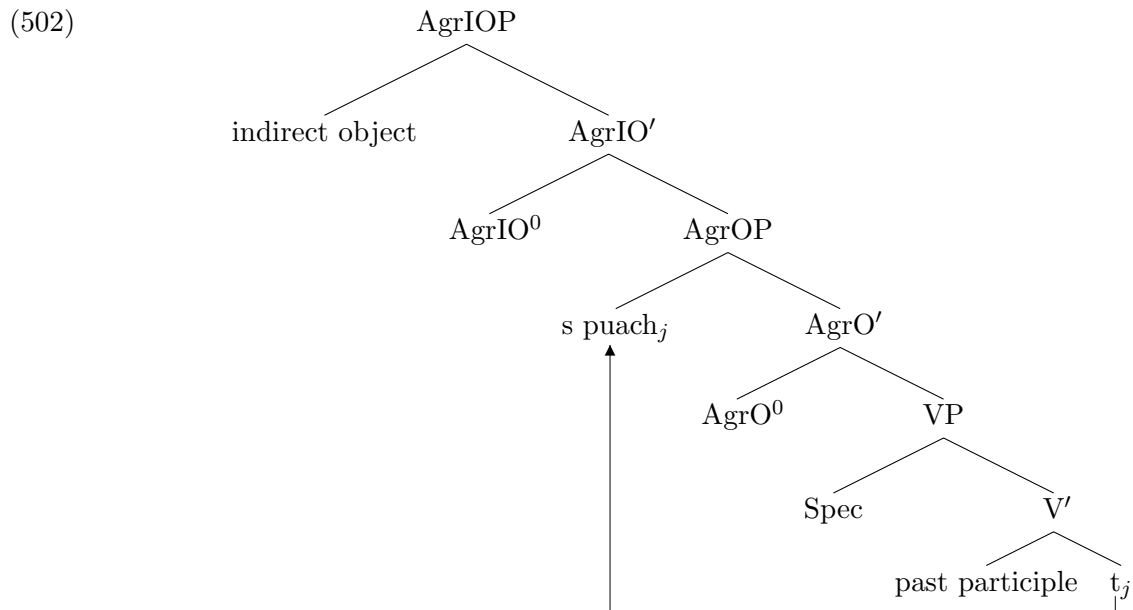
Now, on the basis of the order of AgrPs in (502), let's see how the order *direct object-indirect object* is derived. The first idea that comes to mind it that a direct object in Spec,AgrOP can move across an indirect object in Spec,AgrIO in order to be topicalised or focused in the vP periphery: this is actually the only way in which one XP with the same features as the higher one can skip it

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[19]In Mòcheno indirect objects do not have case moprhology, but are introduced by *en*, which is similar to a preposition, but seems though to function as case morphology, for instance after prepositions requiring the dative case: *pet-n Nane.* Here, I assume that indirect objects move to Spec,AgrIO, but this might be falsified by a closer examination of the syntax of *en*.

(Rizzi 2004). Therefore, the idea is that the order *direct object-indirect object* is derived through movement of the direct object to a Spec of the vP periphery found above AgrIOP.

On the basis of the order of constituents given in (499), where I showed that selected PPs have to follow *schia*, I propose that the position of the direct object in an unmarked sentence *direct object-schia-indirect object* is derived through movement to a lowTopicP.

In (503), I give the structure: direct object and indirect object have to move first to their AgrPs and then the direct object moves to a lowTopicP. Notice that, again, movement of a topic is allowed to skip an intervening filled Spec.

(503)

TopicP
- s puach$_k$
- Topic$'$
  - Topic^0
  - adverbial PP
    - PP
    - VoiceP
      - schia
      - Voice$'$
        - Voice^0
        - AgrIOP
          - en de Maria
          - AgrIO$'$
            - AgrIO^0
            - AgrOP
              - t$_k$
              - AgrO$'$
                - AgrO^0
                - VP
                  - Spec
                  - V$'$
                    - kaft t$_k$
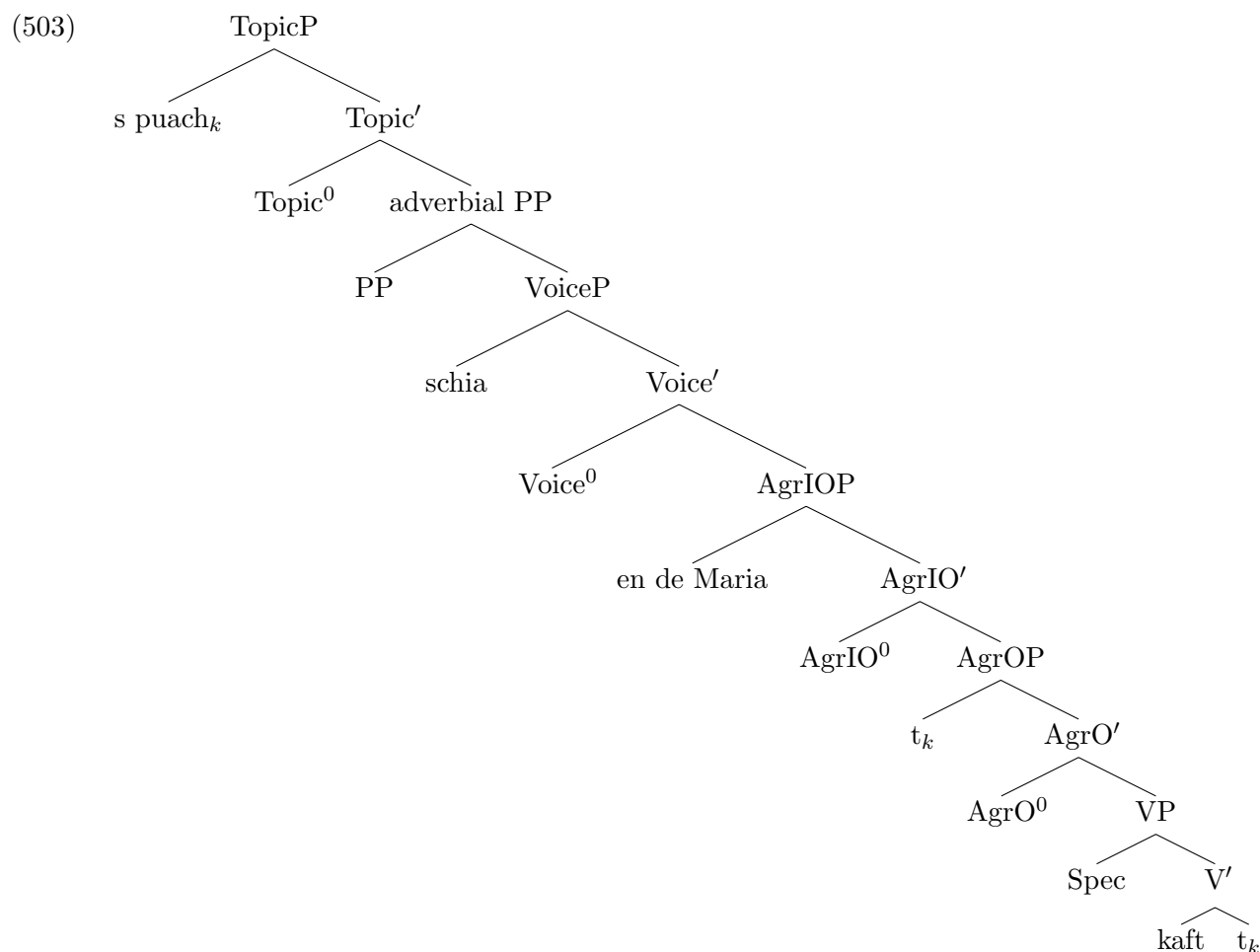
Now, according to the derivation in (503) it is expected that also the inverted order is possible, since AgrPs are A position and the projections of the vP periphery are A' positions. Let's reconsider the relevant examples. As repeated in (504), when the direct object follows the indirect object, it gets a focus reading, whereas when the indirect object follows the direct one no focus reading on any argument is present.

(504)   **a.** *De mama hot schua s puach en de Maria gem*
the mam has already the book to the Mary given
b. *De mama hot schua en de Maria S PUACH gem*
the mam has already to the Mary the book given
'Mam has already given Mary the book'

I think that the data above speak against a derivation of the order *indirect object-direct object* in terms of movement of the indirect object to the vP periphery, whereas the direct one remains in Spec,AgrOP, since if this were the case, it would be expected that no focus reading were present on the direct object, exactly in the same way that no focus reading is present on the indirect object in the order *direct object-indirect object*. In (505), I sum up this fact in a descriptive generalization.

(505)   An indirect object can precede a direct object only if the latter is focused.

It is very tempting to make sense of the facts in (505) by assuming that both direct object and indirect objects are topicalised when they co-occur and one can skip the other only if the two belong to two different featural classes (topic and focus), but I think that this is only partly correct, since the cases in which argumental PPs follow *schia*, which are captured under the idea that argumental PPs have their AgrPs above VP, remain unsolved.

Here, I suggest that both direct and indirect object are topicalised if in the order *direct object-indirect object* the indirect object precedes low adverbs, whereas when it follows it is in its base position.

As for the focus reading on the direct object in (504b), I propose that it depends on the direct object itself, which is always a topic and is compatible with another topic only in the order *direct object-indirect object*.

In what follows, I want to present further evidence in favour that the direct object is always the highest topic and therefore intereferes with the indirect object when this is topicalised.

In these sentences, I show that it is always possibile to have the so-called mixed syntax with a direct object preceding the past participle (506a), but that this order is not possible if it is an indirect object that precedes (506b).

(506)   **a.** *Gester hot-er a puach kaft en de Maria*
         yesterday has-SUBJ CL a book bought to the Mary
         b. **Gester hot-er en de Maria kaft a puach*
         yesterday has-SUBJ CL to the Mary bought a book

The direct object in mixed syntax has to follow sentential adverbs[20], as in (507a,b) and cannot be focused (507c); the only constituent that can be focused is the indirect object following the past participle (507d).

(507)   **a.** *Verten hot-er ofters a puach kaft en de Maria*
         last year has-SUBJ CL aften a book bought to the Mary
         b. **Verten hot-er a puach ofters kaft en de Maria*
         last year has-SUBJ CL always a book bought to the Mary
         c. **Verten hot-er a puach kaft en de Maria ont net a penna*
         last year has-SUBJ CL a book bought to the Mary and not a pen
         d. *Verten hot-er a puach kaft en de Maria ont net en Nane*
         last year has-SUBJ CL a book bought to the Mary and not to John

In interpret these data in the following way: the direct object is always a Topic, it has to always leave vP and move to the Spec of a lowTopicP; indirect objects, on the other hand can also stay in Spec,AgrIOP and can only be topics. In the case of mixed syntax, there is only one TopicP

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[20]It is not possible to topicalise the direct object in the CP with mixed syntax.
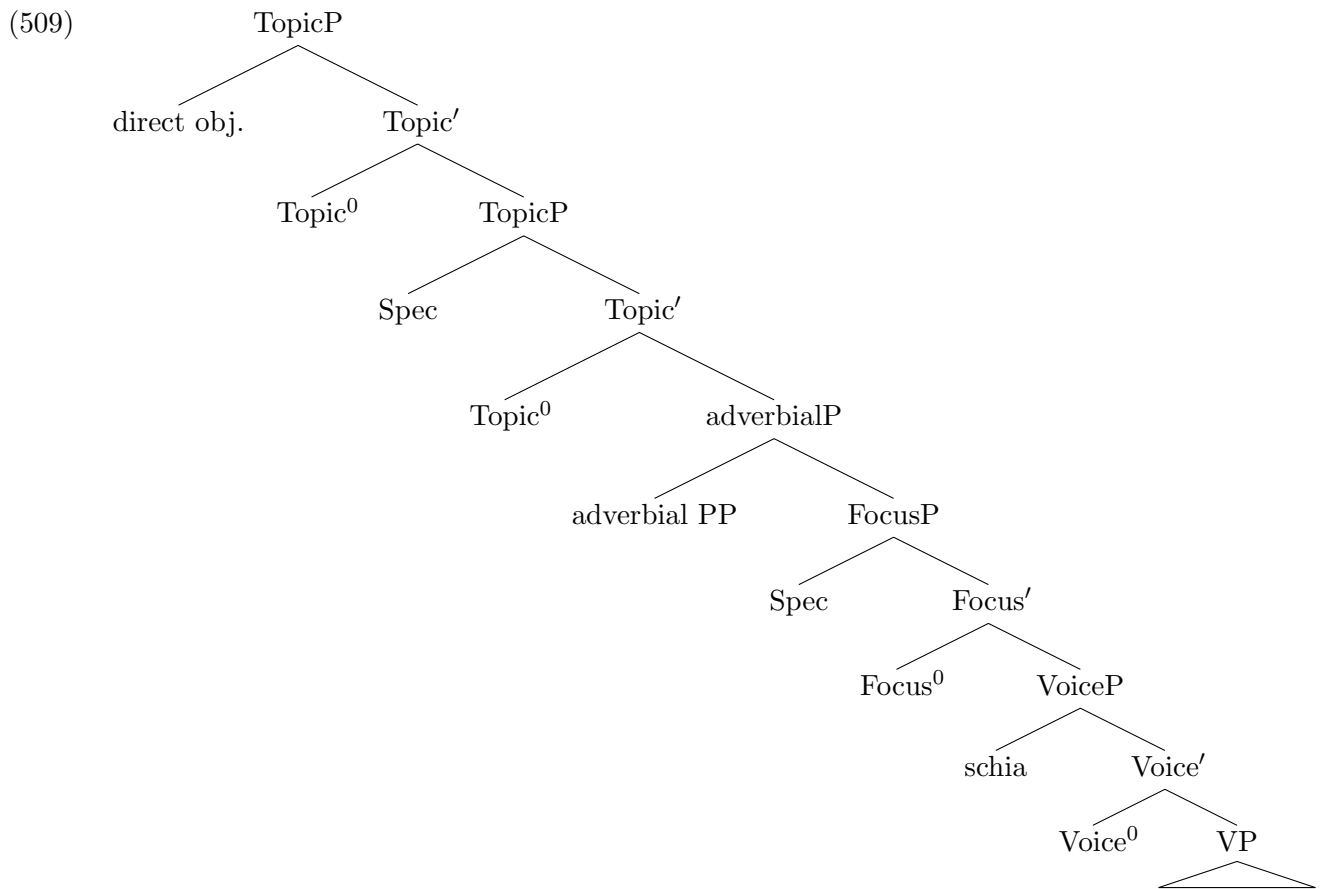
available and only the direct object can move there, given that it is the highest argument and is always a topic.

The same pattern is found also with adverbial PPs, as shown in (508).

(508)   **a.** *Gester hot-er schua a puach kaft en de boteig*

yesterday has-SUBJ CL already a book bought in the shop

b. **Gester hot-er a puach schua kaft en de boteig*

yesterday has-SUBJ CL a book already bought in the shop

c. **Gester hot-er schua a puach kaft en de boteig on net a penna*

yesterday has-SUBJ CL already a book bought in the shop and not a pen

d. *Gester hot-er schua a puach kaft en de boteig on net ka Triant*

yesterday has-SUBJ CL already a book bought in the shop and not in Trento

In this subsection, I have provided evidence in favour of the idea that a direct object is always a topic even in main declarative clauses and that the asymmetries in its syntactic behaviour with respect to other constituents (adverbial and argumental PPs) can be captured by the assumption that the direct object has to move to a dedicated lowTopicP. Recall from chapter 4 that the only constituent able to show up above other topics in the higher phase is the subject and this symmetry seems to point to the fact that the direct object in the lower phase functions in the same way as a subject in the higher one.

The analysis of the combinatory properties of constituents in the lower phase of the clause has allowed to reconstruct the structure of the vP periphery sketched in (509): two TopicPs precede a FocusP and the whole periphery is above adverbial PPs and VoiceP. It is important to notice that this structure can make sense of the order of constituents also in sentences with VO syntax, with the only assumption that the past participle moves through head movement to the edge of the vP periphery.

(509)

```
TopicP
├── direct obj.
└── Topic′
    ├── Topic⁰
    └── TopicP
        ├── Spec
        └── Topic′
            ├── Topic⁰
            └── adverbialP
                ├── adverbial PP
                └── FocusP
                    ├── Spec
                    └── Focus′
                        ├── Focus⁰
                        └── VoiceP
                            ├── schia
                            └── Voice′
                                ├── Voice⁰
                                └── VP
```

Above we saw that there is a correlation between Topics and adverbial PPs, since in sentences involving an operator adverbial PPs behave as topics of the higher phase: interrogative wh-elements allow for multiple topics in CP and can have multiple adverbial PPs after the past participle, foci can only have one topic in the left periphery and only allow for one adverbial PP after the past participle.

In what follows, I consider the syntax of adverbial PPs, in order to see if they can be considered topics.

6.5.3   On the position of adverbial PPs in the lower phase

In the previous subsections I hinted several times at the connection between topic and PPs, proposing indirectly that adverbial PPs are actually topics of the vP periphery.

Here, I want to consider this proposal for main declarative clauses and try to provide evidence in favour of it.

In (510), I give one example of contrastive *in-situ* focalization, where also adverbial PPs and the adverb *schia* show up. Contrary to expectations, a contrastive focus has to obligatory follow all adverbial PPs and also the manner adverb *schia*.

(510)   **a.** *Gester hone schua no en vourmess en mai zimmer schia s puach ont net de zaitung galezen*
         yesterday have-SUBJ CL already after lunch in my room well the book and not the newspaper read

b. *???Gester hone schua no en vourmess en mai zimmer s puach ont net de zaitung schia galezen*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL already after lunch in my room the book and not the newspaper well read

c. *???Gester hone schua s puach ont net de zaitung no en vourmess en mai zimmer schia galezen*
yesterday have-SUBJ CL already the book and not the newspaper the book and not the newspaper well read

'It is the book that I have already read well in my book after lunch and not the newspaper'

In this work, I reject the idea that *in-situ* contrastive focalization involves the high left periphery (as assumed for Romance languages, see Belletti 2004) on the basis of several reasons. First of all, this idea implies that the XP to be focus is moved to the high periphery, followed then by remnant movement of a bigger constituent containing the past participle: this is problematic for Mòcheno, since the past participle has to follow the focus and cannot precede it, as predicted by the approach in terms of VP movement. Moreover, the discussion on the syntax of contrastive focus in the high periphery carried out in chapter 4 has shown that a focus in the high periphery cannot be preceded by more than one XP: if movement of a bigger constituent to the Spec position of the TopicP activated by a focus were possible, I would expect multiple XPs to be allowed to precede a focus, which is though not the case.

Rejecting the idea that *in-situ* focalization involves the high periphery and assuming that it is encoded in the vP periphery, the data in (510) clearly indicate that the structure in (509) cannot be correct, since it makes the wrong prediction that an XP focused in the vP periphery has to precede both adverbial PPs and the low adverb *schia*. On the contrary, an *in-situ* focalization has to follow all other XPs and can only precede the past participle.

In the sentences in (510), we see that the order of PPs is the one of merge and also the position of *schia* as lowest modification is in line with Cinque (2006); recall that in OV syntax the order of PP modifications cannot be changed, see examples in (415), repeated here as (511).

(511)   **a.** *Gester hone de korten no en vormess en mai omt pet cura auspfillt*   TEMP-LOC-MANN
yesterday have-SUBJ CL have the forms yesterday in my office carefully PREF-filled

b. **Gester hone de korten en mai omt pet cura not en vormess auspfillt*   LOC-MANN-TEMP
yesteday have the forms in my office carefully after lunch PREF-filled

c. **Gester hone de korten en mai omt no en vormess pet cura auspfillt*   LOC-TEMP-MANN
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the forms in my office after lunch carefully PREF-filled

d. **Gester hone de korten pet cura en omt no en vormess auspfillt* MANN-LOC-TEMP
yesterday have-SUBJ CL the forms carefully in my office after lunch PREF-filled

'Yesterday I filled in the forms carefully in my office after lunch'

In order to reconcile the syntax of *in-situ* focalization with the structure of the lowest portion of Mòcheno clause I tentatively propose that all adverbial modifications are topics and that they have to precede a FocusP found immediately above VP, as sketched in (512).

(512)

```
                    TopicP
                   /      \
                 DO       Topic′
                         /     \
                    Topic⁰     TopicP
                              /      \
                           Spec      Topic′
                                    /     \
                               Topic⁰     TopicP
                                         /      \
                                      PPs       Topic′
                                               /     \
                                          Topic⁰     MannerP
                                                    /      \
                                                 schia     Manner′
                                                          /      \
                                                    Manner⁰      FocusP
                                                                /      \
                                                            focus      Focus′
                                                                      /     \
                                                                 Focus⁰      VP
```
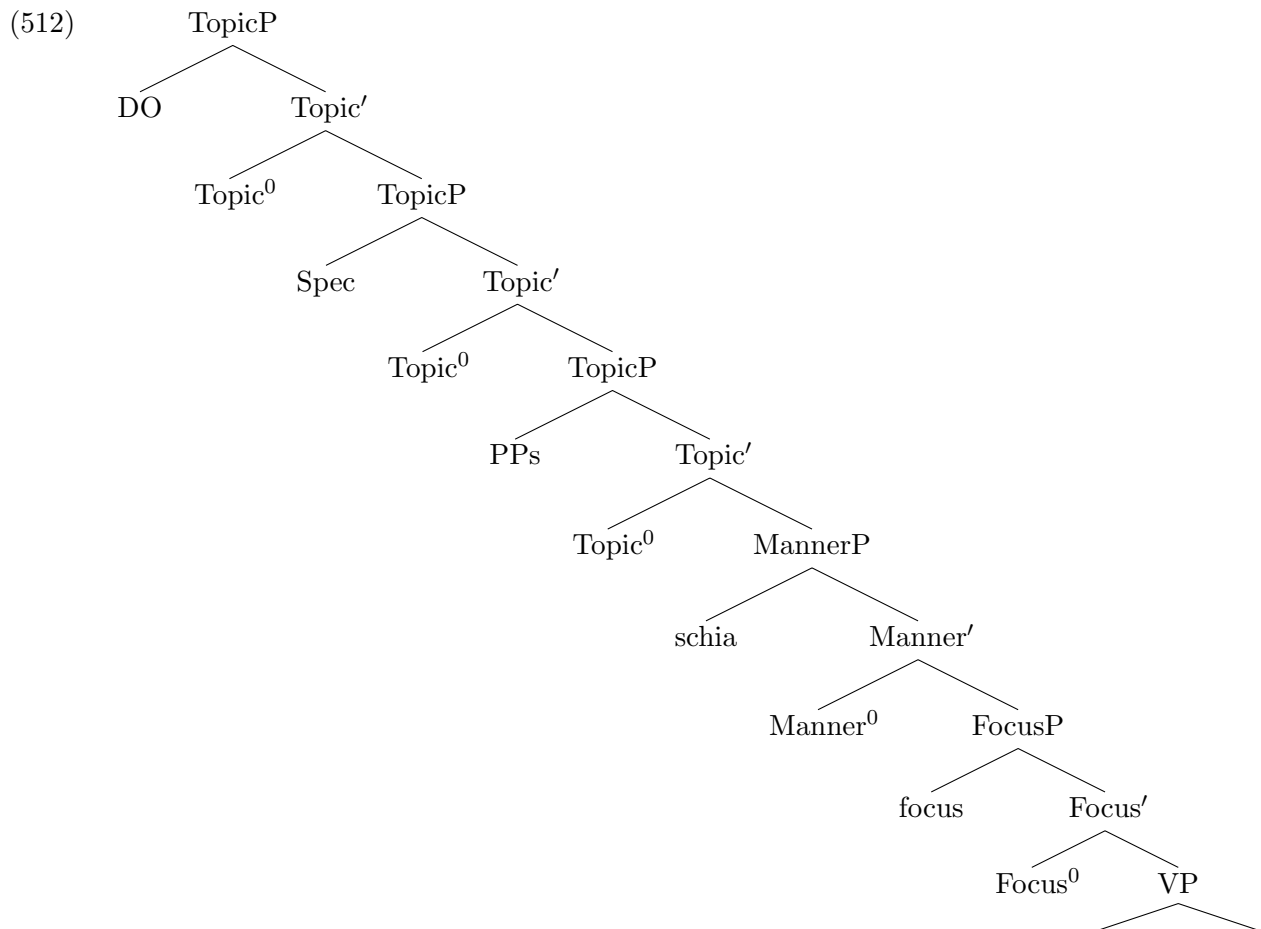
The structure proposed above is problematic with respect to the position of argumental PPs. We saw above that argumental PPs follow both manner adverbs and adverbial PPs, as repeated in (513).

(513) **a.** *Hait hone schua s holz schia en de holzlhitt galekt*
today have-SUBJ CL already the wood well in the wood case put
b. *??Hait hone schua s holz en de holzlhitt schia galekt*
today have-SUBJ CL already the wood in the wood case well put
c. *Hait hot-er schua s puach petn aoto en de Maria gem*
today has-SUBJ CL already the book with-the car to the Mary given
d. **Hait hot-er schua s puach en de Maria petn aoto gem*
today has-SUBJ CL already the book to the Mary with the car given
'He has already brought Mary the book by car'

This fact has to be put into relation with the possibility for manner adverbs to precede also an adverbial PP, as repeated in (514)

(514) **a.** *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz petn staupssauger <u>schia putzt</u>*
the mam has already/always the house with-the hoover well cleaned
b. *De mama hot schua/ollbe s hauz <u>schia</u> [petn staupsauger putzt]*
the mam has already/always the house well with-the hoover cleaned

Above, I made sense of the syntactic distribution of *schia* with respect to adverbial and argumental PPs by assuming that *schia* had moved from its base-position to a position of the vP periphery. In the light of the findings on the structure of the vP periphery, I want to put forth the idea that *schia* has only one position, that is in the lowest projection of the area dedicated to topics immediataly above FocusP and that what has moved is the PP.

PPs can can remain in the position for arguments in an unmarked sentence, but in a sentence with a focus they have to be obligatory topicalised.

6.6   Conclusions

In this chapter, I have taken into consideration the syntax of Mòcheno OV/VO word orders, putting forth the hypothesis that VO syntax in this language is always derive through past participle movement to the edge of the vP periphery, which is found below *Mittelfeld* adverbs.

The idea that the vP periphery is involved in the derivation of VO word orders in this language is strongly supported by the syntax of sentences involving an operator: in both cases in which a wh-element or a focus are extracted from the lower phase and moved to their dedicated position of the high left periphery VO syntax is obligatory. In interpreted this fact by assuming that in the case of extraction from the lower phase, the two peripheries "see eachother", in the sense that any XP moved to the high left periphery from the lower phase has to make an in-between step in the corresponding position of the vP periphery. This in-between movement forces past participle from its base position as a consequence of a low V2 rule involving the past participle and not the finite verb.

In order to determine in what position in the structure of the vP periphery low V2 is triggered, I started out from the standard assumption (Belletti 2001, 2004, Poletto 2006) that the two peripheries have the same structure and for the specific case of Mòcheno the past participle can be attracted to three different positions within the vP periphery according to the type of XP involved. Capitalising on the predictions made by the structure of the vP periphery, where operators can be preceded by at least one TopicP, I had to reject the hypothesis that the past participle moves to the head of the projection targeted by the extracted operator, that is either lowOpP or highOpP of the vP periphery, since if this were the case it would be possible to have at least one XP preceding the past participle in VO syntax, which is though ungrammatical.

On the basis of this fact, I had to assume that operators extracted from the lower phase target as highest projection of the vP periphery ForceP, which has to be considered the edge of the lower phase (Chomsky 2001), and it is to the head of that projection that the past participle has to raise in VO syntax.

I was able to provide evidence in favour of in-between movement of the operators on their way to CP in their dedicated lowOpPs: the distribution of adverbial PPs cannot in fact be captured if it is not assumed that post participial adverbial PPs are Topics of the extracted operator. This idea allows to make sense of the fact that in sentences beginning with a focus, only one adverbial PP is admitted after the past participle, in the same way that only one topic can precede a focus in the high periphery, and that wh-main interrogatives allow for several topics in the high periphery and for multiple adverbial PPs after the past participle. These very striking and complex data are captured in a natural way in my account.

In the last section, I provided some arguments in favour of the idea that the interaction between the two peripheries of the clause is at play also in main declarative clauses, where no extraction from the lower phase has taken place. This is the most speculative part of the chapter, in which I tried to reconstruct the structure of the vP periphery reaching the conclusion that in the vP

periphery there is a lowOpP where contrastive focus is encoded and that this OpP is absent in the high periphery, where in that lowest area topicalization is found. All is left open for further research.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This dissertation deals with the syntax of the Tyrolean dialect Mòcheno, a language spoken in three villages of the Fersina valley (Eastern Trentino, Northern Italy) by the descendants of settlers who moved from different areas of South and North Tyrol between the XII and the XIV centuries (Rogger 1979). Several aspects of the grammar of this dialect have been paid attention to (among others the articles collected in Pellegrini 1979 and Rowley 1982, 2003), but its syntax has never been studied before in an intensive way (except for the MA thesis by Togni 1990).

In this work I have concentrated on the variety spoken in the village of of Palù del Fersina, which is known (Rowley 2003, Cognola 2006) to be the most conservative variety of Mòcheno from the syntactic point of view; differently from the other dialects spoken in the valley and from most of the German dialects spoken in Northern Italian linguistic islands (for Cimbrian see the articles collected in Bidese et.al. 2005, for walser see Dal Negro 2004) it still has a rather productive V2 rule and a mixed OV/VO system.

These two phenomena can be considered two core phenomena of syntactic research and are particularly relevant for a comparative analysis of Romance and Germanic languages. As for V2 it is known that all Germanic languages except English still have the V2 rule, whereas most of the modern Romance languages[1] have lost it; OV word orders are present only on in continental Germanic and were possible also in Old Romance (Poletto 2006), as long as the V2 rule was productive as well. For their relevance in the perspective of a comparison between Romance and Germanic, V2 and OV word orders represent the phenomena a syntactician has to investigate in a language such as Mòcheno.

The first problem for the linguist is that Mòcheno is a language in variation, is a dialect that has undergone a standardization process only since some years, which has though not interested the syntactic level. Within such a system in variation, it is not easy to see the coherent patterns and the regularities behind phenomena, especially when one has one the grammar of one standard language in mind such as standard German. When one looks at Mòcheno data starting out from the coherent and straightforward situation of standard German, the first reaction is generally to speak about "loss" when Mòcheno diverges from German and of "maintenance" when both languages converge. Moreover, considered that speakers of Mòcheno have lived in a long situation of contact with Romance languages and are basically all bilingual, an explanation of all differences between Mòcheno and German in terms of the result of contact with Romance seems to be most natural one. Especially, since in most of the cases the linear order divergent from standard German correspondent to the one found in Romance contact languages. The explanation of Mòcheno mixed

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[1] All old Romance languages had a V2 ruled; only some varieties of Rhaetoromance have maintained the V2 system of Old Romance, see among others Benincà 1994.

syntax in terms of contact and influence from Romance varieties has been called for by most of the people that have dealt with Mòcheno syntax (among others Zamboni, 1979:90, Heller 1979:119, Togni 1993:172, Rowley 2003:289,291) and the idea that Mòcheno is a free-order language, where Romance and German phenomena come up in an unpredictable way, has been taken to be true so far.

One of the main goals of my dissertation is to demonstrate that the idea that Mòcheno is a free-order language and that both a Romance and a German grammar are available in the speakers' mind is wrong: I will show that Mòcheno is a language with only one single grammar, in which phenomena characteristics of German and Romance happen to be present, but whose distribution is determined by ruled internal to the system, and therefore predictable.

The second part of chapter 5 is devoted to provide evidence against an analysis of Mòcheno syntax as the result of contact of Romance; following Weinreich's (1953[2008:44]) intuitions that contact can only be determined if i) the two languages in contact are described in the same way and ii) if the two systems are contrastively analysed (Weinreich 1953[2008:8]), I will shown that the abstract properties of Mòcheno linear OV do not correspond to German OV, in the same way that Mòcheno VO does not correspond to contact Romance VO. The whole dissertation has though to be taken as a continous long-distance dialogue with the idea that Mòcheno syntax is the result of contact with Romance varieties and all new pieces of data presented and discussed in the description of Mòcheno system have to be takes as one single counter evidence to this idea and in favour of the autonomy and the originality of Mòcheno.

This work has to be taken as an instantiation of Weinreich's (1953[2008:44]) premises for determining if language contact has taken place, that is its aim is to give the most complete and detailed description of Mòcheno V2 and OV/VO word orders possible. Only starting out from such a description can the question of language contact be faced.

Given that, for the case of Mòcheno, variation cannot be captured in terms of language contact, an explanation for syntactic variation has to found. Again, my solution in order to capture language variation is to provide a detailed description of the facts and to construct the structure of the clause and a set of rules at the pragmatic/syntactic interface capable to make sense of the different word orders. In order to do so, I follow the cartographic approach (Cinque 1999, 2006, Rizzi 1997 and the contributions in Rizzi 2004, Belletti 2004), which I think is the only approach to syntax that can be applied to a basically unknown language with great variation.

In my work on Mòcheno syntax I have tried to reconstruct the hierarchical structure of the clause, determining where this dialects diverges from the universal structure of UG due to parametric variation. As will be seen in the dissertation, this task has not always been easy or completely successful, especially in chapter 6, where I try to determine the cartography of the vP periphery. The best results from the point of view of the cartography of syntactic structure is reached in chapters 3 and 4, where I deal with V2 and with the structure of Mòcheno left periphery. On the basis of the many detailed studies on the highest portion of the clause (among others Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà/Poletto 2004, Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007), I have been able to reconstruct the structure of Mòcheno high left periphery, see in what aspects it diverges from the one of Romance languages and what projections are involved in V2. I also managed to find a matching between syntax and semantics for the high periphery, since I was able to identify the projections encoding familiarity topic and those dedicated to aboutness topics. As will be seen, this is a very good result, since the data are very complex and apparently chaotic, due to presence of a split-CP and of several constituents able to trigger EPP. On the basis of this detailed structure, I was able to put forth a theoretical hypothesis in order to capture the occurrences of V2 in Mòcheno; therefore, I consider that descriptive and explanatory adequacy have been reached with respect to the V2 phenomenon.

   With respect to OV/VO word orders, this dissertation has pointed to a straightforward correlation between the V2 phenomenon and word orders in the lower phase, showing that the correlation between the two phenomena assumed for the asymmetry between German main and declarative clauses (den Besten 1983) is also found in main declarative clauses with respect to the position of the past participle. I have tried to capture this connection by assuming the presence of a low left periphery above VP (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006) and that word order in Mòcheno is determined by the interaction between high left periphery and low left periphery, that have the same structure.

   Through the hypothesis that V2 and OV/VO word orders are the result of the V2 rule in two different phases - in the higher one involving the positions of the finite verb and in the lower one involving the past participle - I have captured the syntax of wh-main interrogative clauses and sentences beginning with a focus in a nice way and also very puzzling data on the distribution of adverbial PPs have been naturally be accounted for within the hypothesis.

Chapter 8

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