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DOUBLING OF CLITICS AND DOUBLING BY CLITICS: THE CASE OF NEGATION☆

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ABSTRACT

Clitics, beside doubling a phrasal constituent, can double other clitics. The two cases to be studied here, based on Italian dialect data, involve copying of the negative clitic on either side of a subject clitic, and copying on either side of an object clitic (Parry 1995, 1997). In all of the cases we consider, the doubling of the negation clitic is sensitive to the so-called person split, roughly between first/second person and third person. We also consider potentially problematic cases where one of the apparently negative copies surfaces in positive contexts. Our analysis is based on other lexical material by the interpretive calculus at the LF interface, as in so-called representational models (Brody 2003). More to the point, we abandon the idea that sentential negations instantiate a specialized functional category Neg, where the clitic corresponds roughly to the negation operator. Rather, we propose that negations, including both clitics and adverbs are nominal elements, anchored as such at

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the argumental structure of the verb. Because we treat the so-called sentential negation as a nominal, argumental element, we are led to conclude that from an interpretive point of view, doubling of sentential negations is effectively an instance of so-called negative concord; we deal with the latter by assuming that negations are negative polarity items, rather than negative quantifiers.

1. DOUBLING OF N ON EITHER SIDE OF A SUBJECT CLITIC

In this section, we consider cases of doubling of the clitic negation on either side of a subject clitic, as seen for instance in the Northern Tuscan dialect of *Viano* in the second person singular in (1ii). In the other persons, reported in (1) under the corresponding roman numbers, the negative clitic simply follows the subject clitic. The examples in (1ii) show that the doubling of the negative clitic is entirely indifferent to the composition of the object clitic string.

(1) *Viano* (Tuscany)

i. a nə dɔrmə.
I not sleep
I don't sleep.

ii. a. a n tə nə dɔrmə.
SCl not you not sleep
You don't sleep.

b. n tə (nə) mə camə.
not you not me call
You don't call me.

c. n tə nə l camə.
not you not him call
You don't call him.

d. n tə n tə lavə.
not you not you wash
You don't wash yourself.

e. n tə ŋ gə l dɛ.
not you not there it give
You don't give it to him.

iii. i/ la nə dɔrmə.
he/she not sleeps
S/he doesn't sleep.

iv. a nə dor'mjaŋ.
we not sleep
We don't sleep.

v. nə dur'mi.
not you.sleep
You don't sleep.

vi. i/ la nə 'dɔrmənə.
they.m/they.f not sleep
They don't sleep.

The pattern in (1) connects to the fact that cross-linguistically a negative clitic can appear either before or after the subject clitic (Parry 1995, 1997; Zanuttini 1997; Manzini and Savoia 1998, 2005; Poletto 2000), as illustrated here in (2)–(3) again with dialects of Northern Tuscany. To be more precise, in a dialect like *Vagli* in (2), the negative clitic follows the subject clitic, while in a dialect like *Sillano* in (3) it precedes the differentiated subject clitic and it follows invariable *e*.

(2) *Vagli di Sopra* (Tuscany)

i nun dɔrmɛ
tu n dɔrmɛ
i/ ɛ nun dɔrmɛ
nun sə dɔrmɛ
nun durmitɛ
i nun 'dɔrmənə
I not sleep etc.
I don't sleep. etc.

(3) *Sillano* (Tuscany)

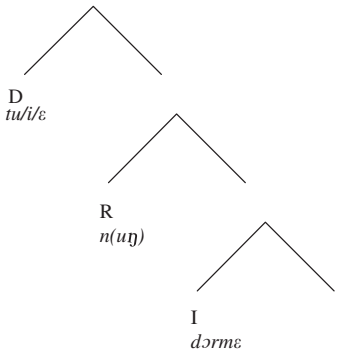
(e) n(o) i dɔrma
(e) non tu dɔrma
(e) no llə dɔrma
(e) non dor'mjaŋ
(e) non durmiddə
(e) no llə dɔrməŋ
SCl not I sleep etc.
I don't sleep. etc.

Poletto (2000) accounts for data similar to (2)–(3) by assuming that both subject and negation clitics have more than one position available to them. To begin with, in (3) the invariable subject clitic is higher than the inflected one, since the negation occurs between them. Furthermore, the negation in (3) is higher than the negation in (2) since the former precedes the inflected subject clitic, while the latter follows it. This yields a hierarchy roughly of the type SCl (invariable) — Neg — SCl (inflected) — Neg.

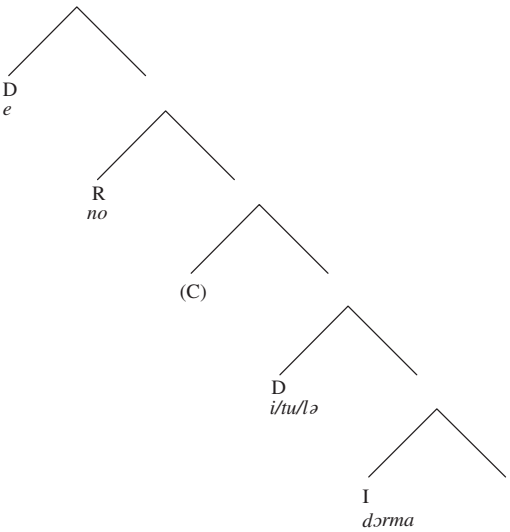
We adopt the conclusion that the two subject clitics in (3) correspond to two different subject clitic positions, which we take to be superordinate to the I and C positions of the verb. Similarly we accept that there are two different positions for the negations preceding the inflected subject clitics in (3) and following

them in (2); again we assume that the two relevant positions are within the C and I domain respectively. Following the intuition of Chomsky (1995) as to the nature of the EPP argument, we notate the subject clitic as D. More importantly, we do not identify the position of the negative clitic with a dedicated functional projection Neg, though nothing would prevent us in principle from doing so. Rather, given the existence of an independent hierarchy for pronominal clitics, we simply assume that the negation fits into it — and specifically corresponds to the R slot of Manzini and Savoia (2007), generically suggesting Referentiality, which occurs immediately after the subject clitic and immediately before object clitics. On these grounds we assign the structures in (4) and (5) respectively to, say, the second person singular of the paradigms in (2) and (3).

(4) *Vagli di Sopra*

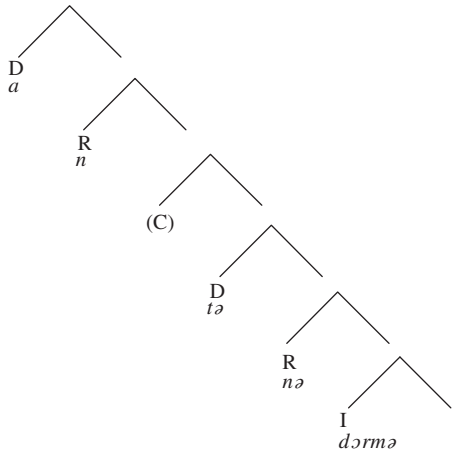


(5) *Sillano*



The structures in (4)–(5) amount to proposing that *Vagli* and *Sillano* differ as to whether the negation inserts in the domain immediately above C, as in *Sillano*, or in the domain immediately above I, as in *Vagli*.[1] If the C- and I-domain positions of the negation in (4) and (5) are instantiated at once, we derive the doubling of *Viano* in (1ii), as illustrated in (6).

(6) *Viano*



The question now arises as to why the pattern in (6) is restricted to the second person singular. A connection can be established with another pattern which singles out second person clitics in their interaction with the negation. As illustrated in (7) with *Càsola*, again a Northern Tuscan dialect, invariable subject clitics precede the negation, as expected; on the other hand inflected subject clitics split, in that only second person one follow the negation, while

[1]An interesting question, raised by reviewer A., is whether the positional difference between I and C negations corresponds to an interpretive difference. All evidence points to a different conclusion, namely that the interpretive value of the negation remains the same, though its lexicalization varies according to a number of ultimately interpretive differences (including in particular the shape of the event, as defined by the nature of the arguments satisfying the predicate).

Specifically, again answering reviewer A's query, we can exclude that the presuppositional vs. non-presuppositional distinction of Zanuttini (1997) applies to the two negations. In general, it seems to us that such a distinction is difficult to maintain, given that all instances of negations, and more generally of focus, must have a presupposition as part of their interpretation. But even if such a distinction could be made to stick in theoretical terms, Zanuttini (1997) applies it to contrasts in the lexicalization of negative adverbs (and in their position) which are unrelated to the contrasts observed here. Thus argument structure, which is a crucial factor in the phenomena studied here, is irrelevant for the contrast in, say, standard Italian between the purely clitic negation and the doubling of the clitic negation by the negative adverb *mica* (non-presuppositional and presuppositional respectively for Zanuttini (1997). The reader is referred to Manzini and Savoia (2005) for an alternative treatment of the latter.

third person one precede it (Parry 1995, 1997; Zanuttini 1997; Manzini and Savoia 1998, 2005; Poletto 2000).

(7) *Càsola* (Tuscany)

a	n		ðɔrm	
	n	tə	ðɔrm	
i/la	nə		ðɔrm	
a	nə		ðurmi'aŋ	
a	n	və	ður'mi	
i/la	nə		'ðɔrmənə	
SCl	Neg	SCl	sleep	etc.
I don't sleep.				etc.

In Poletto's (2000) theory, where data of the type of (7) are also considered, the relative order of subject clitics and the negation depends on a clitic hierarchy of the type described earlier, roughly SCl(invariable) — Neg — SCl(third) — Neg — SCl(second) — Neg. Under this account, the negation of *Càsola* in (7) would be the middle one, since it precedes SCl(second) but follows SCl(third). This hierarchy could also correctly derive the doubling of *Viano* in (1), where SCl(second) is flanked by two copies of Neg.

Notice that both *Càsola* in (7) and *Viano* in (1) lack inflected clitics for the first person. Therefore we may equally well describe the facts by saying that in *Càsola* in (7) the negation precedes all inflected first and second person subjects and follows third person ones; similarly in *Viano* in (1) doubling opposes all inflected first and second person subjects to third person ones. In other words, both types of languages can be described as instantiating a classical person split between first/second person and third person.

The reason why the person split interacts with the negative clitic, will obviously depend on the nature of both. In connection with the slightly different domain of data represented by the interaction of the person split with the adverbial negation, Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005) suggest that the so-called adverbial negation is neither adverbial nor, strictly speaking, negative; rather, so-called negative adverbs are nominal elements interpreted as negative polarity items. They furthermore suggest a characterization of first and second person arguments as 'discourse-anchored' and third person arguments as 'event-anchored'. These conclusions will be briefly reviewed before proceeding to the analysis of the data at hand; we shall return on the negation vs. negative polarity item issue in Section 4.

1.1. Background: The Adverbial Negation

While in standard Italian or in the Tuscan dialects exemplified so far, negation is expressed by a negative clitic, it is well-known that in French or in many Northern Italian dialects the clitic negation is obligatorily doubled by a negative adverb; in other Northern Italian dialects, or in colloquial French, the

negation consists only of a negative adverb (Parry 1995, 1997; Zanuttini 1997; Manzini and Savoia 1998, 2005; Poletto 2000).

Now, the negative adverb (whether doubled or not by a clitic) can be lexicalized by elements such as *nɛinta* in (8a), or *nɛŋ* in (8b) which are at least etymologically connected with the negative polarity item/ negative quantifier 'nothing'. In dialects like those in (8) the connection is not simply etymological; rather, the relevant lexical items have both the adverbial value of a sentential negation and the argumental value — so that the examples in (8) are actually ambiguous. Specifically, since the verb 'eat' can be construed both transitively and intransitively the negative item can fill the internal argument slot, or can have a reading equivalent to a sentential negation.

(8) a. *Oviglio* (Piedmont)
u n maɲdʒa nɛinta.
he not eats nothing/not
He eats nothing/ he doesn't eat.

b. *Montaldo* (Piedmont)
i mɔɲdʒ nɛŋ.
I eat nothing/not
I eat nothing/ I don't eat.

The other basic type of negative adverbs in Italian varieties is at least etymologically related to bare Nouns. This includes generic nouns of the type *rɛŋ* (<Latin *rem* 'thing'), in turn also attested as negative polarity items (as in French *rien* 'nothing'); and it includes 'minimizers' — i.e., Nouns denoting smallest possible unit of something — as in the types *mica* (of standard Italian) or *briza* 'crumb', *bu(ka)* 'piece', *pa* 'step', etc. Noting this correspondence, Meyer-Lübke (1899, §693–694) proposes that what we describe as sentential negation adverbs originate in a partitive construction. In support of his proposal he quotes Old French examples such as (9) where the 'negative adverb' *mie*, effectively a bare Noun, overtly co-occurs with the partitive.[2]

(9) de s'espee ne volt mie guerpir.
of his sword not he.wanted not to abandon
He didn't want to abandon his sword. (Chanson de Roland 465)

Northern Italian dialects provide evidence in favor of a non-purely etymological connection between negation and partitive assignment to the internal

[2]Reviewer A. reminds us that there is also evidence from Germanic that the source of sentential negation can be a negative quantifier. More generally Roberts and Roussou (2003, p. 155) recognize 'minimizers' and generic nouns as other possible sources cross-linguistically.

argument of the verb. Thus in (10) the negation triggers the partitive even in the presence of a definite interpretation. This type of data recalls the phenomenon described by Pesetsky (1982) for Russian, whereby the accusative object in non-negative contexts alternates with an object in the accusative or in the partitive in negative ones.

(10) *Trecate* (Piedmont)
(a mmarju) tʃamum-ru/ na mija.
the Mario call-him of.him not
Mario, we don't call (him).

Taking at face value the fact that *mia* in (10) is a bare N, we expect it to have a referential content. The bare N status of *mia* itself suggests what this referential content may be — namely the only reference independently known to be compatible with bare singular count 'N's, i.e. that of negative polarity items. To illustrate, while bare singular 'N's are generally excluded in Romance, as in English, they become possible in the scope of a negative operator, roughly with the value of English *any*. (11) provides an example from standard Italian.[3]

(11)* (Non) si muove foglia.
not NACT moves leaf
Not a leaf stirs.

The coincidence between the so-called negative adverbs in (8) and the argument for 'nothing' suggests for them an analysis analogous to the one outlined for bare N adverbs. In other words 'nothing'-type adverbs are nominal elements and in particular negative polarity items, providing a variable interpreted in the scope of an abstract negation operator.

The dialect of *Quarna Sotto* in (12) is of particular interest here in that it provides a direct link between the adverbial negation and the person split phenomena. This is a language with a bare N negation *mia* and a 'nothing'-type negation *nota* (etymologically a negated Noun, i.e., *ne gutta* 'not a drop'). In general, *mia* co-occurs with third person objects, either in the form of a partitive clitic, as in (12d), or of an accusative lexical object, as in (12e). In turn, *nota* occurs with first and second person objects, as in (12c), and in intransitive contexts, as in (12a). Unaccusatives, as in (12b–b′), appear to be compatible with *nota*, or with *nota* and *mia* splitting according to person.

[3]Here and throughout were glosse *si* as 'non active' (NACT) on the assumption that the non-active label used for the morphology of languages like Greek or Albanian is the best approximation to the range of meaning of *si*.

(12) *Quarna Sotto* (Piedmont)

a. əɣ/ɣɐ drɔmma nota.
he/she sleeps not
S/he doesn't sleep.

b. t i ɲu nota.
you are come not
You didn't come.

b′. i mia ɲu/ i ɲu nota.
he.is not come/ he.is come not
He didn't come.

c. ɐɣ vɔg notɐ-m.
he sees not-me
He doesn't see me.

d. ɐɣ vɔg miɐ-n.
he sees not-of.it/them
He doesn't see (any of) it/ (any of) them.

e. lavu mia ɐʌ ka'miz.
they.wash not the shirts
They don't wash the shirts.

f. ɐɣ beu miɐ d viŋ.
he drinks not of wine
He doesn't drink wine.

Now, person split phenomena are a pervasive pan-Romance phenomenon. In particular, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) show that in the clitic system, first and second person forms are at most differentiated between nominative and non-nominative (in subject clitic languages); third person forms are the only ones to register any difference between accusative and oblique, both in the morphology and in the position of the clitic. What is more, the morphological and positional properties of first and second person clitics, when compared to those of the third person one, are essentially those of the oblique (dative) and different from those of the accusative. This in turn is reminiscent of the fact that in many Romance dialects first and second person full pronouns are part of (or exhaust) the set of elements that are lexicalized in the dative through the preposition *a*, whether they are direct or indirect objects. Recall also that in person ergativity splits (not relevant for Romance languages) first and second person are incompatible with the ergative Case.

We surmise that though a first or second person element and a third person one can equally serve as arguments of a predicate, they do so through different syntactic means. In particular, the position and the morphology of first and second person arguments do not necessarily respond to their anchoring in the event structure (i.e., whether they are the first or second internal argument of a ditransitive, etc.). In this sense, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) speak of

'discourse-anchored' elements, i.e., elements whose position and morphology responds only to their denotational content. On the contrary, the morphosyntactic properties of third person elements reflect their argumental role (accusative vs. dative marking, specialized non-active marking by *si* etc.). In this sense, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) speak of 'event anchored' elements.[4]

Going then back to the distribution of *mia* in *Quarna Sotto,* the example in (12b′) implies the existence of two slightly different grammars. In one of them, which has *mia* in (12b′), *mia* co-occurs with event-anchored (third person) internal arguments — including those promoted to the EPP position. The distribution of *nota* can be characterized as the complement set — i.e., environments where there is no event-anchored internal argument. In the alternative grammar, which has *nota* in (12b′), *mia* selects event-anchored (third person) internal arguments in the accusative/partitive position — i.e., N in Manzini and Savoia's (2007) argumental (clitic) hierarchy; *nota* excludes them.

1.2. Analysis

Let us then return to the negation clitic and to its interactions with the person split. The structures proposed for the negation clitic that follows the inflected subject clitic, as in *Vagli*'s (4), or precedes it, as in *Sillano*'s (5), suggest an account of the alternating pattern of a language like *Càsola* along the lines of (13). In (13a)

[4]Reviewer A. offers an alternative characterization of the 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person in terms of 'deictica' vs. 'anaphora'. This characterization does correctly capture an important property of the overall person split; nevertheless it does not seem to have any immediate relevance for the phenomena considered in the text. In other words, just because of their 'deictic' or 'anaphoric' properties we do not expect a 3rd person complement to display a morphosyntactic encoding of argumental roles (accusative vs. dative marking) whereas 1st and 2nd person ones don't. Similarly, in *Quarna* we do not expect a 1st or 2nd person object to pattern with the absence of an object and against a 3rd person object; and so on. Data like those we are considering (and others, such as the auxiliary selection according to person analyzed by Manzini and Savoia (2007)) require not so much a characterization of the intrinsic denotational properties of 1st/2nd person vs. 3rd person — which is a fairly straightforward matter. Rather, they require a linking of the referential properties of the various persons to their properties with respect to predicate-argument structures.

To the extent that the two sets of properties of the person split obviously coincide, it would appear that they should be reduced to a common basis. Any attempt at doing this goes beyond the scope of the present article, but in the spirit of trying to be as clear as possible about what precedes, we may volunteer something more about it. Suppose for instance we conceive of argument slots in predicate-argument structures as variables (Adger and Ramchand 2005). Everything we said is compatible with the idea that only 3rd person arguments really bind these slots — and this is no doubt connected to their ability to bind other arguments in anaphoric relations. As for 1st and 2nd person pronouns we may consider that they satisfy the relevant argument slot through some different formal means — an identity, predicative relation or other. We again insist that connecting the referential to the argumental properties is necessary to an understanding of how the person split operates in morphosyntax. Therefore we retain, as a first approximation, the 'discourse-anchored' and 'event-anchored' characterizations, as opposed to other characterizations hinting at purely referential properties.

Examples (16)(iiia) and (26c–c′) below are also relevant, to the extent that the 3rd person, anaphoric *si* clitic patterns with 1st and 2nd person clitics; see the discussion in the text.

the negation is inserted within the I domain and therefore follows the third person subject clitic. In (13b), assuming that the position of first and second person subject clitics remains constant, the negation precedes them in that it inserts in the C domain. Now, the pattern in (13), far from appearing arbitrary, can be seen as a more abstract version of the *Quarna* split in (12). In other words, the negation (here the clitic) has two different lexicalizations (or positions) depending on the presence of a first/second or third person argument (here the EPP argument).

(13) *Càsola*

a. [$_D$ i/a [$_R$ nə [$_I$ ðɔrm

b. [$_R$ n [C [$_D$ tə [$_I$ ðɔrm

Viano's (6), repeated here in (14b), is a variant of *Càsola*'s (13b). Thus in (14b) a copy of the C-domain negation is inserted when the subject clitic is first or second person. By contrast, the I-domain copy is the sole lexicalization of the negation with the third person subject clitic in (14a).

(14) *Viano*

a. [$_D$ i/la [$_R$ nə [$_I$ ðɔrmə

b. [$_D$ a [$_R$ n [C [$_D$ tə [$_R$ nə [$_I$ ðɔrmə

In another perspective, *Càsola* and *Viano* in (13)–(14) are sensitive to the same parameter between the I-domain and C-domain lexicalizations of the negation as *Vagli* and *Sillano* in (4)–(5), except that one of the two negations is generalized to the whole paradigm in (4)–(5), while they split according to person in (13)–(14). This connects the C- vs. I-domain distinction to the discourse-anchored vs. event-anchored one. Specifically, discourse-anchoring is associated with the C-domain, as in (13b) and (14b) and event-anchoring with the I-domain, as in (13a) and (14a).

As usual, the challenge to the theory is not so much describing the data, as explaining them. Thus we should be able to predict that the reverse pattern to (13), with the negative clitic preceding the third person subject clitic and following the first and second person one is not attested. Similarly, the reverse pattern to (14) is not found, with the negation doubled on either side of the third person subject clitic and following the second person one. Poletto's (2000) theory makes the correct prediction as to the impossibility of the reverse of (13), since her clitic hierarchy, roughly SCl — Neg — SCl(third) — Neg — SCl(second) — Neg, forces any negation that precedes SCl(third) to also precede SCl(second). However, when it comes to doubling, the same hierarchy can yield the unattested string Neg — SCl(third) — Neg, even in combination with the string SCl(second) — Neg, assuming that the highest and lowest Neg's of the string are instantiated.

Here, starting with the two different positions of the negation in (13), we are able to predict the doubling in (14), as opposed to its reverse. However we have not yet explained why the negation and the subject clitic pattern as in (13), as opposed to the reverse — since contrary to Poletto (2000), the position of the

negation with respect to first/second person clitics and third person ones is not written into a hierarchy. In other words, the question is why the negation cannot be forced into the C domain by an event-anchored (third person) EPP argument, while remaining within the I domain in the presence of a discourse-anchored (second person) one. Suppose that in the same way outlined for negative adverbs, we construe the negative clitic as a nominal element and a negative polarity item. If so, the generalization is that the presence of a discourse-anchored argument provokes the lexicalization of argumental material (the so-called negation clitic) in the C domain, indirectly linking discourse-anchoring and the C domain. On the contrary event-anchoring is connected to the I domain.

Much independent evidence suggests that the connection just established is correct. Thus in the imperatives of Southern Italian and Albanian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2007), discourse-anchored and event-anchored object clitics are found in the C and I domain respectively — the former in mesoclisis, and the latter in enclisis. This type of pattern will be discussed in more detail in Section 2. The higher position of discourse-anchored elements with respect to event-anchored ones is also confirmed for non-related languages (for instance Salish, as discussed by Davis 1999). If this is on the right track, it casts further doubts on Poletto's (2000) hierarchy, where third person is higher than first or second person subject clitic. Crucially, the interactions of the negative polarity clitic with the person split require that it also participates in the definition of predicate-argument structure. If it was simply a logical connective, the reason for such interaction would remain mysterious — or at the very least could not fall under the generalization just proposed.

2. DOUBLING OF N ON EITHER SIDE OF AN OBJECT CLITIC

In the examples presented so far, the negative clitic systematically precedes object clitics, as is usual in Italian varieties. However cases in which the negative clitic appears inside the object clitic string are noted in the literature, in particular by Parry (1997) for Cairo Montenotte, where the negative clitic precedes third person objects but follows first and second person ones. What is more, Parry (1997) observes that in some dialects of Liguria and Piedmont the negative clitic can appear both to the right and the left of the first and second person clitic. Zanuttini (1997, p. 18) suggests that only languages with the doubling of the negative clitic by an adverbial negation admit of this doubling. In reality, the Northern Tuscan dialects that we exemplify below are a counterexample to this generalization.

Let us begin by considering the relatively simple case of *Bedizzano* in (15) in which only one instance of the negation appears, following first and second person object clitics and preceding third person ones. This positioning of the negative clitic within the object clitic string is insensitive to the person of the verbal paradigm, as can be seen from the comparison between second and third person in (ii) and (iii) respectively.

(15) *Bedizzano* (Tuscany)

ii. a. tə mə nə camə.
you me not call
You don't call me.

b. tə nə l camə.
you not him call
You don't call him.

c. tə mə nə l/n da.
you me not it/of.it give
You don't give me it/any of it.

d. tə n i l da.
you not to.him it give
You don't give it to him.

iii. a. i ttə/ssə/vvə nə l/n da (prə ɲent).
he you.sg/us/you.pl not it/of.it gives at all
He doesn't give it/any of it to you/us'.

b. i n i ʌ da.
he not to.him it gives
He doesn't give it to him.

c. i n i/sə da kwɛst.
he not to.him/to.us gives this
He doesn't give this to him/us.

Doubling data are provided in (16) for *Colonnata*. The negative clitic follows all subject clitics and precedes third person object clitics, both accusative and dative (as in (iiib)). At the same time, the negative clitic both precedes and follows first and second person clitics as well as the *se*-type clitic (as in (iiia)).

(16) *Colonnata* (Tuscany)

i. a. a n tə nə weðə.
I not you not see
I don't see you.

b. a n tə nə l 'dag.
I not you not it give
I don't give it to you.

c. a nə l veðə.
I not it see
I don't see it.

ii. a. tə n tə nə lavə.
you not yourself not wash
You don't wash yourself.

b. tə nə l veðə.
you not it see
You don't see it.

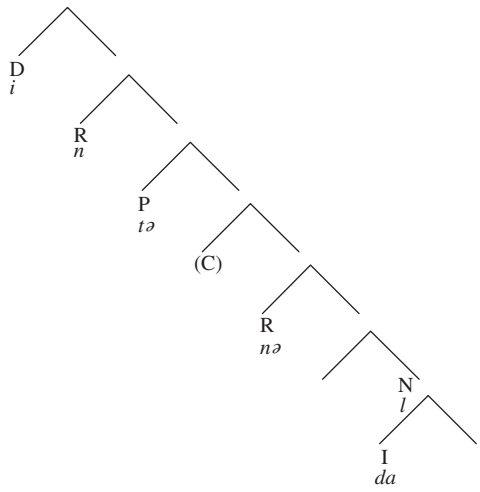
iii. a. i n sə nə lavə.
he not himself not washes
He doesn't wash himself.

b. i n i l da.
he not to.him it gives
He doesn't give it to him.

c. i n tə nə l da.
he not you not it gives
He doesn't give it to you.

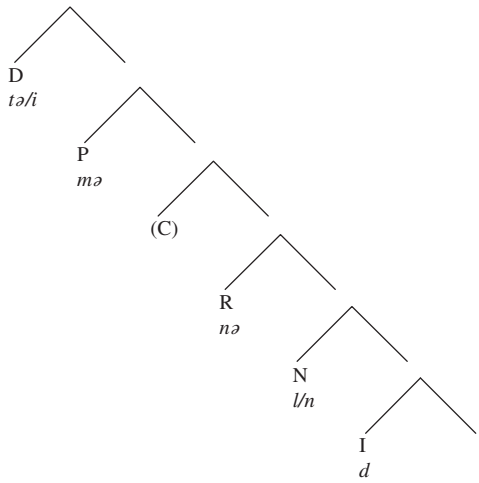
We approach the doubling data of *Colonnata* in (16) assuming that the negative clitic doubles because it inserts both in the C and in the I domain; the possibility for a negative clitic to insert in either domain has been independently motivated in Section 1, and its doubling in both domains allowed us to account for the doubling on either side of a subject clitic in Section 1.2. We can account for the *Colonnata* data if we assume additionally that first and second person clitics — here notated P to suggest Person — insert in the C domain, so that they precede the lower copy of the negation and they follow the higher copy, as in (17). This analysis furthermore requires all subject clitics to be generated within the C domain. Note that we follow Manzini and Savoia (2007) in notating third person accusative clitics as N (cf. the discussion in Section 1.1) though conventional labelling, such as undifferentiated D(P) for all clitics, would equally be possible.

(17) *Colonnata*



If we apply the approach in (17) to the non-doubling data of *Bedizzano* we obtain structures like (18), which display the person split between third person (N) clitics in the I domain and other clitics in the C domain, so that the former follow and the latter precede the negation in the I domain.

(18) *Bedizzano*



The question is whether the structures in (17)–(18) have explanatory value. The relevant generalization appears to be the same as formulated in the conclusions of Section 1.2, namely that event-anchored clitics are associated with the I domain, while discourse-anchored ones are associated with the C domain. In (17), the negation splits along the same lines as object clitics, namely one copy in the I domain and one copy in the C domain. Note that in this analysis, all subject clitics are in the C domain — we may take this to be due to their EPP nature, potentially extraneous to the event- vs. non-event-anchored contrast. Recall that even in the dialects of Section 1, all inflected subject clitics occurred in the same domain (the I domain in that case) — and it was the negation that eventually split between two domains. In other words, the behavior of the negation is closer to that of object clitics than of subject clitics.

In Southern Italian and Albanian dialects where discourse-anchored and event-anchored object clitics occur in the C and I domain respectively in imperatives (Manzini and Savoia 2007), locatives pattern with first and second person. *Bedizzano*'s (iiia) shows that the same is true of *se*, which descriptively is the third person reflexive, but according to Manzini and Savoia (2007) is the free variable of the argumental clitic system. Therefore the split must involve something like the present notion of discourse- and event-anchoring rather than just the opposition of first and second person vs. third person.

It is important to recall that what we are seeking to analyze is finely structured parametric space. What we are finding is a set of universal categorical distinctions. One such distinction is between C and I domain. This interacts with the person split either directly, so that event-anchored complement clitics have an I lexicalization and discourse-anchored ones have a C lexicalization — or indirectly, so that the C negation associates with discourse-anchoring of the EPP argument and the I negation with its event-anchoring. Despite the unpredictable way in which the relevant distinctions will show up in a given language, what we are finding is that the patterns they give rise to may not be reversible. Thus it is always discourse-anchored elements that are higher than event-anchored ones — more precisely, that trigger the lexicalization of the C domain (for instance by the negative polarity clitic) as opposed to the lexicalization of the I domain in combination with event-anchored elements.

The fact that negative clitic doubling interacts with LF interface notions such as that of person split, excludes that it could be a purely morpho(phono)logical phenomenon. For instance, the copying and displacement processes targeted by Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993) or more recently by Harris and Halle's (2005) theory of metathesis can affect clitic material entirely comparable to negative *n*. In other words, since the negative clitic is clearly part of the clitic cluster, there is no reason why its copying (or displacement) should not be handled at MS/PF as that of argumental clitics routinely is. However if the discussion that precedes is correct, the notions necessary to account for the present data are syntactic/ LF notions, such as those of person split or I vs. C domain. To be more precise, it is possible to import the primitives necessary to state the correct distribution of the negative clitic (first/second vs. third person, and so on) at the PF/MS interface. The problem however is one of explanatory adequacy. On the one hand, a theory where the relevant notions are available in more than one component must surely count as more complex than a theory where they are handled in a unified (morpho-syntactic) component. More importantly, if the interaction between the person split and the placement of the negation is to be understood in terms of the lexicalization of the relevant clitics in I and C domains, then this essential aspect of our explanation cannot be reproduced at MS/PF at all. In our view, this type of consideration argues against any attempt at reducing negative doubling to an MS/PF process, and it also indirectly casts doubts on MS/PF accounts of pronominal clitics — whose parallelisms with negative clitics seems to call for a unified analysis.

2.1. Trebling and More

In (19) we report data similar to those in (15), but taken from a dialect (*Càrcare*) of the type studied by Parry (1997), with the negative clitic doubling a negative adverb — identical to the argument for 'nothing'. It will be noted that the sentential negation adverb is in complementary distribution with other negative adverbs, as in (19iib–c), and arguments, as in (19iiib), and appears in fact to be altogether optional, as in (19iiic). About this last example, we assume that (true) optionality simply reflects the presence of different grammars in the

competence of the same speaker. As for the question of 'negative concord', i.e., the possibility (or impossibility) of combining two or more given negative forms with a single negation meaning, we shall return to it in Section 4.

What is relevant here is that in (19) the negation is expressed by a triplet consisting of a negative adverb or phrasal argument doubled by a pair of clitics. The position of these is the same observed in (16); thus they precede and follow P clitics and *si*-type clitics, preceding in all cases accusative/partitive ones. Subject clitics generally precede the higher copy of the negative clitic. However it can either follow or precede the second person singular subject clitic, as in (19iib) and (19iic) respectively. What is more, these two potential positions of the negative clitic can combine, much in the way observed in (1); thus we obtain sentences of the type of (20iia), where three copies of the negative clitic are present, besides the negative adverb. AQ1

(19) *Càrcare* (Liguria)

ii. a. ɛŋ t ɛŋ t ɛŋ lɔvi nɛ:nt.
not you not yourself not wash nothing
You don't wash yourself.

b. ɛt ɛŋ m ɛŋ tʃɔmi mɔi
you not me not call never
You never call me.

c. ɛŋ t ɛm ɛŋ lɛ dɔi mɔi.
not you me not it give never
You never give it to me.

iii. a. u ŋ s ɛŋ lɔva nɛ:nt.
he not himself not washes nothing
He doesn't wash himself.

b. u ŋ m ɛŋ dɔ nɛ:nt.
he not me not gives nothing
He gives me nothing.

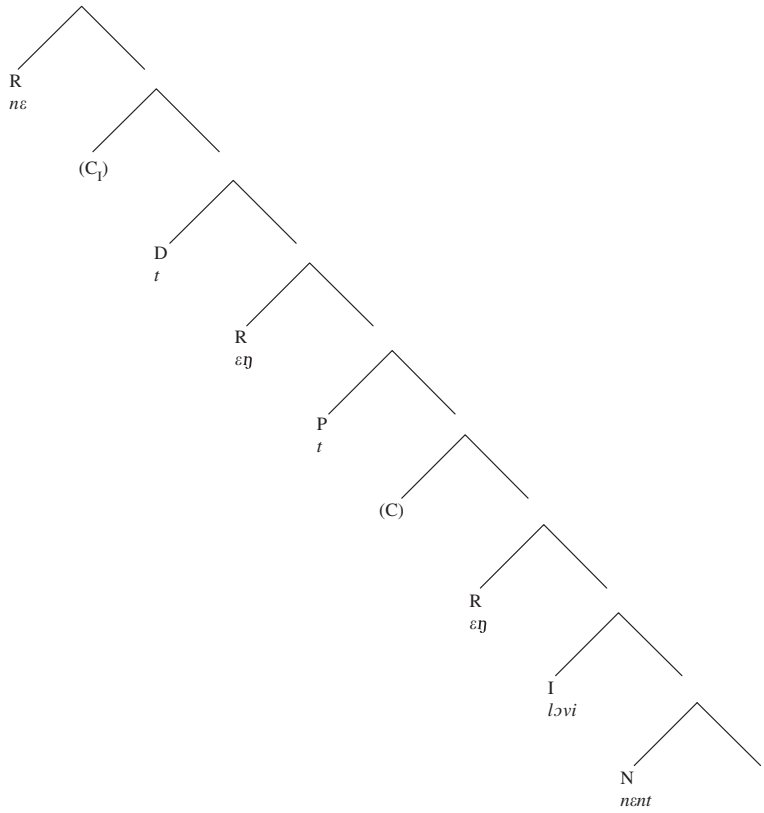
c. u ŋ m ɛŋ lɛ/nuŋ dɔ.
he not me not it/of.it gives
He doesn't give it/any of it to me.

We can extend to dialects of the type of *Càrcare* the same treatment already proposed for *Bedizzano* or *Colonnata*. Specifically the lower negative clitic in an example like (20), appearing after the P object clitic can be lexicalized within the I domain; this implies that the object P clitic itself is found in the C domain. The latter will also host the copy of the negation receding the P clitic.

An interesting property of *Càrcare* is that the negative clitic can in fact be trebled, with its highest copy appearing in front of the subject clitic. Since the doubling of the negation on either side of the subject clitic is sensitive to a person split in *Càrcare* as in *Viano* in Section 1, it is natural to extend to the cases at hand the analysis proposed in Section 1.2. The problem is that in *Viano* the discourse-anchored subject clitic was in the I domain — so that the copy of the negation that preceded it could

be in the C domain. But since for the reasons just reviewed, the discourse-anchored subject clitic is in the C domain in (19), the highest copy of the negation must be lexicalized in a higher domain yet. In particular, we can assign it to the immediately higher domain than C in a split-C analysis of the type of Rizzi (1997); this is C_I in the theory of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) and in (20) below. AQ2

(20) *Càrcare*



It seems to us that there is no way of accounting for the data (or for their variation) in terms of a base-generated head-Spec configuration to which movement subsequently applies. Apart from general concerns regarding the status of the head-Spec configuration (Starke 2004; Chomsky in press), important counter-evidence is represented by the possibility of having more than one negative clitic, hence more than one potential head of the construction. It is true that doubling could be analyzed as the result of multiple Spell-Out of the copies that a single clitic head leaves in the course of the derivation. However, the distribution of negative clitics is constrained exclusively by the distribution of other material in the clitic string. In no case is there any evidence that the surface distribution

depends from the presumed base-generated head-Spec configuration. The latter represents therefore an empirically unmotivated enrichment of the theory. Similarly, an explanation of doubling via copying and multiple Spell-Out presupposes that the placement of the clitic copies can be determined on the bases of general constraints on movement and Spell-Out. Given the data and the analyses that precedes, the burden of proof falls on the proponents of such a theory.

3. NON-NEGATIVE N

A potential problem for the analysis of negative clitic doubling comes from the fact that in dialects of Liguria and Piedmont, P clitics can be followed by *n* morphology even in positive contexts. As it turns out, there are indications that in these contexts as well the distribution of *n* is syntactically determined. Thus in *Dego* in (21), the first person singular alternates between *m* if an accusative clitic is present and *m-* in accusative-less contexts. The alternation cannot be phonologically governed, since both the verb in (a) and the accusative in (b) are monosyllabic forms beginning by consonant. A similar contrast is quoted by Parry (1997) for Rocca d'Arazzo.

(21) *Dego* (Liguria)

a. t m-ɛŋ tʃɒmi
you me call
You call me.

b. u m li/ ɾa/ i dɒ.
he me it-m./it-f./them gives
He gives it/them to me.

The *n* morphology that is in complementary distribution with the accusative in (21) furthermore appears after the P clitic in negative contexts, irrespective of the presence or absence of an accusative. Thus in negative contexts *m* followed by *ɛŋ* combines with the accusative as well as with the partitive, as in (22). If we take *ɛŋ* in these contexts to instantiate the negation, then this reproduces the distribution studied for the dialects of Section 2 (without doubling), for instance *Bedizzano*.

(22) *Dego*

a. u m/t ɛŋ li dɒ nɛ:nt.
he me/you not it gives nothing
He doesn't give it to me/you.

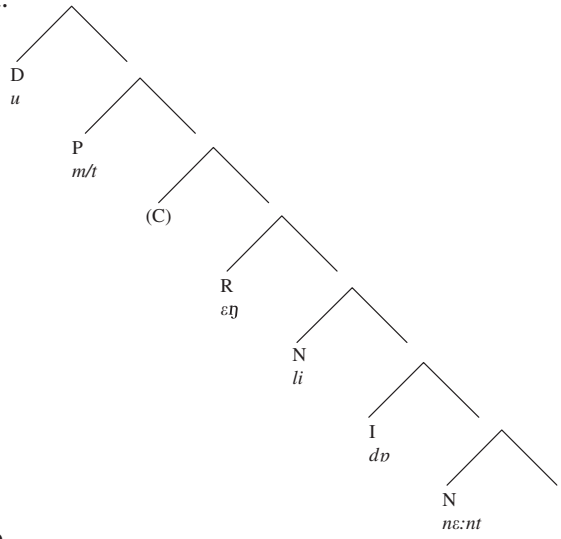
b. u m ɛŋ naŋ dɒ ni'ʃyŋ.
SCl me not of.it gives nobody
Nobobody gives any of it to me.

Following the conclusions of the preceding section, we assume that the negative (polarity) clitic is inserted in the R position of the pronominal clitic string,

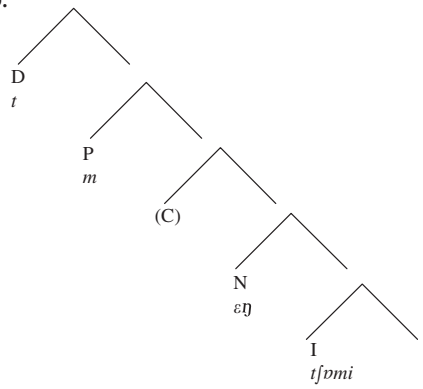
as shown for *Dego* in (23a). On the other hand, the mutual exclusion between the *ɛŋ* segment and the accusative in the positive contexts in (21) suggests a different position for the *ɛŋ* segment — namely the lowest position in the clitic string, otherwise occupied by the elements that *ɛŋ* is in complementary distribution with, i.e., the accusative and partitive. In the notation of Manzini and Savoia (2007), this position is N, as in (23b).

(23) *Dego*

a.



b.



If the occurrences of the *ɛŋ* morphology in the two contexts in (23) involved two different lexical entries, not only their homophony is coincidental, but also their interaction with the P clitic. On the one hand, following the conclusions of Section 2, negative *ɛŋ* reveals *Dego* to be a person split language, where P clitics insert in the C domain and N clitics in the I domain. On the other hand, positive *ɛŋ* is itself selected by P clitics. This evidence points to the

existence of a single lexical entry; but if so, the different distribution and interpretation of *ɛŋ* in negative and positive contexts need to be accounted for.

Before considering these questions, we shall introduce evidence from the dialect of *Oviglio*, where the complementary distribution between *n* morphology and the accusative is observed in negative contexts. In *Oviglio*, what appears to be the higher copy of the negative clitic follows an already familiar pattern, appearing after subject clitics, except for the second person one, which it precedes, as in (24A). In turn, what appears to be a lower copy of the negative clitic, *nuŋ*, inserts after P clitics. However, this differs from the negative clitics considered in Section 2 in that it is in complementary distribution with the accusative and partitive, as in (24B). What is more, the data of, say, *Bedizzano* show that it is the lower negative clitic (the one inside the object string) that is obligatory in the absence of doubling. On the contrary, in the *Oviglio* dialect it is the higher *n* clitic that is obligatory in non-doubling examples. In all cases the negative clitic or clitic pair is obligatorily doubled by the sentential negation adverb *næint(a)* 'nothing'.

(24) *Oviglio* (Piedmont)

A.

a	n		drɔm	næinta
a	n	t	drɔmi	mai
u	n		drɔm	næinta
a	n		drumuma	næinta
i	n		drɔmi	næinta
i	n		drɔmu	næinta
SCl	not	SCl	sleep	not/never

I don't sleep. etc.

B. i. a. a n t nuŋ tʃam næinta.
I not you not call nothing
I don't call you.

b. a n t ɛl dag næint.
I not you it give nothing
I don't give it to you.

ii. a. a n t um nuŋ tʃami næinta.
SCl not you me not call nothing
You don't call me.

b. a n t um ɛl dai næint.
SCl not you me it give nothing
You don't give it to me.

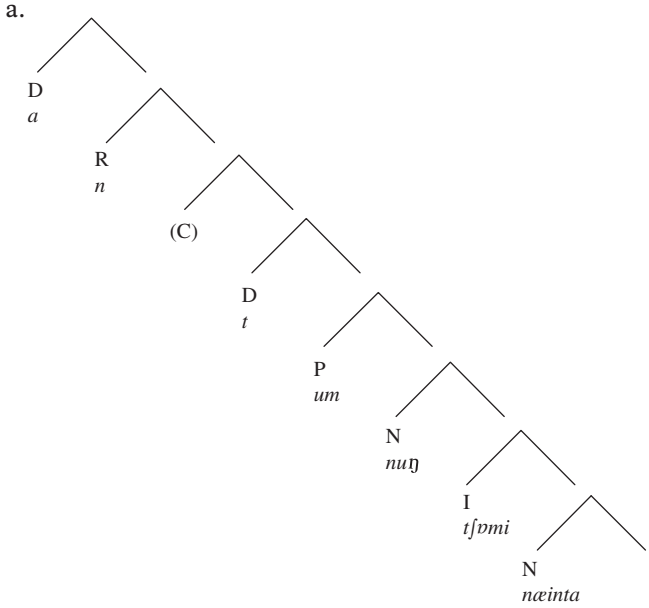
iii a. u n t nuŋ tʃama næinta.
he not you not calls nothing
He doesn't call you.

b. u n ɛl tʃama næinta.
he not him calls nothing
He doesn't call him.

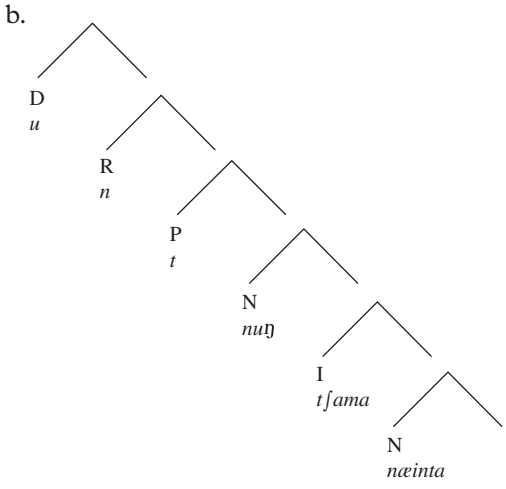
The distribution of the *n* clitic is sensitive to the familiar person split, whereby it appears before P subject clitics but after third person ones. Under the analysis of Section 1, the position following third person clitics reflects the lexicalization of the negation clitic within the I domain, as in (25b). The position before the P subject clitic reflects the lexicalization of the negation in the C domain, as in (25a). In both cases the complementary distribution between *nuŋ* and accusative clitics can be accounted for if *nuŋ* inserts in the N position.

(25) *Oviglio*

a.



b.



A further twist on this patterns is that the *nuŋ* negative form coincides with the partitive, as seen for instance in (26a). More precisely, partitive *nuŋ* has an *n* alternant appearing in front of (auxiliary) verbs beginning by vowel, as in (26a′). Similarly, while *nuŋ* lexicalizes the lower negation in (26b–c) in front of verb beginning by consonant, it does not surface in front of (auxiliary) verbs beginning by vowel, as in (26b′–c′). Incidentally, (26c–c′) establish that the NACT clitic, despite its association with the third person, behaves like discourse-anchored ones. In other words it is not a pure person split that is relevant, but a more abstract one, such as the one encoded here through the notions of discourse- and event-anchoring.

(26) *Oviglio*

a. u nuŋ da doi a pr eŋ.
he of.them gives two to each
He gives two of them to each one.

a′. a n o dahtʃ du a pr eŋ.
I of.them have given two to each
I have given two of them to each one.

b. a m nuŋ ɕoŋ næint la'va.
I myself not am nothing washed
I haven't washed myself.

b′. a n t o næint tʃa'ma.
I not you have nothing called
I haven't called you.

c. u ɕ nuŋ drɔm næinta.
it NACT not sleeps nothing
One doesn't sleep.

c′. u ŋ ɕ ɛ næint la'va.
he not NACT is nothing washed
He hasn't washed himself.

There are several reasons not to treat the coincidence of the negation and the partitive as a pure case of homophony. One of them is the complementary distribution between the negation and the partitive (more generally the N argument, including the accusative). Another reason is the otherwise unexpected restriction to contexts before verbs beginning by consonant. Suppose then we provide a single lexical entry for *nuŋ*. All of the evidence we have presented suggests characterizing it as the partitive. This characterization is supported by the fact that — in contrast with the dialects of Sections 1–2 — it is the higher copy of the negation that is obligatory in the absence of doubling; thus the hypothesis that *nuŋ* is itself a negative polarity item is not necessary for the negative interpretation of the sentences where it occurs.

If *nuŋ* is the partitive, its distribution in negative contexts can be accounted for by assuming that it must be lexicalized in the scope of the negation, if the internal argument is a discourse-anchored element. Indeed in Section 1.1 we observed that the negative adverb *mia* of *Quarna* selects for N objects — lexicalized as partitives when they are clitics. Similarly, in *Oviglio* the negation requires the object to be an N — inserted in the form of the partitive *nuŋ* when only discourse-anchored elements are otherwise present. In non-negative contexts, *nuŋ* is inserted under the ordinary circumstances that require a partitive form.

On the basis of *Oviglio*, we can also return to the slightly more complex case of *Dego*. Evidently, *Dego* must lexicalize N by means of *ɛŋ* when the internal argument is discourse-anchored — and it must do so in positive contexts. The problem is that in negative contexts, *ɛŋ* coincides with the negative polarity clitic; indeed its position in negative contexts is not that of an N clitic, but that of the ordinary negation clitic, i.e., R. Now, anticipating the discussion of Section 4, a negative polarity item is essentially an indefinite, i.e., a free variable, which gets existentially closed, and assumes its negative value by being interpreted in the scope of a negation (or other modal) operator. Suppose then *ɛŋ* is such an element. By definition, in positive contexts the negative operator is not present, and *Dego*'s *ɛŋ* is simply read existentially.

The correlation between the positive and negative reading and the N and R positions can again be clarified in relation to the discussion in Section 4, where we conclude that the negation associates not with one of the ordinary argument slots of the predicate, but with its event argument. Assuming that N is a position reserved for the internal argument, it is evident that the sentential negation reading will not be available for it. Vice versa the negative reading will be forced in the R position, say, by the unavailability of the internal argument role for it.[5]

The various dimensions of language variation implicit in the accounts for *Dego* or *Oviglio* can also be realized independently of one another — which is an important argument in favor of their actual existence. Thus P clitics ending with *n* morphology in non-negative contexts are found in dialects which, at least descriptively, do not have any negative clitics, as in *S.Bartolomeo* in (27). The distribution of *n* is syntactically determined by the presence vs. absence of an accusative as shown in (27a) vs. (27b). The sentential negation, involving only a negative adverb, is displayed in (27c).

(27) *S.Bartolomeo Pesio* (Piedmont)

a. u m-ɛŋ dɒ su'si.
he me gives this
He gives me this.

[5]Manzini and Savoia (2007) assign the R position to the accusative in languages (like French) where the accusative appears highest in the clitic string. This is of course not the case for the dialects at hand. It is interesting to note that the potential incompatibility between the clitic negation and the accusative clitic in the R position can produce a reordering of the accusative clitic in negative contexts, among others in dialects of Corsica, as argued by Manzini and Savoia (2005).

b. u m lu dɒ.
he me it gives
He gives it to me.

c. i lu tʃam ɲeŋ.
I him call nothing
I don't call him.

The way we looked at the complementary distribution of the *eŋ* morphology with accusatives in a dialect like *Dego* is that *eŋ* inserts in N in sentences where the internal argument is otherwise lexicalized by a P element. Data like those of *S.Bartolomeo* indicate that this type of distribution is independent of *eŋ* expressing the negation. In other words, though the two interpretations can coexist in the same lexical item, as in *Dego*, one is independent of the other. Not only are there very many languages in which only the negative interpretation is attested, there are also dialects like *S.Bartolomeo* in which only the non-negative one arises.[6]

Similarly, the coincidence of what are descriptively the partitive and the negation is not an isolated phenomenon. Thus in *Càrcare* the partitive, illustrated in (19iiic), coincides with the lexicalization of the negation in modal contexts, such as the negative imperative (morphosyntactically an infinitive) in (28).

(28) *Càrcare*
nuŋ ʃtɔ-lɛ a tʃa'mɛ.
not stay him to call
Don't call him.

On the basis of the proposals advanced so far, it is natural to assume that the same lexical element, associated with the internal argument, is involved in both (28) and in the partitive. We may further speculate that when it is lexicalized in the I domain, as in (19iiic), its interpretation is that of the partitive. In modal contexts, on the other hand, it must be lexicalized in one of the domains of the articulated C field, since it precedes the verb, itself in C or higher. There, it will be read as a polarity specification, as in (28).

The presence of elements identical to what we have characterized as copies of the negation in positive contexts could at first suggest that they correspond to non-interpretable material, whose relevance is purely prosodic or computational. In reality the data reviewed in this section, far from supporting this conclusion, provide evidence in favor of the idea that the negation is nominal

[6]Manzini and Savoia (2005) argue that the difference between negative and non-negative *n* segments resides in the fact that they are inserted as sentential constituents in negative contexts, but as morphological constituents of the P clitic in positive contexts. As far as we can tell, the best evidence that *n* segments may turn up as word-internal constituents is provided by the data of *Felizzano* (Manzini and Savoia 2005), not reviewed here.

(and argumental) in nature. Thus we account for the fact that what appears to be a lower copy of the negation clitic can coincide with the partitive (*Oviglio, Càrcare*) or can lexicalize the same N slot as it does (*Dego, S.Bartolomeo*).

Vice versa if the negation copies corresponded to the multiple Spell-Out of the head of a specialized Neg category, their presence in non-negative environments, and more to the point, their coincidence (lexical or distributional) with the partitive could not be accommodated. Similarly, a prosodic analysis of doubling could not account for the cases in which the so-called negation copy coincides with a clearly contentful element, such as the partitive. In either case, all of the lexical coincidences examined in this section would have to be treated as cases of homophony, obscuring the patterns that connect them.

4. NEGATIVE CONCORD

The discussion that precedes crucially involves the assumption that a negative clitic is a nominal element that introduces a variable within the scope of a negative (or other modal) operator — i.e., a negative polarity item. On this point we differ from much literature which takes the clitic to instantiate the negative operator (Rizzi 1982; Longobardi 1992 on Italian). But if the negative clitic is a negative polarity argument, it is evident that it must itself be read in the scope of a sentential negation operator. The latter is therefore not introduced by any morpholexical constituent, but rather is semantically implied by the presence of the negative polarity clitic (or other negative polarity material). Furthermore since the negative polarity clitic has exactly the same status as any other polarity argument in the sentence, it is evident that each time it co-occurs with one of them, this configures a case of 'negative concord' under which all variables are read in the scope of a single negation operator.

Let us begin by recalling that the most immediate argument in favor of the polarity status of *n*-words in Romance (Rizzi 1982; Longobardi 1992; Acquaviva 1994 on Italian) comes from the fact that they occur in modal (irrealis) environments without any implication of negative meaning. Strikingly, the argument holds not only for *n*-phrasal units but also for *n*-clitics whose non-negative occurrences have been studied in the literature as instances of 'expletive' negation (Belletti 2000).[7] The argument that is often advanced in favor of a negative

[7]Reasons of space prevent us from arguing in any detail for this conclusion. However remarks by reviewer A prompt us to comment on a possible source of confusion. Arguments by the typological literature that 'in questions, negation is neutralized […]: Can you hear nothing? and Can you hear anything? have identical truth conditions' (Haspelmath 1997, p. 121) are orthogonal to the arguments being advanced in the text — and whether they stand or not further scrutiny (Weiss 2002) is very interesting in itself but not relevant for present purposes.

Consider Italian (i). It seems fairly clear that there are two truth-conditionally different readings associated with the absence of the negative clitic *non* and its presence, indeed as reflected

quantifier status for *n*-words, namely that they appear in fragments (Zanuttini 1997), depends on the fact that fragments are the result of ellipsis — and that they interpretively correspond to a full sentential structure, obviously capable of hosting an abstract negative operator.

Next, what we have argued for so far is no more (and no less) than the conclusion that the negative polarity clitic (or adverb) belongs to the ordinary nominal structure of the sentence. Thus in this article we have not taken any particular position about the nature of the negation operator. The latter, as already mentioned at the beginning of this section is implied by the negative polarity items present in the sentence — and correspondingly introduced at LF. However, none of the visible *n*-elements instantiates it, or a category Neg. Such a category has been explicitly argued against — in that it would hinder in particular any attempt at predicting the positioning of the negative clitic within the pronominal string.

Let us then return to simple examples of the type in (2)–(3) or (7), where the sentential negation is represented by a single negation clitic. Their LF includes a negative operator Neg in whose scope the negative polarity item represented by the *n*-clitic is interpreted, as in (29). If we consider that negative polarity items are indefinites, i.e., free variables (Heim 1982), we may very well assume that the variable introduced by the so-called negative clitic is existentially closed (Acquaviva 1994) in the scope of Neg.

(29) a. *Vagli*
[Neg [$_D$ i/ ɛ [$_R$ nun (x) [$_I$ dɔrmɛ

b. *Sillano*
[Neg [$_R$ no (x) [$_D$ llə [$_I$ dɔrma

Consider then the case routinely described in terms of doubling of a clitic negation by an adverbial one, as illustrated here for instance by the paradigm

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by the English translation. Yet the Italian *non* 'not' sentence is compatible with both (non truth-conditionally equivalent) readings.

(i) Volli farlo prima che le mie forze (non) me lo consentissero.
I.wished to.do.it before that my energies (not) to.me it would.allow
I wished to do it before my energies allowed/did not allow me to.

For *n*-words, an appropriate context is represented by hypotheticals, where the two English sentences in (ii) are clearly non-truth-functionally equivalent. The Italian sentence in (iii) is ambiguous between (iia) and (iib) — at least for speakers (like the author) who easily admit the licencing of *nessuno* by the conditional.

(ii) a. If nobody arrives, tell me
b. If anybody arrives, tell me

(iii) Se nessuno arriva, dimmelo (subito).
if N-one arrives tell.me.it (straight.away)

in (24A). As indicated at the outset, this must be a case of negative concord under the present view. For, if the clitic cannot be construed as the negative operator, the relevant sentences are like any other sentence including two *n*-words with the reading of a single negation. Under the set of assumptions introduced here, the so-called negative concord is in fact the expected state of affairs. Quite simply, the variables introduced by the clitic and by the adverb are both interpreted in the scope of the same Neg (and existential closure) operator(s), as in (30). Thus we predict that there is a single instance of the negation at the interpretive level.

(30) *Oviglio*
[Neg [$_D$ a [$_R$ n (x) [$_D$ t [$_I$ drɔmi [$_N$ næinta (y)

In turn, doubling of a negative clitic by another is identical in all relevant respects to its doubling by an adverb. Thus, consider (1) again, with simple negation in the third person (1iii) alternating with the doubling of the clitic in the second person (1ii). The two relevant LFs are provided in (31). (31a) contains a single variable, very much like (29), while (31b) is comparable to (30). In all cases the presence of a single negation operator returns a single negation ('negative concord') reading.

(31) *Viano*
a. [Neg [$_D$ i/ la [$_R$ nə (x) [$_I$ dɔrmə.
b. [Neg [$_D$ a [$_R$ n (x) [$_D$ tə [$_R$ nə (y) [$_I$ dɔrmə.

Negative concord, though necessary to the interpretation of sentences like (30) or (31b), is not sufficient to derive it. There is another crucial component that enters into the doubling reading for sentences like (30) or (31b), as opposed to the ordinary 'negative concord' one — and that is that the two negations (be they two clitics or a clitic and an adverb) are understood as instantiating the same argument, not two different arguments. Manzini and Savoia (2007) deal with this doubling interpretation in connection with pronominal clitics. In particular, if doubling is not a morphophonological or computational (i.e., multiple Spell-Out) effect, then the fact that the different instances of a doubled pronominal clitic express the same argument must depend on interpretation at the LF interface. Indeed the doubling interpretation can be formalized through the notion of chain, which in the so-called representational models, in the sense of Brody (2003), is an LF primitive, and not a product of the derivation. Thus the theta-calculus at the LF interface will force all of the different instances of a doubled pronominal clitic (or of a clitic and its doubling full noun phrase) to be in a chain relation — i.e., to fill the same argument slot.

If the so-called negation is a nominal, argumental element, the same solution can be applied to the cases at hand. However, in order to apply it, we need to settle a matter that has been left open so far — namely what kind of

argument slot the negative material fills. For Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005), interactions of the sentential negation with the internal argument of the verb such as those reviewed in Section 1.1 (the different lexicalization of the negation according to the person reference of the internal argument, the genitive of negation, the ambiguity between adverbial and argumental reading of 'nothing') motivate the assignment of the negation to the internal argument slot.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that from a purely truth-functional perspective, negating the internal argument, e.g., in *I ate nothing*, is equivalent to negating the sentence, e.g., in *I didn't eat.* However the pragmatic implications are different in the two cases — corresponding to the common intuition of a difference between negating an argument (internal or otherwise) and negating the sentence. What is more, even identical lexical items have different syntactic (i.e., positional) properties according to whether they are construed as sentential negations or as constituent negations. Thus in the examples in Section 1.1 negative adverbs are not ordered freely with respect to the argumental string; rather they systematically precede phrasal objects. Similarly, in (12b′) the sentential negation adverb *mia* is in a position following the inflected verb and preceding the participle, where (as in English) no complement of the verb can be found. These facts are correctly encoded by the adverbial hierarchies of Cinque (1999), Zanuttini (1997) — but the latter presuppose that sentential negations lexicalize a category Neg, in terms of which the hierarchies are stated.

Manzini and Savoia (2005) take this state of affairs into account. Thus so-called negative adverbs (and potentially adverbs in general), being nominal in nature, project ordinary nominal categories; however their domain of attachment tells them apart from phrasal complements. The latter inhabit the lowest, predicative domain (i.e., VP). Adverbs however insert in E domain (suggesting Event) higher than V. In other words, an explicit connection is established between the so-called negation adverbs and the Event properties of the sentence. Though this point is not elaborated upon by Manzini and Savoia (2005), it of course reminds us that there is a tradition in linguistic studies identifying the sentential negation with a negative quantification over the Davidsonian event argument of the sentence (Acquaviva 1994).[8]

This line of thought is entirely compatible with what we have said so far. In fact, all that we have concluded is that the so-called sentential negations are negative polarity items with a nominal, argumental status. If we conceive of the event argument as an ordinary argument slot in the argument structure of the predicate (Higginbotham 1985), we can construe the so-called negation as a visible instantiation of the event argument. If so, the two negative polarity items in (30) or (31b) individuate the same event argument slot; in other

[8]Reviewer A convinced us that reference to this line of thought was unavoidable, even in a cursory treatment of the semantics of negation.

words, the two variables *x* and *y* effectively reduce to a single argument within a chain (-like) construct.

Summing up so far, the (rough) semantics that we have postulated for the so-called sentential negation delivers 'negative concord' as a consequence, without any need for further assumptions. In turn, the latter is a prerequisite for the chain(-like) reading which underlies phenomena usually described in terms of copying. In the present approach there is in fact no copying (either morphophonological or syntactic) but independent insertion of lexical items — which are then identified by the argument calculus at the LF interface. The two approaches are equivalent in the interpretive component, as far as we tell, since the chain relation, whether derived through movement or primitive, holds at the LF interface. The reason why the present analysis is to be preferred is the one we have sought to advance throughout this chapter — in short, any attempt at forcing copying into a PF phenomenon (multiple Spell-Out, metathesis, or other) can only capture its complex interactions with interpretively-based notions such as that of person split etc. by stipulation. Furthermore, if these interactions are dealt with at the level at which they belong, i.e., the LF interface, morpholexical-level facts can also be handled in a more revealing fashion — specifically without recourse to systematic homonimity.

Though this perspective was illustrated here with negative doubling, it applies to the pronominal domain as well (Manzini and Savoia 2007). It is not any single fact that is compelling in our view, but rather the accumulation of apparently unrelated facts all pointing in the same direction.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, we consider how the present approach can account for cases where two *n*-words cannot combine under a negative concord reading. These cases are potentially problematic to the extent that, as argued earlier, negative concord is the natural state of affairs predicted by the present theory. Specifically, negative polarity clitics generally combine with other negative polarity elements; however, negative polarity adverbs are often in complementary distribution with them, as has been noted in passing for *Càrcare* in (19). Very much the same conclusion can be drawn with respect to *Oviglio* in (24A), where 'never' in the second person is in complementary distribution with the 'nothing'-type sentential negation adverb present in all other persons.

In reality the evidence, in at least some dialects, is more complex than this. A good example is *Dego* in (32). The *nɛnt* sentential negation is in complementary distribution with a negative argument in the simple sentence in (32a); in other words we have no attestations of (32c). However, *nɛnt* can combine with a negative argument in the present perfect in (32b), which we take to involve a bi-sentential structure (Kayne 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2007).

(32) *Dego*

a. i ŋ maɲdʒu ɲɛnte.
they not eat nothing
They eat nothing.

b. i n aŋ nɛnt maɲ'dʒɔ ɲɛnte.
they not have nothing eaten nothing
They have eaten nothing.

c.* i ŋ maɲdʒu nɛnt ɲɛnte.
they not eat nothing nothing
They eat nothing.

Manzini and Savoia (2005) argue that the mutual exclusion of so-called sentential negation adverbs and negative polarity arguments in (32c) is formally similar to the mutual exclusion between, say, morphologically and interpretively related elements in the pronominal clitics domain — perhaps most famously the dative-accusative mutual exclusion that gives rise to the Spurious *se* phenomenon of Spanish (Manzini and Savoia 2007 and references quoted there). Concretely, we propose that inserting a negative polarity argument associated with the internal argument slot is sufficient to prevent the lexicalization of the so-called sentential negation adverb in that it lexicalizes all of its relevant properties at least within the predicative/eventive domain. At the same time it is perfectly possible to have the same properties lexicalized twice in two different sentences, by the sentential negation adverb and the negative polarity argument, as in (32b); or to have them lexicalized in two different domains within the same sentence, by the clitic negation in the inflectional domain and by the negative/polarity argument in the predicative domain, as in (32a).

The idea that the lexicalization of the negative polarity adverb is subsumed by that of the negative polarity argument can be given a more precise interpretive content. At LF the negative polarity argument implies the presence of a sentential Neg operator, in whose scope it is read, as in (33a). In turn it is natural to read the latter as taking the event in its scope, roughly as in (33b) — and as indicated in (33a) by the presence of a negative polarity clitic. In this sense, the negative polarity argument can subsume the negative polarity adverb (within a given domain) — but not vice versa, given that no negative polarity adverb can ever imply the negative polarity reading of the internal argument.

(33) *Dego*
a. [Neg [i [ŋ (x) [maɲdʒu [ɲɛnte (y)
b. There is no event of them eating anything.

If the distribution of the so-called sentential negation adverbs with respect to other negative polarity elements is sensitive to their domains of insertion, we expect a similar effect to be observable with negative clitics as well. Indeed complementary distribution is observed in many Italian dialects, including the standard, in the structural configuration in which a negative argument or adverb would precede the clitic, as in the case of a preverbal subject, as in (34a). This property is parametrized; thus the co-occurence of the negation clitic with

a negative/polarity preverbal subject is attested in Old Italian texts, as noted by Meyer-Lübke (1899, §695), who quotes the example in (34b).

(34) a. Nessuno (*non) dorme.
nobody not sleeps
Nobody sleeps.

b. Gente neuna non v' arrivava. (*Novellino* 55)
people none not there arrived
Nobody arrived there.

In (34a) we can apply essentially the same analysis as we already proposed for (32c). Manzini and Savoia (2005), Poletto (2000) agree that the position of the preverbal subject in null subject and clitic subject languages must be in the C field. Inserting the negative polarity subject in the C domain or higher subsumes all properties otherwise lexicalized by the clitic in the inflectional domain. The clitic then will not need to be inserted — and will not be allowed to on economy grounds.[9] It is evident that the line of reasoning deployed for (32) and (34) can in principle be extended to mutual incompatibilities between any two negative polarity items; thus we will say that the lexicalization of one subsumes (even partially) the lexicalization of the other (within a given domain) and hence excludes it. In any event, the general interpretive mechanism of negative concord laid out in (29)–(30) need not be affected.

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[9] If we backtrack to so-called sentential negation adverbs, we may wonder whether the incompatibility with left periphery arguments/adverbs holds of them as well. Indeed Manzini and Savoia (2005) provide examples of languages where the sentential negation adverb displays no incompatibility of the type in (32c) with postverbal arguments/adverbs; yet it is in complementary distribution with a preverbal negative polarity subject.

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