Note to the Author: Please provide author affiliation for this chapter

Italian adverbs and discourse particles

Between recategorization and ambiguity

M. Rita Manzini

In Italian and its dialects, there is no evidence that lexical items functioning as discourse particle correspond to specialized functional heads, or that they have a truncated internal structure, making them into weak categories. Rather they have the syntactic distribution of adverbs, with which they coincide lexically. Therefore 'discourse particle' is the name of a special interpretation of adverbs, which also have a conventional temporal/aspectual/manner interpretation – to be captured by a scope(-like) mechanism at the LF interface. Temporal/aspectual/manner modifiers take events as their arguments – while discourse particles take the entire assertion (or command, question) as their argument, relating it to the store of propositional contents shared by speaker and hearer.

1. Discourse particles as functional heads

The first possible account of discourse particles to be considered here holds that they lexicalize functional heads associated with the C field of the sentence, connected with illocutionary force according to Rizzi (1997). To the extent that they coincide with temporal or other adverbs, they represent the outcome of a process of grammaticalization, consisting in the shifting of a lexical category (Adv) to a functional head (C) (Roberts & Roussou 2003). The general issues involved in this account are relevant for other empirical domains; for instance, they arise for the lexical identity of Romance *wh*-pronouns (lexical DPs) with complementizers. We will therefore set the stage for the discussion of particles as functional heads, by briefly reviewing recent literature on complementizers.

1.1 Complementizers and *wh*-pronouns

In a language like Italian *che* 'that' introduces finite declaratives (1a) and finite relatives (1b). However *che* also introduces finite and non-finite interrogatives with the meaning of 'what' (1c–d).

DOI 10.1075/la.226.05man

(1) a. Mi hanno detto che vieni domani
to.me they.have said that you.come tomorrow
'They told me that you are coming tomorrow'

b. Sono quelli che chiamo sempre
they.are those that I.call always
'They are those that I always call'

c. Che fai?
what you.do
'What are you doing?'

d. Non so che fare
not I.know what to.do
'I don't know what to do'

The traditional categorization of *che* distinguishes a subordinator *che* (a complementizer) in (1a), a relative pronoun in (1b), and an interrogative pronoun in (1c–d). This categorization depends on a classical criterion, whereby a category is defined every time there is a unique crossing of a morphology M with a distribution D is found. Thus in a language like Italian there is a specialized set of *wh*-pronouns (*il quale* 'who, which', etc, M) occurring only in relative clauses (D) supporting the existence of the category relative pronoun. Since *che* in (1b) has the relevant distribution for relative pronouns, one says that it is a relative pronoun, homophonous with the complementizer (1a) and the interrogative pronoun (1c–d).

In seminal work, Kayne (1976) observes subtler distributional facts, suggesting that the categorization of French *que*, or here Italian *che*, can be simplified. The important observation is that *che* introduces neither infinitival complement sentences, as in (2a), nor relative clauses, as in (2b). On the contrary *che* introduces infinitival questions, as in (1d). Based on these data, Kayne proposes that there are really two *che*'s, namely a complementizer observing a finiteness restriction, and introducing both complement sentences and relative clauses, and a *wh*-pronoun specialized for questions. The two are again simply homophonous.

(2) a. Mi hanno detto *che/di venire domani
to.me they.have said that/to come tomorrow
'They told me to come tomorrow'

b. Sono quelli *che/da chiamare sempre
they.are those that/to call always
'They are those to call always'

Now, the same lexical coincidence between *wh*-pronouns and complementizers characterizes many Romance varieties. Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011) provide a comparative study of the complementizer and *wh*-system in 213 Italian dialects,

characterized by a considerable amount of internal variation. Despite this variation, the declarative complementizer generally presents the same lexical base *k-* as *wh*-pronouns, though it may or may not coincide with a *wh*-phrase (generally 'what', but sometimes also 'who'). Of particular interest are varieties which have two declarative complementizers (cf. also Ledgeway 2005). In this case, the complementizer that eventually coincides with a *wh*-pronoun is always the complementizer introducing subjunctive sentences and/or sentences with a *wh*-operator (for instance *after, before* clauses, which according to Larson (1987) embed a concealed 'when'). The complementizer introducing indicatives and/or non *wh*-complements never coincides with a *wh*-pronoun in these languages. This kind of generalization is not expected under arbitrary homophony of complementizers and *wh*-pronouns; rather it points to some deeper syntactic reason for their lexical identity.

The coincidence of *wh*-pronouns and complementizers is in fact a characteristic of several Indo-European languages. For instance Bayer (1999, 2001) studies the double complementizer system of Bengali. Sentential complements can be introduced by the *je* form that also appears in relative clauses (the same Indo-European pattern as in Romance); alternatively, it may present a quotative sentence-final element (the pattern of Dravidian languages in contact). For Bayer (2001: Section 3.2) "the formal coincidence between the complementizer *je* and the relative pronoun *je* is not accidental, the null theory being that they are the same". However for Bayer the relative pronoun and the complementizer are not quite the same, but rather "the operator *je* is reanalysed as a complementizer". This is indeed a classical approach to facts like (1). Assuming that the coincidence of forms cannot be arbitrary (i.e. cannot be reduced to homophony) because of the cross-linguistic distribution, the grammaticalization approach analyses it as a development from lexical category (*wh*-phrase) to functional category (complementizer).

A particularly explicit approach to grammaticalization is provided by Roberts and Roussou's (2003) discussion of English *that* – an element providing evidence for the connection of complementizers with another type of nominal heads, i.e. demonstratives. According to Roberts and Roussou (2003: 115), "we are dealing with one and the same lexical item which can surface as either D or C." Their analysis is compared to Davidson's ([1968]1997: 828–829) idea that "sentences in indirect discourse, as it happens, wear their logical form on their sleeves […] They consist of an expression referring to a speaker, the two place predicate 'said', and a demonstrative referring to an utterance." According to Roberts and Roussou (2003: 113–114), complementizer *that* "is actually the demonstrative" in Davidson's analysis. By contrast, "it is possible to argue that *that* in terms of its position in the sentence has been grammaticalized as a C element". By grammaticalization they understand a formal operation raising a lexical category to a functional position, here a pronominal element to C.

Manzini and Savoia (2003, 2005, 2011) take an even stronger approach. The gist of their proposal is that there is a single Italian *che*, which is a *wh*-pronoun. As standardly assumed for *wh*-pronouns, in all of its occurrences *che* is an argument of some predicate, which it introduces as a variable. In a nutshell, Manzini and Savoia (2003: 95) argue that the apparently different interpretations of *che* stem from the fact that *che* may introduce a variable ranging over individuals, as in (3a), in which case it is known as a *wh*-pronoun; or *che* may introduce a variable ranging over situations, as in (3b), yielding the so-called complementizer. The proposal in (3) is compatible with a conventional syntax, so that the complementizer reading corresponds to the positioning of *che* in a C head, as in (4a), while the *wh*-reading corresponds to *che* filling an A′-position in the left periphery of the sentence, as in (4b). On the other hand, for Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011) complementizer *che* heads a nominal projection, as in (4a), yielding an identical structure to that of *wh- che*.

(3) a. [che x [fai (x)]] (cf. (1c))
b. [che x [x: vieni domani]] (cf. (1a))

(4) a. [$_{CP}$ che [$_{IP}$ vieni domani (cf. (1a))
a'. [$_{QP}$ che [$_{IP}$ vieni domani
b. [$_{QP}$ che [$_{IP}$ fai (cf. (1c))

Kayne (2010) similarly reverses Kayne's (1976) idea that the relative *que* of French is really the *que* complementizer, by proposing instead that "*that* isn't [a complementizer]. The *that* that introduces sentential complements is really a relative pronoun". What Kayne proposes is that "sentential complements and sentential subjects are always accompanied by a head noun […] Either it will be raised from within the relative in a way largely parallel to what happens with overt fact […] or a silent noun will be so raised" (cf. Arsenijevic 2009); the reference to *fact* alludes to factive structures of the type *I regret (the fact) that S*.

Without postulating 'silent' head nouns, Manzini and Savoia construe complement clauses as free relatives; (4a') is indeed the structure of a free relative (externally or internally headed). Thus a conventional free relative such as *I met who you mentioned* could be paraphrased roughly as 'I met (some) x, such that you mentioned x'. A complement clause introduced by a *wh*-complementizer, e.g. *They said that you come tomorrow* (cf. Italian (1a)), means something similar, namely 'They said (some) x such that you come tomorrow x". In the conventional free relative, the variable ranges over individuals – in the completive sentence the variable ranges over situations.[1]

1. We assign to so-called complementizers a semantics that, however sketchy, is directly related to their morphosyntactic status as *wh*-pronouns. An anonymous reviewer wonders

The range of proposals just reviewed raises a certain amount of specific issues, which are considered in the literature quoted and will not be further discussed here. What we are interested in is that the issues that have been briefly raised here in relation to so-called complementizers, are also relevant when we consider discourse particles. Assuming that the overlapping of particles with adverbs is not a matter of mere homophony, are we to conclude that particles are grammaticalized adverbs? Conceivably, the same alternative presents itself as with complementizers, namely that so-called discourse particles and adverbs are one and the same category, though certain contexts of insertion may yield a temporal/aspectual/manner interpretation (lexical adverbs) and others yield an interpretation of the type associated with discourse particles. This latter line of analysis will be developed in Section 3. In the next section we will argue against the functional head status of discourse particles, proposed by the literature for some Italian dialects.

Exercises towards a more parsimonious lexicon, or a more parsimonious categorial inventory, of the type pursued here should not be seen as an end in themselves; rather lexical and categorial parsimony go hand in hand with particular models of syntactic competence. Recall that the classical criterion for categorization introduced at the beginning of this section yields a category C for each unique crossing of morphology M with distribution D (C=M+D). On the basis of this criterion, one obtains paradigms similar to those of descriptive or normative grammars, where a categorial inventory as rich as it takes to fully disambiguate the syntax is of paramount importance (cf. the Uniformity Thesis of Culicover & Jackendoff 2005), and homophony or morphological neutralization are taken to come at no cost. Under the conception supported here, lexical items and categories, when projected to syntactic structures by the computational component (Chomsky 1995), yield on the contrary potential variation in the syntax and ambiguity at the LF interface, while proliferation of abstract categories or of morphological mechanism to insure surface neutralization is neither necessary, nor desirable.

1.2 The *pa/po* particle in varieties of the Trentino – Alto Adige

For our first case study, concerning the categorization of discourse particles as functional heads, we consider the interrogative *pa/po* element studied by

what exactly is the semantic contribution of complementizers – the worry is legitimate, but at least our answer is restricted by other occurrences of the same elements as pronouns. Vice versa, there is no transparent relation between the pronominal morphosyntax of complementizers and the semantic properties of 'finiteness' or 'force' (Rizzi 1997) which are imputed to them in other models; note that such properties are otherwise externalized by verbs or verb-related categories. See also the final paragraph before Section 1.2.

Poletto & Vanelli (1995), Poletto (2000), Munaro & Poletto (2003) in Fassa valley varieties. This element is illustrated here with data from *Moena* (Val di Fassa), *Colfosco* (Val Badia), *La Pli de Mareo* (Val Marebbe), *Selva* (Val Gardena), *Livo* and *Tuenno* (Val di Non).[2] According to Poletto (2000), in examples like (5)–(10) *pa/po* fills a C-type position, where it is preceded by *wh*-phrases and by strings verb-subject clitic (with subject clitic inversion). When subject clitic–verb strings without inversion are possible (for instance with 'why', cf. Rizzi 2001 on standard Italian), *pa/po* precedes such strings, as illustrated in (9f), (10b), appearing immediately after the *wh*-phrase.

(5) tʃi lav-əl pa
what washes-he PA
'What is he washing?' *Colfosco*

(6) a. tʃi lies-te pa
what read-you PA
'What are you reading?'

b. tʃi as-te pa fat
what have-you PA done
'What have you done?'

c. tʃi liber as-te pa lit
which book have-you PA read
'Which book have you read?'

d. kaŋ lies-te pa kəʃ liber
when read-you PA this book
'When do you read this book?'

e. ola vas-te pa
where go-you PA
'Where are you going?'

f. tʃodi ne lies-te pa nia
why not read-you PA not
'Why don't you read?'

g. tʃodi ne l as-te pa nia lae
why not it have-you PA not washed
'Why haven't you washed it?' *La Pli de Mareo*

2. The data in the text are from Manzini and Savoia (2005) and have been collected in fieldwork by Leonardo Savoia; the IPA transcriptions are simplified, omitting in particular stress marks. These data have not been published before in English language literature. All of the relevant varieties are spoken in mountain valleys in the provinces of Trento and Bolzano/Bozen.

(7) tʃə maj-əl pa
what eat-he PA
'What is he eating?' *Selva Val Gardena*

(8) a. ki dɔrme-lo po
who slepps-he PO
'Who sleeps?'

b. ki as-to po cama
who have-you PO called
'Who have you called?'

c. ola dɔrme-lo po
where sleeps-he PO
'Where is he sleeping?'

d. kan el came-to po
when him call-you PO
'When do you call him?'

e. kan l as-to po cama
when him have-you PO called
'When have you called him?' *Moena*

(9) a. ke a–l lava pɔ
what has-he washed PO
'What has he washed?'

b. ndo va-l pɔ
where goes-he PO
'Where is he going?'

c. ndo llo port-el pɔ
where it brings-he PO
'Where is he bringing it?'

d. ndo dɔrm-el pɔ el pɔp
where sleeps-he PO the child
'Where is the child sleeping?'

e. kande vɛn-el pɔ el pɔp
when comes-he PO the child
'When is the child coming?'

f. perke pɔ va-la via
why PO goes-she away
'Why is she going away?' *Livo*

(10) a. ke fa-i pɔ
what do-they PO
'What are they doing?'

b. perke pɔ el plaɲdʒ el pɔpɔ
why PO he cries the child
'Why is the child crying' *Tuenno*

The varieties reported in (5)–(10) display internal variation. In particular, in the Bolzano varieties *pa* it appears in yes-no questions as well, e.g. *Colfosco, La Pli, Selva* in (11)–(13); in the Trento varieties *po* does not, in other words it is restricted to *wh*-questions, e.g. *Moena* in (14).

(11) n e–l pa ɲut
not is-he PA come
'Hasn't he come?' *Colfosco*

(12) le veiges-te pa
it see-you PA
'Do you see it?' *La Pli de Mareo*

(13) plwøv-əl pa
rains-it PA
'Is it raining?' *Selva Val Gardena*

(14) a. dɔrme-lo
sleeps-he
'Does he sleep?'

b. el came-to
him call-you
'Are you calling him?'

c. l as-to cama
him have-you called
'Have you called him?' *Moena*

Given this variation, we are not surprised to find that some of the data we have from our varieties contradict some of the generalizations drawn by Poletto and her coauthors. Thus in *La Pli* in (15a) *pa* precedes the verb-subject clitic inverted string (*contra* Poletto 2000). In (15b), more importantly, it follows the subject clitic-verb string, not inverted because of the embedded question context (*contra* Munaro & Poletto 2003). This latter fact means that *pa* is lower than the position of the non inverted verb, i.e. I. In the Trento varieties in (16)–(17), *po* is positioned even lower in the sentence, following the perfect participle or aspectual adverbs. Therefore there is no necessary relation between *pa/po* and the C area of the sentence.

(15) a. ola pa vas-te
where PA go-you
'Where are you going?'

b. i ne sa nia ola ke te vas pa
they not know not where that you go PA
'They don't know where you are going' *La Pli de Mareo*

(16) ndo a–l dormi pɔ el pɔp
where has-he slept PO the child
'Where has the child slept?' *Livo*

(17) a. tʃi dɔrm amɔ pɔ
who sleeps still PO
'Who is still sleeping?'

b. tʃi e nu pɔ
who is come PO
'Who has come?' *Tuenno*

More evidence comes from non-interrogative contexts, where *pa* equally occurs, at least in the Badia (*Colfosco*) and Marebbe (*La Pli*) varieties. Other contexts that licence *pa* include hypotheticals, as in (18a–b), optatives, as in (18c), imperatives, as in (18d–e) and (19a) and negated declarative sentences, as in (18f) and (19b). In general, therefore, *pa* is a modal particle licenced in non-veridical contexts (Giannakidou 1998), including questions. In non-interrogative contexts, it normally takes a position immediately following the inflected verb in I (no subject clitic inversion) – which means that it is lower than I and that again there is no necessary relation between it and C projections.

(18) a. ʃe ɛl ɲes pa ʃpɔ me faˊʒes eɲ plazei
if he came PA then me he.would.do a favor
'If he came, he would do me a favor'

b. ʃe l ne plyɛs pa mia ʃpɔ ʒɛs-i
if it not rained PA not then would.go-I.
'If it didn't rain, I would go'

c. i ʒɛs pa beŋ
I would.go.out PA well
'I would happily go out!'

d. kɛrde-le pa
call-him PA
'Call him!'

e. no pa le kɛrde
not PA him call
'Don't call him!'

f. te ne l as pa nia fat buŋ
you not it have PA not done well
'You haven't done it well' *La Pli de Mareo*

(19) a. nə l kardedə pa
not him call(2pl) PA
'Don't call him'

b. al nə l feʒ pa
he not it does PA
'He doesn't do it' *Colfosco*

Let us summarize the evidence. The restricted distribution of *po/pa* described by Poletto (2000), Munaro and Poletto (2003) may very well hold in Fassa varieties. At the same time, the same lexical element, with the same interpretation, is associated in neighboring varieties with a less restricted range of positions. In particular it can either precedes or follows both an inverted and a non-inverted (subject clitic, verb) complex. In Val di Non varieties in (16)–(17) it even appears after the perfect participle or after other adverbs. In other words, while it is possible that in some varieties a restricted distribution in the C area of the sentence is required for discourse particle interpretation of *pa/po*, the same interpretation is available in strictly related varieties with IP and vP internal positioning of the same element. In all of these respects, at least in the varieties in (15)–(19), the overall distribution of *pa/po* is that normally observed with temporal/aspectual/manner adverbs, for instance like *beŋ* 'well', which it immediately precedes in (18c), or *amɔ* 'still' which it immediately follows in (17a). The only difference is interpretive. The interpretation of *beŋ/amɔ* specify manner or temporal/aspectual properties of the event – while *pa/po* interpretively connects to interrogative modality or irrealis modality more generally.

Poletto (2000), Munaro and Poletto (2003), working within a cartographic model, suggest that the CP-internal distribution of *pa/po* that they detect is due to the fact that these elements appear in a specialized functional head in the C domain. The evidence presented here does not exclude that this is what happens in some language. However it excludes that there is a necessary connection between discourse particle interpretation and functional head status, i.e. that the grammaticalization of adverbs is a necessary step towards what we recognize as discourse particle interpretation.

In present terms, the crucial question is what the special particle interpretation of *pa/po* may be, assuming that the conclusion that they are just syntactic adverbs is correct. In the functional head approach to *pa/po* one may connect this interpretation to the special position occupied the particle, thus establishing a one to one relation between syntactic positioning and semantic interpretation, very much as predicted by cartographic models. However given the data in (15)–(19), this avenue of explanation is barred and the burden of explanation must fall on the LF interface. Our data on Trentino – Alto Adige varieties are not sufficient to

pursue this crucial issue here. We shall address it in Section 3 for the (etymologically related) Italian particle *poi* 'then', among others.

2. Discourse particles as weak adverbs

A syntactic analysis of discourse particles is also proposed by Cardinaletti (2011), who applies to adverbs and particles the weak/strong distinction originally proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for personal pronouns. In Section 2.1 we shall not directly address evidence concerning discourse particles, but rather summarize the debate on weak and strong pronouns. This is connected to the more general problem of categorization, already raised in Section 1 -which in our view is essential to understanding the discourse particles problem.

2.1 The strong-weak pronoun opposition

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) motivate the categories strong and weak pronoun on the basis of the classical criterion whereby a category is individuated by unique crossings of morphology and distribution, as mentioned in Section 1. Specifically, the Italian morphology *loro* 'to them' and the Dative Shift-like distribution in (20a) individuate the category weak pronoun. This differs both from the *loro* 'them' morphology with ordinary DP distribution (strong pronoun), for instance in (20b), and from the morphology *gli* 'to him' with clitic distribution in (20c).

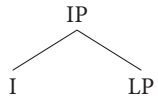
(20) a. Ho offerto loro/*lui/*lei il mio aiuto
I.have offered them/him/her my help
'I offered them/him/her my help'

b. Ho offerto il mio aiuto a lui/a lei/a loro
I.have offered my help to him/to her/to them
'I offered my help to him/her/them'

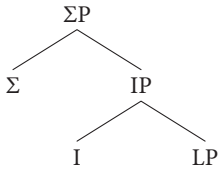
c. Gli/le/*loro ho offerto il mio aiuto
him/her/them I.have offered my help
'I offered him/her/them my help'

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) model strong, weak and clitic pronouns in terms of structural size. Clitics are IP-like constituents, as shown in (21a). Weak pronouns correspond to a projection ΣP (in the sense of Laka 1990), which contributes to them prosodic properties, as in (21b). Strong pronouns have a CP-like structure, contributing case, as in (21c). LP notates 'Lexical Phrase' throughout.

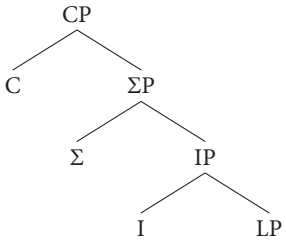
(21) a.



b.



b.



Manzini (2014) (cf. Harris 1994; Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007) points out that supposedly weak and strong pronouns and in fact clitics have an equally complex morphological structure. If anything, clitics have more structure than full pronouns, for instance case inflections (cf. Italian clitic *l–o* 'him' vs. *gl-i* 'to him'), that full pronouns lack (cf. *lui* 'he/him'). The mismatch between the structural encoding of strong, weak and clitic categories in (21) and actual morphological constituency can be handled by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) under a realizational conception of the lexicon, of the Distributed Morphology type (cf. also Starke's 2009 nanosyntax). Nevertheless projection from the lexicon is at the core of the original minimalist program (Chomsky 1995) and intrinsically simpler than the realizational view, since it allows us to cut out the component or components dedicated solely to the readjustment of syntactic structures for the purposes of PF externalization, such as the Morphological Structure of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993). In these respects, therefore, (21) adds considerable richness to the model.

Furthermore, the proposal in (21) raises interpretive issues. Introducing a C layer or a Σ layer in the structure of a pronoun, as in (21b-c), ought to yield LF-relevant distinctions between weak pronouns, strong pronouns and clitics. Specifically, if there are interpretations that strong pronouns have and clitics or weak pronouns (i.e. deficient pronouns) do not, we may impute them to the added CP layer of strong pronouns. Indeed Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) state that deficient pronouns may refer deictically (they mention "ostension") "only if they refer to an entity which is already prominent in the discourse" or in the non-verbal context.

However Manzini (2014) observes that discourse and non-verbal context define the standard conditions which make deictic reference possible for any pronoun. Similarly, Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) identify Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) weak *loro,* strong *loro* and clitic *gli* with the same projection (a φP in their terms), precisely because they all have the same LF properties. Objections from overt morphological constituency can be circumvented, as indicated, by resorting to a realizational model of the syntax/lexicon interface. However interpretive matters are not equally easy to avoid.

Despite all of this, in terms of strong and weak categories Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) succeed in accounting for the crucial distributional evidence in (20a)–(20b). They argue that preposition-less *loro* in (20a) is a weak pronoun lacking the equivalent of the CP sentential layer, while in strong *a loro* in (20b), this CP layer is present and realized by the preposition *a*. They propose that the CP-like layer of strong pronouns is associated with case. Since weak *loro* lacks the CP-like case layer (corresponding to the preposition) it must occur in a position where it can get case via agreement, namely a [Spec, Agr] position; this is the Dative Shift-like position seen in (20a).

An alternative approach is provided by Manzini (2014), who argues that the Dative Shift-like position of Italian *loro* in (20b) can be accounted directly in terms of case. Assume the standard distinction between full pronouns as XPs, and clitics as X heads; then *loro* in (20a) patterns with strong pronouns in being an XP. On the other hand Manzini (2014) proposes that *loro* has intrinsic oblique case available to it; this makes it unlike other full pronouns, which are not case marked, and more like clitics in this respects. More precisely, the hypothesis is that *loro* is optionally oblique. The *loro* that alternates with *lui/lei* is only plural. The *loro* that does not alternate with *lui/lei* in (20a) is both plural and oblique.

Following Kayne (1984), the complement of a ditransitive verb like 'offer' in (20) is a predication denoting possession. The preposition *a* in (20b) is the head of the predication, taking *loro* 'them' as its internal argument (the possessor) and the theme of the verb ('my help') is its external argument (the possessee), as in (22). Various strands of literature (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2011 and references quoted there), put forth the idea that possession is a surface manifestation of a more elementary part-whole relation notated here with '⊆'; hence the preposition *a* 'to' is P(⊆).

(22) $[_{VP}$ offerto $[_{PREDP}$ il mio aiuto $[_{P}Í_{P}$ a loro$]]]$

Following in essence Fillmore (1968), oblique case(s) and prepositions like *a* 'to', etc. have the same content. In other words, the *-oro* ending construed as oblique can lexicalize the same ⊆ relation as the *a* preposition, expressing a relation

between the base *l-*, with D reference, to which it attaches ('them', the possessor), and the theme of the verb ('my help', the possessee). Against this background of assumptions, Manzini (2014) proposes that the case properties of *loro* that it to move to some functional head higher than V, as in (23) – effectively an instance of possessor raising in the sense of Szabolcsi (1984), Kayne (1994). The net result is that (23) closely matches Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) schema of derivation for oblique *loro*, but without making reference to the category weak pronoun – rather directly in terms of case.

(23) offerto [$_{\subseteq P}$ loro [$_{VP}$ ~~offerto~~ [$_{PREDP}$ il mio aiuto ~~loro~~]

Two different analyses of oblique *loro* are at stake, but also more interestingly for present purposes, two different approaches to categorization – potentially relevant for adverbs and discourse particles as well. In Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) approach, a unique intersection of morphological and distributional properties defines a category (e.g. weak pronoun), which we expect to find replicated in different languages and contexts. Under Manzini's (2014) approach there is just an idiosyncratic overlapping of case with full DP properties for Italian *loro* – which we hardly expect to see replicated. Indeed an important part of Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) argument is that across languages and contexts, where multiple series of pronouns may be observed, the defining properties of these series are predictable on the basis of the single set of supercategories strong and weak (or clitic, not under discussion here). Cardinaletti's (2011) extension of weak status to Italian discourse particles, as opposed to temporal/aspectual/manner adverbs construed as strong is a potential confirmation of this prediction. If Manzini (2014) is correct on weak and strong *loro*, we hardly expect any parallelism between oblique *loro* and discourse particles. We shall review some relevant evidence in the next section, concentrating on the standard Italian particle *poi* 'then', etymologically related to Northern Italian *pa/po* in Section 1.2.

2.2 Italian *poi* 'then'

We take it as uncontroversial that Italian *poi* 'then' has a temporal adverb construal, indicating that the event lexicalized by the vP follows some other event, either previously mentioned or implied ('afterwards'). When so interpreted, *poi* can occur in any of the positions where temporal adverbs can be found, i.e. before or after a finite verb or a participle, as in (24).

(24) a. (Poi) tritai (poi) la cipolla
(then) I.chopped (then) the onion
'I then/afterwards chopped the onion'

b. (Poi) ho (poi) tritato (poi) la cipolla.
(then) I.have (then) chopped (then) the onion
'I then/afterwards chopped the onion'

Cardinaletti (2011) notices that an adverb like *poi* with the temporal interpretation 'afterwards' can be coordinated as in (25a), can be modified by focus adverbs like *solo/soltanto* 'only' in (25b), and can appear in the left periphery of the sentence under contrastive/exhaustive focus, as in (25c). In other words, adverbs like *poi* in their temporal reading behave like strong elements in terms of Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) typology of pronouns.

(25) a. (Prima o poi) riprenderà (prima o poi) a cantare
(before or after) he.will.restart (before or after) to sing
'Sooner or later, he will start to sing again'

b. (Soltanto poi) si è ricreduto (soltanto poi)
(only then) himself he.is changed.mind (only then)
'Only afterwards, he changed his mind'

c. *Poi* si è ricreduto, non *prima*
then himself he.is changed.mind not before
'He changed his mind after, not before'

Now, according to Coniglio (2008:111), "in questions, *poi* can signal that the speaker is not able to find an answer, nor is the hearer, according to the speaker's assumptions […] but it may also express the speaker's concern or interest with respect to information being asked for." In other words, *poi* no longer introduces a temporal relation but rather, according to Coniglio, it introduces reference to the speaker mental state (inability to find an answer, concern, interest). As we expect on the basis of the conclusions reached in Section 1.2, this discourse particle interpretation is not restricted to a single position or set of positions in the left periphery of the sentence; rather, it can be associated with *poi* preceding or following any finite verb or participle, as in (26). This confirms that discourse particles are not necessarily specialized (C) functional heads, but have the distribution of ordinary adverbs.

(26) a. Che cosa (poi) studierà (poi) all'università?
what (then) he.will.study (then) at the university
'What will he then study at university?'

b. Che cosa (poi) ha (poi) studiato (poi) all'università?
what (then) has.he (then) studied (then) at university
'What did he then study at university?'

In fact, questions are not the only context where the discourse particle reading of *poi* is available. Modal, non-veridical contexts different from questions also licence it, including the hypothetical context in (27a) and the optative context in (27b).

(27) a. Se (poi) venissi (poi), mi farebbe piacere
If (then) you.came (then), me it.would.give pleasure
'If you then/in the end came, I would be pleased'

b. Magari (poi) piovesse (poi) davvero!
only (then) it.rained (then) really
'If it then/in the end really rained!'

As anticipated, Cardinaletti (2011) argues that the same strong-weak distinction reviewed for pronouns in Section 2.1 holds for adverbs. While *poi* with temporal interpretation corresponds to a strong adverb, discourse particle *poi* would be explained on the basis of its weak categorization. In terms of interpretation and distribution we then expect that temporal adverbs pattern with strong pronouns or more generally full XPs, as they indeed do in (25), while discourse particles should pattern with weak ones.

Consider interpretation first. For Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) only deficient pronouns can have 'non-referential' readings, and similarly according to Cardinaletti (2011: 501) "the non referential semantics of modal particles is coherent with their being deficient categories". Now, when pronouns are concerned, it is reasonably clear in which sense expletives are non-referential – for instance one may take the standard view that expletives are not interpreted at the LF interface and in fact deleted prior to it (Chomsky 1995). However it is hard to see how this understanding of non-referentiality may apply to discourse particles, which do make a contribution to interpretation at the LF interface, though a non-truth-conditional one. Idiomatic occurrences of pronouns, i.e. occurrences where the pronoun does contribute compositionally to the overall reading of the expression, are not a good parallel to particles either. The latter have a compositional semantics, maintaining their interpretive value throughout the examples in (26)–(27). Therefore it is far from obvious how the interpretation of discourse particles may be explained in terms of their weak status.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) further provide a checklist of lexical and distributional properties that differentiate strong *loro* and weak *loro*. Though one of these properties, i.e. the presence of animacy restrictions on the lexical item, is irrelevant for adverbs, the other tests are potentially relevant, namely coordination, modification and contrastive focus. Manzini (2014) based on corpus data (Baroni et al. 2004), argues that Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) generalizations do not always hold even for supposedely weak and strong *loro*. In particular, they are contradicted by the fact that supposedly strong *loro* can be inanimate, and by the fact that oblique *loro* (supposedly weak) can be coordinated and modified, for instance by *anche* 'also'; since the latter are focusing adverbs, oblique *loro* can evidently be focused, including exhaustively/contrastively. What oblique *loro*

cannot do is appear in positions of contrastive/exhaustive Focus in the left or right periphery of the sentence. For Manzini (2014) this is due to the fact that the position of oblique *loro* in (23) is criterial (in the sense of Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007) and prevents it from appearing in Focus position, whether the left peripheral high Focus of Rizzi (1997) or the low Focus (right peripheral in surface structure) of Belletti (2008).

Against this background, it is nevertheless worth considering how the syntactic diagnostics concerning coordination, modification and contrastive/exhaustive focus apply to adverbs/discourse particle. We have seen in (25) that temporal *poi* can be coordinated, modified and focussed. According to Cardinaletti (2011) none of these possibilities is open to discourse particle *poi*. However coordinating *poi* with another adverb/discourse particle, as in (28a), or constituent focusing it, as in (28b), does not appear to yield syntactic illformedness. At most, the relevant interpretation may be difficult to access, compared to examples where *poi* is conjoined or contrasted with another adverb in a temporal reading, explicitly, or implicitly, as in (25).

(28) a. Perchè poi o mai vorrà sapere
why then or ever he will want to know
certe cose, non è chiaro
certain things is not clear

b. Mi chiedo perchè *poi*, non perché *mai*, vorrà sapere certe cose
I wonder why *then* not why *ever* he will want to know certain things

A double conclusion can be drawn from the discussion in this section. On the negative side, the notion that *loro* as an oblique and *poi* as a discourse particle share a common weak categorization is more valuable as an heuristic tool than as a formal characterization. On the positive side, we have evidence that an element like *poi* maintains the basic distribution of adverbs no matter whether it has a conventionally adverbial interpretation (i.e. a temporal one) or a discourse particle one. Like the distribution of Northern Italian *pa/po* in Section 1, this points to interpretation at the LF interface as the real cause of the adverb/particle distinction. We will seek to clarify this conclusion in Section 3.

3. The (scopal) ambiguity of adverbs and particles.

In Sections 1.2 and 2.2 we argued against two attempts at accounting for discourse particles (in Italian varieties) in syntactic terms, namely as functional (C) heads or as weak adverbs, concluding that discourse particles syntactically pattern with the (full) adverbs with which they are often homophonous and differ from them

only interpretively. Specifically, in the conclusions to Section 2.2 we suggested that there is a single lexical item *poi*, with the single categorization Adv, but with two readings, namely a temporal reading and a discourse particle one. Of course, if it is a single lexical item, the two readings cannot simply correspond to a disjunction in its lexical entry, but rather must result from ambiguity resolution at the LF interface. The fact that many discourse particles lexically coincide with temporal/aspectual/manner adverbs is not unknown to the literature – however this fact is not discussed in any systematic way. By contrast, it provides the fundamental perspective from which we look at the issue here.

We take our bearings from Zimmermann's (2008, 2011) account of the modal particle *wohl* in German, which in his terms introduces a weakened commitment to the propositional content of the utterance on the part of the speaker (assertions) or of the hearer (questions). Zimmermann argues that the scopal interactions of the modal particle with sentential operators (e.g. the interrogative operator INT) are quite different from those of sentence adverbs like *vermutlich* 'presumably', or of epistemic modals like *müssen* 'must'. Thus modals and adverbs are read within the scope of the interrogative operator. Consider an English question like *Must Max be at see?* The interrogative operator introduces a yes-no choice between the two propositional contents {*Max must be at sea,* ¬*Max must be at sea}*. Consider on the other hand German (29). According to Zimmermann "the question is about whether or not Hans has invited Mary, but by using *wohl* the speaker indicates her awareness that the addressee may not be fully committed to her answer. Crucially, the semantic contribution of *wohl* takes scope over the alternative answers invoked by the interrogative operator" (Zimmermann 2011: 2020).

(29) Hat Hans *wohl* Maria eingeladen?
has Hans PRT Mary invited
'What do you reckon: Has Hans invited Mary?'

In the following section we will try to understand the lexical coincidence of Italian discourse particles *poi* 'then', *mai* 'ever' and *pure* 'also, yet' with adverbs (temporal, etc.) in terms of scope ambiguity. Suppose that the adverb reading corresponds to a predication or quantification over events. Suppose further, following Zimmermann, that the discourse particle reading takes scope over clause-typing operators, in the sense of Cheng (1991), or 'illocutionary force' in the sense of Rizzi (1997). The adverb and the discourse particle can in principle correspond to a single lexical content, with interpretive differences depending on different scopes. This attempt at capturing the relation between lexically identical particles and adverbs in terms of the notion of (scope) ambiguity is advantageous to the extent that it avoids recourse to additional notions such as grammaticalization.

3.1 Three short case studies

We begin by considering *poi* (cf. Section 2.2.). The basic meaning of temporal *poi* is easily gleaned from the contexts in (24). For instance in (24a), *poi* indicates that the event of 'chopping the onions' at time t is preceded by some other event taking place at a previous time *t'*. Thus *poi* introduces a relation between the event *chop (I, the onion, t)* and some other event at time *t'* so that *precedes (t', t)*. The reading of *poi* is not so much referential (Cardinaletti 2011) as it introduces a predication between two referential elements, namely times (Partee 1984). Time t is fixed by the T node of the sentence where *poi* is embedded; time t' is recovered through the linguistic or pragmatic context.

In short, temporal *poi* is a 'then' relation that takes events (or their temporal location) as its arguments. Recall that our aim is to show that discourse particle *poi* is the same lexical item and hence has the same basic semantics. A fair description of the (non truth conditional) contribution of discourse particle *poi* in such canonical question examples as (26a) 'What does he *poi* study in college?' is that the 'then' relation is again involved. However this relation does not hold of events ordered on the temporal axis. Rather it holds of the question (or wish, etc.) and of other propositional contents implied by the speaker. In the procedural terms of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986; Blakemore 2002), a speaker who utters sentences like (26) is asking the hearer to evoke a background, from which the question follows.

In a nutshell, we are proposing that the temporal adverb and discourse particle meanings of *poi* depend on the fact that the single relation 'then' lexicalized by *poi* admits of two different types of arguments – corresponding to two different logical positions ('scopes') of *poi*. Under the event scope, 'then' is evalutated with respect the event E at time *t*, and some preceding event E' at time t', as schematized in (30a). On the other hand, in the discourse particle scope, the same relation 'then' is applied to the question (optative, counterfactual) to which *poi* is attached and to the set of situations that the speaker and hearer (should) share. We adopt for the latter the term of Common Ground (Stalnaker 1978), yielding the relation in (30b) as a characterization of discourse particle *poi*.

(30) a. 'then' (E', E) adverb
b. 'then' (CG, [QUESTION/WISH/etc. S]) particle

Recall that Coniglio (2008) suggests that discourse particle *poi* denotes inability to answer, on the part of the speaker, or his concern/interest. Under the proposal in (30), these attitudes of the speaker are not directly part of the denotation of *poi*. This does not mean that we do not share Coniglio's intuitions. Consider which mental state of the speaker may induce him or her to invoke a common ground,

as in (30b). Concern/interest is a possible answer – as is inability to answer, and hence indirectly concern/interest in finding an answer. In other words, Coniglio captures a real enough dimension of the interpretation of discourse particle *poi* – but not a primitive one.

An approach like the present one, which individuates the interpretive component as the relevant level for disambiguating adverbs from temporal particles raises the question as to what extent the relevant interpretive relations are syntactically represented at LF – and how. Zimmermann (2008), Hinterhölzl and Munaro (this volume) take a cartographic approach to the question, following in essence Cinque and Rizzi's (2008) hypothesis as to the 'syntacticization of semantics'. Thus they assume that the interpretation of discourse particles depends on the availability of an articulated left perifery representing Speec Act Participant (SAP) nodes, as well as Modality nodes. The schema of analysis in (30) is in fact compatible with such an approach. However it is also compatible with more conservative assumptions as to presence of abstract nodes in syntactic representations. Specifically, we may assume that the ability of *poi* to relate either events or propositions depends on whether it is read as taking in its scope just the vP, i.e. the event, or the whole CP, including clause-typing (Cheng 1991) or illocutionary force (Rizzi 1997) operators – and this without assuming that the two different scopes are encoded by specialized functional heads.

Summarizing, we have now proposed a model of the adverbial and discourse particle construal of Italian *poi* in terms of scope ambiguity at the LF interface. The analysis predicts that *poi* is an Adv and has the distribution of other Advs independently of its interpretation. In other words, the prediction is that each of the sentences that we have introduced to illustrate either the temporal or the discourse particle reading is potentially ambiguous with the alternative reading. This prediction can be checked by inserting in the *poi* sentence the temporal specification *prima* 'before'. Lack of contradiction between *poi* and *prima* means that only *prima* has a temporal reading, while *poi* must have the particle reading, as indeed verified in (31a). The availability of the temporal adverb reading of *poi* in particle contexts such as questions is even more easily checked by coordinating *poi* with *prima*, as in (31b); the coordination forces the temporal reading, which is the only reading available to *prima*.

(31) a. Ha poi tritato prima la cipolla?
he.has then chopped before the onion
'Has he then chopped the onion before?'

b. Che cosa ha studiato prima e poi all'università?
what he.has studied before and then at.the university
'What did he study at university before and after?'

The final question that we must briefly address is whether the scope ambiguity model just sketched applies to other adverbs, which equally admit of a canonical or particle interpretation. A possible case in point is another temporal adverb with discourse particle uses, i.e. *mai* 'never, ever'. In the scope of the negation, *mai* is read as a negative temporal adverb, for instance in (32).

(32) a. Gianni non ha (mai) mangiato (mai) niente
Gianni not has (never) eaten (never) nothing
'Gianni has never eaten anything'

b. Chi non ha (mai) mangiato (mai) niente
who not has (never) eaten (never) nothing
'Who has never eaten anything?'

Mai nevertheless is not a negative quantifier over temporal arguments, but rather a negative polarity item, licenced also by non negative non veridical contexts such as questions in (33a-b) or hypotheticals in (33c).

(33) a. Che cosa (mai) capisce (mai)?
what (ever) he.understands (ever)
'Whatever does he understand?'

b. Che cosa (mai) ha (mai) fatto (mai)?
what (ever) he.has (ever) done (ever)
'Whatever has he done?'

c. Se (mai) venisse (mai) davvero, mi farebbe un piacere
if (ever) he.came (ever) truly, me he.would.do a favor
'If he ever really came, he would do me a favour'

In questions, according to Coniglio (2008: 108) "its function is that of signalling the rhetoricity of a question or the total incapacity on the speaker's side to give an answer to it". In essence the presence of *mai* implies either that the expected answer is negative, e.g. 'nothing' in (33), or that the speaker believes the hearer not to be able to provide an answer at all. Now, the presence of other NPIs within the scope of a question operator has the same effect outlined by Coniglio for *mai*. Thus the question in (34) containing the NPI *niente* 'anything (nothing)' strongly implies a negative answer ('nobody') or the inability of the SAP to provide an answer ('nobody that the speaker or hearer know'). This suggests that the difference between the temporal interpretation of *mai* in negative contexts like (32) and its discourse particle interpretation in interrogative contexts like (33) could be just a byproduct of the rhetorical question effect introduced by any NPI in questions.

(34) Chi ci capisce niente?
who here understands anything
'Who understands a thing here?'

However, even if the pragmatic contribution that *mai* makes in questions (i.e. introducing a rhetorical question) is explained away as a general effect of NPIs, the question remains why *mai* has a clear temporal content in negative contexts like (32), but does not appear to have any temporal import in questions like (33). In sentences like (32), we take it as uncontroversial that *mai* is interpreted as 'at any time t' in the scope of the logical negation, hence as 'at no time t'. But if its intrinsic denotation is 'at any time t', in the scope of the question and hypothetical operators *mai* cannot make any contribution to the descriptive content of the sentence. The reason is that it does not fix any temporal reference in itself, but it simply introduces a temporal open variable. In negative contexts it is the negation in whose scope it is construed that contributes negative quantifier properties to it ('at no time t'). In question and hypothetical contexts, existential closure of the variable has no informative value beyond that already provided by the T category; in other words, the only informative value of *mai* in questions or hypotheticals consists in its pragmatic contribution.

We conclude that an instance of potential adverb vs. discourse particle ambiguity such as Italian *mai*, can in fact be understood not only in terms of a single lexical entry and a single syntax – but need not involve scope differences at the LF interface interface either. The reading of the adverb is always temporal; however, its contribution to the overall semantics of the sentence is null when it is existentially closed, in questions and hypotheticals, as opposed to when it is in the scope of negation. Vice versa its occurrences in questions or hypotheticals have pragmatic implications, like those of other NPIs, which are absent from declarative contexts, including negative ones.

Our final case study is represented by *pur(e)*, which in its adverb construal means 'also', for instances in examples like (35). As before, adverb occurrences are not controversial.

(35) a. Gli dà pure dei soldi
to.him he.gives also of money
'He also gives him money'

b. Gli ha (pure) dato (pure) dei soldi
to.him he.has (also) given (also) of money
'He has also given him money'

According to Coniglio (2008: 115), as a discourse particle "in declarative clauses *pur(e)* signals that the speaker has no evidence to prove that his assertion is true, but he still thinks it logical to suppose that it must be true […] in imperative clauses, the particle weakens the strength of an order". Examples of declarative contexts are provided in (36), of an imperative in (37). In the English translation we render particle *pur(e)* with 'yet' because one of the basic meanings of 'yet' is

'in addition' (e.g. *yet another*); furthermore *yet* is the canonical rendering for the Italian coordination *eppure* (*e* 'and' + *pure*). Although all particle translations in this work are approximations meant to facilitate the processing of the text, this is especially true for *pur(e)*.

(36) a. La terra si muove pur(e) intorno al sole
the earth moves yet around the sun
'The Earth yet revolves around the sun'

b. Ha pur(e) confessato la sua colpa
he.has yet confessed his fault
'He yet confessed his fault'

(37) Dagli pure dei soldi
give-him yet of money
'Do (yet) give him money!'

Given the treatment provided above for temporal adverb and discourse particle *poi* in terms of scope ambiguity, we may consider whether something similar will work for *pur(e)*. The ordinary adverbial meaning of *pur(e)* is 'also', i.e. a focuser taking in its scope arguments or events (cf. also De Swart 1993). For instance in (35a) the focus projection may include just the internal argument DP, yielding the presupposition 'he gives him x'; 'also' contributes the further presupposition that 'there is at least one y, y≠x, such that he gives him y' besides 'x=money'. Focus may furthermore bear on the whole event, in which case the reading is roughly 'what he does is x=giving him money and at least one y≠x'. This is roughly schematized in (38). In other words, 'also' says that the argumental or eventive content in Focus does not uniquely satisfy the Focus presupposition; rather there is at least one additional element satisfying it, to be gleaned from the CG.

(38) a. 'also' (DP', DP)
b. 'also' (E', E)

On this basis, we expect that discourse particle *pur(e)* means 'also', as applied to the entire sentence, including the root node, associated with clause-typing (Cheng 1991) or illocutionary force (Rizzi 1997) or some equivalent category, hence the assertion in (36) or the command/permission in (37).

(39) 'also' ([ASSERT/ALLOW S'], [ASSERT/ALLOW S])

Let us consider what the proposal in (39) amounts to in the case of imperatives, in (37). Imperatives in natural languages may convey either command or permission. Thus 'Give him money' may mean either that 'you must give him money' or 'you can give him money (you are allowed to)'. Now, an imperative including *pur(e)* as in (36) necessarily expresses a permission or possibility, excluding the necessity

reading. Thus it is not so much that *pur(e)* attenuates the command, as Coniglio (2008) states. Rather *pur(e)* is associated only with what Portner (2007) calls the bouletic (i.e. permission) reading of the imperative ('go ahead, you are allowed S'), as opposed to the deontic reading ('you must S'). One way to check this is to take negative imperatives, that (whatever the reason) only have a deontic reading. We expect *pur(e)* to be incompatible with them (as opposed to 'attenuating' them), as is indeed the case, cf. (40).

(40) Non dargli (*pur(e)) dei soldi!
not give-him yet some money
'Don't give him money!'

Putting this together with the analysis schematized in (39), we obtain that (37) ought to mean something like 'you are allowed to give him money and there is some additional y such that y=you are allowed S'. Since the possibility modal (ALLOW) implies that the situation/world depicted by the propositional content has one or more alternatives, discourse particle 'also' does not contribute anything but a strengthening of this reading. By and large, this appears to correspond to the intuition of native speakers concerning sentences like (37).

Consider then the declarative sentences with *pur(e)* in (36). According to Coniglio (2008), *pur(e)* implies that the speaker holds the proposition to be true; nevertheless, the proposition does not have a secure standing. Now, according to the analysis in (39), by introducing *pur(e)* the speaker makes it explicit that the assertion of the propositional content S (for instance 'the earth is round') has alternatives within the Common Ground. As in all instance where 'also' is involved, these alternatives potentially include the contrary of the asserted content. This implies that though the speaker holds the proposition that is asserted as true, he signals the lack of a secure standing for it by pointing the hearer to a set of alternatives.

The data presented so far provide no support to the conclusion that discourse particles are 'grammaticalized' adverbs – at least if grammaticalization is construed as in Roberts and Roussou (2003), i.e. as involving different syntactic positions/categorizations for an element carrying a single interpretive content. Indeed we have argued that discourse particles and adverbs occupy the same positions in the sentence. Nevertheless, there are elements of complexity in the data that we have avoided. In particular, *pur(e)*, has two alternants, namely disyllabic *pure* and truncated *pur*, which do not occur freely. *Pure* can occur in both the particle and the adverbial reading – but truncated *pur* only has the particle reading. Thus if *pure* is replaced by *pur* in (34b) we no longer understand that 'what he also does is give money to him', or 'what he also gives him is money' – rather we understand 'yet, he gives him money'.

Let us begin by observing that both the full and the truncated form of an adverb are in principle compatible with both the adverbial reading and the discourse particle reading. Consider disyllabic *ben(e)*, which as a manner adverb has the meaning of English *well*. In (41a) we show that the adverbial reading, favored by the context in (41a), is available both with the with full form *bene* and with the truncated form *ben*. In (41b) we show that the same is true with the particle reading, which is favored by the context. Therefore truncation of *ben(e)*, unlike truncation of *pur(e)*, is possible while maintaining the adverbial reading and does not necessarily trigger the discourse particle reading.

(41) a. La nostra proposta è stata ben(e) accolta
The our proposal is been well received
'Our proposal has been well received'

b. Ti sarai ben(e) divertito
yourself will.be well amused
'You will have amused yourself, right?'

Given that lexical idiosyncrasy is involved, we may describe the facts concerning *pur(e)* by postulating two lexical entries *pure* and *pur*, with exactly the same content, except that *pure* admits of both adverb and discourse particle construal, while *pur* is specialized for the latter. Equivalently one may say that a lexical entry *pure*, which does not admit of truncation is specialized for the adverb meaning – while *pur(e)* (i.e. *pure* allowing for truncation) specializes for the discourse particle meaning. It is possible a process of 'grammaticalization' is involved in the process whereby two phonological alternants of a single lexical item become specialized for different contexts of insertion. However we reject the generalized application of grammaticalization to homophonous pairs.

3.2 Conclusions

In Section 1, we argued that in Italian and its dialects, there is no evidence that lexical items functioning as discourse particle are associated with specialized functional categories in the syntax – while in Section 2 we rejected the idea that they have a truncated internal structure, making them into 'weak' categories. Rather they have the syntactic distribution of adverbs, with which they coincide lexically. Therefore in Section 3 we explored the logically remaining possibility, namely that discourse particle is the name of a special interpretation of adverbs, which also have a conventional temporal/aspectual/manner interpretation. We proposed to capture this interpretive ambiguity by a scope mechanism at the LF interface. Temporal/aspectual/manner modifiers take events as their argument – while discourse particles take the entire assertion (or command, question) as their argument, relating it to the Common Ground shared by speaker and hearer.

References

Arsenijevic, Boban. 2009. Clausal complementation as relativization. *Lingua* 119: 39–50. DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2008.08.003

Baroni, Marco, Bernardini, Silvia, Comastri, Federica, Piccioni, Lorenzo, Volpi, Alessandra, Aston, Guy & Mazzoleni, Marco. 2004. Introducing the "la Repubblica" corpus: A large, annotated, TEI(XML)-compliant corpus of newspaper Italian. In *Proceedings of LREC 2004,* 1771–1774. Lisbon: ELDA.

Bayer, Josef. 2001. Two grammars in one: Sentential complements and complementizers in Bengali and other South Asian languages. In *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages: Tokyo Symposium on South Asian Languages – Contact, Convergence and Typology,* Peri Bhaskarorao & Karumuri V. Subbarao (eds), 11–36. New Delhi: Sage.

Bayer, Josef. 1999. Final complementizers in hybrid languages. *Journal of Linguistics* 35: 233–271. DOI: 10.1017/S0022226799007665

Belletti, Adriana. 2008. *Structures and Strategies*. London: Routledge.

Blakemore, Diane. 2002. *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511486456

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2011. German and Italian modal particles and clause structure. *The Linguistic Review* 28: 493–531. DOI: 10.1515/tlir.2011.014

Cardinaletti, Anna & Starke, Michal. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, Henk van Riemsdijk (ed.), 145–233. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cheng, Lisa. 1991. On the Typology of *Wh*-questions. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo & Rizzi, Luigi. 2008. The cartography of syntactic structures. *Studies in Linguistics* 2: 42–58 (Università di Siena).

Coniglio, Marco. 2008. Modal particles in Italian. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 91–129 (Università di Venezia).

Culicover, Peter & Jackendoff, Ray 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford: OUP. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199271092.001.0001

Davidson, Donald. 1997 [1968]. On saying that. In *Readings in the Philosophy of Language*, Peter Ludlow (ed.), 817–832. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie & Wiltschko, Martina. 2002. Decomposing Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 409–442. DOI: 10.1162/002438902760168554

Fillmore, Charles. 1968. The case for case. In *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, Emmon Bach & Robert Harms (eds), 1–88. New York NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non-)veridical Dependency* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 23]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/la.23

Halle, Morris & Marantz, Alec. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The View from Building 20*, Ken Hale & Samuel J. Keyser (eds), 111–176. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Harris, James. 1994. The syntax-phonology mapping in Catalan and Spanish clitics. In *Papers on Phonology and Morphology* [MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 21], Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley & Tony Bures (eds). Cambridge MA: MITWPL.

Kayne, Richard. 1976. French relative "que". In *Current Studies in Romance Linguistics*, Fritz Hensey & Marta Luján (eds), 255–299. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Kayne, Richard. 1984. *Connectedness and Binary Branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
Kayne, Richard. 2010. *Comparisons and Contrasts*. Oxford: OUP.
Laka, Itziar. 1990. Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
Larson, Richard. 1987. "Missing prepositions" and the analysis of English free relative clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 239–266.
Ledgeway, Adam. 2005. Moving through the left periphery: The dual complementiser system in the dialects of Southern Italy. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 103: 339–96. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-968X.2005.00157.x
Manzini, M. Rita. 2014. Grammatical categories: Strong and weak pronouns in Romance. *Lingua*150: 171–201. DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2014.07.001
Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2003. The nature of complementizers. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 28: 87–110.
Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 3 vols.
Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2007. *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax. Studies in Romance and Albanian Varieties*. London: Routledge.
Manzini, M. Rita & Savoia, Leonardo. 2011. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511974489
Munaro, Nicola & Poletto, Cecilia. 2003. Ways of clausal typing. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 27: 87–105.
Partee, Barbara. 1984. Nominal and temporal anaphora. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7: 243–286. DOI: 10.1007/BF00627707
Poletto, Cecilia. 2000. *The Higher Functional Field*. Oxford: OUP.
Poletto, Cecilia & Vanelli, Laura. 1995. Gli introduttori delle frasi interrogative nei dialetti italiani settentrionali. In *Italia settentrionale: Crocevia di idiomi romanzi*, Emanuele Banfi, Giovanni Bonfadini, Patrizia Cordin & Maria Iliescu (eds), 145–158. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Portner, Paul. 2007. Imperatives and modals. *Natural Language Semantics* 15: 351–383. DOI: 10.1007/s11050-007-9022-y
Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, Liliane Haegeman (ed.), 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7
Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. On the position "Int(errogative)" in the left periphery of the clause. In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*, Guglielmo Cinque & Giampaolo Salvi (eds), 287–296. Amsterdam: North Holland.
Rizzi, Luigi & Shlonsky, Ur. 2007. Strategies of subject extraction. In: *Interfaces + Recursion = Language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics*, Uli Sauerland & Hans-Martin Gärtner (eds), 115–160. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Roberts, Ian & Roussou, Anna 2003. *Syntactic Change*. Cambridge: CUP. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511486326
Sperber, Dan & Wilson, Deirdre. 1986. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Stalnaker, Robert. 1978. Assertion. In *Pragmatics*, Peter Cole (ed.), 315–332. New York NY: Academic Press.
Starke, Michal. 2009. Nanosyntax: A short primer to a new approach to language. *Nordlyd (Tromsoe University Working Papers in Language and Linguistics*) 36: 1–6.

de Swart, Henriëtte. 1993. *Adverbs of Quantification*. New York NY: Garland.
Szabolcsi, Anna. 1984. The Possessor that ran away from home. *The Linguistic Review* 3: 89–102.
Zimmermann, Malte. 2008. Discourse particles in the left periphery. In *Dislocated Elements in Discourse: Syntactic, Semantic, and Pragmatic Perspectives*, Benjamin Shaer, Philippa Cook, Werner Frey & Claudia Maienborn (eds), 200–231. London: Routledge.
Zimmermann, Malte 2011. Discourse particles. In *Semantics*, Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Heusinger & Paul Portner (eds), 2011–2038. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.