Doubling by clitics and doubling clitics[*]

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▣ **Abstract**

Canonical instances of clitic doubling have a phrasal constituent doubled by a clitic. According to one of the most popular modes of explanation in generative grammar, the clitic and the phrasal constituent originate as the head and Spec respectively of a single projection, from which the clitic then moves. However clitics, beside doubling a phrasal constituent, can double other clitics, creating instances of trebling, etc. This casts doubts on explanations based on Head-Spec configurations and subsequent movement.

Multiple copies of argumental clitics are considered by Manzini and Savoia (2007); here we shall further our argument in relation to the sentential negation. It is well-known that many Romance languages (for example French) have a negative adverb doubled by a negative clitic; the Head-Spec model for this doubling dates back at least to Pollock (1989) and is incorporated into the discussion of Italian dialectal variation by Zanuttini (1997). However multiple copies of the negative clitic are also attested. The two basic cases to be studied here involve copying of the negative clitic on either side of a subject clitic in section 1, and copying on either side of an object clitic in section 2. Section 3 considers potentially problematic cases where one of the apparently negative copies also surfaces in positive contexts. Section 4 concludes that negative doubling and negative concord are effectively the same phenomenon, to be accounted for at the interpretive interface.

1 ▣ Doubling of *N* on either side of a subject clitic

In this section we shall 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 2nd 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) also 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.

   ClS 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   notsleep

'The 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 (Manzini and Savoia 1998, 2005), 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*. According to Poletto (2000), who considers data similar to (2)-(3), both subject and negation clitics have more than one position in the clitic hierarchy available to them. Thus the position of the negation is lower in (2) than in (3), following the differentiated subject clitic in (2) and preceding it in (3). In turn in (3), only the differentiated subject clitic is in a position lower than the negation, while the invariable *e* subject clitic is in a position higher than it.

(2) *Vagli di Sopra*   (Tuscany)

    i   nun   'dɔrmɛ

    tu n   'dɔrmɛ

    i/ɛ nun   'dɔrmɛ

      nun   sə 'dɔrmɛ

      nun   dur'mitɛ

    i   nun   'dɔrmənə

    I   not   sleep etc.

    'I don't sleep.'   etc.

(3) *Sillano* (Tuscany)

    (e)   n(o) i ˈdɔrma

    (e)   non tu ˈdɔrma

    (e)   no   llə ˈdɔrma

    (e)   non   dorˈmjaŋ

    (e)   non   durˈmiddə

    (e)   no   llə ˈdɔrməŋ

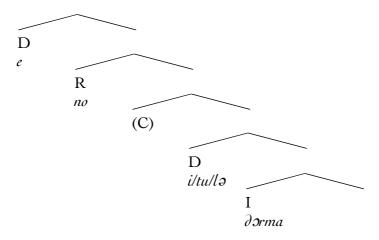   *ClS   not   I sleep etc.*

    'I don't sleep.' etc.

       We propose that the two subject clitics lexicalized in (3) correspond to two subject clitic positions superordinate to I and C respectively. Similarly the negations that follow the differentiated clitics in (2) and precede them in (3) are lexicalized within the I and C domains respectively. For reasons that will become clearer in the discussion to follow, we do not identify the position of the negative clitic with Neg (as we obviously could) but with R (to generically suggest Referentiality). Following furthermore the intuition of Chomsky (1995) as to the nature of the (nominative) subject, we notate the subject clitic as D. Therefore we assign the structures in (4) and (5) respectively to, say, the 2nd person singular of the paradigms in (2) and (3).

(4) *Vagli di Sopra*

(5) *Sillano*

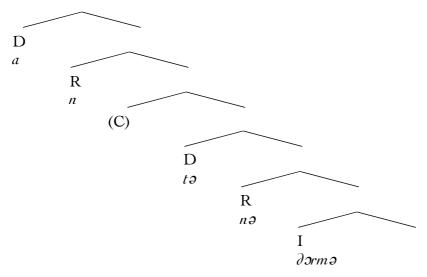   These structures amount to proposing that *Vagli* and *Sillano* differ as to whether the lexicalization of the negation is modal, i.e. in the domain immediately above C, as in *Sillano*, or inflectional, i.e. in the domain immediately above I, as in *Vagli*. As discussed by Manzini and Savoia (2007) there are languages like Albanian in which modal and non-modal negation not only have different domains of

insertion, but actually correspond to different lexical items. If the modal and inflectional positions of the negation in (4) and (5) are lexicalized at once, we derive the doubling of *Viano* in (1ii), as illustrated in (6).

(6) *Viano*

```
        ┌──────┴──────┐
        D
        a
               ┌──────┴──────┐
               R
               n
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                      (C)
                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                             D
                             tə
                                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                                    R
                                    nə
                                           ┌──────┴──────┐
                                           I
                                           ðɔrmə
```

The question now arises as to why the pattern in (6) is restricted to the 2nd person singular. A connection can be established with another pattern which singles out 2nd person clitics in their interaction with the negation. As illustrated in (7) with *Càsola*, another Northern Tuscan dialect, non-differentiated clitics precede the negation, as expected; on the other hand differentiated subject clitics split, in that only 2nd person clitics follow the negation, while 3rd person clitics precede it.

(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
ClS	*Neg*	*ClS*	*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 above, roughly ClS - Neg – ClS3 - Neg – ClS2 – Neg. Under this account, the negation of *Càsola* in (7) would be the middle one, since it precedes ClS2 but follows ClS3. This hierarchy could also correctly derive the doubling of *Viano* in (1), since ClS2 is flanked by two copies of Neg. However, the hierarchy overgenerates. For, since ClS3 can be preceded or followed by the negation, there is no reason why the negation should not be able to double on either side of it; nevertheless, we do not have attestations of this pattern.

Notice that both *Càsola* in (7) and *Viano* in (1) lack differentiated clitics for the 1st person. Therefore we may equally well describe the facts by saying that in *Càsola* in (7) the negation follows all (differentiated) 1st and 2nd person subject clitics and precedes 3rd person ones; similarly in *Viano* in (1) doubling opposes all 1st and 2nd person subject clitics to 3rd person ones. In other words, both types of languages

instantiate a classical person split between 1st/2nd person and 3rd person. The latter is well-known in syntax and connects to an interpretive contrast between what Manzini and Savoia (2007) characterize as the discourse-anchored reference of the speaker-hearer and the event-anchored reference of the so-called 3rd person

The reason why the person split interacts with the negation, will obviously depend on what we take the nature of the negation to be. Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005) in considering the adverbial negation of many Romance languages, suggest that its nature is neither adverbial nor, strictly speaking, negative. Rather, so-called negative adverbs are nominal elements, which either because of their morphological make-up (e.g. the type 'nothing' in the Piedmontese and Ligurian dialects of sections 2.1ff.), or because they are bare nouns (e.g. the type *pas* in French), function as negative polarity items. Specifically, Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005) propose that so-called negative adverbs are linked to the internal argument, with whose lexicalization they interact. Thus in some Northern Italian dialects the internal argument of the verb shows up as partitive rather than accusative in negative contexts, in a phenomenon akin to the Russian 'genitive of negation' (Pesetsky 1982).

In the same way as the adverb, we can construe the negative clitic as a negative polarity item connected to the internal argument of the verb and hence to the event-anchored argumental structure. In this perspective, it is natural to propose that the negation may cluster with event-anchored EPP arguments to the exclusion of discourse-anchored ones. If so, we obtain the alternating patterns of languages like *Càsola* in (7), where event-anchored 3rd person EPP arguments cluster with the negation in the same inflectional I domain, as in (8a), while discourse-anchored 1st and 2nd person EPP arguments do not cluster with the negation, and the latter has a modal lexicalization instead, in the C domain, as in (8b).

(8) *Càsola*

    a.   [$_D$ i/a [$_R$ nə [$_I$ ðɔrm

    b. [$_R$ n [C   [$_D$ tə [$_I$ ðɔrm

Viano in (6), repeated here in (9b), can now be seen as a variant of *Càsola* in (8b). Thus in (9b) a modal copy of the negation is inserted when the EPP argument is discourse-anchored. By contrast, the inflectional copy is retained throughout the paradigm and is the sole lexicalization of the negation with the event-anchored EPP argument in (9a).

(9) *Viano*

    a.   [$_D$ i/la [$_R$ nə [$_I$ ðɔrmə

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

Crucially, assuming the person split and the event-anchored nature of the negation, it is impossible to obtain the reverse pattern to the one in (8), under which the negation would cluster in the inflectional domain with discourse-anchored 1st/2nd person subject clitics (thus following them), to the exclusion of event-anchored 3rd person ones (which it would precede from the modal domain). On the same grounds, if the *Viano* pattern in (9) really is a variant of the *Càsola* one, we also predict that there will be no doubling of the negative clitic on either side of 3rd person subject clitic. In turn, *Vagli* and *Sillano* in (2)-(3) differ from *Càsola* and *Viano* in (8)-(9) in that they are oblivious to the person split. In other words, the same parameter between the inflectional and modal lexicalization of the negation is generalized to the whole paradigm in (2)-(3) and splits according to person in (8)-

(9).

Interestingly, the copying and displacement processes targeted by Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993) or more recently by Harris and Halle's (2005) model involve clitic material entirely comparable to negative *n*; if these processes were really at the morpho(phono)logical level, we might expect that the negation would be handled at the same level, independently of its syntactic labeling. 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 modal vs. non-modal domain – and they can only hold by stipulation at PF/ MS. 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 argumental clitics – whose parallelisms with the negative clitics seems to call for a unified analysis.

We will turn to arguments against treating negative doubling in terms of a base-generated Head-Spec configuration and subsequent movement at the end of next section.

2 ▣ Doubling of *n* on either side of an object clitc

In the examples presented in section 1 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 (1996) for Cairo Montenotte, where the negative clitic precedes 3rd person objects but follows 1st and 2nd person ones. What is more, Parry (1996) observes that in some dialects of Liguria and Piedmont the negative clitic can appear both to the right and the left of the 1st and 2nd person clitic. Zanuttini (1997:18) suggests that it is only languages with the doubling of the negative clitic by an adverbial negation that admit of this doubling of the negative clitic. In reality, the Northern Tuscan dialects that we exemplify once again in this section are a counterexample to this generalization.

Let us begin by considering the relatively simple case of *Beđizzano* in (10) in which only one instance of the negation appears, following 1st and 2nd person object clitics and preceding 3rd 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 2nd and 3rd person in (ii) and (iii) respectively.

(10) *Beđizzano*   (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.'

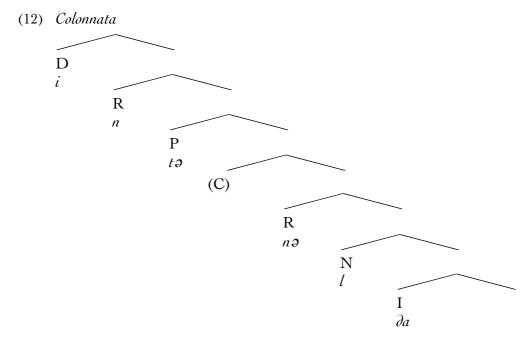iii. a. i   ttə/ssə/vvə   nə   l/n   'da   (prə 'ɲent)

    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   ʎ   'da.

    he not   to.him   it gives

    'He doesn't give it to him.'

c. i   n   /sə   da   'kwɛst.

    he not   to.him/ to.us gives   this

    'He doesn't give this to him/us.'

Doubling data are provided in (11) for *Colonnata*. The negative clitic follows all subject clitics and precedes 3rd person object clitics, both accusative and dative (as in (11iiib)). At the same time, the negative clitic both precedes and follows 1st and 2nd person clitics as well as the *se*-type clitic (as in (11iiia)).
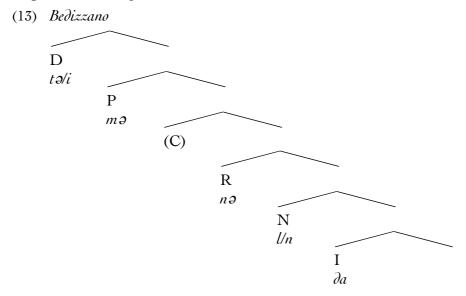
(11) *Colonnata*   (Tuscany)

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 (11) assuming, as in section 1, that the negative clitic doubles because it inserts both in the C and in the I domain. We thus obtain structures like (12), in which the lower copy of the negation follows 1st and 2nd person object clitics by inserting in the I domain, while the higher copy precedes them by inserting in the C domain. Crucially, this analysis requires that 1st and 2nd person clitics themselves – here notated P to suggest Person – insert in the C domain, together with all subject clitics. We furthermore follow Manzini and Savoia (2007) in notating 3rd person accusative clitics as N, though conventional labelling, such as undifferentiated D(P) for all clitics, would equally be available to

us.

(12) *Colonnata*

D
i

   R
   n

      P
      tə

         (C)

            R
            nə

               N
               l

                  I
                  ∂a

If we apply the approach in (12) to the non-doubling data of *Bedizzano* we obtain structures like (13), which display the person split between 3rd 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 R of the I domain.

(13) *Bedizzano*

D
tə/i

   P
   mə

      (C)

         R
         nə

            N
            l/n

               I
               ∂a

An interesting generalization on the data becomes possible on the basis of the conclusion of section 1 that the so-called clitic negation is a negative polarity item, associated with the internal argument. As such we are entitled to conclude that it can be part of the event-anchored argumental structure. Thus, in (12)-(13) event-anchored object clitics, including the negation, are lexicalized in the I domain, and are split from discourse-anchored object clitics, lexicalized in the C domain. In this analysis, all subject clitics are in the non-event anchored domain – we may take this to be due to their EPP nature, potentially extraneous to the event- vs. non-event-anchored contrast altogether.

Recall that in the *Viano* and *Càsola* dialects in section 1, the clitic cluster remains in place in the inflectional domain – while according to the person of the

EPP argument the negation splits between the inflectional and the modal domain. By contrast in *Beɗizzano* and *Colonnata* the negation, remaining in the inflectional domain, provokes the object clitic cluster to split between the I and the C domain according to person.

In fact, the distribution of discourse-anchored and event-anchored object clitics in the C and I domain respectively is the same found in imperatives with mesoclisis of Southern Italian and Albanian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2007). In the latter, locatives pattern with 1st and 2nd person; *Beɗizzano*'s (11iiia) shows that the same is true of *se*, which descriptively is the 3rd person reflexive, but according to Manzini and Savoia (2007) it 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 1st and 2nd person to 3rd person[1].

2.1 ▣ TREBLING AND MORE

In (14) we report data similar to those in (11), but taken from a dialect (*Càrcare*) of the type studied by Parry (1996), with the negative clitic doubling a negative adverb. As anticipated, in (14) we see an example of the sentential negation adverb *nɛnt* being identical to the argument for 'nothing'. It will be noted that in the dialect in (14) the sentential negation adverb is in complementary distribution with other negative adverbs, as in (14iib-c), and arguments, as in (14iiib), and appears in fact to be optional, as in (14iiic). Following Manzini and Savoia (2007), we simply assume that (true) optionality 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.
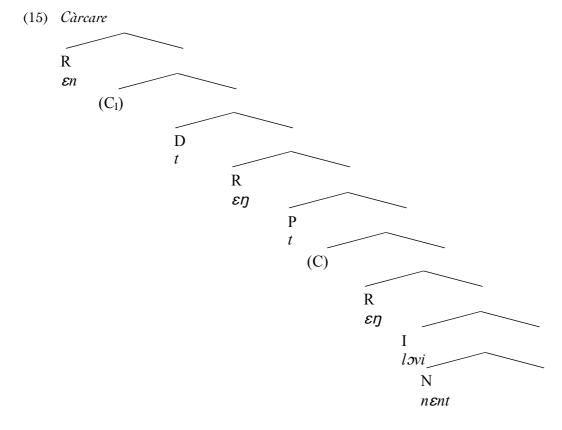
What is relevant here is that in (14) the negation is generally expressed by a triplet consisting of a negative adverb (or argument) doubled by a a clitic pair. The position of the latter is the same observed in (11). Thus the two clitics precede and follow respectively P clitics and the *si*-type clitics, preceding in all cases accusative/ partitive clitics. Subject clitics generally precede the higher copy of the negative clitic. However the latter can either follow or precede the 2nd person singular subject clitic, as in (14iib) and (14iic) respectively. What is more, these two potential positions of the negative clitic can combine, much in the way already observed in (1); thus we obtain sentences of the type of (14iia), where three copies of the negative clitic are present, besides the negative adverb.

(14) *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 lɛŋ/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* in the previous section. Specifically the lower negative clitic in an example like (15), appearing between the P object clitic and the verb will 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 appearing between the P clitic and the subject 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, we extend the analysis we already proposed. Thus the highest copy of the negation in *Càrcare* is lexicalized in a domain superordinate to the C domain where the discourse-anchored subject clitic is inserted; in particular, we can assign it to the immediately higher domain than C, namely C_I in the theory of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007).

(15) *Càrcare*

As we argued at the end of the last section, 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 (Manzini 2006 extends the same general argument to different empirical domains). To be more precise, it is possible to import the primitives necessary to state the correct distribution of the negative clitic (1st/2nd vs. 3rd 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 (morphosyntactic) 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 modal and non-modal domains, then this essential aspect of our explanation cannot be reproduced at MS/ PF at all.

At the same time, we argue that there is no 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 counterevidence is represented by the possibility of having more than one negative clitic, hence more than one potential head of the construction. More generally, as we were at pains to establish, 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.

3 ▣ Non-negative *n*

A potential problem for the analysis of negative clitic doubling presented so far comes from the fact that in dialects of Liguria and Piedmont, P clitics can be followed by an *n* morpheme even in positive contexts. As it turns out, there are indications that even in positive contexts the distribution of *n* is syntactically determined, as illustrated for *Dego* in (16), where *m-ɛŋ* in accusative-less contexts alternates with *m* for the 1st person singular if an accusative clitic is present. The alternance 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 (1998:101) for Rocca d'Arazzo.

(16) *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 (16) 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 (17). This reproduces the distribution of the negative clitic studied for the dialects of section 2.
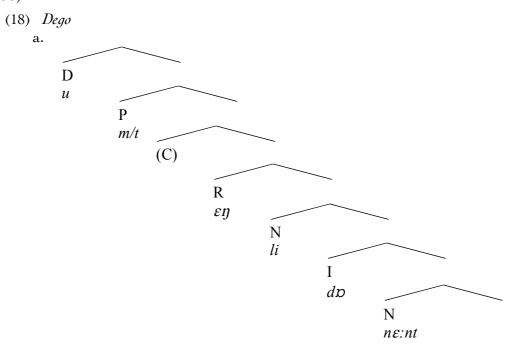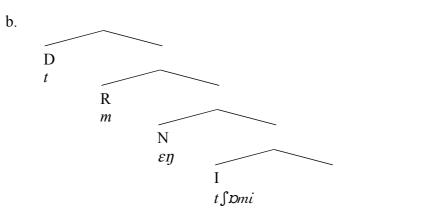
(17) *Dego*

    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.
   ClS me not   of.it gives nobody
   'Nobobody gives any of it to me.'

If the discussion of, say, *Càrcare* in section 2.1 is correct, negative polarity *n* is inserted in R, as shown for *Dego*'s ɛŋ in (18a). On the other hand, the mutual exclusion between the ɛŋ segment and the accusative in the positive contexts in (16) suggests that the ɛŋ segment itself is a lexicalization of N, occurring in sentences where the internal argument is otherwise lexicalized only by a P element, as in (18b).

(18) *Dego*
   a.

   b.

The obvious connection between the occurrences of the ɛŋ morphology in the two contexts in (18), specifically its specialization for the P clitic, argues against treating these occurrences as involving two different lexical entries. If so, because the lexicalization of ɛŋ does not imply a negative interpretation, we cannot attribute to it an intrinsically negative polarity characterization. At the same time, the different distribution with respect to the accusative in negative and positive contexts

needs to be accounted for. Now, the mutual exclusion between ɛŋ and accusatives depends on ɛŋ inserting in N; while negative polarity ɛŋ inserts in R. One possibility then is that the negative polarity reading of the ɛŋ element depends on its insertion in R, in that R is a scopal position as independently argued by Manzini and Savoia (2007); in R the complementary distribution with the accusative is also avoided. On the contrary the positive reading of ɛŋ is connected with the non-scopal N position, which also explains its complementary distribution with accusatives.

P clitics ending with an *n* morpheme in non-negative contexts are also found in dialects which, at least descriptively, do not have any negative clitics, as in *S.Bartolomeo* in (19). The distribution of *n* is syntactically determined by the presence vs. absence of an accusative as shown in (19a) vs. (19b); the standard form of the sentential negation involving only a negative adverb is displayed in (19c).

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

    a. u m-ɛŋ 'dɒ   su'si.

        he me   gives this
        'He gives me this.'

    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 ɛŋ morphology with accusatives in a dialect like *Dego* is that ɛŋ 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 actually independent of ɛŋ also expressing the negation. In other words, though the two interpretations can naturally coexist in the same lexical item, as in *Dego*, one is independent of the other. Not only are there languages, like *Colonnata* in section 2 in which only the negative interpretation is attested, but there there are also dialects like *S.Bartolomeo* in which only the non-negative one arises2.
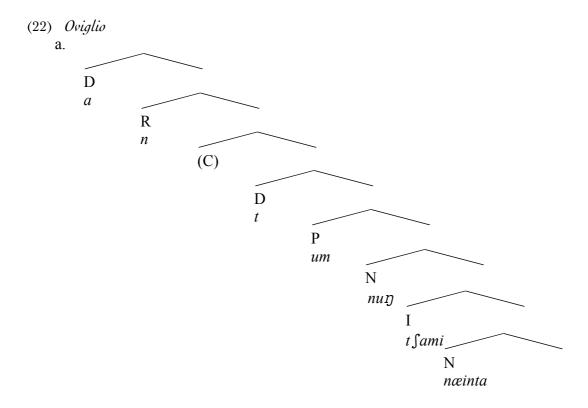
A further variation on the themes explored here is provided by the dialect of *Oviglio*, where the complementary distribution between an *n* clitic and the accusative is observed in negative contexts. The higher copy of the negative clitic follows an already familiar pattern, appearing after subject clitics, except for the 2nd person singular, which it precedes. In turn, what appears to be a lower copy of the negative clitic 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. 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

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2   Manzini and Savoia (2005) argue that the difference between negative and non-negative *n* segments in dialects like *Dego* or *S. Bartolomeo* 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).

non-doubling examples, as can be seen in the absence of object clitics in (20). In all cases the negative clitic or clitic pair is obligatorily doubled by the sentential negation adverb *næint(a)* 'nothing'.

(20) *Oviglio* (Piedmont)

a	n		'drɔm	'næinta
a	n	t	'drɔmi	'mai
u	n		'drɔm	'næinta
a	n		dru'muma	'næinta
i	n		'drɔmi	'næinta
i	n		'drɔmu	'næinta
ClS	*notClS*		*sleep*	*not/never*

'I don't sleep.' etc.

(21) *Oviglio*

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.
        ClS   not   you   me   not   call   nothing
        'You don't call me.'

    b. a n   t   um ɛl 'dai 'næint.
        ClS   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 complementary distribution pattern between *nuŋ* and accusative clitics can be accounted for straightforwardly if *nuŋ* actually appears in the N position. As for the *n* clitic, its distribution is sensitive to the already familiar person split whereby it appears before P subject clitics but after 3rd person ones. We assume that the correct analysis is the one adopted so far, whereby the position following 3rd person clitics reflects the lexicalization of the negation clitic within the inflectional domain, as in (22b). The position before the P subject clitic (but after the invariable subject clitic) reflects the modal lexicalization of the negation, as in (22a).

(22) *Oviglio*

a.

```
        D
        a
            R
            n
                (C)
                    D
                    t
                        P
                        um
                            N
                            nuŋ
                                I
                                tʃami
                                    N
                                    nœinta
```

b.

```
      D
      u
          R
          n
              (C)
                  D
                  t
                      N
                      nuŋ
                          I
                          tʃama
                              N
                              nœinta
```

Face to the phenomena just outlined, we could propose that in the dialect of *Oviglio* the insertion of *nuŋ* in the context of a P object provides a lexicalization of N when only a P element would otherwise link up to the internal argument slot. In other words, we are in the presence of another possible recombination of the parametric values considered so far. The properties of *nuŋ* are essentially those of non-negative *ɛŋ* in *Càrcare* or *S.Bartolomeo*. But its appearance is restricted to the scope of a negative polarity item independently lexicalized in R, hence to negative environments.

A further twist on this patterns is that the *nuŋ* negative form coincides with the partitive, as seen for instance in (23a). More precisely, the partitive has an *n* alternant appearing in front of verbs beginning by vowel, concretely auxiliaries as in

(23a'). A restriction against the apperence of *nuŋ* in front of a verb beginning by vowel can be observed with the negation as well; thus while *nuŋ* lexicalizes the lower negation in (23b), comparable to (21), it does not surface in (23b') which differs from it by the presence of an auxiliary initiating by vowel.

(23) *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   dahtʃdu   a 'pr eŋ.
       I of.them have given two   to each
      'I have given two of them to each one.'
    b. a m   nuŋ çoŋ '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'.

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 phonological restriction to contexts before verb 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. An element that supports this characterization is notably 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 characterization of the sentences where it occurs.

One key to understanding this conclusion is the independently observed interaction between the negation and the partitive. Thus in the so-called Russian 'genitive of negation' (Pesetsky 1982), mentioned in section 1, what would otherwise be an accusative argument turns up as a genitive (partitive) in the contexts of a negation. The same phenomenon can be observed in Italian dialects according to Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005) and it is subject to a person split of its own since only 3rd person objects can turn up in the partitive. Thus we can sharpen the analysis of *nuŋ* in negative contexts proposed above by assuming that *nuŋ* provides a lexicalization specifically of the partitive in the scope of the negation, in contexts where the internal argument is otherwise lexicalized only by an element of the discourse-anchored series. As discussed for (19), this holds not of the entire allomorphic series of the partitive, but only of the *nuŋ* allomorph; thus it is not the partitive allomorphic series in general, but just the *nuŋ* allomorph that responds to the requirement just described.

In fact the coincidence of what are descriptively the partitive and the negation is subject to variation of its own. Thus in *Càrcare* the partitive, illustrated in (14iiic) coincides with the lexicalization of the negation in modal contexts, such as the negative imperative (morphosyntactically an infinitive) in (24).

(24) *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 (24) and the partitive. We may further speculate that when it is lexicalized in the inflectional domain, as in (14iiic), its interpretation is that of the partitive. In modal contexts, where it is lexicalized in one of the scopal C domains, it will be read as a polarity specification, as in (24). In other words, the coincidence of so-called negation and partitive is the same as in *Oviglio*, while the scopal vs. non-scopal distinction is the same exploited for *Dego* and *S.Bartolomeo*, providing us with yet another example of recombining parametric values.

As far as we can tell, the data presented so far support only one implicational generalization, namely that in languages where a negative clitic coincides with a non-negative N clitic, the negative occurrences determine a person split, appearing within the object clitic string after discourse-anchored object clitics and before event-anchored ones. Now, remember that in section 2, the person split was connected to the event-anchored character of the negation clitic, appearing in the same domain as other event-anchored clitics and pushing discourse-anchored clitics outside its immediate scope. If so, the generalization we stated depends on the obvious fact that a negative clitic that also functions as a partitive/ N element cannot but be event-anchored.

In short, the appearance of elements identical to what we have characterized as lower copies of the negation in positive contexts could at first suggest that we are in presence of 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 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*) and more generally can lexicalize the same N slot as it does (*Dego, S.Bartolomeo*).

An alternative analysis of the negation copies as uninterpretable components of an agreement configuration could only assume that they bear the negative (polarity) feature; thus the appearence of a negation copy in a non-negative environment could not be accomodated. 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

Our analysis of negative clitic doubling and of its interactions with the person split crucially involves the assumptions sketched in section 1 as to the semantically contentful nature of each of the elements involved. This approach has an implication that has not been spelled out so far, with respect to so-called negative concord. Quite simply, since each negative element has full semantic import, then the fact that two or more of them are interpreted as negating only once configures a case of 'negative concord'.

We may usefully start with simple example sets of the type in (2)-(3) or (7), where the sentential negation is represented by a single negation clitic. In terms of

the theory suggested in section 1 (and argued for in detail by Manzini and Savoia 2002, 2005), a negation clitic is a nominal element that introduces a variable within the scope of a polarity operator. In this connection it is useful to remember that in Romance languages in general the so-called negative clitic need not have negative meaning at all, but is subject to a less stringent requirement, linking it presumably to modal (irrealis) contexts, such as comparatives. Similarly the most immediate argument in favor of the polarity status of *n*-words in Romance (Rizzi 1982, Longobardi 1992 on Italian and much related literature) comes from the fact that they occur in modal environments such as questions, hypotheticals, without any implication of negative meaning.

Following Manzini and Savoia (2002, 2005) the variable introduced by the negative/ polarity clitic belongs to the ordinary argumental structure of the sentence; in particular it is associated with the internal argument of the event. On this point we sharply differ from the literature, since the so-called sentential negation is treated not as an instance of the Neg operator (Rizzi 1982, Longobardi 1992), but rather as negating the internal argument slot of the event. If we consider that negative polarity items are indefinites (Heim 1982), we may very well assume that the variable introduced by the so-called negative clitic is existentially closed, as indicated in (25). As for the modal operator in whose scope the existential is read, Neg in (25), its presence is pragmatically implied by the presence of the negative/ polarity clitic. The position of the negative clitic with respect to the subject clitics, hence whether the domain it lexicalizes is inflectional as in (25a), or higher as in (25b), does not appear to be of any consequence.

(25) a. *Vagli*
          [Neg [x [$_D$ *i/ɛ*   [$_R$ *nun* x   [$_I$ *ɔrmɛ*]]]]
      b. *Sillano*
          [Neg [x   [$_R$ *no* x   [$_D$ *llə* [$_I$ *ɔrma*]]]]

We are now in a position to consider what is perhaps the simplest case of negative concord, namely the case routinely described in terms of doubling of a clitic negation by an adverbial one, illustrated here for instance by the paradigm in (20). As already indicated at the beginning of this section, this must be a case of negative concord under the present view. Indeed under the set of assumptions introduced here, so-called negative concord is the expected state of affairs. Quite simply, both of the indefinite variables introduced by the so-called clitic and adverb are existentially bound and interpreted in the scope of the same Neg operator, as in (26). Thus there is a single instance of the negation at the interpretive level.

(26) *Oviglio*
      a. [Neg [x,y   [$_D$ *u*   [$_R$ *n* x   [$_I$ *drɔm*   [$_N$ *næinta* y]]]]]
      b. [Neg [x,y   [$_D$ *a*   [$_R$ *n* x [$_D$ *t*   [$_I$ *drɔmi* [$_N$ *næinta* y]]]]]

A potential problem is represented by the fact that while the negative/polarity clitic generally combines with other negative/polarity elements, the negative/ polarity adverb is often in complementary distribution with them, as has been noted in passing for *Càrcare* in (14). Very much the same conclusion can be drawn with respect to the paradigm of *Oviglio* in (20) if the 2nd person singular which includes 'never' is compared with the other persons of the paradigm, which include the sentential negation adverb; the two adverbs clearly are in complementary distribution.

In reality the evidence, in at least some dialects, is more complex than this. A

good example is *Dego* in (27). The *nɛnt* sentential negation is in complementary distribution with a negative argument in the simple sentence in (27a); in other words we have no attestations of (15c). However *nɛnt* can combine with a negative argument in the present perfect in (27b) which arguably involves a bi-sentential structure (Kayne 1993, Manzini and Savoia 2007).

(27) *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.'

   Faced with distributions such as (27), Manzini and Savoia (2005) conclude that the mutual exclusion of so-called sentential negation adverbs and negative polarity arguments in (27c) is akin to other mutual exclusions between morphologically (and interpretively) cognate elements in other domains of the sentence, say (argumental) clitics (Manzini and Savoia 2007). Concretely, we propose that a sentence like (27c) is not found because inserting a negative/ polarity argument associated with the internal argument slot in the predicative domain of the sentence, is sufficient to lexicalize the relevant properties for the entire predicative domain, preventing their re-lexicalization by the so-called sentential negation adverb. On the contrary it is perfectly possible to have the same properties lexicalized in two different sentences, by the sentential negation adverb and the negative polarity argument in (27b); or indeed 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 in (27a).

   If the distribution of so-called sentential negation adverbs with respect to other negative polarity elements is sensitive to their domains of insertion, we may 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 (28a). This property is parametrized; thus the cooccurence 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 (28b). It is evident that in (28a) we can apply essentially the same analysis as we already proposed for (27c). Manzini and Savoia (2005) argue that the position of the preverbal subject in null subject and clitic subject languages must be in the C modal field. Inserting the negative polarity subject in the C domain or higher evidently subsumes all properties otherwise lexicalized by the clitic. The clitic then will not need to be inserted -- and will not be allowed to on economy grounds[3].

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3   If we backtrack to so-called sentential negation adverbs once again, 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 (27c) with postverbal arguments/ adverbs; yet it is in complementary

(28) a. Nessuno   (*non)   dorme.
    nobody   not   he.sleeps
    'Nobody sleeps.'

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

The line of reasoning deployed for (27) and (28) can in principle be extended to mutual incompatibilities between any two negative polarity items; thus we will say that the lexicalization of one subsumes the lexicalization of the other within a given domain. Furthermore, the element with the richer content (measured for instance in terms of lexical restriction) will subsume the poorer one, leading in particular to the elimination of the so-called sentential negation (whether adverbial or clitic) in favor of other negative polarity arguments or adverbs. What is immediately relevant here is that the general interpretive mechanism of negative concord laid out above need not be affected by these idiosyncrasies.

We can then come back to the conclusion, forced upon us by our model, that any occurrence of multiple (two or more) copies of the negation involves an interpretive process of negative concord. Needless to say, if any instance of sentential negation doubling is in fact an instance of negative concord, we expect that in the languages that display it, negative concord will generally be available. Indeed it is well-known that Italian (and in general Romance) dialects have negative concord. Our generalization is weaker than Zeijlstra's (2004), according to whom languages that have a negative clitic (whether doubled or not by a sentential negation adverb) have negative concord. This seems to be correct, since Zeijlstra's (2004) himself notices the obvious counterexample of English *n(o)t*, capable at least of clearly clitic (head) lexicalizations and yet incapable of negative concord. By contrast the connection between negative doubling and negative concord appears to be exceptionless, supporting treatments in which they represent a unitary phenomenon.

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distribution with a preverbal negative polarity subject.

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