Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali- QULSO

Working papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies

Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali
Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies

6

Editors

M. Rita Manzini

Leonardo M. Savoia

Indice / Contents

Morfosintassi / Morphosyntax

Morfosintassi

Morphosyntax

Parameters in possessives:
the Franco-Provençal dialect of
Celle di San Vito (Apulia) as a case study[*]

Benedetta Baldi and Leonardo M. Savoia
Università degli Studi di Firenze
(<benedetta.baldi@unifi.it>, <lsavoia@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

The aim of this article is to propose an account of morpho-syntactic and interpretive properties of possessives looked at from the point of view suggested by the interplay between contact systems with prenominal and post-nominal possessives. Thus, we will begin with briefly presenting the minority Franco-Provençal language of Celle di San Vito in Apulia and its linguistic position. Subsequently, we will dwell on the nature of possessive relation and its treatment in the literature, also taking account of the suggestions coming from cross-linguistic considerations (Albanian). Next, the data of Celle and the possessive systems of Southern Italian and Franco-Provençal varieties will be provided and compared. The final section illustrates some proposals concerning different possessive structures, specifically with regard to the distribution of possessive elements and the interaction with the definite article.

Keywords: *Franco-Provençal, linguistic contact, morpho-syntax of possessives, Southern Italian dialects*

1. Franco-Provençal in Apulia

Celle and Faeto villages[1] in North Apulia preserve a Franco-Provençal dialect dating to 13th century. Although the Fran-

---

[1] The Apulian villages in which Franco-Provençal is spoken are Celle San Vito and Faeto. In this work, we will analyze data collected with informants from Celle.

co-Provençal morpho-syntactic properties are overall preserved (Manzini and Savoia 2005), the contact with Apulian dialects has nevertheless led to some changes in morpho-syntactic organization, as in the case of possessives. Southern Italian and Franco-Provençal dialects show very different possessive systems. More precisely, in Southern Italian varieties possessives follow the noun preceded by the article, in predicative contexts are introduced by the definite article and with kinship terms select enclitic 1st/2nd/3rd singular possessor forms; in Franco-Provençal/Occitan-type varieties possessives precede the noun and generally exclude the article (for Occitan see Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016). Celle's Franco-Provençal possessives are characterized by the overlapping, so to say, of the two systems, showing the distribution of Southern Italian dialects, except with kinship terms, where the prenominal position is retained with singular person possessors.

From the historical point of view (cf. Telmon 1992), the ancient testimonies on the origin of these colonies are not univocal, insofar as the documented resettlements range from 13th to 14th century and the designation used is 'Provençals'. Favre (2010: 4) summarizes the reconstruction of the origin of these populations and their dialects:

> According to the most accredited hypothesis, the origin of these two colonies would be led back to the allocation of French troops on the part of the Angevins. In 1269, Charles I of Anjou sent a detachment of soldiers to guard the fortified town of Crepacore and granted them to settle in the near farmhouse of Crepacore and in the surrounding territory. [Translation of the authors]

The identification of these dialects as Franco-Provençal varieties was proposed by Morosi (1890) taking into account the palatalization of original stressed *a*, based on the classification criteria fixed in Ascoli (1878). Indeed, in the varieties of Celle and Faeto palatalization of the original stressed *a* has the same distribution as in Franco-Provençal/ Southern-French varieties, i.e. only if it is preceded by palatal consonants, like in [tʃiŋ] 'dog'. However, this outcome is not generalized, excluding participles and other verbal forms, as in the schema in (1), where ClS (Clitic Subject) designates the obligatory clitic subject pronouns occurring in these varieties.

(1)	*2nd pl*	və cam'ma			və min'dʒijə		
		ClS call.2PL			ClS eat.2PL		
		'you call.'			'you eat.'		
	infinitive	cam'ma			min'dʒijə		
		call.INF			eat.INF		
		'to call.'			'to eat.'		
	past participle	dʒ	e	cam'ma	dʒ	e	man'dʒa
		ClS	have	called	ClS	have	eaten
		'I have called.'			'I have eaten.'		*Celle*

The attested distribution of stressed *a* palatalization in South France induces Melillo (1959) to conclude that the original site of these varieties is placed in the Departements of Ain and Isère, east of Lion.

2. Some general points

The nature and specifically the common relational properties underlying genitive, dative and locative in many languages undergo various types of syncretism whereby the same exponent lexicalizes all or a subset of them (Franco *et al.* 2015, Manzini and Savoia 2018, Baldi and Savoia in press). By way of example, the oblique can encompass dative and genitive, as in some of Latin declensions, or in Albanian and in Romanian where the indirect case lexicalizes both the stative possession (genitive) and the resultative possession (dative). This type of syncretism is illustrated by the Italo-Albanian examples in (2) from San Costantino Albanese, where Lkr (Linker) designates the prenominal article occurring in genitive contexts. Genitive in (2a) and dative in (2b) are characterized by the same oblique inflection, here –*i-t*.

(2)   a.   ki libr-i   əʃt   i   burr-i-t
              this book-MSG is   Lkr.MSG   man-OBL.MSG-DEF
              'this is of the man.'
    b.   j-a   ðɛ   burr-i-t
              to.him-it   I.gave man-OBL-DEF
              'I gave it to the man.'

<div align="right">San Costantino</div>

Moreover, in many languages the same oblique morphology is selected for locative contexts. The key idea is that in all of these contexts the conceptual property of 'inclusion' is involved, in the sense initially discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2011b, 2014) whereby all types of possession, including inalienable and psych state possession, fall under the same basic relation. Their proposal as to the nature of this relation resumes that proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) according to whom "entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity… The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity".

A complementary question concerns the relation between cases and prepositions. Specifically Fillmore (1968) treats cases as the inflectional equivalent of prepositions, so that the elementary introducers such as Italian di/a or English of/to would be equivalent to the genitive and the dative respectively. According to Manzini *et al.* (2019, forthcoming), Savoia *et al.* in press, an oblique case, on a par with a preposition, is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument. This means that we assign a relational content to cases, with the effect that the oblique case or prepositions are endowed with interpretable properties. This solution contrasts with the more traditional view that is prepositions like 'of' or 'to' are devoid of interpretive content, or, in minimalist terms, uninterpretable. Our conclusion is that oblique case and prepositions like 'of' or 'to' may be thought as elementary part/whole relators; in other words, a single property, namely inclusion/superset-of, formalized as $[\subseteq]$, is associated with the conceptual cluster underlying oblique and/or of/to-like prepositions. Let us consider the Italian examples in (3a,b).

(3)   a.   il libro di Gianni
              the book of Gianni
    b.   Ho   dato il libro   a Gianni
              I.have given the book to Gianni

The preposition di in (3a) is taken to introduce the possession relation between 'Gianni' and 'the book'. So, if we adopt the insight of Belvin and den Dikken (1997), the possession relation in (3a) can be understood as the lexicalization of an inclusion relation, in (4a). The idea is that the dative in (3b) is the possessor of the argument 'libro', essentially like in the genitive, although in this case the predictive relation between possessor and possessum is introduced by an agentive v, as in (4b).

(4)   a.   … [$_{DP}$ il libro [$_{PP}$ di/⊆ [$_{DP}$ Gianni]]]   'the book of Gianni.'
        b.   [CAUSE [⊆P [$_{DP}$ il libro [$_{PP}$ di/⊆ [$_{DP}$ Gianni]]] '(I have given) the book to Gianni.'

Manzini *et al.* (2019, forthcoming) assimilate dative to a possession relation introduced by an agentive predicate, where, again, the argument surfacing ad the object of give is the external argument of the inclusion relation lexicalized by the dative preposition a. The semantic proximity between the Romance prepositions di and a is manifested by the possessive uses of a (for French cf. Kayne 1977, Cardinaletti 1998), for instance in some Southern Italian dialects, where a can introduce the possessor, as in (5), for the north-Apulian variety of Castelluccio Vallemaggiore (Foggia):

(5)   ε   ffiɟɟə   a   mme/ essə
        (s)he.is   son   to   me   / her
        '(s)he is my/ her son.'

                                                                        Castelluccio

It is interesting to compare this characterization of genitive/ partitive with the one provided for *di* 'of' in Zamparelli (2008: 319), where the predicative *di* is identified with an operator called 'residue' selecting two arguments. The specifier [a copy of NP inside DP] and the complement [a full DP], that 'returns the denotation of its specifier minus the denotation of its complement'. In a word, *di/of* identifies the specifier as the residue from the whole specifier+complement. If we are on the right track, the similarity between partitive and genitive interpretation is reflected by the syncretism on *di/of*. Hence, we are induced to conclude that *of/* oblique case are the externalization of the elementary predicate connecting two arguments (possessor and possessum) in a part/whole relation, ad in (6):

(6)   *of/oblique*: [*possessum*] [$_{P/Oblique}$ ⊆ [*possessor*]]

The lexical content in (6) allows us to account for the usual syncretism between partitive and genitive interpretation, whereby the same preposition or case expresses different types of part-whole relation. We can bring back to this framework the analysis of the possessive pronouns, that, it is of note, in many languages are expressed by means of genitival forms, as, for instance, English *his/ her(s)*. In other words we may assume that possessives in turn implement the inclusion relation between the possessum, the head noun, and the possessor introduced by the possessive element. The conceptualization of the possession relation as being a relation introduced by an operator/predicate with two arguments is formalized in Cornilescu and Nicolae's (2011) by assuming a prepositional small clause of which the possessum and possessor are the arguments. The small clause is headed by the abstract predicate [BELONG], lexicalized by an overt preposition or the morphology of case.

What precedes implies a model of the internal structure and, more generally, of the inflectional properties of noun. The categories we address are gender, number and inflectional class. In the literature (Picallo 2008; Déchaine *et al.* 2014 on Bantu; Fassi Fehri 2015 on Arabic, Kramer 2015) at least two functional projections are required – roughly gender and number. Following Manzini and Savoia (2014, 2018), Savoia *et al.* (2019), the internal organization of noun includes a category-less lexical root √ (Marantz 1997), that, in keeping with Higginbotham (1985), is understood as a predicate. The root merges with the inflectional elements endowed with interpretive content (gender, number, etc.), that restrict the properties associated to the argument x open at the predicate. Thus, inflectional structure is based on the same computational mechanisms underlying syntax (Chomsky 2005; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011b, to appear). Inflected nouns are analysed as the result of a Merge operation that combines a lexical root with Class (gender feminine/masculine) and other classificatory properties, including number and case, that contribute to specifying the argument introduced by the lexical root. This model is illustrated in (7) for Albanian *burr-i-t* 'of / to the man' in (2a), where number and case specifications, i.e. *-i-t*, add to Class. The case paradigm of Albanian shows some types of syncretism discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2011b). Following these authors we adopt a morphological segmentation in which the morpheme i, occurring as masculine singular oblique and nominative, is tentatively characterized as a definiteness exponent lexicalizing the relation [⊆] between a singleton and a set including it, in the sense of the analysis of determiners in Chierchia (1997). In (7) the label OBL is used.

(7) Def   *burr-i-t* 'of/to the man'

Tree:
- Def
  - Obl
    - Class
      - √ burr-
      - Class [masc]
    - Obl i
  - Def t
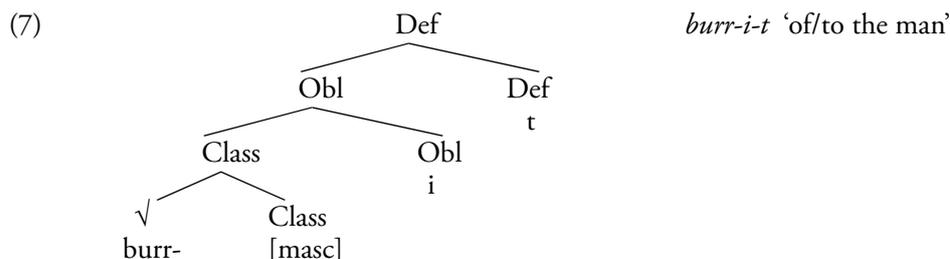
The idea we pursue implies a privative treatment of the morphological properties in lexical elements excluding manipulation or insertion of new material, as usually in DM framework, by assuming that morphological terminals have interpretive lexical content. In other words, we adopt a lexicalist model in which, as opposed to the canonical generative approach, all phi-feature sets are interpretable and valued. This means that the rule of Agree is not triggered by the need for a probe to interpret/value its features (cf. Chomsky *et al.* 2019). Rather it creates an identity relation between two or more referential feature sets lexicalizing the same argument, (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011a,b, 2018; Savoia *et al.* 2019) and all lexical material is interpreted at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface.

In cartographic literature possessives originate in a low position inside the NP from where they may move to higher positions. Consistently with the idea that prenominal and postnominal (or thematic) position of possessives can be 'transformationally related, as initially proposed in Kayne (1977), Cardinaletti (1998: 18) assumes that the same basic structure underlies pre- and postnominal possessives, as reported in (8).

(8)   [$_{DP}$ *la* [$_{XP}$ … [$_{YP}$ *casa*$_k$ [$_{NP}$ sua [t$_k$ …   'his/her house'
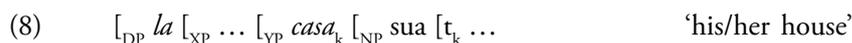
If the base position of possessives is inside NP, as in (8), the postnominal order is derived by the movement of N to a functional head 'between N and D' (Cinque 1994). The prenominal order is obtained by moving in turn the possessive element to the inflectional domain of the DP, as in (8').

(8') $[_{DP}$ *la* $[_{XP}$ *sua*$_i$ … $[_{YP}$ *casa*$_k$ $[_{NP}$ t$_i$ $[t_k$ …

The idea of Cardinaletti (1998) is that these two positions do not involve the same lexical element, but imply two different alternants, to the effect that postnominal position would host a focalized element endowed with complete referential features, differently from prenominal possessives, lacking such interpretive properties. This difference is traced back to the deficient/ strong opposition (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994), separating strong and deficient pronouns, where deficient elements are devoid of the XP functional layer, specifically including case features, for instance being lexicalized by the preposition in Romance DPs. As a result, deficient elements must be licensed by a functional head, that in the case of pronominal clitics is the inflectional head of the sentence. Extending this analysis to possessives, Cardinaletti (1998: 20) proposes that prenominal possessives are devoid of the functional layer so that they need to be licensed in a functional domain, namely the domain of the Agreement head (AGRS), of the DP.

This proposal would seem to fit in with the morphological differences between prenominal and postnominal elements. Indeed, there are languages in which prenominal possessives have a reduced morphology, devoid of agreement inflection, while postnominal elements present it, like in Spanish *mi libro* 'my book' vs *el libro mio* 'the book (of) mine'. In Spanish prenominal possessive is a clitic, a reduced weak form, that can adjoin to D, excluding the determiner. In a language like Italian, where there is no morphological difference between pre- and postnominal possessives, Cardinaletti concludes that the syntactic behavior of prenominal forms and the fact that they combine with definite articles suggest that they are deficient/weak forms. French prenominal possessives are in turn deficient clitic elements, showing the same type of nominal inflection of clitic pronouns. Italian postnominal and predicative possessives would be strong, differently from French, devoid of strong possessives, i.e. simple possessives in copular contexts. As to pronominal forms preceded by the article the idea of the author is that they, in Italian as well as in French, are elliptical forms including a weak possessive and an empty noun. Not substantially different is the proposal in Kayne (2018, § 3) whereby possessives include a silent personal pronoun, whereby, by way of an example, *ho letto il suo libro* 'I have read his/ her book' corresponds to the representation in (9).

(9)   ho letto il DP(POSS) suo libro

Assuming possessives to be a D element with a phi-incomplete NP restriction is the crucial point of Cornilescu and Nicolae's (2011) proposal (cf. Cornilescu 1995). In other words, possessives are a sort of genitive structure but defective for the features referring to the possessor, except the person. Following the authors, the phi-incompleteness forces the possessive element to search a licenser, valuing its uninterpretable features, specifically its case. Through Agreement with the possessee N, case bearing, the possessive is in turn case licensed. In genitive structures, it is the element *a+l*, including the preposition a followed by the definiteness element *l*, that licenses the following noun in genitive case. As to possessives, in Romanian they are 'immediately preceded either by the definite article [on the noun] or by the genitival particle *al*' (Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2013: 347). Hence, in predicative contexts the pos-

sessive element requires the genitive particle a+l as its licensor. Interestingly, Cornilescu and Nicolae separate person and definiteness properties concluding that person does not necessarily imply definiteness. This can explain some differences in the distribution of possessives, that in some languages combine with the article (Romanian, Italian, Albanian) and in others exclude it (French, Spanish, English). The authors conclude that in languages like French, possessives are able to raise up to DP projection where they lexicalize the definiteness properties of D. Hence, the analysis suggests the same underlying representation for genitives and possessives, the latter being defective for the phi-features of possessor. In this approach, the contrast between postnominal or prenominal position in different languages does not result in different basic structures, however including a sort of concealed genitive.

The preceding analyses agree on assuming a low structural position for possessives and connecting their surface position with the movement induced by licensing mechanism. A common point also concerns the defective nature of possessives inside the DP. However, it is evident that an analysis based on hypothetical categories, as an empty noun, or on the translation of C-I interpretive level into the structural organization is very costly. The same is true for separating homophonous forms by assigning them different structural representations, as in the case of the pre- vs postnominal occurrences of Italian possessives. Generally speaking, we may wonder on the basis of what parametric view we should expect that languages hide, as in the case of syncretism, what they intend to mean.

Descriptively, we see the following syntactic alternatives, i.e. presence/absence of article, pre-/ postnominal occurrence and a morphological difference between complete/reduce inflection. Our idea is that the distribution of possessives can be explained as being due to their inherent interpretive properties. Indeed, many of the differences[2] noticed by Cardinaletti (1998) as regards the referential properties of possessives and their deictic force, may be related to the referential properties of different nominal classes and different scope domains. On the other hand, in many languages there is no difference between different positions of possessives, as in the case of Albanian, irrespective of the fact that possessives externalize the usual interpretive properties depending on the position in the sentence, as, for example, the focalized interpretation.

2.1 The internal structure of possessives

In order to provide a more thorough examination of the nature and properties of possessive elements we will take account of Albanian possessive system, as attested by Arbëresh varieties. They, indeed, may help us to highlight the internal structure of possessives.[3] The data come from the Italo-Albanian variety of San Costantino Albanese (Potenza). In Albanian, possessives follow the noun (except in the case of kinship terms) and are preceded by a D element, the same one introducing also adjectives and genitives (cf. (2a)), that Manzini *et al.* (2014) identify as a Linker. Possessives agree in gender/ number with the possessum (subject/head noun), and the Linker (where it occurs), that may alternate according to the case of the possessum. (10a) illustrates predicative contexts, (10b) DP internal contexts, (10b') kinship terms. Possessives

---

[2] Indeed, as an Italian native speaker it seems to me that a part of evidence concerning the difference between pre- and post-nominal Italian possessives are very questionable, and possibly connectable to differences in the interpretive role of the possessive element, independently of structural aspects. As to 'loro' see Manzini (2014).

[3] The morphemic segmentation of Albanian possessive forms is not very transparent and in many cases only conjectural, as noted in Mann (1977) and Demiraj (1986). In this sense, the proposed analysis is substantially tentative.

has the same syntax as adjectives, insofar as both are preceded by the D element, as in (10c) for adjectives. For the sake of exposition, the morphemic segmentation in (10) characterizes *i* as Def(inite) or Obl(ique) according its proposed interpretation, *a* as f/pl, -t as pl/Def (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2011b).

(10) a. ki   libər   əʃt   i   i-t-i
          this.ms   book   is   Lkr.msg   Obl-2ps-Def
          'this book is yours.'
          kjɔ   kəmiʃ   əʃt   ɛ   i-m-i-a   / ɛ   i-ɔ-t-i-a
          this.fsg   shirt   is   Lkr. fsg   Obl-1ps-Def-f/pl   / Lkr.fsg Obl-f-2ps-Def-f/pl
          'this shirt is yours.'
          kt-ɔ   kmiʃ   jan   tə   m- i- a-t   / tə   tu-a-t
          these-f   shirt   are   Lkr.pl   1ps-Obl-f/pl-pl   / Lkr.pl   2ps-f/pl-pl
          'these books/ shirts are yours.'
      b. libr-i   i-   m   /   i-   t
          book-Def   Obl-1ps   /   Obl-2ps
          'my book.'
          kmiʃ-a   i-m- ɛ   /   i-   ɔ-t- ɛ   /   ɛ   s   a-i
          shirt-f/pl   Obl-1ps-fsg   /   Obl-f-2ps- fsg   /   Lkr   fsg.Obl-f/pl-Def
          'my/ your/ her shirt.'
          libr-   a-t   ɛ   tu:
          book- f/pl-def   Lkr.fsg   2ps
          'your books.'
          kmiʃ-t   ɛ   tu-a   /   ɛ   m- i-   a
          shirt-def   Lkr.fsg   2ps-f/pl /   Lkr.fsg   2ps- Obl-f/pl
          'your/ my shirts.'
      b'. i-m   vla   / i-m-ɛ   mɔtər
          Obl-1psg brother   / Obl-1ps- fsg   sister
          'my brother/ my sister.'
          əʃt   i / ɛ   bukur
          is   Lkr.msg/fsg   tall
          '(s)he is beautiful.'

                                                                        San Costantino

According to Manzini and Savoia (2014, 2015, 2018), Franco *et al.* (2015), the linker contributes to saturating the argument of the adjectival predicate, or, in the case of genitives and possessives, the argument of the binary relation that connects possessor and possessum in genitive phrases. Taking into account the preceding discussion and the structure in (7), Albanian genitive/dative inflection can be analyzed as the exponent externalizing the basic relation of part-whole inclusion [⊆], equivalent to the relation lexicalized by the preposition *di* in (6). What Albanian possessives highlight is that, at least in some of their forms, the inclusion relation is expressed by a specialized case morpheme in the interior of the word, a sort of the internal inflection.

In (11a), corresponding to (10a), the Linker *ɛ* agrees with the subject *kjɔ kəmiʃ* 'that shirt', namely the possessum. The oblique specifications *i* of *i-m-i-* lexicalizes the inclusion/ possessive relation (Manzini and Savoia 2017); *-a* is treated as the definite feminine inflection externalizing the Class specification that we descriptively characterize as [feminine, Definite].

The definiteness properties contribute to identifying the same argument *x*, associated by the subscript with the agreeing elements, in turn agreeing with the subject of the copular structure. In (11b) (cf. (10b)) the structure of the possessive DP structure is provided, where the D element ε agrees with the plural inflection of the possessed noun, the head of the phrase, and the plural inflection of the possessive element.

(11)   a.

     b.
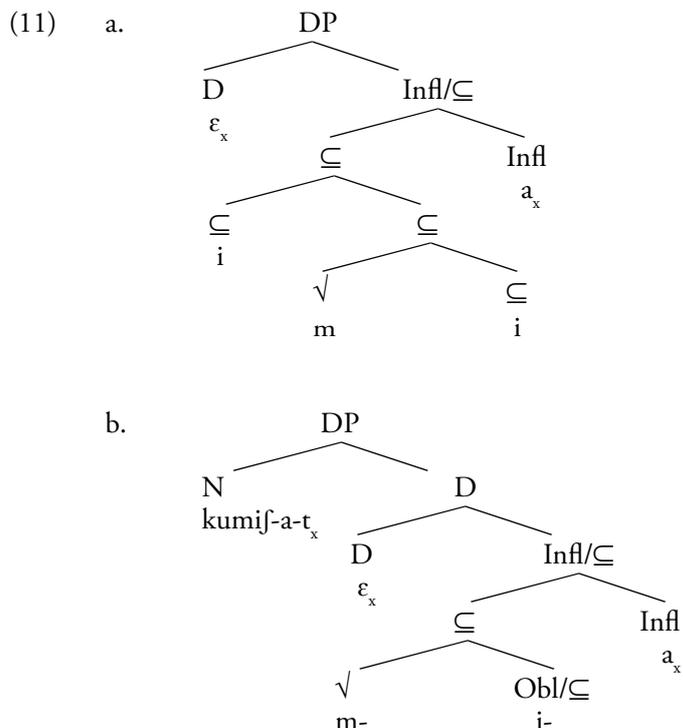
    It can be interesting to compare the structure in (11b) with the structure proposed by Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011: 133) for the Romanian possessive adjective, reproduced in (11').

(11')
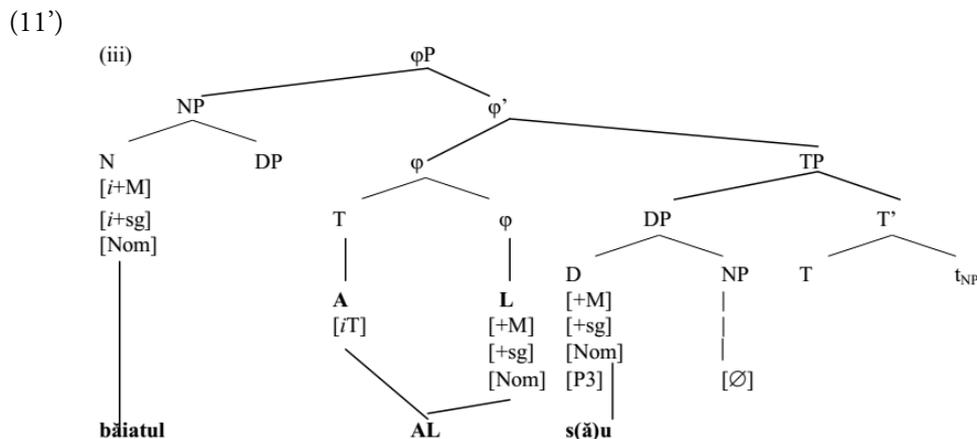
As seen in section 2, i (11') the phi-defectiveness forces the possessive pronoun to search of a licenser, valuing its uninterpretable features, specifically its case. Agreement with the possessee N, case bearing, is a means of case licensing the possessive. In genitive structures, the element a+l licenses, i.e. values the following noun in genitive case. As we can expect, (11b) and (11b') include a substantially similar type of information, at least insofar as they provide a genitive category associated with the preposition or incorporated in the possessive element.

Coming back to (10a,b) for Albanian, it is of note that in the context inside the DP the possessive element is less complex, lacking both the initial morpheme *i-* and the definiteness element *-t*, otherwise occurring in predicative contexts such as (11a). This distribution reflect the contrast between the occurrence inside the DP, where the noun contribute to specifying the possessum referred to, and the predicative context, where it is the possessive alone that has to introduce the reference to possessum. In this case, it presents a richer referential morphology. A further insight comes from the pronominal occurrences of Albanian possessives, illustrated in (12a), where, as in nominalized adjectives in (12b), we find the preadjectival article and the internal inflection of the possessive:

(12) a. ɛ   i- m- i- a   əʃt   ɛ   bukur
          Lkr   Obl-1ps-Def-fsg   is   Lkr.fsg   fine
          'mine is fine.'
          i   i- m- i   əʃt   i   bukur
          Lkr   Obl-1ps-Def is   Lkr.msg   fine
          'mine is fine.'
      b. ɛrð   i   mað-i
          (s)he.came   Lkr   big-msg
          'the big one came.'

                                                                              San Costantino

As evidenced by comparison with internal DP forms, we see that pronominal/ predicative possessives show the complete agreement inflection concerning the possessum preceded by the definite determiner. In other words, the possessive element is able to lexicalize the two arguments of the possession relation.

We are now in a position to address the main topic of this article, i.e. possessives, that we will investigate focusing on some South Italian and Franco-Provençal type dialects and, as the main test bench, the Franco-Provençal contact system of Celle di San Vito in Apulia.

3. Possessives in Southern Italian dialects

In Southern Italian dialects possessives are postnominal and require the article, both inside DPs and in predicative or pronominal occurrences (Rohlfs 1968 [1949], Ledgeway 2009). Further, a part of Southern Italian dialects introduces obligatorily or optionally the preposition *də / di* 'of' (a sort of linker) before the article both in predicative contexts and within DPs where it is generally favoured with indefinite DPs (Baldi and Savoia in press). Here, Apulian varieties are exemplified for Gravina in (13) and Castelluccio Vallemaggiore in (14), the municipality bordering the territory of Celle. Hence, it provides the contact linguistic context of the Franco-Provençal of Celle. These varieties show the postnominal position of possessives, in (13a)-(14a) and the occurrence of article before possessive in predicative and pronominal contexts, in (13c)-(14c). With kinship terms possessives occur as enclitics on the noun excluding the article, in (13b)-(14b); enclitic forms typically characterize singular referents. (14d) illustrates the structure with the introducer *di* preceding the postnominal possessive in indefinite forms.

(13) a.   l-a   kammis-a   ma(jə)
            the-FSG   shirt-FSG   1PSG(F)
            'my shirt.'
            u   kənə   mi
            the.MSG   dog   1PSG.MSG
            'my dog.'
       b.   sɔrə-mə
            sister-my
            'my sister.'
            lə   fɪɲɲ-ə   ma(jə)
            the.PL   daughter   1PSG-(F)
            'my daughters.'
       c.   je   l-a   ma(jə)
            it.is   the-FSG   1PSG-(F)
            'it is mine.'
            sɔ   l-ə   tawə
            they.are   the-PL   2PSG-(F)
            'they are yours.'

                                                                        Gravina

(14) a.   l-a   kammis-a   / l-u   libbrə mi-ə / tuj-ə
            the-FSG   shirt   / the-MSG   book 1PSG / 2PSG
            'my/ your shirt/ book.'
            l-i   kammisə   mɛjə   / tɔjə
            the-FPL   shirts   1PSG.FPL   / 2PSG.FPL
            'my/your shirts.'
            l-i   libbrə miəjə   / tuəjə
            the-MPL   book   1PSG.MPL   / 2PSG.MPL
            'my/ your books.'
       b.   fɪɲɲə-mə   / fratə-tə
            son-1PSG   / brother-2PSG
            'my son / my brother.'
       c.   ɛ   l-a   mi-a   / l-u   mi-ə
            is   the-FSG   1PSG-FSG   /   the-MSG   1PSG.MSG
            'it is mine.'
            sɔ   l-i   sɔj-ə   / suəj-ə
            are   the-PL   3PSG-FPL   /   3PSG.MPL
            'they are hers/ his.'
            aɲɲu vistə   l-u   mijə
            I-have seen   the-MSG   1PSG.MSG
            'I have seen mine.'
       d.   n-u   fɪɲɲə   də   l-u   miə
            the-MSG   son   of   the-MSG   1PSG.MSG
            'a son of mine.'
            n-a kammis-a   də   l-a   mijə
            the-FSG shirt-FSG N   of   the-FSG   1PSG.FSG
            'a shirt of mine.'
            l-u   kanə   də   l-u   tujə
            the-MSG   dog   of   the-MSG   2PSG.MSG
            'my dog.'

                                                Castelluccio Vallemaggiore

In North Calabrian dialects (here Morano) possessives follow the noun and are preceded by the prepositional introducer *di* followed by the definite article, both within DP and in predicative contexts, agreeing with the possessum (cf. Rohlfs 1968 [1949]). In indefinite DPs, in (15a), the introducer followed by the definite article is usually lexicalized. In definite DPs, in (15b), the introducer and the article are not lexicalized. (15c) illustrates the pronominal occurrence of possessive, where the introducer seems to be however marginally admitted.

(15)   a.
n-u	fiɟɟ-u	ɾ	u	mej-u
a-MSG	son-MSG	of	MSG	1PSG-MSG

'a son of mine.'

rɔnə-mə	n-u	libbr-u	(ɾ	u)	mej-u
give-me	a-MSG	thing-MSG	of	MSG	1PSG-MSG

'give me a book of mine.'

    b.
a	sɛddʒ-a	mi-a
FSG	chair-FSG	1PSG-FSG

'my chair.'

    c.
aɟɟu	vist-u	(ɾ-)	u	mej-u
I.have	seen-MSG	of	MSG	1PSG-MSG

'I have seen the mine.'

<div align="right">Morano</div>

The combination *preposition di-article-possessive* regularly occurs in copular contexts, in (15'a), and in other predicative environment, in (15'b). It is of note that in copular/predicativecontexts Southern Italian dialects generally require a phrase including the definite determiner and the possessive (see also Ledgeway 2009 for Old Neapolitan). In all cases, article and possessive agree with the noun in subject position, as in (15').

(15')   a.
kwiss-u	jɛ ɖɖ u	mej-u/ toj-u
this-MSG	is of MSG	1PSG-MSG / 2PSG-MSG

'this is mine/ yours.'

ss-a	kammis-a	jɛ	ɖɖ	a	mi-a/ tuj-a
this-FSG	shirt-FSG	is	of	FSG	1PSG-FSG/ 2PSG-FSG

'this shirt is mine/ yours.'

    b.
mi	parunu	(ɾ-)	i	mej-ə
to.me	they.seem	of	PL	1PSG-PL

'they seem mine to me.'

<div align="right">Morano</div>

Ledgeway (2009) connects this construction in old Neapolitan with an original partitive construction. Nevertheless, the partitive reading is now excluded.

We conclude that in Southern Italian varieties the article is necessary for lexicalizing the interpretation of the possessum. Agreeing properties of the possessive element, although endowed with referential force, are doubled by the article in fixing the reference to the possessed argument of the possession relation. This is confirmed by the fact that definite article occurs also within indefinite DPs in the dialects where it is preceded by the preposition *di*; in other words, the definite article occurs also in DPs introduced by an indefinite quantifier and in predicative structure. Thus suggests that in these dialects possessive structures however require possessive

elements to combine with the independent lexicalization of nominal agreement features. In the case of articles, in DPs and predicative contexts, we obtain the usual linker structure. Moreover, in many dialects, the prepositional introducer completes the possessive structure, by lexicalizing the inclusion relation independently of the lexical content of the possessive. The result is that the structure *introducer-definite article-possessive* lexicalizes part-whole relation and definiteness both by means of independent morphological elements and of the possessive pronoun, substantially similarly to what we have seen for Albanian.

In short, data seen so far from Albanian in section 2.1 and from Southern Italian dialects show the following distributional properties: Summing up, the comparison with the distribution of possessives in the contact dialects highlights the changes emerging in the possessives syntax of the Celle dialect:

    - Albanian varieties show postnominal possessives introduced by a D element (Linker) agreeing with the definite inflected possessed noun; possessives precede kinship terms.

    - In Albanian possessives require Linker in any context, including predicative and pronominal ones.

    - In Southern Italian varieties possessives follow the noun preceded by the definite article; kinship terms require clitic possessive forms.

    - Possessive require the article in all contexts, predicative and pronominal.

    - Many Southern Italian varieties also present a possessive structure where the possessive element is introduced by the preposition *də* 'of', both within DPs and in predicative contexts.

4. Possessives in Franco-Provençal varieties

Franco-Provençal varieties document the somehow opposite distribution, in which possessives occur in prenominal position and exclude the determiner both in DPs and in predicative contexts, apart from the pronominal use. This distribution is illustrated by the data of some Franco-Provençal varieties spoken in Aosta Valley, Sarre in (16), and in Western Piedmont, Coazze (Susa Valley) in (17). In the Franco-Provençal dialect of Cantoira (Val Grande di Lanzo) in (18), possessives are preceded by the article, except with kinship terms. A similar distribution characterizes also Occitan dialects, such as the one of Acceglio (Western Piedmont), in (19) (for Occitan, see Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016).The data regarding Southern French varieties (Forez) presented in (20) attest the generalized occurrence of the prenominal possessive and the absence of the article. As shown by the data, at least in some dialects the occurrence of the article inside DPs is not totally excluded, but it may variably occur as in Sarre, as illustrated in (16c). The examples in (a) refer to the combination *possessive-common noun*, while the data in (b) to kinship terms.

(16)   a.   m-a   / s-a   tsəmizø
                1PSG-FSG/ 3PSG-FSG   shirt
                'my shirt.'
                m-ø/ s-ø   tsəmizø
                1PSG-FPL/ 3PSG-FPL   shirt
                'my shirts.'
                m-oŋ   / t-oŋ   livr-o
                1PSG-MSG   / 2PSG-MSG   book
                'my book.'
                m-ø   livr-o   / l-ø   mə-ŋ   livr-o
                1PSG-PL   books / the-PL   1PSG-M   books
                'my books.'

b.   t-oŋ   fri
        2PSG-MSG   brother
        'your brother.'
        t-ø   fri
        2PSG-MPL   brothers
        'your brothers.'
        t-a   si'au
        2PSG-FSG   sorella
        'your sister.'
b".   nutro/ vutro   fri
        1/2PPL   brother
        'our/your brother.'
c.   l-o   m-əŋ   / t-əŋ   livr-o
        THE-MSG   1PSG-MSG/ 2PSG-MSG   book
        'my/ your book.'

                                                        Sarre

(17)   a.   m-a   tʃamiz-i
                1PSG-FSG   shirt
                'my shirt.'
                m-un   / t-uŋ   tʃiŋ
                1PSG-MSG/ 2PSG-MSG   dog
                'my/ your dog.'
                mø-i / tø-i   tʃamiz-e / tʃiŋ
                1PSG-PL/2PSG-PL   shirts/ dogs
                'my/ your shirts/ dogs.'
        b.   t-a   /   nɔht-a   sə□rø
                2PSG-FSG   /   1PL-FSG sister
                'your/ our sister.'
                t-uŋ   /   nɔht-u   frare
                2PSG-MSG   /   1PPL-MSG   brother
                'your/ our brother.'
                t-ø-i   sə'rɛ   / frare
                2PSG-PL   sisters / brothers
                'your sisters/ brothers.'

                                                        Coazze

(18)   a.   l-a   mi-ˈa   tʃymiz-i
                the-FSG   PSG-FSG   shirt-FSG
                'my shirt.'
                l-u   m-iŋ   tʃiŋ
                the-MSG   1PSG-MSG   dog
                'my/ your dog.'
                əl   mi-a-s   tʃymiz-ə-s
                the.FPL 1PSG-FPL   shirt-FPL
                'my shirts.'
                l-i   m-je   amis
                the-MPL   1PSG-MPL   friend
                'my friends.'

b.   m-iŋ   fij
          1PSG-MSG   son
          'my son.'
          mi-ˈa   fiʎ-i
          1PSG-FSG   daughter-FSG
          'my daughter.'

                                                                 Cantoira

(19)   a.   mi-ɔ   mizuŋ
          1PSG-FSG   house
          'my house.'
      b.   (l-u)   ti-u   frair-e
          the-MSG   2PSG-MSG   brother-MSG
          'your brother.'
          i   tie-s   fraire-s
          the-MPL   2PSG-MPL   brother-MPL
          'your brothers.'

                                                              Acceglio

(20)   *ma*   *mèson*
      my   house
      mon   *avoncllo*
      my   uncle

                                      (Escoffier online, v. 6)

(16'a) for Sarre, (17'a) for Coazze and (18'a) for Cantoira illustrate the predicative occurrence of simple possessives. The dialect of Sarre utilizes the combination *də+personal pronoun*, whereas the ones of Coazze and Cantoira present the possessive form without the article, as in the Occitan variety of Acceglio in (19'). All of the varieties show the pronominal occurrence of the possessive preceded by the article, both in copular and in argumental slots as in (16'b,c)-(18i,ii'b,c); (20') shows pronominal forms of the varieties spoken in Forez (Escoffier online) where pronominal alternants are preceded by the article.

(16') a.   l   e   də me/ də te   / də ly
          ClS   is   of me / of you / of his
          'it is mine/ yours/ his.'
      b.   l   e   l-o   m-əŋ   / t-əŋ
          ClS   is   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG / 2PSG-MSG
          'it is mine/ yours.'
      c.   baʎʎə-me   l-o   m-əŋ   /   l-a mi-a
          give-me   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG /   the-FSG-FSG
          'give me mine.'

                                                          Sarre

(17')   a.   u   ɛst   mɛ-l   / tɔ-l
                 ClS   is   1PSG-MSG   / 2PSG-MSG
                 'he/it   is   mine/ yours.'
                 i   ɛst   tje
                 ClS   is   2PSG.F
                 'she is yours.'
                 i   sunt   tø-i   /   tje
                 ClS   are   2PSG-PL   /   2PSG.F
                 'they are yours.'
         b.   a l   ɛ   l-u   mɛ-l   / l-i   miø-i   / l-a   mje
                 ClS   is   the-MSG 1PSG-MSG / the-MSG 1PSG-MPL / the-FSG 1PSG-FSG
                 'it is mine.'
         c.   da-me   l-a   tje   /l-u   tɔ-l
                 give-me   the-FSG   2PSG-FSG /the-MSG   2PSG-MSG
                 'give me yours.'

                                                                               Coazze

(18')   a.   sit-a   i   z   mi-ˈa
                 this-FSG   ClS   is   1PSG-FSG
                 'it is mine (fsg).'
                 s-u si   ε   m-iŋ
                 this-msg   is   1PSG-MSG
                 'she is yours.'
         b.   sit-a   i   z   l-a   mi-ˈa
                 this-fsg ClS   is   the-FSG 1PSG-FSG
                 'it is mine.'
         c.   da-me   l-u   m-iŋ
                 give-me   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG
                 'give me yours.'

                                                                               Cantoira

(19')   l   e   ti-u
                 SCl.SG   is   your-MSG
                 'it is yours.'

                                                                               Acceglio

(20')   c.   *lo mino*   (Escoffier online, v. 6)
                 the mine

In predicative contexts of Coazze dialect in (18'b) the combination *D+possessive* is introduced by the 3PSG of 'be' and an expletive subject clitic *a l*, occurring in impersonal and post-verbal subject constructions (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005).[4]

---

[4] The examples in (18'b) show the verb in the 3rd singular and the ClS *al*, displaying the particular agreement that characterizes constructions with post-verbal subject correlate with partial agreement, like *a j øt amny li mei□na* 'The boys came, lit. ClS Loc has come the boys', a type of syntax largely documented in Northern Italian dialects (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005: § 2.8). According to Manzini and Savoia the expletive nature of the ClS corresponds to the fact that

4.1. The dialect of Celle

The data from Celle in (21a) illustrates the possessives in postnominal positions with common nouns, (21b) the kinship terms with singular possessors and (21b') plural possessors, with 1st, 2nd, 3rd person forms in postnominal position, except the 2nd person form of respect. (21c) illustrates the predicative contexts where the possessive is lexicalized as a pronominal element preceded by the article. 3PL possessives are lexicalized by the same element as the singular; alternatively we find the postnominal form *laurǝ* and the article. 1PL and 2PL possessives are postnominal *notǝ/ votǝ* in turn combining with the article. The 2P is lexicalized also by the specialized alternant *vutuŋ, vuta, vutɔ, vutǝ*, which precedes the noun and excludes the article, as in (21b")]; it occurs as a respect form regarding a singular interlocutor[5]. Prenominal *suŋ* can combine with postnominal *notǝ / laurǝ*, as in (21c), in kinship terms contexts. (21d) exemplifies the contexts where the noun is introduced by an indefinite element with postnominal possessive. (21e) and (21e') illustrate the pronominal constructions *D+possessive*, in predicative and argumental contexts. Finally, in (21f) possessive constructions with partitive introducer of the type considered in (13)-(14) for Morano and (16d) for Castelluccio are presented.

(21)   a. l-u   / lɔ   tʃiŋŋǝ mi-ŋŋǝ / ti-ŋǝ / si-ŋŋǝ / notǝ   / votǝ   / laurǝ
         the-MSG / the-MPL   dog 1PSG-M / 2PSG-M / 3PSG-M/ 1PPL-M/ 2PPL-M/ 3PPL-M
         'my / your / his / her / our / your / their dog / dogs.'
         l-a   tʃǝmmis-a mi-'a   / ti-'a   / si-'a // notǝ   / votǝ   / laurǝ
         the-FSG shirt-FSG   1PSG-FSG / 2PSG-FSG / 3PSG-FSG / 1PPL-FSG / 2PPL-FSG / 3PPL-FSG
         'my / your / his / her / our / your / their shirt.'
         l-ǝ tʃǝmmisǝ mij-ǝ   / tij-ǝ   /sij-ǝ   / notǝ   / votǝ   / laurǝ
         the-fpl shirts 1PSG-FPL / 2PSG-FPL / 3PSG-FPL / 1PPL-FPL / 2PPL-FPL / 3PPL-FPL
         'my / your / his / her / our / your / their shirts.'
    b. m-a   / t-a   / s-a   sǝrawǝ / fiʎʎ-ǝ
         1PSG- FSG   / 2PSG-FSG   / 3PSG-FSG   sister/ daughter
         'my / your / her / his sister / daughter.'
         m-ǝ   / t-ǝ   / s-ǝ   fiʎʎǝ
         1PSG- FPL   / 2PSG- FPL   / 3PSG- FPL   daughters
         'my/ your/ her/his daughters.'
         m-uŋ   / t-uŋ   / s-uŋ   frarǝ / fiawǝ
         1PSG-MSG / 2PSG-MSG / 3PSG-MSG   brother/ son
         'my/ your/ her/his brother/son.'
         m-ɔ   / t-ɔ   / s-ɔ   frarǝ / fiawǝ
         1PSG- MPL / 2PSG-MPL / 3PSG-MPL   brothers / sons
         'my/your/her/his brothers/sons.'

in these constructions 'there is a more complete specification of the denotational content of the argument', i.e. the post-verbal subject. This special syntax is systematically associated with the focalized reading of the post-verbal subject; in other words, the partial agreement makes the structure operator-variable underlying focalized clauses manifest, in which the 3rd singular ClS/ verbal agreement lexicalizes a partial specification, in turn being completed for number by the correlate. As known, 1st and 2nd subjects, inherently deictic, do not allow this syntactic organization. Coming back to the examples of Coazze, we conclude that possessive pronouns in predicative contexts are treated as post-verbal subjects.
    [5] In Franco-Provençal dialects 1PPL/2PP present a morphology which is analogical on the singular (Hasselrot 1938). Escoffier (online) gives the example *Noutron pâre* 'our father' for the Forez variety.

b'. l-ɔ   nnijə   no:tə / vo:tə / laurə
     the-MPL   grandchildren   1PPL/ 2PPL/ 3PPL
     'our/your/their grandchildren.'
     l-a   sərawa   nnotə/   votə / laurə
     the-FSG   sister   1PPL / 2PPL/ 3PPL
     'our/your/their sister.'
b". vut-uŋ   nijə   / frarə
     2PPL-MSG   grandchild / brother
     'your grandchild/brother.'
     vut-a   səraw-ə
     2PPL-FSG   sister
     'your sister.'
c.   s-uŋ   pajə/fiawə   notə/laurə
     3PSG-MSG   father/son   1PPL/3PPL
     'our/ their   father/son.'
d.   dʒ e   viawə   uŋ   fiawə   ti-ŋŋə   / n-a fiʎʎ-a ti-'a
     ClS have seen   a   son   2PSG-MSG   / a daughter 2PSG-FSG
     'I have seen a son of yours/ a daughter of mine.'
e.   s-a   tʃəmmis-a   i   ettə   l-a   mi'a   / l-a   votə
     this-FSG   shirt-FSG   ClS   is   the-FSG 1PSG-FSG / the-FSG 2PPL
     'this shirt is mine/ours.'
     s-i   livrə   i   ettə   l-u   ti-ŋŋə   / l-u notə
     this-MSG   book   ClS   is   the-MSG 2PSG-M   / the-FSG 1PPL
     'this book is yours/ours.'
e'. denə-mə l-u   ti-ŋŋə   / l-ɔ   ti-ŋŋə / l-a   ti-'a   / l-ə   ti-jə
      give-me the-MSG 2PSG-M / the-MPL 2PSG-M / the-FSG 2PS-FSG / the-FPL 2PPL-FPL
     'give me yours.'
f.   denə-mə uŋ livrə də l-u   ti-ŋŋə
     give-me a book   of the-MSG 2PSG-M
     'give me a book of yours.'

<div align="right">Celle</div>

As shown by the data we have reviewed in (21) contact with Apulian dialects has affect-ed the possessive system of the Franco-Provençal of Celle. In the Southern Italian systems, including the neighbouring North Apulian dialects, possessives follow the noun, in turn preceded by the definite article, which precedes the possessive element also in predicative/pronominal occurrences. Enclitic 1PSG/ 2PSG / 3PSG forms characterize kinship terms. By contrast, Franco-Provençal and Occitan place possessives before the noun excluding definite article. In Apulian Franco-Provençal possessives have the same distribution of Southern Italian dialects both inside the DP sand in predicative contexts. However, kinship terms preserve the prenominal possessive. In the same way as the French-type varieties, prenominal possessives, for instance in the case of the first person forms present a specialized morphology, illustrated in (22a), which is different from the one associated with postnominal or predicative/ pro-nominal possessives, in (22b).

(22) | | | singular | | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | prenominal | m-uŋ | 1PMSG | m-ɔ | 1PMPL |
| | | m-a | 1PFSG | m-ə(s) | 1PFPL |
| b. | postnominal/pronominal | mi-ŋŋə | 1PMSG | mi-ŋŋə | 1PMP |
| | | mi-'a | 1PFSG | mi-jə | 1PFPL |

Summing up, the comparison with the distribution of possessives in the contact dialects highlights the changes emerging in the possessives syntax of the Celle dialect:
- Contact has changed the distribution of possessives, favouring the postnominal position and the occurrence of the definite introducer in predicative contexts
- Kinship terms retain prenominal occurrence of singular possessors, selecting specialized forms, while plural possessors are expressed by postnominal forms, substantially like in Southern Italian dialects.
- The structure introduced by the preposition *də* 'of' appears in indefinite DPs, in (21f) and (13)/(16d), which is unknown to Gallo-Romance languages.

4.2. External mechanisms: A note

According to Favre (2010), the ability to use Franco-Provençal in Apulian colonies seems to concern two-thirds of the population notwithstanding the intense pressure of the contact varieties and the diffusion of Standard Italian.[6] It should be noted that the experimental teaching of Franco-Provençal in the primary school of Celle and Faeto lasted until 2007; successively the primary school classes were transferred to a neighbouring center, stopping, therefore, an important instrument for the heritage Franco-Provençal to be appreciated and estimated in the collective imaginary of this small community. Naturally, the preservation of an alloglot use for several centuries in a situation of contact with different morpho-syntactic, phonological and lexical systems involves code-switching and mixing processes and the production of mixed sentences and borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1992, Bakker and Muysken 1994). Indeed, Melillo (1959) notes that these varieties show a wide range of lexical bases of Apulian origin together with cases of syntactic hybridization or reorganization. In this framework, Apulian Franco-Provençal is characterized by an extended relexification in bilingualism conditions with local dialects and by processes of code-switching both with local dialects and regional Italian.

In the literature the acquisition of loans into a language is connected with functional generalizations, implicationally ordered like the one in (23), from Romaine (1995: 64).

(23) **Hierarchy of borrowing** | **Ease of borrowing**
Lexical items | High
Derivational morphology |
Inflectional morphology |
Syntax | Low

---

[6] A detailed analysis of phonological contact and lexical borrowing in Faeto variety is provided in Nagy (1996).

The tendency to prefer nouns is related by authors to the wider autonomy that nouns have in the discourse (Romaine 1995). On the contrary, verbs need to be integrated in the morpho-syntactic system of the host language. Another generalization concerns the fact that loan processes and interference would tend to spare the nuclear lexicon – nouns denoting body parts, numbers, personal pronouns, conjunctions, etc. (Romaine 1995, Muysken 2000), i.e. the lexicon precociously acquired, in turn revealing the crucial role played by genetically determined conceptual primitives. By contrast, artefacts involve properties like imageability and frequency of use of the relevant lexical elements, entailing external socio-cultural and pragmatic factors. Hence, cognitive fundamental categories of linguistic structure are relevant in driving the acquisition of borrowings.

On the other hand, lexical borrowing is traditionally seen as the effect of external factors, pragmatic and cultural mechanisms, that do not directly involve the grammatical system. Nevertheless, empirical data shows that borrowed or re-interpreted items are able to trigger a new syntactic organization reflecting their semantic and syntactic properties. The point is that, as in other kinds of code-switching and bilingual contexts (Baldi and Savoia 2019), lexical borrowing and contact exclude non-natural results but operate in compliance with the constraints inherent to language as a specialized system of knowledge and its interface systems.

5. *The syntax of possessives*

In what follows we discuss some of the morpho-syntactic properties of possessives. The specialized alternants occurring with kinship terms and the contrast between singular and plural possessors involve the possessives ability to satisfy definiteness requirements in the DP. The ability of possessives to contribute to fixing denotation of the possessum by means of the referential content of possessor is, naturally, highlighted in the literature: thus possessive DPs can be interpreted as 'a function from individuals to individuals' of which the output is the individual denoted by the 'overall possessive DP' (Dobrovie-Sorin 2013: 327).

With this in mind, let us first consider possessives in the Southern varieties surrounding Celle and Faeto. The fact that possessives require the definite article possibly introduced by *di*, as in (21f), is noted by Rohlfs (1968 [1949]), Sornicola (1997), Ledgeway (2009). Ledgeway explains constructions with *di* in Old Neapolitan as deriving from an original partitive. However, currently these constructions do not induce the partitive reading. A crucial property that separates these constructions from partitives is the fact that the article and the inflection of possessive agree with the possessum, subject or the head noun in DP, differently from the partitives contexts proper. In copular contexts, Southern dialects prepose the definite article to possessive (cf. Ledgeway 2009 for Old Neapolitan). As a consequence, what shows up is that in all of these dialects possessives need to be combined with the determiner or the noun, i.e. a lexical content contributing to fixing the reference to possessor (Baldi and Savoia in press). Hence, the possessive element requires that agreeing properties are doubled also by the article, as confirmed by the fact that definite article occurs also within indefinite DPs in the dialects where it is preceded by the preposition *di*. As we saw, the structure introduced by *di* is borrowed by the variety of Celle limited to the indefinite contexts exemplified in (21f).

In copular contexts the dialect of Celle presents the postnominal forms illustrated in (22b) preceded by the article, analogously to the Franco-Provençal varieties in (17') and (18'), as in (24).

(24)   *i ettə la mi'a* 'it is mine'   Celle

```
              ┌──────────┴──────┐
            ClS               TP
            i_x          ┌─────┴─────┐
                        T          DP
                      ettə_x   ┌────┴────┐
                              D       Infl/ ⊆
                             l-a_x  ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   ⊆          Infl
                                ┌──┴──┐        'a_x
                               √     [⊆]
                              mi-
```
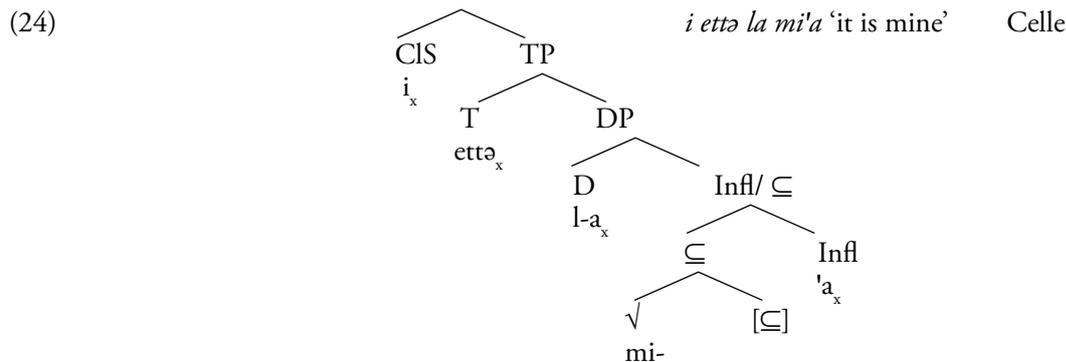
We may suppose that the phrase *D-possessive-agreement inflection* externalizes the argumental structure of inclusion relation, whereby inflection, clitic subject and determiner identify the possessum, as in (24), i.e. the external argument of the predicative relation with the possessor. The Agreement inflection *–a* of the determiner *l-a* and possessive double the external argument of the possessive relation, the subject of the copular. More precisely, in these dialects article is required for definite interpretation of the possessive element to be lexicalized in all contexts, inside the DP and in pronominal/ predicative occurrences (cf. Baldi and Savoia in press). As to agreement, the analysis we adopt assumes agreement to establish an identity relation between argumental slots, i.e. between two (or more) clusters of referential features identifying the same referent. In our case, D and the possessive's inflection are involved. As seen in section 2, our approach assigns an interpretable content to the lexical material, including inflectional formatives (Manzini and Savoia 2015, 2018, Baldi and Savoia 2018).

In languages that insert possessives in prenominal position to the exclusion of the article, the referential content of the possessive element is sufficient to satisfy the definiteness properties generally associated with the article. According to the idea formulated in Savoia *et al.* (2019), generally, Romance languages included, D lexicalizes deictic/referential interpretations, frequently requiring specialized inflections or lexical elements. Thus, in many varieties possessives are able to lexicalize these special properties by inserting in prenominal position, in place of the element D, as in (25), or combining with the latter.

(25)   *ma tʃamizi* 'my shirt'   Coazze

```
          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
       Infl/⊆                         Infl/N
    ┌─────┴─────┐                ┌──────┴──────┐
   ⊆          Infl           Class          Infl
 ┌──┴──┐      -a_x        ┌────┴────┐       -i_x
 √    [⊆]                √        Class
 m                     tʃamiz     [fem]
```
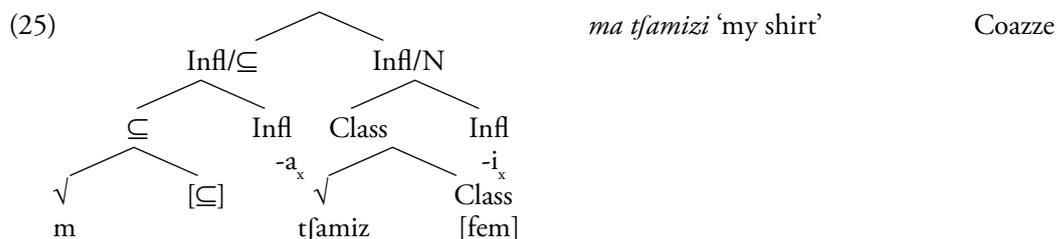
In fact, possessives introduce the deictic link to the participants in the speech act (1st/2nd person) or the usual definiteness specifications anaphoric to discourse in the 3rd person, so that in many languages this interpretive content is able to subsume D. Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011) argue for separating definiteness and person. In their treatment, the adjectival possessive deletes its uninterpretable [u+def] feature in the Spec, DP configuration. Ultimately, nevertheless, it is the task of the possessive to lexicalize definiteness once its feature is made interpretable. In other languages, the article is nevertheless necessary, such as in Italian and North Italian dialects, independently of possessives being in prenominal position.

In the Apulian Franco-Provençal prenominal possessives are retained only in conjunction with kinship nouns. As well known in the literature kinship nouns give rise to specialized constructions in many languages. An example is provided by Southern Italian dialects, that, along with Romanian, select enclitic possessives on kinship terms excluding definite article. In other varieties, such as Standard Italian, kinship terms exclude article when combining with possessives, as in Standard Italian at least for a sub-set of these terms. Syntactic solutions proposed in the generative literature connect the lack of article to the high position inside DP, substatially in D (cf. Longobardi 1995, 1996). This specifically applies to contexts where the kinship noun rules out or precedes the possessive, as in the case of the terms for *mother/ father* in some varieties, or, more generally, in the case of enclisis. According to Longobardi (1996) at least the cases like *casa mia* 'my house, lit. house my' or *mamma mia* 'my mother, lit. mum my', entails that the noun moves to D excluding article. Cardinaletti (1998), rather, associates the possessive with D, whereas the movement of the kinship term to D is assumed in correspondence of enclisis.

In all these proposals, such nouns favour a different distribution within the DP, which in Italian is visible at least if the kinship noun precedes the possessive element and excludes the article. Independently of the formal machinery, the crucial idea is that in these languages 'the lexical content of a kinship noun is sufficient to specify the reference to an individual, hence subsuming Definiteness properties, which with the other classes of nouns are lexicalized by the article' (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 721). We may think of the kinship terms as being relational in nature (Croft 1991, Dobrovie-Sorin 2013, Giusti 2016) and implying an inherent internal argument (a sort of possessor). These conclusions account for the enclisis on kinship terms in Southern Italian dialects, as in (26) (cf. (13b)), where the undersigned y and x indicate the two arguments of the relation introduced by the kinship term. In (26) its inherent referential properties allow the noun *sorə* 'sister' to lexicalize the definiteness properties of the DP. This explains why usually enclisis is restricted to singular nouns, as far as plural forms are not able to satisfy the required definiteness and specificity properties.
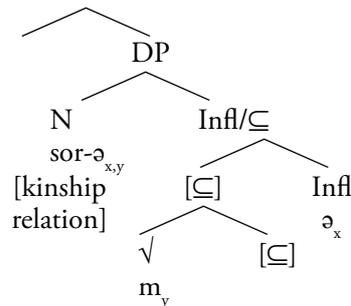
(26)   Gravina


The left domain of noun in Romance varieties is occupied by different types of determiners, deictic elements and quantifiers contributing to identifying the individuals the DP refers to. Possessives may in turn occur in this position as far as the possessor they introduce is able to circumscribe the referent in relation to the participant in the discourse. This capability is exploited in languages where the possessive element is sufficient to externalize the definiteness properties of the DP alone. In the Franco-Provençal of Celle and Faeto this reading is limited to the kinship nouns. This restriction, as we saw, depends on the special meaning of these terms, inherently able to constrain the set of possible referents. It is of note that in the prenominal context the possessive form is different from the one occurring in postnominal position as well as from pronominal form. Four distinct agreement inflections emerge: *-uŋ* MSG, *-ɔ* MPL, *-a*

FSG, -*ə* FPL, corresponding to the endings of the definite article. This means that the referential properties introduced by the possessive are richer and more differentiated than the postnominal possessive forms, as in (27).

(27)

tuŋ frarə 'her/his brother'   Celle
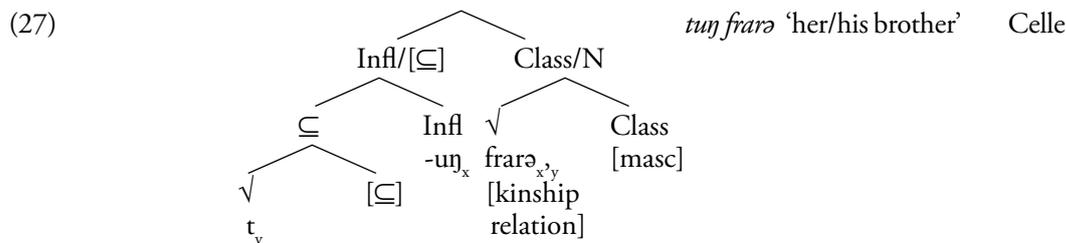
A second distributional constraint is that plural possessor forms exclude the prenominal alternant, except for 2nd plural person, distinguishing both the postnominal and prenominal alternant. Actually, the latter has the same inflectional paradigm as the singular possessor forms, confirming that it lexicalizes the respect 2nd singular possessor form. In any case, in the Franco-Provençal dialects 1st/2nd person possessives with a morphology coinciding with the one of singular persons is attested (Hasselrot 1938). The dialect of Celle seems to preserve this morphology only in order to refer to a single recipient/possessor. The prenominal occurrence satisfies definiteness requirements only if it implies singular referents, included, therefore, the 2PPL of respect; on the contrary, the referential properties of plural possessors are not sufficient to subsume definiteness properties of the noun, so that we find the postnominal possessives in conjunction with the prenominal article.

In the other contexts possessives follow the noun preceded by the determiner, as in (28).

(28)

*lɔ tʃiŋŋə miŋŋə* 'my dogs'   Celle
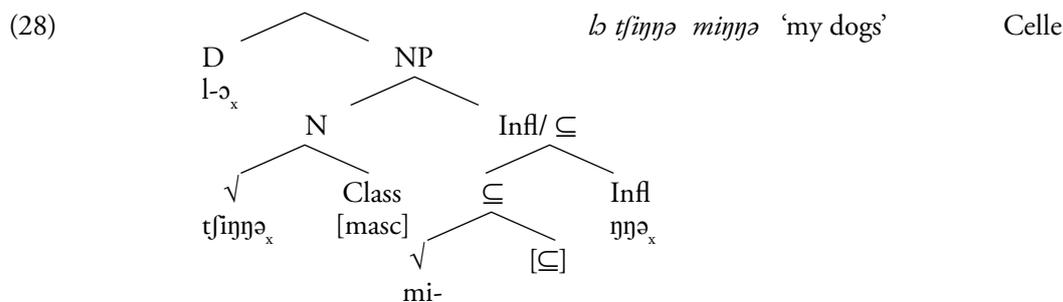
The comparison between (26) and (27) highlights allows us to better understand the reordering mechanism underlying the contrast between pre- and postnominal position of possessives. Let us come back to (6), repeated here, schematizing the possession relation:

(6)   [*possessum*] [$_{\text{P/Oblique}}$ ⊆ [*possessor*]][7]

---

[7] Chomsky *et al.* (2019: 243) point out that surface order is the result of mapping syntactic objects constructed in narrow syntax to phonetic interface, the externalization. Although 'linear order plausibly plays no role in the syntactic and semantic processes […] EXT is necessarily much more complex than the mapping to SEM, in that hierarchical objects must be translated into an altogether distinct, sequential format'. We can expect regularities in the correspondence between syntactic and interpretative properties and surface order in different languages, as generally highlighted in typological studies. In the case of predicative structures we know that in many Romance languages the right position is associated with the internal argument, the new information.

Substantially, what appears is that the postnominal occurrence of possessives externalize the argumental structure of inclusion by aligning the possessee as the external argument outside of the possessor phrase, as in (26). The reverse order, i.e. prenominal order, where the possessor precedes the possessum can be connected with the referential scope of possessor. Indeed, possessives are able to behave like determiners. According to Chierchia (1997), determiners like the definite article denotes a sub-set including only one individual in the circumstances of emission of the sentence, whereby determinative article denotes 'the relation *be a sub-set of*, but restricted to singletons for the first relatum [possessum]' (Chierchia 1997: 78). We could extend this interpretation to the possessive as far as it contributes to identifying the referent. In this perspective, the referential force of possessives accounts for both the alternation with determiners and their distribution in the DP. Interestingly, this analysis seems to be confirmed by the fact that with kinship terms the possessive of 3rd singular *suŋ/sa* can occur in place of the definite determiner doubling the postnominal plural persons possessives, as illustrated by structures like *suŋ fiawə notə/ laurə* 'our/ their son' in (29).

(29)   *suŋ fiawə laurə* 'her/his son'   Celle

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Infl/ } [\subseteq] \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{NP} \\
\subseteq \qquad \text{Infl} \qquad \text{Class/ N} \qquad \subseteq\text{P} \\
\text{-uŋ}_x \\
\sqrt{} \quad [\subseteq] \qquad \sqrt{} \qquad \text{Class} \quad \sqrt{} \qquad \bar{}\ [\subseteq] \\
\text{s}_y \qquad\qquad \text{fiawə}_{x',y} \ \text{[masc]} \ \text{laurə}_y \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad [\text{kinship} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{relation}]
\end{array}
$$
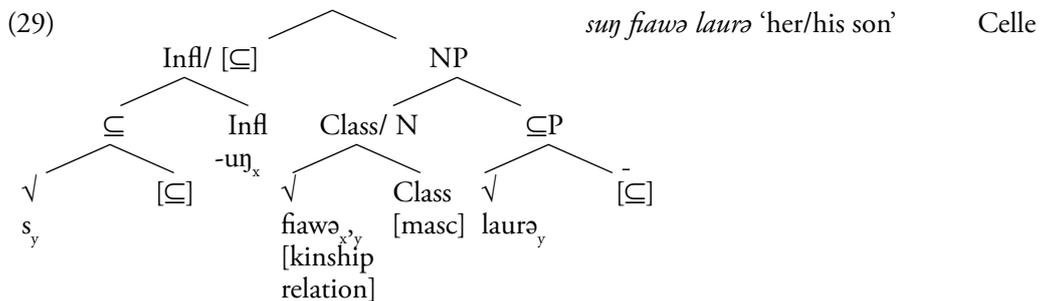
As the result, the prenominal possessive externalizes the scope of determiner while the postnominal one introduces the person of the possessor.

All of varieties require determiner to be realized if the possessed noun is absent, giving rise to pronominal-type occurrences. Our analysis of the combination *D+possessive*, as *(da-me) lu tɔl* 'give me yours' Coazze (cf. (18'c)) or, naturally, *(denə-mə) lu tiŋŋə* 'give me yours' for Celle in (21e'), replicates the representation in (24), as in (30). Our idea is that no silent or empty noun is present, but agreement features are able to introduce the reference to the possessed argument, as, after all, they do also inside DP with lexicalized Ns, where determiner, alone or together with the gender/number inflection of the noun, fixes the reference (in this case, to the possessum).

(30)   Coazze/ Celle

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{D} \qquad \text{Infl/ } [\subseteq] \\
\text{l-u}_x \\
\qquad\qquad \subseteq \qquad \text{Infl} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{l}_x \text{ / ŋŋə}_x \\
\sqrt{} \qquad [\subseteq] \\
\text{tɔ- / ti-}
\end{array}
$$
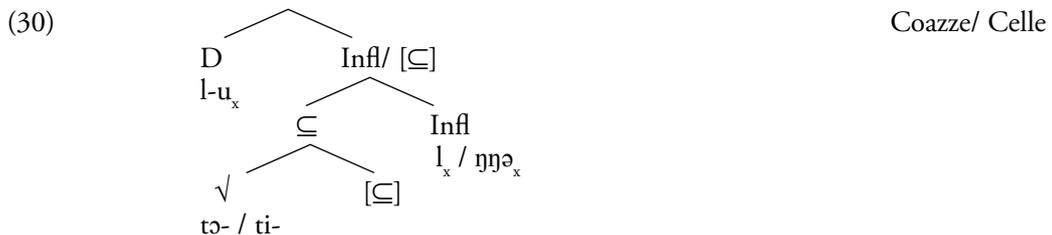
In other words, possessives may dispense with the article only if the possessum is independently lexicalized, included the verbal inflection of the copula. Let us briefly dwell on the latter context, where in many Romance varieties, possessive can occur without the article, as in (31) for Coazze.

(31)

                        u ɛst tɔ-l 'it is yours'   Coazze

        ClS   TP
        u_x

            T   Infl/⊆
          $ɛst_x$

               ⊆   Infl
                      l_x

              √   [⊆]

            tɔ-
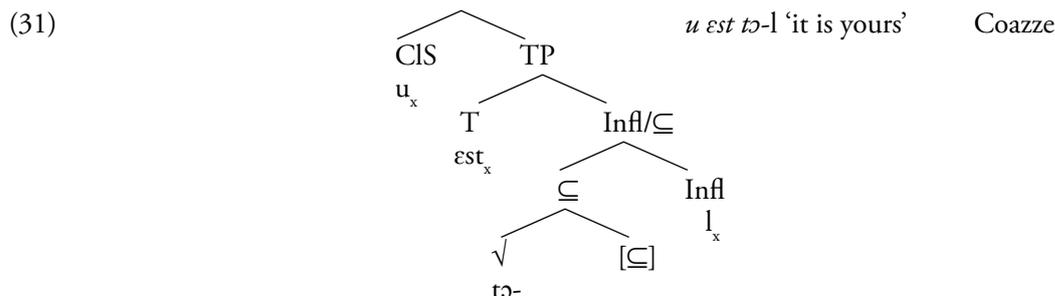
Hence, Italian and in general Northern Italian dialects admit structures as (31), where the possessum is lexicalized as the subject of the copular clause. Southern Italian dialects, including Apulian Franco-Provençal, exclude this type of structures where the possessum is not independently lexicalized, at least by the determiner. Similarly, we saw that also Albanian possessive generally require a definite introducer. There are languages, such as French and other Franco-Provençal dialects, which select the prepositional phrase *of+person pronoun* in copular contexts, as *l e dǝ me* 'it is mine' in (17'a) for Sarre. This matter is worth briefly discussing. In the terms of Cardinaletti (1998) a possessive occurring alone in copular contexts realizes a strong form, namely a form endowed with the entire functional structure. As made clear, we find inadequate the treatment of syncretism, whereby one form, i.e. the possessive, is associated with separate lexical entries according to their distribution. On the contrary, the fact that possessives can occur in predicative contexts without being introduced by the determiner simply confirms that inflectional properties of possessives are sufficient in many languages for the possessum to be fully identified and the possession relation correctly lexicalized. This does not exclude that the same form can co-occur with the determiner, so inducing the doubling of the possessum inflection. Some languages, like Southern Italian dialects obligatorily require the latter solution; others admit both, like Italian, but with slightly different interpretations between *questo è mio* and *questo è il mio* 'this is mine'.

As a last point, we consider the structures in (21f) for Celle, (15a) for Morano and (14d) for Castelluccio, where the preposition *di* 'of' introduces the string *D-possessive* with agreement with the possessum. By analogy with the analysis of other types of linker in different languages, such as Albanian and Indo-Arian ones (Manzini and Savoia 2014, 2015, 2018, Franco *et al.* 2015), we identify *di* with a type of linker that independently lexicalizes the possessive relation, doubling the interpretive content of the possessive element (Baldi and Savoia in press), as in (32).[8]

---

[8] In treating pseudopartitives introduced by the preposition di/de 'of' in Italian and French, Manzini (2019) suggests that in these contexts the preposition does not embed the DP, as in usual PPs, but is inserted inside the DP and the probe is the case feature K of DP. This analysis could be extended to di introducing possessives. Our idea is that syncretisms are preferably analysed by assuming the same category. If the question is agreement, we only note that no Phase boundary separates the noun and the PP introduced by *di*.

(32)   Castelluccio

```
              D         NP
             n-a_x
                     N        ⊆P
                  kammis-a_x
                            ⊆/ P        DP
                             də
                                   D          Infl/[⊆]
                                  l-a_x
                                          ⊆           Infl
                                                       a_x
                                       √      [⊆]
                                      mij-
```
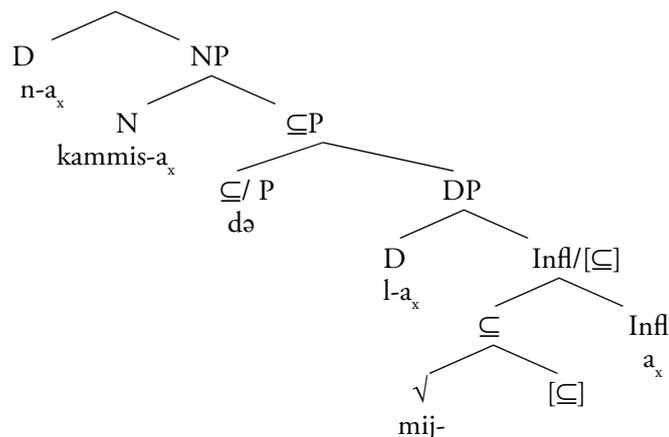
The variety of Celle borrows this particular structure from contact dialects, limited to DP internal contexts with indefinite quantification (cf. Baldi and Savoia in press).

Summing up the points of our analysis, we note what follows:

- In many languages possessives require an independent lexicalization of the agreement properties of the possessum by means of a D element (Linker).

- More generally, possessives favour or trigger a definite or, at least, specific reading of the possessum, insofar as the possessor is able to fix the referential properties of the possessed argument, substantially circumscribing the set of individuals that can be referred to.

- Some languages (may) require a possessive preposition of the kind of 'of' that independently lexicalizes the possessive relation.

- By virtue of their interpretive properties, possessives can subsume the deictic/referential force of determiners, so that in many languages possessives and articles are incompatible when the possessed noun is present. If the possessum is a kinship term, this type of syntax is favoured.

5.1. *Possessives in vocatives*

Responding to the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, we have briefly explored the combination of possessives and nouns in vocative contexts, i.e. in contexts where the nominal expression is not an argument of the verb in a sentence. Hill (2007) analyses vocatives as implying a predicative relation involving the two participants to Speech Act, Speaker and Hearer/Addressee. These are identified with the pragmatic-roles assigned by the Speech Act head. Specifically, the crucial property of vocatives is their deictic force, i.e., descriptively, the featural specifications that define the vocative phrase functional head (Espinal 2013, Hill 2013). Although with differences, in Espinal (2013) and in Hill (2013), 2nd person pronouns or nominal expressions identifying the addressee are licensed by the head, eventually combined with a vocative particle. It is of note that possessive expressions require anyway, both in Southern Italian type dialects and in Franco-Provençal ones, the postnominal occurrence of possessive, as exemplified in (33).

(33)   i.   fiawə   mi-ŋŋə / fiʎʎə mi-ˈa,   ando tə va?
                son   my   / daughter my,   where you go
                'My son/ my daughter where do you go?'

                                                                                    Celle

ii. fiɟɟə   mi,   vinə   ddo
     son   my,   come   here
     'My son, come here!'

iii. aɟɟə   vistə   a   ffiɟɟə-mə
     I.have   seen   at   son-my
     'I have seen my son.'

Gravina

iv. fij miŋ/ fiʎ-i mi-ˈa,   kɔza t fɛi ?
     son my/ daughter my, what you make?
     'my son/ my daughter, what do you make?'

Cantoira

The reordering with respect to noun involves also Albanian possessives in combination with kinship terms. In (10b') for the Arbëresh of San Costantino, when serving as arguments in a sentence, kinship terms are preceded by the possessive element. On the contrary, in vocative contexts, the noun precedes the possessive and is endowed with the definite inflection, like in the case of common nouns, as illustrated in (34).

(34) ku   vɛtɛ?   (ti) vla-u   i-m   / mɔtr-a   i-m-ɛ!
      where you.go you   brother-MSG OBL-1PS / daughter-FSG OBL-1PS-FSG
      'my brother/ my daughter, where are you going?'

San Costantino

Taking into account the proposals of Hill (2013) and Espinal (2013), in vocatives the deictic property of the head requires to be externalized by the lexical element pragmatically associated with addressee, as in (35i), possibly combining with the 2nd person pronoun, as in (35ii) (cf. Espinal 2013). Deictic interpretation characterizes the noun and, naturally, other addressee's markers. In the case of kinship terms as in (33)-(34), the relational between the speaker and the addressee, as in (35), is exploited by the pragmatic role assignment implemented by vocatives.

(35) i.

Celle

ii.

$$\text{Vocative}$$

```
        Vocative
        /       \
  [deictic]      DP
     ti_x       /    \
              N       Infl/[⊆]
          motr-a_{x,y}   /    \
           [deictic]  [⊆]     Infl
                     /   \     ε_x
                   [⊆]    √
                    i-    m_y
```
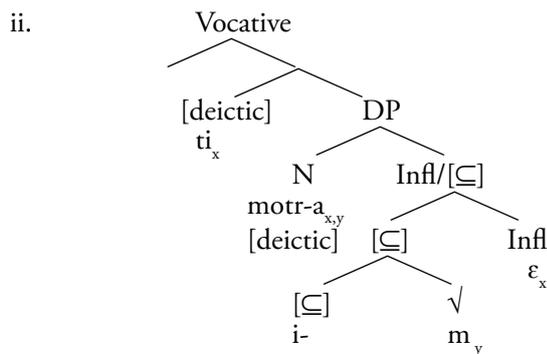
San Costantino

Possessives are located after the noun, irrespective of the fact that argumental DPs require prenominal or postnominal position. In Southern Italian dialects with enclisis on kinship terms, as in (34iii), in vocatives the non-clitic postnominal form occurs, as in the (34ii). Similarly, in varieties with prenominal possessives with kinship terms, in vocatives the possessive element follows the noun. Our proposal was that the postnominal order brings out the part-whole relation between possessee, as the external argument, and possessor (see discussion around (28)). In the varieties with postnominal occurrence, the noun is able to fix the reference, generally combining with the article. In vocatives, the noun subsumes the deictic force associated with the pragmatic interpretation induced by the vocative context insofar as it lexicalizes the addressee (Hill 2007, 2013). The result is that possessive is not preminent in fixing definiteness and specificity properties of the DP, as they are satisfied by the vocative noun. Not by chance, possessive is in the usual position in which it occurs if referential features are independently lexicalized by noun and/or determiner. All in all, the close connection between the mutual distribution of noun and possessive, on the one hand, and the lexicalization of referential content, on the other, appears to be confirmed. Generally, the scope position of possessive islinked to subsuming definiteness and specificity properties.

6. Concluding remarks

The ability of possessives to contribute to fixing denotation of the possessum by means of the referential content of possessor is, as we saw, highlighted in the literature (Dobrovie-Sorin 2013: 327). Possessives cross-linguistically are often in complementary distribution with Ds. In other words, they can subsume the definiteness properties of D. In keeping with Manzini *et al.* in press: 199 (cf. references contained here) we see that D as the referential category of the DP (and Phase head) is expected to externalize definiteness properties (gender and number) as generally in Romance languages, as in (36) (assuming DP to be a Phase).

(36)   If φ-feature (set) F is externalized at phase XP, it is externalized on phase head X.

Actually, the implementation of (36) may involve different externalizations of inflectional properties and different distributions inside the DP. Specifically, we are induced to conclude that possessives are a sort of instantiation of D. In this conceptual framework, we can relate the complementary distribution of D and possessive on the basis of an Externalization Parameter (cf. Manzini et al. in press: 193) depending on whether possessive is able to subsume (a sub-set of) the φ-features associated with D and specifying possessum, giving rise to the asymmetry between possessive vs. non-possessive DPs, as in (37):

(37)   Externalization parameter:
φ-features externalized   (i) uniformly (on D and possessive)
                               (ii) on possessive
                               (iii) on D with uninflected possessive (typically in enclisis)

In the case of kinship terms, we must think that their referential properties favour or force a specialized externalization of D, whereby either possessive or possessive+N subsume the definiteness content. Southern Italian dialects (like Standard Italian) select (37i), while Franco-Provençal varieties (like French) select (37ii). Finally, some Romance varieties admit also (37iii) showing proclitic or enclitic possessive forms which do not agree for number and/or gender (Manzini and Savoia 2005). Interestingly, this possibility is not connected with the presence of article, but may characterize both systems with complementary distribution and systems which combine article and possessive. As to different orders between pre-nominal and post-nominal position, we concluded that they reflect different ways to linearize the argumental structure of inclusion, as discussed around (28).

We see that the change due to contact with Apulian varieties in Franco-Provençal of Celle is in tune with the idea that linguistic variation is not arbitrary bur obeys the general design of the language faculty. Specifically, we take a weak approach to parameterization, whereby parameters are nothing but 'categorial splits', for instance, as in the case of Celle, the externalization of nominal properties:

the proposal we are putting forward is that lexicons are merely ways of partitioning an abstract categorial space […] Let us assume that there is a universal inventory of concepts, and that the lexicon represents a way of realizing it. (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 7, 8)

We see that the conceptual forces shaping the new system of Celle are inspired by categorial properties regarding the nominal domain: (differential) lexicalization of the φ-features of DP, 1st/2nd/3rd singular vs plural, kinship terms vs other nouns, externalization order.

The crucial notion for the analysis of possessives we have proposed, is the inclusion relation between possessum and possessor, understood as the interpretive property underlying any possessive structure. This relation is lexicalized in more ways in the Romance linguistic domain; specifically, in the Franco-Provençal of Celle, the contact with Apulian surrounding dialects has favoured a system including both pre- and postnominal possessives distributed on the base of the referential properties of the possessed noun. Actually, the distribution of possessives in the Franco-Provençal of Celle not only reflects the Apulian systems but introduces a new rule, whereby the original prenominal possessive is preserved with kinship terms. This split is absent in the original system and, however, is implemented differently from the enclisis attested in Southern varieties. Our conclusion is that the transfer from contact dialects and the reorganization of the system of Celle reshape the morpho-syntax of possessives strictly reflecting conceptual properties and structural principles in the range of the basic properties of the language faculty.

References

Ascoli, Graziadio I. 1978. "Schizzi franco-provenzali". *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 3: 71-120.
Bakker, Peter, and Pieter Muysken. 1994. "Mixed Languages and Language Intertwining." In *Pidgins and Creoles. An Introduction*, ed. by Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith, 41-52. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018. "Morphosyntactic Reorganization Phenomena

in Arbëresh Dialects: The Neuter". *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali/ Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies*, 4: 109-130, <https://oaj.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-qulso/issue/view/542> (06/2020).

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2019. "Da L1 a L2: apprendere per comunicare". *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata*, 51: 33-55.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. In press. "Possessives in North-Calabrian Dialects". *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica, Università della Calabria*.

Belvin, Robert, and Marcel Den Dikken. 1997. "There, *happens*, to, be, have". *Lingua*, 101: 151-183.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 1998. "On the Deficient/Strong Opposition in Possessive Systems." In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, a cura di Artemis Alexiadou/Chris Wilder, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1998, 17-53.

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Michal Starke. 1994. "The Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronouns". In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe,* vol. 8 of *Language Typology,* ed. by Henk van Riemsdijk, 145-233. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1997. *Semantica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Chomsky, Noam. 2005. "Three Factors in Language Design". *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36: 1-22

Chomsky, Noam, Ángel Gallego, and Dennis Ott. 2019. "Generative Grammar and the Faculty of Language: Insights, Questions, and Challenges." In *Generative Syntax: Questions, Crossroads, and Challenges, Catalan Journal of Linguistics. Special Issue*, ed. by Á. Gallego, D. Ott, 229-261.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1994. "On the Evidence for Partial N-Movemeent in the Romance DP". In *Paths Towards Universal Grammar. Studies in Honour of Richard Kayne*, 85-100, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque, Jan Koster, Jean-Yves Pollock, Luigi Rizzi and Raffaella Zanuttini. Washington: Georgetown UP.

Cornilescu, Alexandra. 1995. "Romanian Genitive Constructions." In *Advances in Romanian Linguistics*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Giuliana Giusti, 1-52. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Cornilescu, Alexandra, and Alexandru Nicolae. 2011. "Romanian Possessives: Adjectives or Pronouns? A Comparative Perspective." In *Studii de lingvistica. Omagiu doamnei profesoare Angela Bidu-Vranceanu*, ed. by Isabela Nedelcu, Alexandru Nicolae, Alice Toma and Rodica Zafiu, 111-143. Bucharest: Editura Universitatii din Bucuresti.

Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie, Raphael Girard, Calisto Mudzingwa, and Martina Wiltschko. 2014. "The Internal Syntax of Shona Class Prefixes". *Language Sciences*, 43: 18-46.

Demiraj, Shaban. 1986. *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe*. Tiranë Shtypshkronja "Mihal Duri".

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 2013. "Genitive DPs and Pronominal Possessors (§§ 1-4)." In *A Reference Grammar of Romanian*, ed. by Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin and Ion Giurgea, 309-339. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, and Ion Giurgea. 2013. "Pronominal Possessors." In *A Reference Grammar of Romanian*, ed. by Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin and Ion Giurgea, 347-354. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, and Isabela Nedelcu. 2013. "*De-al* Genitives." In *A Reference Grammar of Romanian*, ed. by Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin and Ion Giurgea, 339-347. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Escoffier, Simone. 1973. *Études foréziennes*, vol. VI, *Le Forez linguistique*, Université de Saint-Etienne.

Espinal, M.T. 2013. "On the Structure of Vocatives." In *Vocative! Addressing Between System and Performance*, ed. by Barbara Sonnenhauser and Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna, 109-132. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Fassi Fehri, Abdelkader. 2015. "Semantic Gender Diversity and Its Architecture in the Grammar of Arabic". *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics*, 8: 154-199.

Favre, Saverio. 2010. "Francoprovenzale, comunità." In *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*, Treccani, online.

Fillmore, C.J. 1968. "The Case for Case." In *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, 1-88, ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert Harms. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Franco, Ludovico, M. Rita Manzini, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2015. "Linkers and Agreement". *The Linguistic Review*, 32: 277-332.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2016. "The Structure of the Nominal Group." In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden, 541-555. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Hasselrot, Bengt. 1938. "Sur l'origine des adjectifs possessifs nostron, vostron en francoprovençal". *Studia Neophilologica* 10: 62-84.

Higginbotham, James. 1985. "On Semantics". *Linguistic Inquiry*, 16: 547-621.

Hill, Virginia. 2007. "Vocatives and the Pragmatics-syntax Interface". *Lingua* 117: 2077-2105.

Hill, Virginia. 2013. "Features and Strategies: the Internal Syntax of Vocative Phrases." In *Vocative! Addressing Between System and Performance*, ed. by Barbara Sonnenhauser and Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna, 133-155. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Kayne, Richard S. 1977. *French Syntax. The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press.

Kayne, Richard S. 2018. "Toward an Understanding of Apparent Suppletion in Romance Pronominal Possessives". *Probus*, 30, 2: 251-276.

Kramer, Ruth. 2015. *The Morphosyntax of Gender*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2009. *Grammatica diacronica del Napoletano*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1995. "A Case of Construct State in Romance." In *Scritti linguistici e filologici in onore di Tristano Bolelli*, ed. by Roberto Ajello and Saverio Sani, 293-329. Pacini: Pisa.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1996. *The Syntax of N-raising: A Minimalist Theory. OTS Working Papers*, Utrecht.

Mann, Stuart E. 1977. *An Albanian Historical Grammar*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske.

Manzini, M. Rita. 2014. "Grammatical Categories: Strong and Weak Pronouns in Romance". *Lingua*, 150: 171-201.

Manzini, M. Rita. 2019. "The Agreement of Structural Obliques Parameter. Pseudopartitives, DOM and partitive articles in Romance". *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 1: 35-51.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci*, 3 voll. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011a. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011b. "Reducing 'case' to 'agreement': Nominal Inflections in the Geg Albanian Variety of Shkodër". *Linguistic Variation Yearbook*, 11, 1: 76-120.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2014. "Linkers in Aromanian in Comparison to Albanian and Romanian". *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, 36: 83-104.

Manzini, M. Rita, Ludovico Franco, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2014. "Linkers Are Not "Possession Markers" (but "Agreements")." In *The Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium (Olinco)*, ed. by Ludmila Veselovská and Markéta Janebová, 233-251. Olomouc: Palacký University.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2015. "Oblique Case and Indo-European Ergativity Splits". *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, 60: 297-315.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017. "Case in the Nominal and Pronominal Systems in Aromanian: Oblique Case and Its Interactions with the Person Split". *Revue Roumaine De Linguistique*, 62: 115-142.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of Albanian and Aromanian Varieties*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Manzini, M. Rita, Ludovico Franco, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2019. "Suffixaufnahme, Oblique Case and Agree." In *Agreement, Case and Locality in the Nominal and Verbal Domains*, ed. by Ludovico Franco, Mihaela Marchis Moreno and Matthew Reeve, 211-255. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Manzini, M. Rita, Ludovico Franco, and Leonardo M. Savoia. Forthcoming, *Locative Ps as General Relators: Location, Direction, DOM in Romance, Linguistic Variation*. Special Issue.

Manzini, M. Rita, Leonardo M. Savoia, Benedetta Baldi. Forthcoming. "Microvariation and macrocategories: Differential Plural Marking and Phase theory". *L'Italia Dialettale*: 187-210.

Marantz, Alec. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon". *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4: 201-205.

Melillo, Michele. 1959. "Intorno alle probabili sedi originarie delle colonie franco-provenzali di Celle e Faeto". *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 23: 1-34.

Morosi, Giacomo.1890. "Il dialetto franco-provenzale di Faeto e Celle, nell'Italia meridionale". *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 12: 33-75.

Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1992. "Codeswitching as a Mechanism of Deep Borrowing, Language Shift, and language Death." In *Language Death in East Africa*, ed. by Matthias Brenzinger, 31-58. Berlino: Mouton De Gruyter.

Nagy, Naomi. 1996. *Language Contact and Language Change in the Faetar Speech Community*. PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Oliviéri, Michèle, and Patrick Sauzet. 2016. "Southern Gallo-Romance (Occitan)." In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maden, 319-349. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Picallo, Carme. 2008. "Gender and Number in Romance". *Lingue e Linguaggio*, 7: 47-66.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1968 [1949]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia.* Torino: Einaudi.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1995. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Roullet, Stefania (p.c.). *Personal Communication*.

Savoia, Leonardo M., Benedetta Baldi, and M. Rita Manzini. 2019. "Asymmetries in Plural Agreement in DPs". In *Language Use and Linguistic Structure Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium*, ed. by Joseph Emonds, Markéta Janebová and Ludmila Veselovská, 204-224. Olomouc: Palacký University Olomouc.

Savoia, Leonardo M., Benedetta Baldi, and M. Rita Manzini. In press. "Prepositions in Aromanian". *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice*, Institutul Lingvistica, Academiei Române.

Sornicola, Rosanna. 1997. *Campania*. In *The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Martin Maiden and Mair Parry, 330-337. London: Routledge.

Telmon, Tullio. 1992. *Le minoranze linguistiche in Italia*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Zamparelli, Roberto. 2008. "Dei Ex-machina: A Note on Plural/Mass Indefinite Determiners". *Studia Linguistica*, 63, 3: 301-327.

I pronomi soggetto nell'italiano doppiato: analisi dal finlandese all'italiano*

Lena Dal Pozzo[1] e Elina Ylinärä[2]
Università di Firenze[1] (<lena.dalpozzo@unifi.it>)
Università di Napoli l'Orientale[2] (<emylinara@unior.it>)

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Abstract:

In this paper we investigate the distribution of overt subject pronouns in the Italian of three dubbed films. Previous studies have shown that audiovisual translations into Italian exhibit a certain amount of 'novel' solutions in language usage at interface levels due to interference from the source language. This paper focuses on one particular area of interference, i.e. the distribution of overt subject pronouns in pragmatically marked and unmarked contexts, which is observed in a corpus of two full-length films and an episode of a television series, all dubbed from Finnish into Italian. The results show that in dubbed Italian overt subject pronouns are also used in contexts in which they would not be expected. We identify four main categories of overuse of subject pronouns which are presented taking into account the properties of the source language with respect to the so-called null subject parameter and to discourse information properties.

Keywords: *dubbing, interference, subject pronouns, translation*

1. Introduzione

Il presente contributo prende in esame l'interferenza linguistica osservabile in traduzione e, in particolare, verrà discussa la possibile interferenza del sistema pronominale finlandese sull'italiano osservando l'uso inatteso di pronomi soggetto espliciti nella traduzione audiovisiva per il doppiaggio. Esamineremo l'uso dei pronomi espliciti per verificarne la distribuzione, coerente o meno, dal punto di vista dell'interfaccia sintassi-pragmatica. I risultati mostrano un uso inatteso di pronomi soggetto espliciti in italiano, che verranno discussi in termini di interferenza della lingua d'origine, una lingua a soggetto parzialmente nullo. Tale esito ci permette di individuare quattro categorie principali

di uso inatteso dovuto a questa interferenza: (i) l'interferenza diretta dalla lingua di partenza alla lingua di arrivo (esplicito → esplicito), (ii) l'enfasi inappropriata, (iii) l'interferenza indiretta dal sistema della lingua di partenza (nullo → esplicito), (iv) l'utilizzo produttivo di pronomi espliciti.

Pur concordando con Pavesi (2005, 2009) che il doppiaggio è un sistema linguistico autonomo che fa riferimento tanto alle norme delle lingue di partenza e arrivo quanto alle convenzioni legate al linguaggio filmico e del cinema, riteniamo che sia questa la lingua che, per la sua natura orale tende maggiormente ad avvicinarsi alla lingua parlata, rispetto sia alla traduzione per i sottotitoli, che devono rispettare specifiche esigenze di spazio, sia alla traduzione letteraria. Consideriamo la traduzione un ambito specifico di contatto linguistico tra la lingua sorgente e la lingua di arrivo (si veda a riguardo anche Cardinaletti 2004, 2005; Mauranen e Kujamäki 2004; Pavesi 2016) e quindi terreno fertile per osservazioni riguardanti la possibile interferenza di una lingua sull'altra. Come ben noto in letteratura, in particolare negli studi di ambito psicolinguistico riguardanti l'acquisizione L2, bilingue e L1 sotto attrito, tale influenza non è tuttavia casuale ma è osservabile in specifiche aree linguistiche e ci riferiamo qui in particolare alle cosiddette aree di interfaccia (cf. Serratrice, Sorace e Paoli 2004; Tsimpli *et al.* 2004; Sorace 2005; Sorace e Serratrice 2009). Si noti che la produzione non target nella L2 o nella L1 di parlanti sotto attrito coinvolge tipicamente fenomeni che si situano all'interfaccia tra due aree, ad esempio sintassi-pragmatica o sintassi-semantica, mentre i fenomeni puramente sintattici, che fanno parte della grammatica *strictu sensu* (solitamente definita *narrow syntax* in termini chomskyani)[1] non vengono generalmente coinvolti (si veda White 2011 per una discussione su questa bipartizione). Un fenomeno ampiamente studiato in questo filone di ricerca è proprio la produzione (e comprensione) dei pronomi soggetto in lingue a soggetto nullo come l'italiano quando l'altra lingua è una lingua a soggetto non nullo come l'inglese. Infatti, come vedremo meglio nella sezione 3, l'uso di pronomi soggetto espliciti in italiano non è grammaticalmente scorretto ma pragmaticamente inadeguato, fatta eccezione per alcuni contesti specifici, e può quindi essere soggetto a interferenza dall'inglese, lingua in cui invece i pronomi non possono mai essere omessi.

Nell'ambito della traduzione, del doppiaggio audiovisivo nel nostro caso, è la lingua di partenza, quella da cui si traduce che presentando caratteristiche strutturali divergenti dalla lingua di arrivo, quella verso cui si traduce, può essere fattore di interferenza e quindi far sì che nella traduzione emergano usi pragmaticamente non corretti di alcune strutture linguistiche. Pur con tutte le dovute differenze rispetto a un parlante L2, bilingue o sotto attrito, il traduttore, che si presume abbia conoscenza quasi nativa o comunque molto avanzata della lingua di origine, si trova in una condizione di contatto linguistico in cui passa costantemente da una all'altra, e in cui l'interlingua può presentare caratteristiche divergenti sia dalla L1 che dalla L2.[2]

---

[1] Con *narrow syntax* si fa riferimento alla facoltà del linguaggio in senso stretto, ovvero alla componente computazionale della sintassi, la lingua-I (*I-language*) che si differenzia dalle condizioni di interfaccia, di cui fa parte la struttura informazionale, che sono esterne a questo sistema computazionale centrale e che possono essere soggette a vincoli di natura cognitiva o biologica (si veda Chomsky 1995; Hauser *et al.* 2002 tra gli altri). Nell'ambito degli studi di acquisizione di una seconda lingua, in numerosi studi è stato riscontrato che mentre le proprietà puramente sintattiche possono essere acquisite con un certo grado di completezza, l'acquisizione di aspetti relativi alle interfacce rimane più facilmente incompleta e presenta opzionalità (si veda tra gli altri Sorace 2005; Sorace e Filiaci 2006).

[2] Il concetto di interlingua è stato adottato a partire dagli anni '70 (cfr. Selinker 1972) negli studi di acquisizione L2 (*second language acquisition*) per definire la lingua di un parlante L2 che presenta produzioni non target in maniera tutt'altro che casuale ma piuttosto sistematica e governata da regole soggiacenti alla grammatica universale (cfr. White 2003). Questa *grammatica dell'interlingua* si differenzia sia dalla L1 che dalla L2, nel nostro caso corrispondenti a lingua d'origine e lingua di arrivo.

È una situazione quindi in cui si è tendenzialmente più inclini ad accettare strutture/costruzioni linguistiche pragmaticamente non adeguate nella lingua di arrivo (ricordiamo, diverso è invece il caso di strutture puramente sintattiche, che sarebbero grammaticalmente scorrette). Per la direzionalità in cui avviene l'interferenza da una lingua all'altra (L2 → L1) possiamo quindi dire, come proposto in Cardinaletti (2005), che la lingua del traduttore si avvicina a quella del parlante sotto attrito.

I risultati di fenomeni di contatto sopra descritti sono stati osservati, ad esempio, in vari studi sulla traduzione dall'inglese e dal tedesco verso l'italiano per quanto riguarda, tra gli altri, sia l'uso dei pronomi soggetto sia la posizione del soggetto nella frase (preverbale o postverbale) (Cardinaletti 2004, 2005; Garzone 2005; Giusti 2005).

Il presente studio vuole contribuire alla ricerca in questo ambito arricchendo la discussione in corso con dati provenienti dalla traduzione e dall'adattamento per il doppiaggio analizzando i doppiaggi dal finlandese verso l'italiano di due lungometraggi e un mediometraggio.[3] Andremo quindi ad analizzare principalmente la distribuzione dei pronomi soggetto in italiano tenendo conto delle differenze tra le due lingue in particolare relativamente al cosiddetto parametro del soggetto nullo. Il finlandese e l'italiano si differenziano per quanto riguarda il cosiddetto parametro del soggetto nullo (Rizzi 1982), il finlandese è infatti una lingua classificata a soggetto nullo parziale (*partial pro-drop*) mentre l'italiano è una lingua a soggetto nullo (*consistent null subject language*), come descriveremo più in dettaglio nelle sezioni 2 e 3, rispettivamente. Inoltre, l'ordine base dei costituenti nella frase è in entrambe le lingue SVO ma l'italiano permette l'inversione verbo-soggetto in cui il soggetto postverbale può essere interpretato come nuova informazione (Belletti 2001, 2004) mentre il finlandese non ammette questo tipo di inversione.

Il presente contributo è organizzato come segue: la sezione 2 presenta i pronomi soggetto, l'ordine dei costituenti nella frase e le relative implicazioni a livello informazionale per il finlandese e l'italiano. Nella sezione 3 presentiamo il nostro studio, il corpus e l'analisi dei pronomi soggetto. A questa segue la discussione nella sezione 4 in cui cercheremo di motivare la presenza inattesa dei pronomi espliciti. Infine, la sezione 5 riporta le conclusioni dello studio.

2. Proprietà rilevanti dell'italiano e del finlandese

2.1 Il sistema pronominale in finlandese

Il finlandese ha due varietà principali: la varietà standard e la varietà colloquiale.[4] In questa sede le presenteremo brevemente entrambe dato che entrambe sono rappresentate nel corpus utilizzato nel presente studio. Si noti che nella varietà colloquiale, naturalmente in continua trasformazione, possiamo trovare anche forme non ridotte e nulle. Schematizziamo nella Tabella 1 i pronomi soggetto per la varietà standard e colloquiale. Come vediamo, le forme di

---

[3] I due lungometraggi sono: *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (MVM) 'L'uomo senza passato' (USP) (l'anno della produzione 2002) e *Laitakaupungin valot* (LV) 'Le luci della sera' (LS) (2006), mentre il mediometraggio consiste di una puntata della serie *Karppi* nell'originale, *Deadwind* (DW) nella versione italiana (2018). Si veda la sezione 3 per la descrizione del materiale utilizzato per la creazione del corpus analizzato.

[4] La varietà standard consiste nel registro formale, sia orale che scritto, mentre con varietà colloquiale ci riferiamo al registro informale, sia parlato che scritto, che si differenzia sotto numerosi aspetti morfosintattici dalla varietà standard e di cui prendiamo qui in considerazione la distribuzione dei pronomi. La realizzazione morfofonologica dei pronomi nei film analizzati fa riferimento alla varietà del registro non formale parlata nella zona sud e sud-occidentale della Finlandia.

prima e seconda persona in finlandese standard hanno sia la forma esplicita sia la forma nulla mentre in finlandese colloquiale non si hanno forme nulle. La differenza principale della varietà colloquiale rispetto alla varietà standard risiede nelle forme foneticamente ridotte e nella terza persona singolare e plurale i cui unici pronomi sono *se/ne* che assumono il tratto [±umano].

persona e tratti	Varietà standard		Varietà colloquiale	
	forma esplicita	forma nulla	forma esplicita	forma nulla
1SG [±umano]	minä	Ø	mä	—
2SG [±umano]	sinä	Ø	sä	—
3SG [+umano]	hän	—	se	—
3SG [–umano]	se	—	se	—
1PL [±umano]	me	Ø	me	—
2PL [±umano]	te	Ø	te	—
3PL [+umano]	he	—	ne	—
3PL [–umano]	ne	—	ne	—

Tabella 1: Pronomi soggetto in finlandese standard e colloquiale

Il finlandese ha quindi due possibili serie di realizzazione dei pronomi, nulli ed espliciti. In finlandese standard i pronomi espliciti introducono un nuovo referente, si trovano nella coordinazione, o realizzano una funzione discorsiva 'marcata', mentre i pronomi soggetto nulli vengono tipicamente usati per il mantenimento della catena topicale,[5] similmente a quanto osserviamo in lingue a soggetto nullo come l'italiano (sulle catene topicali si veda Frascarelli 2018). Nella lingua colloquiale, invece, tutti i pronomi sono generalmente realizzati e quindi seguono piuttosto, almeno a livello di realizzazione superficiale, il modello delle lingue a soggetto non nullo come l'inglese. I pronomi nulli sono marginalmente utilizzati e quando usati sembrano piuttosto far parte di un registro ibrido tra le varietà standard e colloquiale (sul finlandese colloquiale si veda tra gli altri Hakulinen *et al.* 2004; Karlsson 2013). Questo tipo di suddivisione ricorda la classificazione in pronomi forti e deboli proposta in Cardinaletti (1998) e Cardinaletti e Starke (1999), per cui anche il finlandese sembrerebbe avere due serie di pronomi.[6] Tuttavia, questa classificazione non è affatto scevra di criticità concettuali e teoriche (cfr. tra gli altri Manzini 2014; Pescarini 2018), in primis relativamente alla natura del pronome nullo finlandese, sintatticamente diverso da quello di lingue a soggetto nullo consistente (cfr. tra gli altri Holmberg 2005; Holmberg 2010; Holmberg e Roberts 2014). Volendo tuttavia adottare la classificazione in due serie, che, per semplificazione espositiva e senza addentrarci in un'analisi più approfondita che certamente meriterebbe uno spazio apposito, chiameremo qui forti e deboli à la Cardinaletti e Starke (1999), proponiamo che, 1) nella *lingua standard*,

---

[5] Questo vale, come vedremo più avanti, per la prima e seconda persona mentre la terza persona deve essere generalmente realizzata.

[6] Il finlandese non presenta pronomi clitici, presenti invece nella classica tripartizione in forti, deboli, clitici, come menzioneremo più avanti in 2.3.

i pronomi espliciti di prima e seconda persona sono forti, e quelli nulli sono deboli, mentre i pronomi di terza persona (che sono tendenzialmente sempre realizzati) possono essere sia forti che deboli, a seconda del contesto discorsivo; 2) nella *lingua colloquiale*, invece, tutti i pronomi sono tendenzialmente sempre realizzati, per cui possono essere sia forti che deboli, a seconda del contesto discorsivo. Le forme esplicite *se/ne* di terza persona singolare e plurale con il tratto [–umano] sono deboli in entrambe le varietà, data l'impossibilità di tali pronomi di essere focalizzati, coordinati e di apparire in isolamento (tali test permettono di distinguere tra le due categorie di pronomi, secondo Cardinaletti 1998; Cardinaletti e Starke 1999).

I contesti sopra esposti, che ammettono solo pronomi forti, sono illustrati di seguito. In (1a) si ha il pronome di seconda persona nella variante lunga e porta la particella discorsiva *-hAn*, nell'esempio (1b) si hanno due pronomi della varietà colloquiale coordinati e in (1c) si ha il pronome di prima persona nella variante lunga in isolamento.[7] In ciascuno di questi casi sarebbe stato possibile usare qualsiasi altro pronome forte. Indichiamo la prosodia marcata con il carattere maiuscolo.[8]

(1)   a.   Sinä-hän   se-n   tiedä-t.
             2SG-PRT   3SG-ACC   sapere-2SG
             'TU lo sai.'
       b.   Mä   ja   se   seurustel-tiin   pari   vuot-ta.
             1SG   CONG   3SG   frequentarsi-PST.PASS paio   anni-PART
             'Io e lui/lei ci siamo frequentati per un paio d'anni.'
       c.   – Kuka siellä?   – (Se ole-n)   minä.
               chi   là?   3SG essere-1SG   1SG
             '– Chi è? – (Sono) io.'

Il finlandese è una lingua a soggetto nullo parziale: un soggetto nullo è ammesso in condizioni più ristrette rispetto a una lingua a soggetto nullo consistente come l'italiano (si veda tra gli altri Vainikka e Levy 1995; Holmberg 2005; Frascarelli 2007; Holmberg *et al.* 2009; Holmberg 2010; Roberts e Holmberg 2010; Holmberg e Roberts 2014). In linea generale in finlandese standard, i pronomi di prima e seconda persona tendono a essere fonologicamente non espressi, e un pronome esplicito viene interpretato come portatore di un valore discorsivo aggiuntivo, in linea con l'assunzione generale che ogni frase predicativa debba avere (almeno) un topic (cfr. Kuroda 1964) e con l'Avoid Pronoun Principle come riformulato in Frascarelli (2007). Per la terza persona, invece, è di norma necessario un pronome esplicito tranne alcuni casi specifici (Holmberg *et al.* 2009, si veda anche la discussione sulla realizzazione nulla della terza persona in termini di catene topicali in Frascarelli 2018).

(2)   a.   (Minä) lu-i-n   kirja-n.   (standard)
             1SG   leggere-PST-1SG libro-ACC
             'Io ho letto il/un libro.'

---

[7] La vocale maiuscola indica l'arcifonema, che ha realizzazioni diverse a seconda del contesto vocalico della parola al fine di rispettare le regole della cosiddetta armonia vocalica.

[8] Le abbreviazioni utilizzate in questo lavoro sono elencate qui di seguito: ACC (caso accusativo), FOC (focus), GEN (caso genitivo), INE (caso inessivo), COMP (completivo), CONG (congiunzione), CONTR (contrastivo), INT (interrogativo), NEG (negazione), O (oggetto), PASS (passivo), PART (caso partitivo), PL (plurale), PRT (particella clitica discorsiva), PST (passato), PTC (participio), PX (suffisso possessivo), S (soggetto), SG (singolare), TOP (topic), V (verbo).

b.　　　*(Hän)　luk-i　　　　　　kirja-n.
　　　　　3SG　　leggere-PST.3SG　libro-ACC
　　　　　'Lui/lei ha letto il/un libro.'

Mentre in finlandese standard è generalmente comune omettere la prima e la seconda persona, in finlandese colloquiale le forme esplicite sono generalmente preferite.

(3)　　?(Mä)　lu-i-n　　　　　kirja-n.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(colloquiale)
　　　　1SG　　leggere-PST-1SG　libro-ACC
　　　　'(Io) ho letto il/un libro.'

Un pronome soggetto nullo è ammesso in una frase subordinata quando è coreferente con il soggetto della frase principale, come mostra l'esempio (4).

(4)　　Leo$_i$　sano-i,　　　että　pro$_i$/hän$_{i/k}$　ol-i　　　　　　näh-nyt　　　　professori-n.
　　　　Leo　　dire-PST.3SG　COMP　pro/3SG　　　essere-PST.3SG　vedere-PST.PTC　professore-ACC
　　　　'Leo ha detto che (lui$_i$)$_{/k}$ aveva visto il professore.'

I pronomi soggetto generici, corrispondenti ad esempio all'inglese *one*, e i soggetti non tematici, per esempio con i verbi meteorologici, sono generalmente nulli, come illustrato in (4):

(5)　　a.　　Sisäänkäynni-n　lähellä　ei　　　　saa　　　polttaa.
　　　　　　entrata-GEN　　　vicino　NEG.3SG　potere　fumare
　　　　　　'Non si può fumare vicino all'ingresso'
　　　　b.　　Helsingi-ssä　　sata-a　　　　　tänään.
　　　　　　Helsinki-INE　　piovere-3SG　　oggi
　　　　　　'Oggi piove a Helsinki.'

2.2 Ordine dei costituenti nella frase in finlandese

L'ordine canonico di una frase transitiva in finlandese è SVO ma qualsiasi altro ordine dei costituenti è possibile e grammaticalmente corretto. Ciò che cambia è il valore informazionale della frase e quindi come viene interpretata. Il finlandese è piuttosto flessibile nella possibilità di muovere i costituenti della frase ma per quanto riguarda la struttura informazionale e le nozioni di informazione data o informazione nuova o le funzioni discorsive come quelle di topic e focus, la variazione dell'ordine dei costituenti è soggetta a restrizioni più specifiche (sull'ordine dei costituenti si veda anche Vilkuna 1989, 1995). Il costituente in posizione iniziale di frase è solitamente interpretato come topic (o informazione data) e il costituente postverbale come focus (o informazione nuova), come illustrato in (6a) e (6b).

(6)　　a.　　Maija　lukee　lehteä / LEHTEÄ.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SVO
　　　　　　Maija　legge　giornale
　　　　　　'Maija legge il giornale / GIORNALE.'
　　　　b.　　Lehteä　lukee MAIJA.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　OVS
　　　　　　giornale　legge Maija
　　　　　　'Il giornale (lo) legge MAIJA.'

Un'interpretazione contrastiva si ha in frasi come (7a) e (7b), in cui il costituente con il tratto contrastivo si trova in prima posizione.[9]

(7)   a.   LEHTEÄ Maija lukee (ei kirjaa)   OSV
                giornale   Maija legge   (no libro)
                'È il GIORNALE che Maija legge (non il libro).'
        b.   MAIJA lehteä   lukee (ei Liisa)   SOV
                Maija   giornale legge (no Liisa)
                'MAIJA il giornale (lo) legge.'

Quindi, linearmente dal punto di vista informazionale nella frase finlandese osserviamo questa configurazione:

                    CONTR > TOP > FOC

Oltre alla prosodia e all'ordine dei costituenti, il finlandese si avvale anche di un altro modo per realizzare l'enfasi in una frase. Infatti, per rafforzare la marcatezza di una frase si può ricorrere anche all'utilizzo di particelle clitiche discorsive (si veda anche Holmberg 2008). In questa sede ci soffermeremo sulle particelle *-hAn*, *-pA*, *-kin/-kAAn*.

La particella *-hAn* si aggiunge sempre al primo costituente della frase, si trova quindi nella periferia sinistra della frase ed è associata a un'interpretazione contrastiva. A differenza di quanto esposto per le strutture constrastive in (7), in generale, la presenza della particella *-hAn* implica che lo stato delle cose descritte dall'enunciato è conoscenza condivisa da parlante e interlocutore. Tuttavia, a seconda del costituente su cui si trova e del tipo di enunciato può avere diverse interpretazioni e sfumature, solitamente legate alla conferma o all'aspettativa (Holmberg 2008: 2).[10] Si noti che pur apportando un'interpretazione marcata non implica necessariamente la marcatezza del costituente su cui si trova, come illustrato in (8a-b), in cui l'elemento marcato è, come atteso, il DP postverbale.

(8)   a.   Maijahan   lukee LEHTEÄ (ei kirjaa).
                Maija.PRT   legge giornale   (no libro)
                'È il GIORNALE che legge Maija (non il libro).'
        b.   Lehteähän lukee MAIJA (ei Liisa).
                giornale.PRT legge Maija (no Liisa)
                'È MAIJA che legge il giornale (non Liisa).'

Nel caso di una frase con un ordine canonico SVO, come (6a), può essere difficile interpretare, senza indizi prosodici, se la frase è marcata o no. La particella può marcare il DP che lo ospita, se non è in contrasto con un altro DP nella posizione postverbale di focus, come illustrato in (9a-b),

---

[9] Consideriamo il contrasto come una categoria funzionale indipendente che può trovarsi in combinazione sia con il focus sia con il topic.

[10] Più specificatamente in *Iso Suomen kielioppi* (Grande grammatica del finlandese) sono state individuati i seguenti usi a) rafforzamento della conoscenza condivisa, b) di promemoria, c) di spiegazione dell'enunciato a cui si riferisce, d) di sorpresa, e) come esortativo o in una richiesta (Hakulinen *et al.* 2004, § 830). Brattico *et al.* (2013) propongono che *-hAn* sia un tratto associato a Topic Familiare (G-Topic) e che quindi in finlandese possano esserci due topic familiari, l'uno, sintatticamente più alto, marcato da *-hAn* e interpretato contrastivamente (si veda anche Frascarelli e Hinterhölzl 2008; Bianchi e Frascarelli 2010 sulla ricorsività dei Topic), e l'altro, più basso, senza il tratto contrastivo.

e può interagire con l'ordine dei costituenti nella frase, (9b). Infatti, il verbo si trova nell'ultima posizione e non si crea il conflitto di due foci, che risulterebbe agrammaticale, come in (9c).[11]

(9)   a.   Lehteähän   Maija lukee (ei kirjaa).
                   giornale.PRT Maija legge (no libro)
                   'È il GIORNALE che legge Maija (non il libro).'

         b.   Maijahan   lehteä   lukee (ei Liisa).
                   Maija.PRT giornale legge (no Liisa)
                   'È MAIJA che legge il giornale (non Liisa).'

         c.   *Maijahan lukee LEHTEÄ (ei kirjaa).
                    Maija.PRT legge giornale   (non giornale)

Come noto, a seconda del valore informazionale che si vuole trasmettere, la particella discorsiva può avere portata anche sul predicato e il suo complemento, come illustrato in (10) (si veda tra gli altri Puglielli e Frascarelli 2008):

(10)   Maija(han) LUKEE LEHTEÄ (eikä siivoa keittiötä).
        Maija(PRT) legge   giornale   (e non pulisce cucina)
        'Maija LEGGE IL GIORNALE (e non pulisce la cucina).'

La particella discorsiva può trovarsi anche su un verbo flesso, creando un'interpretazione contrastiva rispetto all'enunciato precedente, come in (11a). In finlandese la negazione si forma tramite la costruzione di negazione che consiste nell'ausiliare di negazione *ei* 'no' e la radice verbale, per cui la particella di focus può trovarsi anche sull'ausiliare di negazione, come in (11b):

(11)   a.   – Maija ei lue kirjaa.
                     'Maija non legge un/il libro.'
                  – Lukeehan (hän kirjaa)!
                     legge.PRT (lei libro)
                  'Sì che (lo) legge!'
        b.   – Liisa lukee kirjaa.
                     'Liisa legge un/il libro.'
                  – Eihän   lue!
                     no.PRT leggere
                     'No che non (lo) legge.'

La particella discorsiva *-pA(s)* ha una distribuzione simile a *-hAn* e si trova sempre sul primo elemento della frase. Generalmente esprime contraddizione (Holmberg 2008: 2) o disaccordo, come in (12). La *-s* che può essere inserita, e si trova tipicamente nel registro colloquiale, è puramente discorsiva e non aggiunge valore informazionale a *-pA*, come si vede in (13). Negli esempi che seguono daremo in a. la versione finlandese (originale) e in b. l'adattamento italiano per il doppiaggio.

---

[11] Come noto, nella frase ci può essere solo un focus (cf. Rizzi 1997 tra gli altri).

(12) a.   – Sitten meidän on tyytyminen suulliseen sopimukseen.   Satanen. […]
            allora 1PL.di è accontentarsi orale   accordo   cento
           – Eipä   ole   halpaa.
            non.3SG.PRT essere   economico
    b.   – Allora ci dovremmo accontentare di un accordo verbale. Diciamo 100. […]
           – Non è mica poco, però.

<div align="right">(USP)</div>

(13) a.   – Joten minä   en   saa   yhtään?
            quindi 1SG   non.1SG avere alcuna.cosa
           – Et.
            non.2SG
           – Oletpas   itsekäs.
            sei.PRT   egoista
    b.   – Per me allora non c'è niente?
           – Niente.
           – Sei un bell'egoista!

<div align="right">(USP)</div>

Le particelle *-kin* 'anche, perfino' e la corrispondente particella con polarità negativa *-kAAn* 'neanche' hanno una distribuzione diversa e non sono limitate alla periferia sinistra della frase ma possono trovarsi su qualsiasi costituente.

(14) a.   No jostainhan   senkin   on   alotettava.
            beh qualche.parte.da.PRT 3SG.PRT è   iniziare
    b.   Beh anche lui dovrà pur iniziare da qualche parte.[12]

<div align="right">(DW)</div>

(15) a.   En   pelännyt hetkeäkään.
            non.1SG temuto   momento.PRT
    b.   Non ho avuto paura nemmeno per un secondo.

<div align="right">(USP)</div>

2.3 Il sistema pronominale in italiano

Come ben noto, l'italiano è tradizionalmente classificato come una lingua a soggetto nullo consistente (Rizzi 1982 e successivi) per cui è generalmente accettato che i pronomi soggetto possono essere, e sono, tendenzialmente omessi in una frase neutra mentre l'uso di un pronome soggetto esplicito apporta un valore informazionale ed è in questo senso marcato. La sua presenza deve essere motivata dato che si trova in distribuzione complementare con un pronome nullo (cfr. Renzi 2000 sul cambiamento in atto nel registro colloquiale in cui si evince un uso sempre più esteso di pronomi soggetto espliciti non marcati da un punto di vista discorsivo-informazionale).

---

[12] Traduzione propria. Nel doppiaggio italiano la frase è stato tradotta con una costruzione diversa.

Seguendo la classificazione proposta in Cardinaletti (1998) e Cardinaletti e Starke (1999), in italiano i pronomi possono essere classificati in forti, deboli e clitici.[13] I pronomi forti includono i pronomi soggetto espliciti *io, tu, lui, noi, voi loro* mentre i pronomi deboli includono le forme nulle dei pronomi soggetto oltre che le forme della serie *egli/esso* per la terza persona, quest'ultimi prevalentemente usati nel registro formale. In una lingua a soggetto nullo come l'italiano (Rizzi 1982) un pronome nullo è sempre preferibile qualora non ci sia una motivazione sintattica o pragmatica che richieda l'uso di un pronome forte. A differenza dei pronomi deboli, le forme forti introducono tipicamente un nuovo referente, e possono inoltre apparire in specifici contesti sintattici quali la coordinazione, la focalizzazione, nelle strutture predicative e in isolamento. Le forme pronominali deboli invece sono preferibili in contesti anaforici.

Per quanto riguarda la terza persona singolare, che come abbiamo poc'anzi detto ha sia la forma nulla sia le forme della serie *egli/esso*, la presenza di uno o dell'altro, perlomeno nel registro formale, dipende generalmente dalla posizione sintattica dell'antecedente. Il pronome nullo ha come referente anaforico il soggetto della frase precedente mentre un pronome della serie *egli/esso* avrà come antecedente un complemento diverso dal soggetto (Cardinaletti 2004: 133). Nel registro informale/colloquiale invece, i pronomi deboli della serie *egli/esso* non sono pressoché mai usati e viene invece usato *lui/lei/loro* e le corrispondenti forme nulle, come infatti osserveremo nel nostro corpus composto da dialoghi doppiati.

L'italiano, come il finlandese, è una lingua SVO. Questo è l'ordine dei costituenti che troviamo in una frase con interpretazione neutra, in cui cioè nessun costituente è sintatticamente marcato. Quest'ordine si realizza nelle frasi cosiddette *all new*, ovvero nella frasi che rispondono a domande di tipo *cosa è successo?* Tuttavia, altri ordini in cui i costituenti si trovano dislocati dalle loro posizioni canoniche sono possibili e sono motivati da specifici motivi discorsivo-informazionali.

In particolare, l'ordine VS è strettamente legato al cosiddetto parametro del soggetto nullo ed è osservabile in lingue come l'italiano (in finlandese l'inversione VS del tipo italiano non è ammessa, cfr. Dal Pozzo 2012). In questo tipo di inversione il soggetto è generalmente interpretato come nuova informazione ed è quello più appropriato in risposta a domande come '– Chi è arrivato? – È arrivato Piero' (Belletti 2001, 2004).

Il focus definisce il costituente che rappresenta l'informazione nuova in una struttura in cui il resto della frase rappresenta la presupposizione (cfr. Puglielli e Frascarelli 2007: 246). L'elemento postverbale 'Piero' rappresenta infatti un focus (informativo), che identifica un elemento all'interno di un insieme presupposto. In italiano il focus può trovarsi anche in posizione preverbale, a seconda dei criteri discorsivi che riguardano lo status delle informazioni condivise tra il parlante e gli interlocutori. Si possono distinguere diversi tipi di foci (tra cui contrastivo, informativo, mirativo, correttivo) ma un'analisi più approfondita esula degli intenti del presente lavoro, in cui tratteremo unicamente del focus contrastivo (per una discussione più approfondita sulle proprietà e classificazioni dei foci si veda tra gli altri Brunetti 2004, 2009; Bianchi 2013 e lavori successivi; Bianchi *et al.* 2015).

Per quanto riguarda il topic, ai fini del presente lavoro può essere utile fare la distinzione tra i diversi tipi di topic in base alla loro funzione discorsiva (per una discussione più ampia si rimanda alla

---

[13] Non ci soffermeremo in questa sede sui pronomi clitici perché non rilevanti per la discussione che segue, rimandiamo anche Pescarini (2018) per una discussione sui pronomi clitici con una proposta diversa rispetto alla tripartizione sopramenzionata. Alla classificazione in macrocategorie a cui per semplicità espositiva ai fini del nostro contributo ci appoggiamo, sono state proposte alternative, si veda ad esempio l'analisi in Manzini (2014), per cui la mappatura tra i contenuti di PF e LF viene fatta direttamente dal lessico e la componente computazionale opera sugli elementi lessicali e non su proprietà astratte.

sezione 4): 1) A-Topic: introduce (o reintroduce) un cambiamento nel tema del discorso (si vedano Reinhart 1981; Lambrecht 1994; Frascarelli e Hinterhölzl 2007, tra gli altri); 2) Topic Familiare: ha la funzione di mantenere la continuità topicale oppure richiamare alla memoria dell'interlocutore un dato referente nel (si vedano Givón 1983; Frascarelli e Hinterhölzl 2007, tra gli altri); 3) Topic Contrastivo: si pone in contrasto con un altro topic (si vedano Kuno 1976; Büring 1999; Molnar 2002, tra gli altri). Linearmente i topic si trovano nella periferia sinistra della frase, tranne il topic familiare nella sua funzione di richiamo topicale che invece si trova dislocato alla fine della frase.

3. I pronomi soggetto nel doppiaggio

3.1 Il corpus

Nel presente studio analizziamo le versioni doppiate di due lungometraggi e un mediome-traggio, che consiste nella prima puntata di una serie televisiva, e analizziamo la traduzione dei pronomi nella versione italiana facendo riferimento alle differenze precedentemente descritte tra la lingua di partenza e la lingua di arrivo. Abbiamo scelto di inserire anche la puntata della fiction per avere un materiale di analisi diversificato e avere così una visione il più realistica possibile della lingua d'origine. I due lungometraggi *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (it. L'uomo sen-za passato, USP) e *Laitakaupungin valot* (it. Le luci della sera, LS) sono infatti della regia di Aki Kaurismäki che spesso fa usare ai suoi personaggi non il finlandese colloquiale 'puro' ma una sorta di ibrido in cui si osservano forme tipiche sia della varietà standard sia della varietà colloquiale. Il registro del mediometraggio *Karppi* (it. Deadwind, DW) invece è altamente colloquiale, come potremo osservare in 4.2 dove riportiamo i dati quantitativi dei pronomi.

I film sono stati trascritti sia nella lingua originale, in finlandese, sia in italiano. Sono state prese in considerazione tutte le frasi in cui in finlandese fosse presente un pronome, nullo o esplicito, e quindi le traduzioni delle corrispondenti frasi in italiano. Osservando se la traduzione corrisponde all'originale, il nostro studio si concentra principalmente sui pronomi espliciti e ne osserva l'uso, atteso o inatteso.

In particolare nel testo fonte sono state considerate le frasi in cui il soggetto è al caso nomi-nativo e accorda con il verbo, con l'eccezione delle frasi necessive, nelle quali il soggetto logico è al caso genitivo, seguito dal verbo alla forma di default, la terza persona singolare. Abbiamo tenuto in considerazione anche le forme verbali passive quando usate per esprimere la prima persona plurale in quanto il soggetto è presente in questo tipo di costruzione.[14]

Non sono state invece considerate le frasi possessive, passive, esortative, con un soggetto *quirky* (quindi sono escluse ad es. le frasi predicative e possessive, ad eccezione le frasi necessive), imperative e impersonali. Abbiamo inoltre categorizzato come 'altro' frasi in cui la traduzione italiana è resa con un'altra struttura rispetto all'originale (ad esempio cambia la persona gram-maticale del soggetto, una frase passiva resa con una frase attiva).

---

[14] In finlandese colloquiale il passivo viene comunemente usato per la prima persona plurale, alla stregua, ma con le dovute differenze morfosintattiche, di quanto succede in alcune varietà dell'italiano colloquiale in cui è comune la forma 'noi si va':

    (i)   me   juoda-an
           noi   bere-PASS
           'noi beviamo/noi si beve'

3.2 Analisi dei pronomi soggetto

Per ogni film sono stati conteggiati sia i pronomi nulli sia quelli espliciti, in finlandese e in italiano. Le frasi in italiano che sono state quindi prese in considerazione sono quelle che in finlandese hanno un pronome soggetto (nullo o esplicito). I dati da noi raccolti possono essere comparati ai dati dei due corpora dell'italiano, *LIP* (*Lessico di frequenza dell'Italiano Parlato*, De Mauro *et al.* 1993) e *FORLIXT* (Forlì Corpus of Screen Translation), nei quali la frequenza delle forme di pronomi espliciti singolari (incluse le forme di cortesia di 3sɢ) per 100.000 parole costituiscono un totale di 1.675 e 1.420 occorrenze, rispettivamente.

Frequenza per 100.000 parole	
Forme esplicite al singolare (incluse forme di cortesia 3sɢ)	
Laitakaupungin valot	4.179
Le luci della sera	1.061
Mies vailla menneisyyttä	2.128
L'uomo senza passato	1.425
Karppi	5.898
Deadwind	631
LIP	1.675
FORLIXT	1.420

Tabella 2. Frequenza per 100.000 parole dei pronomi espliciti al singolare

Osservando i dati riportati nella Tabella 2, notiamo che i tre film hanno un numero molto diverso di forme pronominali esplicite. Nelle versioni originali finlandesi il maggior numero di pronomi espliciti lo troviamo in *Karppi*, seguito da *Laitakaupungin valot* e *Mies vailla menneisyyttä*. L'alto numero di forme esplicite in *Karppi* (5.898) è prevedibile data la natura altamente colloquiale del registro usato. Nei due lungometraggi le forme esplicite sono nettamente meno e possiamo notare una netta riduzione di forme esplicite in una scala che va dal film con il registro più colloquiale al film con il registro meno colloquiale:

Karppi (5.898) > *Laitakaupungin valot* (4.179) > *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (2.128)

[+colloquiale] $\longleftarrow$ $\longrightarrow$ [+standard]

Tabella 3. Diagramma sull'uso dei pronomi nei film in finlandese

Nelle versioni doppiate in italiano il numero di pronomi soggetto espliciti è decisamente inferiore. Notiamo che la stessa scala osservata per il finlandese è proiettata a specchio:

Deadwind (631) < *Le luci della sera* (1.061) < *L'uomo senza passato* (1.425)

[+colloquiale] ⟵——————————————————————⟶ [+standard]

Tabella 4. Diagramma sull'uso dei pronomi nei film in finlandese

Confrontando però questi dati con i dati provenienti dal corpus dell'italiano parlato *LIP*, notiamo che il numero di pronomi nel film maggiormente colloquiale è nettamente inferiore. Il doppiaggio che più si avvicina ai dati di *LIP* e *FORLIXT* è de *Le luci della sera*. Queste osservazioni si differenziano da studi precedenti sulla traduzione letteraria in cui invece viene proposto che il registro colloquiale in italiano stia subendo un cambiamento verso una distribuzione maggiore di forme esplicite.

In quanto segue presenteremo prima i dati quantitativi per ciascun film seguiti poi dal totale delle forme esplicite nei doppiaggi in italiano. L'analisi si focalizzerà sulle forme singolari e andremo a verificare se i pronomi espliciti sono appropriati o meno in base ai contesti pragmatico-sintattici in cui si trovano.

I pronomi espliciti sono conteggiati nella colonna di sinistra mentre i pronomi nulli nella colonna di destra. Il totale dell'ultima colonna è la somma delle forme nulle ed esplicite per ogni persona. La forma di cortesia in finlandese è indicata 2PL mentre in italiano 3SG.

Laitakaupungin valot				
(originale finlandese)				tot.
espl1sg	14	null1sg	40	54
espl2sg	11	null2sg	29	40
espl3sg	12	null3sg	4	16
espl1pl	2	null1pl	0	2
espl2pl	1	null2pl	1	2
espl2PL	5	null2PL	5	10
espl3pl	2	null3pl	1	3
TOT.	47		80	127
tot. sing.	42		78	120

Tabella 5. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in LV

Le luci della sera				
(doppiaggio italiano)				tot.
espl1sg	6	null1sg	42	48
espl2sg	5	null2sg	29	34
espl3sg	2	null3sg	11	13
espl3SG	2	null3SG	9	11
espl1pl	1	null1pl	0	1
espl2pl	0	null2pl	1	1
espl3pl	0	null3pl	2	2
TOT.	16		94	110
tot. sing.	15		91	106

Tabella 6. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in LS

Per quanto riguarda il lungometraggio *Laitakaupungin valot* 'Le luci della sera', dalle tabelle 5 e 6 vediamo che in finlandese il 37% dei pronomi è esplicito mentre il 63% è nullo. Il totale delle parole, nelle parti prese in considerazione è 1.005. In italiano (tot. parole 1.414) troviamo solo il 14% di forme esplicite mentre l'86% è nullo.

Mies vailla menneisyyttä				
(originale finlandese)				tot.
espl1sg	18	null1sg	132	150
espl2sg	8	null2sg	73	81
espl3sg	22	null3sg	5	27
espl1pl	12	null1pl	22	34
espl2pl	2	null2pl	4	6
espl2PL	15	null2PL	35	50
espl3pl	0	null3pl	4	4
TOT.	77		275	352
tot. sing.	63		245	308

Tabella 7. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in MVM

L'uomo senza passato				
(doppiaggio italiano)				tot.
espl1sg	34	null1sg	92	126
espl2sg	16	null2sg	60	76
espl3sg	6	null3sg	16	22
espl3sG	11	null3sG	19	30
espl1pl	6	null1pl	23	29
espl2pl	1	null2pl	5	6
espl3pl	1	null3pl	2	3
TOT.	75		217	292
tot. sing.	67		187	254

Tabella 8. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in USP

Dalle tabelle 7 e 8 vediamo che nel lungometraggio *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* 'L'uomo senza passato' in finlandese le forme pronominali nulle (78%) sono in numero molto maggiore rispetto alle forme esplicite (22%). Il totale delle parole, nelle parti prese in considerazione è 2961. Nel doppiaggio italiano si mantiene la stessa distribuzione (26% e 74%, rispettivamente). Il numero di parole è nettamente maggiore (ricordiamo che il finlandese è una lingua agglutinante), 4.702.

Karppi				
(originale finlandese)				tot.
espl1sg	46	null1sg	2	48
espl2sg	43	null2sg	12	55
espl3sg	47	null3sg	9	56
espl1pl	18	null1pl	4	22
espl2pl	1	null2pl	0	1
espl2PL	0	null2PL	0	0
espl3pl	7	null3pl	0	7
TOT.	162		27	189
tot. sing.	136		23	159

Tabella 9. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in Karppi

Deadwind				
(doppiaggio italiano)				tot.
espl1sg	5	null1sg	36	41
espl2sg	4	null2sg	25	29
espl3sg	6	null3sg	36	42
espl3SG	1	null3sG	9	10
espl1pl	0	null1pl	17	17
espl2pl	0	null2pl	2	2
espl3pl	0	null3pl	6	6
TOT.	16		131	147
tot. sing.	16		106	122

Tabella 10. I pronomi nulli ed espliciti in DW

Come avevamo accennato in precedenza, il registro dell'originale finlandese di *Deadwind* è altamente colloquiale e, come ci aspettavamo, è solo qui che la quantità di pronomi espliciti è nettamente superiore a quella dei pronomi nulli, 85,7% e 14,3%, rispettivamente. Il

totale delle parole, nelle parti prese in considerazione è 2.306. Nell'adattamento italiano (tot. parole 2.535) invece troviamo la situazione a specchio: 89% pronomi nulli contro l'11% di pronomi espliciti.

Dal primo quadro fornitoci dal confronto di queste tabelle vediamo che l'originale finlandese de *L'uomo senza passato* è il lungometraggio in cui il numero di forme nulle ed esplicite numericamente grosso modo corrisponde tra l'originale finlandese e la versione doppiata in italiano. Si noti altresì che questo è il lungometraggio con il più alto numero di pronomi espliciti in italiano (Tabella 8). Notiamo altresì che, pur essendoci un numero nettamente più basso di pronomi espliciti nella versione italiana *Luci della sera* (Tabella 6) rispetto a quella finlandese (Tabella 5), *Deadwind* (Tabella 10) è l'unico in cui la distribuzione dei pronomi nulli ed espliciti è numericamente a specchio, ovvero al totale alto di forme esplicite finlandesi corrisponde un numero simile di forme nulle in italiano e al totale di forme nulle finlandesi corrisponde un numero altrettanto basso di forme esplicite nella versione italiana. Approfondendo questo primo dato quantitativo abbiamo analizzato la distribuzione dei pronomi espliciti nelle versioni italiane in base al contesto andando quindi a vedere se ci fossero le condizioni discorsivo-sintattiche necessarie per rendere il pronome esplicito pragmaticamente adeguato (utilizzo atteso), in base alle caratteristiche dell'italiano descritte nella Sezione 2, o se invece queste non c'erano e il pronome esplicito risulta inappropriato (utilizzo inatteso), come riportato nella Tabella 11. Infine, dato che il totale dei pronomi soggetto espliciti è relativamente ridotto, la nostra analisi è da considerarsi uno studio pilota in questo ambito che ha l'obbiettivo di esplorare i possibili contesti di interferenza dal finlandese all'italiano facendo riferimento all'adattamento per il doppiaggio.

Film (versione italiana)	N. totale forme esplicite (%)	N. utilizzo atteso (%)	N. utilizzo inatteso (%)
Le luci della sera (LS)	13 (100%)	6 (46,15%)	7 (53,85%)
L'uomo senza passato (MVM)	56 (100%)	22 (39,29%)	34 (60,71%)
Deadwind (DW)	15 (100%)	11 (73,33%)	4 (26,67%)

Tabella 11. Forme esplicite nelle versioni doppiate (escluso plurale e forme di cortesia)

Prima di analizzare nello specifico i vari fattori che possono aver contribuito all'utilizzo di un pronome esplicito in italiano, ci preme altresì sottolineare che la nostra analisi non vuole in nessun modo essere una valutazione della traduzione e dell'adattamento effettuati da parte del traduttore bensì la descrizione di fatti linguistici che possono essere osservati in situazione di contatto linguistico, tanto di parlanti L2 o bilingui quanto, come qui ipotizzato, nel caso di una traduzione e un adattamento per il doppiaggio.

4. Discussione

Come abbiamo visto, nel corpus analizzato troviamo pronomi soggetto espliciti attesi e inattesi. In questa sezione discuteremo queste due categorie restringendo la nostra analisi alle forme pronominali singolari escluso la forma di cortesia in quanto l'analisi di tale forme merita un approfondimento in sede diversa. In tutti gli esempi che seguono, ripresi dalle trascrizioni dei dialoghi dei tre film, usiamo il grassetto per le forme corrispondenti finlandese e italiana ai fini di facilitare la lettura degli esempi.

4.1 Pronomi espliciti attesi

I pronomi sono considerati attesi quando realizzano una funzione discorsiva (topic o focus). Presentiamo di seguito alcuni esempi sull'utilizzo atteso di pronomi espliciti in contesti pragmaticamente marcati.[15]

I pronomi espliciti possono quindi introdurre (o reintrodurre) un argomento conversazionale (A-Topic), oppure avere la funzione di mantenimento della continuità topicale (Topic Familiare), oppure porsi in contrasto con un altro topic (Topic Contrastivo) – gli esempi (16) e (17) illustrano quest'ultimo tipo di topic.

(16)   a.   – Millon   sä   puhuit   sen   kaa viimeks?
                  quando   2SG   parlavi   3SG.di   con ultima.volta
                – Lauantaiaamuna. Me lähettiin   tyttöjen kans kylpylään Hämeenlinnaan.
                sabato.mattina   1PL partivamo ragazze.di con spa   Hämeenlinna.a
                Se   jäi   tänne, sillä   oli   jotain työasioita.
                3SG   rimaneva qui   3SG.a   era   qualche lavoro.cose
       b.   – Quando le ha parlato l'ultima volta?
                – Sabato mattina. Ho portato le nostre figlie alla piscina di Hämeenlinna. Lei
                  è rimasta qui a lavorare.

                                        (DW)

(17)   a.   – Jonain   päivänä sinä   jäät   kiinni.
                qualche giorno   2SG   rimani preso
                – Alalla on riskinsä.   Mutta tämä   on pikkujuttu,
                settore.a è rischi.PX   ma   questo è piccola.cosa
                minkä Ø teen   ystävänpalveluksena.
                che   faccio amico.favore.come
                – Ja minä joudun seurustelemaan sen   nysverön kanssa.
                e 1SG   devo   frequentare   quel fallito.di con
       b.   – O un giorno o l'altro ti arresteranno.
                – Sono rischi del mestiere. Ma questo è solo un favore che Ø sto facendo a un caro amico.
                – E io, però, sono costretta a stare con quello fallito.

                                        (DW)

Come detto, oltre ai topic, i pronomi espliciti possono realizzare anche un focus contrastivo, come in (18) e (19), realizzato in finlandese tramite la particella *-hAn*.

(18)   a.   – Ette   ole   maksaneet.
                non.2PL   avere   pagato
                – Minähän   tämän   järjestin.
                io.PRT   questo organizzavo
       b.   – Dovete pagare l'ingresso.
                – L'ho organizzato io, il concerto.

                                        (USP)

---

[15] Naturalmente, questi non sono gli unici contesti in cui è atteso un pronome esplicito ma sono quelli riscontrati nel corpus in esame.

(19) a. – Se   on   karkuri. Vankimielisairaalasta.
           3SG   è   evaso   criminale.psichiatrico.ospedale.da
           – Kysytään siltä,   sitten kun tokenee. Siihen   asti saa levätä.
           chiediamo 3SG.da   allora che rimettersi ciò.a   fino può riposare
           – Sinähän   sen   päätät.
           2SG.PRT   ciò   decidi
      b. – Ma è evidente, è scappato dall'ospedale criminale.
           – Lo chiederemo a lui appena si rimette. Per adesso resterà qui.
           – Sei tu il capo.

(USP)

In (20) abbiamo un caso di focus contrastivo (correttivo), realizzato tramite l'avverbio rafforzativo *kyllä* 'certo', e rafforzato ancora dalla forma enclitica correttiva *eiku* '(invece) no/bensì' – nella traduzione il verbo *preferire* rende efficacemente il senso della 'correzione': *non voglio essere accompagnato, bensì preferisco andare a piedi*.

(20) a. – Ei,   kyl   mä   voin   heittää.
           no   certo   1SG   posso accompagnare
           – Eiku   mä   kävelen   kyllä.
           no.bensì   1SG   cammino   certo
      b. – No dai, Ø ti accompagno.
           – Ø Preferisco fare due passi.

(DW)

Il pronome esplicito può trovarsi in un contesto marcato da una particella clitica come *-kin/-kAAn* ('anche'/'neanche'), come nell'esempio (21).

(21) a. – Miksette   kysy   äidiltänne? Tai   ystäviltänne?
           perché.non.2PL chiedere madre.da.PX oppure amici.da.PX
           Kaikilla täällä on ystäviä.
           tutti.a qui è amici
           – On   minullakin yksi. Mutta ei   hänkään tiedä.
           ho   1SG.a.PRT uno ma   non   3SG.PRT sa
           – Löikö   hänkin päänsä?
           batteva.INT   3SG.PRT testa.PX
      b. – Chieda a sua madre allora. Oppure agli amici. Qui tutti hanno degli amici.
           – Ne ho uno anche io, infatti. Ma neanche lui sa niente.
           – Anche lui ha battuto la testa?

(USP)

4.2 Pronomi espliciti inattesi

Tra quelli inattesi possiamo individuare principalmente i seguenti quattro contesti di uso inatteso dei pronomi soggetto: (i) l'interferenza diretta dalla lingua di partenza alla lingua di arrivo (esplicito → esplicito), (ii) l'enfasi inappropriata, (iii) l'interferenza indiretta dal sistema della lingua di partenza (nullo → esplicito), (iv) utilizzo produttivo di pronomi espliciti. Consideriamo questi due ultimi casi di interferenza indiretta dal sistema della lingua di partenza.

L'interferenza indiretta dal sistema pronominale del finlandese sull'italiano è osservabile in particolare in questi due casi nel nostro corpus: quando un pronome nullo viene tradotto con un pronome esplicito invece che nullo; e quando un pronome esplicito è usato *ex novo*, cioè quando nell'originale non c'è un pronome (nullo o esplicito) ma nella traduzione sì.

(i) L'interferenza diretta: Si tratta dei casi in cui possiamo osservare un'interferenza diretta dalla lingua di origine in un certo contesto. In questi contesti si ha un pronome esplicito in finlandese tradotto con un pronome pronunciato anche in italiano (esplicito → esplicito); questo tipo di uso del pronome non è agrammaticale bensì pragmaticamente ridondante, come vediamo nell'esempio (22a-b) e la proposta di traduzione alternativa in (22c).

(22) a.   – No   hakiks   Anna lähestymiskieltoa?
              allora chiedeva.INT   Anna restrizione.ordine
            – Ei,   ei   se   semmosia   pelänny.
              no   non.3SG 3SG   cose.di.quel.genere temeva
              Ja se sano,   ettei   semmosella paperilla mitään muutenkaan estetä.
              e 3SG diceva che.non.3SG quel.tipo   carta   niente in.ogni.caso impedire
      b.   – Anna ha richiesto un ordine restrittivo?
            – No, lei era abituata a certe sceneggiate. Ø Pensava che un foglio di carta non
              servisse a niente.

                                                                                    (DW)
      c.   – Anna ha chiesto un ordine restrittivo?
            – No, Ø era abituata a certe sceneggiate. Ø Pensava che un foglio di carta
              non servisse a niente.

Nell'originale finlandese i pronomi di terza persona singolare *se* sono delle riprese anaforiche del referente soggetto *Anna* dell'enunciato precedente e hanno chiaramente la funzione di pronomi deboli. Nella traduzione il primo pronome è stato reso inappropriatamente esplicito, mentre il secondo è nullo, come atteso per le riprese anaforiche. Un pronome forte potrebbe essere motivato in questo contesto se portasse un tratto discorsivo aggiuntivo all'enunciato, come un'enfasi contrastiva oppure un cambio o una continuità topicale ma tali funzioni discorsive non sono applicabili in questo caso per motivi evidenti: mancanza di contrasto, mancanza di *topic shift*, e nessuna necessità per mantenere la continuità topicale, vista la brevità della catena topicale. Il pronome esplicito in questo contesto è semplicemente ridondante.

Deduciamo quindi che si tratti di un'interferenza dalla lingua di partenza, ovvero dal finlandese colloquiale, in cui i pronomi deboli sono generalmente espliciti (e per la terza persona obbligatori). Possiamo ipotizzare inoltre che la realizzazione esplicita sia frutto di un uso 'innovativo' (nei termini di Cardinaletti 2004: 140) del pronome morfologicamente forte in un contesto in cui sia richiesto un pronome debole. La scelta da parte del traduttore di utilizzare il pronome esplicito potrebbe essere attribuita quindi al fenomeno dell'indebolimento pronominale, ovvero alla ricategorizzazione del pronome forte in pronome debole, un processo di mutazione in corso nell'italiano spontaneo contemporaneo (Renzi 2000; Cardinaletti 2004).

(ii) L'enfasi inappropriata: Esaminiamo due tipi di contesti di enfasi inappropriata: 1) contesti in cui l'enfasi si verifica solo nella traduzione, ma non nell'originale; 2) contesti in cui nell'originale abbiamo un elemento enfatizzante (come le particelle discorsive *-hAn, -pA, -kin*) su un costituente e in italiano l'enfasi viene attribuita erroneamente a un pronome soggetto, che

appare quindi nella forma esplicita. In entrambi i casi l'enfasi inappropriata porta a una lettura diversa dall'originale. Si osservi a questo proposito l'esempio (23), in cui l'utilizzo del pronome esplicito nella traduzione corrisponde a un'interpretazione diversa rispetto all'originale, come vediamo nella proposta di traduzione in (23c).

(23) a.   – Ketä te suojelette? Liikkeeseen mentiin   teidän
           chi 2PL proteggete negozio.a si.è.andati 2PL.di
           koodillanne ja avaimillanne.
           codice.con.PX e chiavi.con.PX
           – Ø en   tiedä   mistään ryöstöstä.
             non.1SG sapere niente.di furto.di
      b.   – Chi sta proteggendo? Sono entrati nel negozio con il suo codice e le sue chiavi.
           – Io non so niente del furto.

                                                                              (LS)
      c.   – Chi sta proteggendo? Sono entrati nel negozio con il suo codice e le sue chiavi.
           – Ø non so niente del furto.

In questo contesto, la realizzazione del pronome esplicito è sorprendente in quanto non rispecchia la l'originale in cui la frase non è marcata come vediamo dall'assenza del pronome, dall'assenza di particelle clitiche discorsive e dall'ordine canonico dei costituenti. In italiano, dal punto di vista della struttura informazionale, l'utilizzo di un pronome esplicito porta un valore discorsivo aggiuntivo alla traduzione, ad esempio contrastivo (io vs. altri), assente nell'originale.

L'esempio (24) rappresenta un altro caso in cui l'utilizzo del pronome esplicito comporta una lettura marcata, che nell'originale è assente. Il pronomi espliciti *tu* e *io* creano infatti una lettura contrastiva tra essi mentre nell'originale non si evince nessun tipo di contrasto tra i due soggetti.

(24) a.   – Saatte rahat jo huomenna. Mikäli Luoja   suo.
             avete soldi già domani   se   Dio   permette
           – Hänen polkunsa ovat minulle tuntemattomat.
             lui.di sentieri.PX sono me.a   sconosciute
           Mutta jos Ø ette   maksa, Ø lähetän tappajakoirani puraisemaan
           ma   se   non.2PL pagare   mando killer.cane.PX mordere.a
           teiltä nenän pois.
           voi.da naso via
      b.   – Avrò i soldi già domani, a Dio piacendo.
           – Le sue vie sono infinite e a me sono sconosciute, ma se tu non paghi entro
             domani, io ti mando il mio cane killer a staccarti il naso con un morso.

                                                                              (USP)
      c.   […] ma se Ø non paghi entro domani, Ø ti mando il mio cane killer a staccarti
           il naso con un morso.

Anche in (25b) la traduzione italiana del secondo pronome *tu* implica una lettura marcata. Notiamo tuttavia che il pronome soggetto precedente, nella frase principale, non è esplicito. Il fatto di avere il secondo soggetto esplicito dona un'interpretazione contrastiva tra i due soggetti (*io* e *tu*) totalmente assente nell'originale, la cui traduzione più appropriata sarebbe quindi (25c).

(25)   a.   – Ø Tulin,   koska Ø annoit osoitteen.
                          venivo perché davi indirizzo
          b.   – Ø Sono venuto, perché tu m'hai dato l'indirizzo.

                                                                                              (USP)

          c.   – Ø Sono venuto, perché Ø mi hai dato l'indirizzo.

Nell'esempio che segue, (26), si presenta un altro caso di marcatezza inappropriata nell'adattamento italiano.

(26)   a.   – […] Minun täytyy matkustaa.
                              1SG   devo viaggiare
                          – Milloin?
                          quando
                          – Nyt heti.   Ø Soitan sinulle.
                          adesso subito   chiamo 2SG.a
          b.   – […] Devo partire al più presto.
                          – Quando?
                          – Subito. Ti telefono io.

                                                                                              (LS)

          c.   – Ø ti telefono.

La posizione postverbale del pronome *io* realizza un contrasto che nell'originale non è presente. Una traduzione più vicina all'originale sarebbe (26c).

Si osservi ora l'enfasi inappropriata in presenza di una particella discorsiva con valore focalizzante. In una frase come (27a) l'enfasi espressa dalla particella *-pA* è erroneamente trasferita al pronome *io* in (27b).

(27)   a.   – Entä   Helsinki? Oletko täältä?
                          e.INT Helsinki   sei.INT qui.da
                          – Enpä Ø   usko.   Kaupunki tuntuu vieraalta.
                          non.1SG.PRT   credere città sembra estranea
          b.   – E Helsinki? Sei di qui?
                          – Io penso di no. A me sembra una città estranea.

                                                                                              (USP)

          c.   – Ø penso di no. […]

Nell'originale tramite la particella *-pA* l'enfasi cade sulla negazione (*penso di no* vs. *penso di sì*), ma non influisce in nessun modo sulla marcatezza del soggetto di prima persona singolare, che è reso, appunto, nullo, mentre in italiano il pronome esplicito implica un valore discorsivo aggiuntivo non presente nell'originale per cui una traduzione più appropriata sarebbe (27c).

L'esempio (28) rappresenta un contesto particolare, perché si tratta della prima frase di una scena che inizia in mezzo al discorso. Infatti, si capisce dalla congiunzione iniziale che la frase è la continuazione di un evento comunicativo già iniziato prima che lo spettatore vi entrasse.

(28)   a. Ja Ø uskoisinkin, että vaikka jätkien   uusi   tyyli olisikin   osittain maailmallista,
               e   crederei.PRT che anche.se ragazzi.di nuovo stile sarebbe.PRT in.parte mondano
               siitä   olisi   jossain määrin   hyötyä koko aatteelle.
               esso.da   sarebbe in.qualche.modo   utile   tutto movimento

      b.   E io sono più che convinto che, anche se il nuovo stile dei ragazzi dovesse risultare in parte mondano, potrebbe comunque essere di grande utilità al movimento.

                                                               (USP)

      c.   E Ø sono più che convinto che [...]

Nell'originale il tratto di continuità discorsiva (*discourse continuity*) della frase è reso evidente tramite il soggetto nullo. Infatti, se questa frase fosse il primo enunciato del discorso, un pronome esplicito sarebbe più naturale. Nella traduzione italiana il pronome è realizzato e, di conseguenza, ha un'interpretazione marcata piuttosto che di continuità discorsiva. Come abbiamo visto, e dall'elemento sui cui viene inserita. Se inserita su di un pronome, richiede che tale pronome sia forte, cioè esplicito nel nostro caso. In (27a) però il significato della particella è diverso: essa ha un valore discorsivo, e il suo significato è 'pertanto, perciò'. Ci sembra perciò plausibile che sia stata la presenza della particella -*kin* ad aver creato un 'senso di marcatezza', inappropriatamente reso tramite un pronome esplicito in italiano, *io*, che risulta inappropriato.

(iii) L'interferenza indiretta: Si tratta di un utilizzo ridondante di pronomi espliciti nella traduzione italiana quando nell'originale il soggetto è nullo (nullo → esplicito) e non ci sono altri elementi focalizzanti, com'era il caso in (ii). Questo ci suggerisce che l'interferenza non è quindi dettata direttamente dalla frase da cui si traduce, cioè dal dialogo originale, ma piuttosto dal sistema e da proprietà quali lo status di lingua a *pro-drop* parziale del finlandese.[16] È interessante notare che questo tipo di utilizzo di pronomi espliciti rappresenta la categoria più numerosa nel corpus da noi analizzato. Il risultato nell'adattamento italiano è un pronome esplicito ridondante. Questo tipo di interferenza non è naturalmente sistematica, come è evidente dalla prima battuta degli esempi (29) e (30) in cui un pronome nullo e un pronome esplicito sono correttamente tradotti con un pronome nullo in italiano.

(29)   a.   – Milloin Ø voin muuttaa?
                quando   posso trasferirmi
            – Heti, kun Ø käännän selkäni.
               subito quando giro   schiena.ᴘx
      b.   – Quando Ø posso traslocare?
            – Appena io mi giro e non ti vedo.

                                                               (USP)

      c.   – Appena Ø mi giro e non ti vedo.

(30)   a.   – Mikä mies sinä   olet?
                che   uomo 2 sɢ sei
            – Kun Ø en   tiedä.
                che   non.1 sɢ sapere
      b.   – Allora ci dici Ø chi sei.
            – Io non lo so.

                                                               (USP)

      c.   – Ø Non lo so.

---

[16] Questo tipo di interferenza ricorda la vulnerabilità riscontrata in parlanti bilingui che tendono a usare maggiormente i pronomi espliciti rispetto ai parlanti monolingue (si veda ad esempio Sorace *et al.* 2009).

(31)   a.   – Olen pahoillani. Ø en ole herrasmies.   Tapaammeko huomenna?
                sono dispiaciuto   non.1SG essere gentiluomo   ci.vediamo.INT domani
        b.   – Mi devi perdonare. Io non sono un gentiluomo. Ci vediamo domani?

                                                                                (USP)

        c.   […] Ø non sono un gentiluomo. […]

Infine, un ultimo caso di enfasi inappropriata è rappresentato da una frase come (31) in cui in nell'originale finlandese è assente qualsiasi marcatezza. Infatti, non vi è nessuna motivazione discorsiva di valore contrastivo (Topic Contrastivo) o di *aboutness-shift* (A-Topic) per un pronome esplicito, se non lo consideriamo come un Topic Familiare, del tutto facoltativo e ridondante in questo contesto. Inoltre, notiamo nella traduzione *il bacio* realizzato nella posizione di un Topic Familiare con la funzione di richiamo, totalmente assente nell'originale.

(32)   a.   – Ø Varastit suudelman.
                rubavi   bacio
        b.   – Tu l'hai rubato, il bacio.

                                                                                (USP)

        c.   – Ø Hai rubato un bacio.

Gli esempi (29)-(32) rappresentano il caso più chiaro di utilizzo ridondante dei pronomi espliciti nella traduzione, in quanto essi non sembrano avere nessuna motivazione sintattica né discorsiva per essere espliciti in italiano ma non possono essere considerati neanche così pragmaticamente inadeguati come, ad esempio, i casi precedentemente descritti in (i). A nostro avviso una spiegazione viene dall'interferenza dal sistema parzialmente *pro-drop* della lingua di partenza, che induce il traduttore a utilizzare il pronome esplicito in modo ridondante. Cardinaletti (2005) a questo riguardo adotta dagli studi di psicolinguistica il termine "attrito linguistico" per riferirsi alla "modificazione (parziale) della grammatica mentale della lingua nativa del traduttore" (Cardinaletti 2005: 60). L'utilizzo ridondante dovuto all'interferenza è sicuramente più facilmente accettato in italiano contemporaneo, che si trova in una fase di mutamento pronominale (Renzi 2000).

(iv) L'utilizzo produttivo: con questo termine intendiamo dei contesti 'extra' che non si trovano nell'originale, o che sono realizzati tramite una struttura completamente diversa rispetto all'originale, e sono pertanto da considerarsi come dei prodotti linguistici del traduttore in cui si realizzano pronomi espliciti inattesi. Questi contesti mostrano come l'interferenza sia possibile anche in contesti creati *ex novo* da parte del traduttore, senza nessun corrispettivo nei contesti originali. Si noti che questi casi sono stati esclusi dall'analisi quantitativa, e quindi non hanno contribuito numericamente all'analisi, in quanto non presenti nel corpus finlandese. Si osservi l'esempio (33), in cui la traduzione non rispecchia l'originale né sintatticamente né lessicalmente. Evidenziamo con il grassetto la forma finlandese rilevante riportando anche il contesto precedente per maggiore chiarezza.

(33)   a.   – Kai   te nyt   sentään   nimenne   osaatte kirjoittaa?
              PRT   2PL adesso   almeno   nome.PX   sapete scrivere
              – Osaan. Mutta nämä kysymykset.
                so   ma   queste domande

   – Jospa minä autan. Ei se   nyt niin vaikeaa ole.
   se.PRT 1SG aiuto non.3SG 3SG adesso così difficile essere
   Ensin sukunimi, sitten molemmat etunimet, syntymäaika, -paikka ja sosiaaliturvatunnus.
   prima cognome poi entrambi nomi nascita.data luogo e previdenza.sociale.codice
   – Voinko auttaa?
   posso.INT aiutare

  b. – Non mi dica che non sa neanche scrivere il suo nome?
    – Certo, però tutte queste domande…
    – Lasci che l'aiuti io. Non è poi così difficile. Prima il cognome, poi i due nomi di
      battesimo, il luogo e la data di nascita e il numero della previdenza sociale.
    – Se io li sapessi.

<div align="right">(USP)</div>

  c. […] Se Ø li sapessi.

L'enunciato *Voinko auttaa?* (lett. 'Posso aiutare?') è una battuta con un valore retorico ironico e non ha un corrispettivo nella traduzione italiana. È interessante notare che la traduzione realizza un pronome esplicito totalmente inatteso anche in una frase creata *ex novo* dal traduttore/adattatore.

4.3 Pronomi nulli

  Il presente contributo si concentra principalmente sulle forme esplicite inattese ma anche le forme nulle meritano una menzione. Infatti, sebbene siano principalmente i pronomi espliciti a creare effetti a sorpresa nell'adattamento verso l'italiano, abbiamo riscontrato anche casi di pronomi nulli attesi e inattesi.

  I casi dei pronomi nulli attesi sono i casi in cui la traduzione e l'adattamento verso l'italiano sono pragmaticamente adeguati e coerenti con l'originale.

(34) a. Mutta kaikki on turhaa. Ø En voi ostaa mitään. Ø Olen hylkiö.
    ma tutto è inutile non.1SG potere comperare niente sono reietto
  b. Però è tutto inutile, Ø non posso comperare niente. Ø Sono un reietto.

<div align="right">(USP)</div>

  Un altro caso di pronomi nulli attesi è rappresentato da contesti in cui nell'originale vi è un pronome debole, come in (35a), reso nullo nella traduzione (35b). Come sopra esposto, nella varietà del finlandese colloquiale i pronomi espliciti sono fortemente preferibili, e in questo caso entrambi i pronomi di 1SG *mä* sono deboli e correttamente interpretati come tali in quanto resi nulli nella traduzione.

(35) a. – Ei, kyl mä voin heittää.
      no certo 1SG posso accompagnare
    – Eiku mä kävelen kyllä.
      no.bensì 1SG cammino certo
  b. – No dai, Ø ti accompagno.
    – Ø Preferisco fare due passi.

<div align="right">(DW)</div>

  Come riscontrato anche negli altri studi sopra menzionati, i pronomi nulli sono correttamente utilizzati e quindi non ci sono usi non attesi anche nel corpus da noi analizzato.

5. Conclusioni

In questo studio abbiamo analizzato il corpus di lingua italiana doppiata proveniente da due lungometraggi e un mediometraggio focalizzandoci in particolare su di un fenomeno di interfaccia sintassi-semantica/pragmatica ampiamente studiato in vari ambiti: la distribuzione dei pronomi soggetto nulli ed espliciti. I nostri dati confermano quanto riportato in studi precedenti sull'italiano delle traduzioni letterarie, principalmente dall'inglese e dal tedesco verso l'italiano, in cui è stato riscontrato un uso inatteso di pronomi soggetto espliciti nella versione italiana. Il finlandese e l'italiano si differenziano per il cosiddetto parametro del soggetto nullo e, come proposto in Cardinaletti (2004, 2005), crediamo che siano la situazione di attrito linguistico in cui si trova il traduttore/l'adattatore, e l'interferenza tra le due lingue la causa principale di un uso inatteso di pronomi espliciti. In una lingua sotto attrito infatti si tende ad accettare più facilmente strutture linguistiche che risultano pragmaticamente inappropriate, o comunque non preferite, dai parlanti nativi (cfr. Cook 2008, 2012; Tsimpli *et al.* 2004). A un'analisi più approfondita abbiamo individuato principalmente quattro tipi di contesti di interferenza in cui si riscontra un maggiore uso dei pronomi espliciti: quella che chiamiamo *interferenza diretta* dalla lingua di partenza alla lingua di arrivo, ovvero la traduzione di un pronome esplicito con un pronome esplicito quando comunque la corrispondente forma nulla sarebbe preferibile; *l'enfasi inappropriata*, cioè l'uso di un pronome esplicito per rendere l'enfasi dell'enunciato finlandese in cui però tale tratto si trova su di un elemento diverso dal pronome soggetto; quella che chiamiamo *interferenza indiretta* dal sistema della lingua di partenza, indiretta perché nell'originale si trova sì un pronome soggetto nullo ma che viene reso con un pronome esplicito inappropriato pragmaticamente; e infine il caso interessante di *utilizzo produttivo* di pronomi espliciti *ex novo*, ovvero in assenza sia di un enunciato corrispondente nell'originale sia di uno degli altri contesti individuati.

Filmografia

Jokela, Rike. 2018. *Karppi* (it. Deadwind).
Kaurismäki, Aki. 2002. *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (it. L'uomo senza passato).
Kaurismäki, Aki. 2006. *Laitakaupungin valot* (it. Le luci della sera).

Riferimenti bibliografici

Belletti, Adriana. 2001. "Inversion as Focalization." In *Subject Inversion in Romance and the Theory of Universal Grammar*, ed. by Affke Hulk, Jean-Yyes Pollock , 60-90. Oxford-New York: Oxford UP.
Belletti, Adriana. 2004 (ed.), *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP.
Bianchi, Valentina. 2013. "On Focus Movement in Italian." In *Information Structure and Agreement*, ed. by M.V. Camacho-Taboada, A.L. Jiménez Fernández, Javier Martín-Gonzáles, Mariano Reyes-Tejedor, 193-211. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Bianchi, Valentina, Silvio Cruschina, and Giuliano Bocci. 2015. "Focus Fronting and its Implicatures." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2013. Selected Papers from 'Going Romance'*, E.O. Aboh, J.C. Schaeffer and Petra Sleeman, 1-19. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Brattico, Pauli, Saara Huhmarniemi, Jukka Purma, and Anne Vainikka. 2013. "The Structure of Finnish CP and Feature Inheritance." *Finno-Ugric Languages and Linguistics* 2: 66-109.
Brunetti, Lisa. 2004. *A Unification of Focus.* Padua: Unipress.
Brunetti, Lisa. 2009. "Discourse Functions of Fronted Foci in Italian and Spanish." In *Focus and Background in Romance Languages*, ed. by Andreas Dufter and Daniel Jacob, 43-81. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Büring, Daniel. 1999. "Topic." In *Focus - Linguistic Cognitive and Computational Perspectives*, ed. by Peter Bosch and Rob van der Sandt, 142-165. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 1998. "On the Deficient/Strong Opposition in Possessive Systems." In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today* 22: 65-111.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2004. "La traduzione dei pronomi: interferenza sintattica e cambiamento linguistico." In *Lingua, mediazione linguistica e interferenza*, a cura di Giuliana Garzone e Anna Cardinaletti, 129-150. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2005. "La traduzione: un caso di attrito linguistico." In *L'italiano delle traduzioni*, a cura di Anna Cardinaletti e Giuliana Garzone, 59-83. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Cardinaletti, Anna and Michal Starke. 1999. "The Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronous." In *Clitics of the Languages of Europe,* ed. by Henk van Riemsdjik. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

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

Cook, Vivian. 2008. *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching*. London: Hodder Education.

Cook, Vivian. 2012. "Multi-Competence." In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, ed. by C.A. Chapelle, 3768-3774. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dal Pozzo, Lena. 2007. "Reconsidering the Finnish Possessive System." *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, XLVI (1): 79-99.

Dal Pozzo, Lena. 2012. "New Information Subjects in Finnish: An Experimental Study." *FULL Finno-Ugric Languages and Linguistics* 1 (1-2): 67-81.

De Mauro, Tullio, Federico Mancini, Massimo Vedovelli, e Miriam Voghera. 1993. *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato.* Milano: Etaslibri.

Frascarelli, Mara and Roland Hinterhölzl. 2007. "Types of Topics in German and Italian." In *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form,* ed. by Susanne Winkler e Kerstin Schwabe, 87-116. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Frascarelli, Mara. 2007. "Subjects, Topics and the Interpretation of Referential Pro. An Interface Approach to the Linking of (Null) Pronouns." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 25: 691-734.

Frascarelli, Mara. 2018. "The Interpretation of Pro in Consistent and Partial NS Languages: A Comparative Interface Analysis." In *Null-Subjects in Generative Grammar. A Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective,* ed. by Federica Cognola and Jan Casalicchio, 211-239. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP.

Garzone, Giuliana. 2005. "Osservazioni sull'assetto del testo italiano tradotto dall'inglese." In *L'italiano delle traduzioni*, a cura di Anna Cardinaletti e Giuliana Garzone, 35-57. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2005. "La struttura informativa della frase e il focus nell'italiano delle traduzioni." In *L'italiano delle traduzioni*, a cura di Anna Cardinaletti e Giuliana Garzone, 107-122. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Givón, Talmy (ed.). 1983. *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkuna, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Heinonen, and Irja Alho. 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: SKS.

Hauser, Marc D., Tecumseh W. Fitch, and Noam Chomsky. 2002. "The Faculty of Language: What Is It, Who Has It, and How Did It Evolve?." *Science* 22, 298 (5598): 1569-1579.

Holmberg, Anders. 2005. "Is There a Little Pro? Evidence from Finnish." *Linguistic Inquiry* 36 (4): 533-564.

Holmberg, Anders. 2008. "The Syntax of the Finnish Question Particle." ms. <lingbuzz/000596> (06/2020).

Holmberg, Anders. 2010. "The Null Subject Parameters." In *Parametric Variation: The Null Subject Parameter*, ed. by Theresa Biberauer, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts, Michelle Sheehan, 88-124. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Holmberg, Anders, Aarti Nayudu and Michelle Sheehan. 2009. "Three Partial Null-Subject Languages: A Comparison of Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Marathi." *Studia Linguistica* 63 (1): 59-97.

Holmberg, Anders and Ian Roberts. 2014. "Parameters and the Three Factors of Language Design." In *Linguistic Variation in the Minimalist Framework,* ed. by M.C. Picallo, 61-81. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Karlsson, Fred. 2013. *Grammatica finlandese*. Milano: Hoepli.

Kuno, Susumu. 1976. "Subject, Theme, and the Speaker's Empathy: A Re-Examination of Relativization Phenomena." In *Subject and Topic*, ed. by C.N. Li, 417-444. New York: Academic Press.

Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1965. *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language.* PhD dissertation. Cambridge, MIT. [Rist. 1979, New York: Garland Press.]

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Molnár, Valéria. 2002. "Contrast from a Contrastive Perspective." In *Information Structure in a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Hallelgard, Hilde, Stig Johansson, Bergljot Behrens, and Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen, 147-161. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

Pescarini, Diego. 2018. "Stressed Enclitics are not Weak Pronouns. A Plea for Allomorphy." *In Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 14: Selected Papers from the 46th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)*, ed. by Lori Repetti and Francisco Ordóñez, 231-244. New York: Stony Brook.

Puglielli, Annarita e Mara Frascarelli. 2008. *L'analisi Linguistica. Dai dati alla teoria*. Roma and Cesena: Caissa Editore.

Renzi, Lorenzo. 2000. "Le tendenze dell'italiano contemporaneo. Note sul cambiamento linguistico nel breve periodo." *Studi di lessicografia italiana* 17, 279-319.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. "Pragmatics and Linguistics: An Analysis of Sentence Topics." *Philosophica* 27 (1): 53-94.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax.* Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Roberts, Ian, and Anders Holmberg. 2010. "Introduction." In *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, ed. by Teresa Biberauer, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts and Michelle Sheehan, 1-56. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Sorace, Antonella. 2005. "Syntactic Optionality at Interfaces." In *Syntax and Variation: Reconciling the Biological and the Social,* ed. by Leonie Cornips and Karen P. Corrigan , 46-111. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sorace, Antonella, and Ludovica Serratrice. 2009. "Internal and External Interfaces in Bilingual Language Development: Beyond Structural Overlap." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 13 (2): 195-210.

Sorace, Antonella, Ludovica Serratrice, and Michela Baldo. 2009. "Discourse Condition on Subject Pronoun Realization: Testing the Linguistic Intuitions of Older Bilingual Children." *Lingua* 119 (3): 460-477.

Tsimpli, Ianthi, Antonella Sorace, Caroline Heycock, and Francesca Filiaci. 2004. "First Language Attrition and Syntactic Subjects: A Study of Greek and Italian Near-Native Speakers of English." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 8 (3): 257-277.

Serratrice, Ludovica, Antonella Sorace, and Sandra Paoli. 2004. "Crosslinguistic Interference at the Syntax-Pragmatics Interface: Subjects and Objects in English-Italian Bilingual and Monolingual Acquisition." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7 (3): 183-205.

Vainikka, Anne, and Yonota Levy. 1999. "Empty Subject in Finnish and Hebrew." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17, 613-671.

Vilkuna, Maria. 1989. *Free Word Order in Finnish.* Helsinki: SKS.

Vilkuna, Maria. 1995. "Discourse Configurationality in Finnish." In *Discourse Configurational Languages*, ed. by K.É. Kiss, 244-268. Oxford: Oxford UP.

White, Lydia. 2003. *Second Language Acquisition and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

White, Lydia. 2011. "Second Language Acquisition at the Interfaces." *Lingua* 121 (4): 577-590.

The semantics of the Italian adverb *magari*: a threshold-based approach to its polysemy[1]

Nicola D'Antuono
Università degli Studi di Bologna
(<nicola.dantuono@studio.unibo.it>)

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the several uses of the Italian adverbial *magari* (the optative, short answer, hypothetical, concessive and imperative uses) can be led back to one basic core meaning. This core meaning is taken to account for all the uses of the item without reference to a grammaticalization process, but only through syntactic and pragmatic operations such as ellipsis, scope variability and pragmatic interpretation on the part of the hearer. *Magari* first appears in Italian optative constructions, which are characterised by the presence of a scalar reading along an epistemic dimension. The expansion of the uses of *magari* is explained in terms of its additive properties (i.e. need for other propositions to be true within the Common Ground) plus a requirement that the propositional content be higher than a contextually given threshold along an epistemic scale.

Keywords: *adverbs, discourse particles, implicatures, scalarity, semantic-pragmatic interface*

1. Adverbs and particles: a unified view

The introductory paragraph will concern the framework of this paper. In particular, the classes which will be dealt with are described and the relation between them is understood to be a dynamic one, which is dominated by an analysis that considers polysemy[2], rather than grammaticalization or lexical proliferation, to be the origin of the diverse contexts and interpretations in which an item is found.

---

[1] I thank two anonymous reviewers for their insightful observations on a previous version of this paper, which have helped clarify some points and enrich some of the perspectives exposed here. I also thank Giuliano Bocci for the discussions and for the advice he has given me at an early stage of the development of this paper. Needless to say, I am responsible for any remaining shortcomings and errors.

[2] As an anonymous reviewer correctly points out, the term is here intended as syntactic polysemy. In fact, throughout the paper it will be assumed that the lexical semantics of the adverb do not vary according to the context, and that pragmatic and syntactic factors are responsible for the different interpretations of the item.

1.1 A working definition of discourse particles: their key features and functions

The sheer bulk of research on Discourse Particles (DParts) (Manzini 2015; Cardinaletti 2015 for Italian), Discourse Markers (Fraser) and the research on German Modal Particles (MPs, Abrahams 1991; Coniglio 2008 and Coniglio and Zegrean 2010 for Italian; Gast 2008, to mention a few) makes it even hard to pinpoint their exact nature, since the characterisation of the class varies among researchers, often considerably. Consequently, and since a taxonomy of DParts is not the aim of this paper, a strict distinction will not be attempted. Rather, the main features of DParts with respect to other particles will be examined, in order to make it possible to individuate their uses and functions.

In general, these particles can be safely opposed to grammatical particles. The latter are invariable elements, like the ones mentioned above, but serve a grammatical function: the particle *to* in the verb *to eat* is one such element, since it marks infinitive mood. On the other hand, the particles under exam serve no grammatical purpose, rather they are associated with discourse management, modality and pragmatic purposes.[3] For example, DMs are defined by Fraser (1991: 7) as "lexical expressions, syntactically independent of the basic sentence structure, which have a general core meaning signalling the relationship of the current utterance to the prior discourse".

(1)   John was very rude yesterday, so I decided never to talk to him again.

In (1) the function of *so* is that of marking the relation between the first and the second part of utterance. Removing it does not alter the truth conditions of the proposition, nor does it render the sentence ungrammatical. Its purpose is that of organising the flow of discourse and of managing it, in order to make it clear to the hearer in which way the two parts of the utterance are related. In Fraser's terms, *so* is an inferential marker, showing what follows it to be a consequence of what precedes it.

MPs have in common with DMs the lack of truth-conditional import, plus a strong bond with illocutionary and pragmatic properties. As their name suggests, these particles are used to express modality, thus manifesting the speaker's intentions and attitudes with respect to the current discourse and situation. They are usually associated with German:

(2)   a.   Kannst du *denn* singen?
                 Can.2SG you PRT sing
                 'Can you sing?'
         b.   Peter ist *ja* klug
                 Peter is PRT clever
                 'Peter is clever, as you know.'
         c.   Ruf *bloß* die Polizei!
                 Call PRT the police
                 'Call the police' ('You may call the police', 'Call the police if you please')

MPs are also sensitive to clause-typing. *Denn*, "which usually expresses the speaker's concern" (Coniglio 2008: 11, fn. 29), as to the subject of (or answer to) the question is only found in interrogative sentences. *Ja* is only positive and points to a shared knowledge of the content of the utterance both on the part of the speaker and hearer ('as we know', 'as is known'). *Bloß*

---

[3] For the difference between grammatical and discourse particle, see also Roussou (2015).

is characterised as a mitigating particle (Abtonugspartikel), which is used to attenuate the illocutionary effect of the imperative.

These particles have been studied by Coniglio and Zegrean (2010), in particular with regard to the split between their illocutionary effect and clause-type restrictions. The authors set out a theory in which Rizzi's (1997) complex CP is enriched by splitting the Force projection in CT (clause type) and ILL (Illocutionary Force). That is because a sentence could be interrogative with regard to CT, but directive as to ILL (as in the case of *Could you open the window?*). The authors notice that "these particles do not modify the type, but rather the illocutionary force of the clause" (Coniglio and Zegrean 2010: 12), although they display a strong sensitivity to CT. *Bloß* in (2c) acts on ILL, but its absence would not make (2c) any less imperative.

MPs are traditionally considered to be a German class. That is because the main syntactic feature of MPs is that of occurring in the space called Mittelfeld, or Middle Field, roughly situated between the inflected verb in T° and the vP. Despite this relatively low position, they behave at LF as if they were in the left periphery (where modality is generally expressed), scoping over the whole sentence and not only over the constituents that follow them.

Coniglio (2008) and Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) argue that MPs are not exclusive to German, and that elements such as *pure*, *mai*, *mica* are in no way different than German MPs: they express modality (i.e. the speaker's attitude), occur in a syntactic position roughly corresponding to the German Mittelfeld, and scope out of it, over the whole sentence and over the illocutionary/clause-typing node.

(3)   a.   Chiama *pure* la polizia!
                Call   PRT the police
        b.   Cosa significheranno *mai* quelle parole?
                What will.mean   PRT those words
                'What will those words mean?'
        c.   Non è *mica* vero!
                NEG is PRT true
                'Nay, it is not true!'

1.2 From adverb to DPart: is grammaticalization a necessary step?

It is clear from the examples above that elements which serve as DParts, DMs or MPs also have different functions: *so* is used in a variety of cases (as in *my trip was not so nice as it was tiring*, *the show was so funny we laughed our heads off*, etc.) *mai* is an Italian NPI adverb meaning 'ever' and *pure* means 'also'. Adv elements are more on the lexical than functional side, whereas particles, while having a meaning of sorts, are characterised as functional. The perspective of an analysis in terms of grammaticalization is tempting, but it is not to be embraced too enthusiastically. What is meant by this term is the process whereby a lexical element becomes functional. It begins to serve a grammatical purpose, rather than conveying a lexical meaning. In the process, the element usually undergoes some phonetic reduction and semantic bleaching. If one takes the examples in (3a-b) it becomes clear that no phonetic reduction has taken place. As to semantic bleaching, this means that a lexical feature of the item is lost in favour of a new *grammatical* function. The problem is, it is unclear which grammatical function would be acquired in the first place. Seeing the shift from adverb to DPart as a case of grammaticalization clearly misses the point: if these particles are different than grammatical particles, as mentioned, then becoming a DPart cannot be a matter of grammaticalization, since it is not

clear what grammatical function would be acquired by an element which is not related to the grammatical system and non-truth-conditional by definition (therefore not computed by the semantic component).

1.2.1 Manzini's (2015) analysis of Discourse Particles

Another view which will be adopted in this work is found in Manzini's (2015) study of Italian DParts, in particular *poi*, *mai* and *pure*. Only *mai* and *pure* will be examined here. *Pure* is especially relevant for the present work. According to Manzini, DPart is not the name of a lexical class, rather it is a special interpretation of adverbs. In fact, one point which Manzini has in common with the mentioned literature on particles is that "discourse particles take the entire assertion (or command, or question) as their argument, relating it to the store of propositional contents shared by the speaker and hearer" (Manzini 2015: 93). This weakens the hypothesis that DParts would be located in specific functional heads, since their behaviour as particles derives from scope phenomena and from the nature of what they take as argument. This view avoids the characterisation of DParts as a class which is distinct from adverbs, while explaining their behaviour within the common syntax synchronically and without need to take grammaticalization into account. Two examples will be briefly discussed in order to show the effectiveness of a view which explains DParts in terms of their syntactic and semantic features, rather than in terms of categorisation.

Mai is a temporal adverb, an NPI meaning 'ever'. It is licensed in the scope of negation (in which case it means 'never') and, in PI guise, in the scope of the interrogative operator. Its DPart use is displayed in (4c).

(4)   a.   Gianni non ha (mai) mangiato (mai) niente
           Gianni not has never eaten   never nothing
           'Gianni has never eaten anything.'
      b.   Se (mai) venisse (mai) davvero, mi farebbe   un piacere
           if   ever he.came ever truly   me he.would.do a   favour
           'If he ever really came, he would do me a favour.'
      c.   Cosa avrà   (mai) voluto (mai) dire?
           what have.FUT ever wanted ever say
           'What did he mean, I wonder?'

According to Coniglio (2008: 108), *mai* in (4b) has the function of "signalling the rhetoricity of a question or the total incapacity on the speaker's side to give an answer to it". But *mai* is a temporal adverb, so the question arises as to the way this modal meaning comes about. Manzini's suggestion is that *mai* means 'at any time t'. This means that *mai* introduces a temporal variable which is interpreted by the negative marker in negative sentences (so that it ends up meaning 'at no time t', i.e. 'never'). On the other hand, in the scope of questions and hypotheticals, this temporal variable remains open: "existential closure has no 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" (Manzini 2015: 114). Manzini also suggests that the reading of the adverbial is always temporal and that, in this case, scope is not even involved: quite simply, the temporal variable remains open because nothing interprets it.

The second case examined by Manzini is *pure*. As usual, this DPart is originally an adverb, whose meaning is 'also'. Once again, its use as a particle should derive from the application of its core semantics to the entire assertion.

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

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

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

(5a) shows the adverbial use of *pure*, meaning 'also'. In declarative clauses, such as (5b), "*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", while in imperative sentences like (5c) it apparently "weakens the strength of an order" (Coniglio 2008: 115). First of all, the core semantics of *pure* must be defined. "In its ordinary adverbial meaning *pure* is […] a focuser taking in its scope arguments or events". This focuser can either take a DP or the whole event as argument. This means that, in (5a), "'there is at least one y, y≠x, such that he gives him y' besides 'x=money' [i.e.] there is at least one additional element satisfying [the Focus presupposition], to be gleaned from the Common Ground" (Manzini 2015: 115).

When *pure* is applied to the entire sentence, scoping over illocutionary force, the speaker means that "the assertion of the propositional content S […] has alternatives within the Common Ground […] 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" (Manzini 2015: 116), which the author represents as follows:

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

Imperatives express either command or permission. Thus, including *pure* in an imperative excludes the necessity reading by presenting the utterance as an alternative (hence, permission to do S among the set of possible S's). *Pure* does not attenuate the command, rather it rules out the deontic reading of the imperative, leaving only the bouletic one (that is, permission). This analysis has the double advantage of explaining the contribution of the particle in a principled way (pointing to its relation with the possible interpretations of the imperative) and of accounting for its particle use relying only on its semantics as an adverb.

1.3 The present view

In this paper, uses such as those described above (DPart, MP, DM) will be treated as interpretations of the corresponding adverbial item, not as the result of grammaticalization. Whenever MP, DPart or such terminology will be used it shall thus refer to the interpretation of adverbial elements. Additionally, I endorse the general assumption of German linguists, suggested for Italian by Coniglio (2008) and Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) that elements used as MPs have a fixed, middle syntactic position (without further assumptions as to which position this is) and I take this fixation to be a case of what Larrivée and Poletto (2018) consider as syntacticisation (though not complete), meaning by that a strict association between a certain interpretation of

an item and the syntactic position in which such interpretation arises. I consider MPs as being incapable of overt movement as a working hypothesis.[4]

2. *Magari*

The adverb *magari* is used in Italian with a variety of interpretations. Before going on to produce some examples, looking at its etymology is useful. Its origin is the Byzantine Greek word *makari*, meaning 'happy', 'blessed', as specified in Ottorino Pianigiani's *Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana*. According to him, it bears an optative meaning, which is common in colloquial Italian:[5]

(7)   Magari potessi venire!
         magari I.could come
         'If only/I wish I could come!'

Another usage of this word, meaning 'maybe', is as a hypothetical or conditional element and it has several possible positions in the sentence, which correspond to those of the adverb *forse* ('maybe'):

(8)   a.   (Magari) ha (magari) perso il treno (magari)
         b.   (Forse) ha (forse) perso il treno (forse)
                 'Maybe he missed the train.'

It can also be used as a positive answer, especially to an offer.

(9)   A: Vuoi che apra la finestra?
                 Want.you that I.open.SUBJ the window
                 'Do you want me to open the window?'
         B: Magari!
                 'I wish you would (i.e. yes).'

In the case of answers to yes-no questions, it is somewhat regretful and points to the unachievability (or falsehood) of the content of the previous utterance.

---

[4] An anonymous review asks why MPs are incapable of overt movement. While this matter is controversial, Bayer and Obenauer's (2011) theory may be cited as an example of an alternative view to that of Coniglio (2008), which involves covert movement of the particle above ForceP. The authors assume that MPs are interpreted through a feature checking operation taking place in accordance with Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) version of checking theory, which involves both valuation and interpretation of features. The process would then take place between the Force head, which bears an *i*Q, QForce feature, and the particle, endowed with a *u*QForce[ ] feature, which gets valued, while the *u*Q feature of the particle gets cancelled by the *i*Q on the Force head. Under this view, MPs do not move because movement would be unnecessary (since interpretation and valuation happen *in situ*) and thus, according to minimalist theory, forbidden.

[5] Actually, this interpretation is desiderative rather than optative. Nevertheless, the construction is usually called optative even in scientific literature, therefore it will be thus called for the rest of this work.

(10)   A: Hai finito di lavorare per oggi?
                have.you finished C to.work for today
                'Are you done working for today?'
        B: Magari!
                'I wish it were so! (i.e. no)'

It is also to be noted that colloquial Italian (though not in the variety spoken by the author of this article) presents a concessive *magari* used in a specific construction:

(11)   Supererò   l'esame, magari dovessi studiare di notte
        I.will.pass the.exam even.if I.had   to.study of night
        'I will pass the exam, even if I had to study by night'

2.1 Optative magari

The OVI corpus, a corpus of Old Italian texts, gives no result for the keyword *magari*. Nonetheless, the old *macari* and *macara* (closer to the Greek form above) are attested. Here are some interesting examples (all of the examples which were found in the corpus) which come from Sicilian sources ranging from the 1230s to 1373:

(12)   Macara se   doles[s]eti   che cadesse   angosciato
        magari RFLX it.ached.SUBJ.you.DAT that you.fell.SUBJ in a swoon
        'If only you would feel so bad as to faint!/May you feel so bad as to faint!'
                                (1231/1250, *Rosa fresca aulentissima*, Cielo d'Alcamo, ln. 97)

(13)   a.   Macari putissi essiri morta per ti!
                magari I.could be dead for you
                'If only I could be dead for you (i.e. in your stead)!'
        (1373, *Sposizione del Vangelo della Passione secondo Matteo*, anonymous, ch. 18, par. 3)

        b.   Macari mi   dugni   Deu gracia, ki   eu possa meditari
                magari to.me give.SUBJ God grace   that I   may   meditate
                'I wish God would grant me grace, that I may meditate   /
                May God grant me grace, etc.'
                                                        (*Ibidem*, ch. 27, par. 1)

(14)   a.   Cussì no   ndi   purtau macari nulla terra di li   citadini di Ruma
                So   NEG from.it brought magari no   land of the citizens of Rome
                'Moreover, he obtained no land from the citizens of Rome'
          (1321/1337, *Libru di Valeriu Maximu translatatu in vulgar messinisi*, Accurso of Cremona, bk. 2, ch. 3)

        b.   Intra tuctu quistu, macari issu non lu nominau a lu testamentu
                among all this magari he NEG him nominated to the will
                'Apart from all this, moreover he would not mention him in his will'
                                                        (*Ibidem*, bk. 7, ch. 9)

What is interesting in these examples is that the optative meaning in (12) appears much earlier than the hypothetical or conditional meaning. For all that we can obtain from the OVI

corpus, we may assume that *magari* starts out with an optative meaning and that its other meanings are later developments.

The examples in (13-14) clearly show that its leftmost position, a key feature of present-day optative *magari*, is already to be found. The subjunctive mood is present as well. (14) shows already by the first half of the 14th century a reading which does not correspond to optative *magari* anymore.[6]

The leftmost position of *magari* is likely related to focus. *Magari* always bears a focus accent and seems *prima facie* incompatible with the presence of another focused item (see Rizzi 1997):

(15)   *Magari GIANNI fosse venuto![7]
           'If only GIANNI had come!'

(13b) shows that *macari* caused verb-subject inversion as a consequence of V2 and is compatible with a focus analysis (what else could cause inversion in that context apart from *macari*?).

Magari is briefly addressed by Grosz (2012), who rightly considers it as directly derived from the analogous Greek construction:

(16)   Makari o   John na   akusi   tin Mary!
           makari the Janis subj listened the Mary.acc
           'If only Janis listened to Mary!'

Other languages, like Romanian (*măcar*) and Serbian (*makar*) have taken this particle from Greek, with similar optative use. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that *magari* ever meant 'happy' in Italian or Sicilian.

What is interesting about these data is that *magari* is not necessary to make a sentence optative.

(17)   a.   Magari fossi arrivato prima!
                     if.only I.were arrived before
                     'If only I had arrived earlier!'
           b.   Fossi arrivato prima!
           c.   Che tu possa vincere!
                     C   you may win
                     'May you win!'
           d.   'If #(only) I had arrived earlier!'

---

[6] As will be clear from 2.4, Sicilian *macari* has a different history than the Italian counterpart and it means 'also' or 'moreover'. This will be dealt with in depth in the next pages.

[7] Giuliano Bocci (private conversation) suggests that the true reason why (15) is ungrammatical (or sounds bad, by all accounts) is that focus fronting is possible in Italian only when it has a mirative or corrective value. When *Gianni* is lower and its focus is informative, as in *Magari avessero invitato GIANNI alla festa* ('If only they had invited GIANNI to the party') the sentence is indeed acceptable and the compresence of *magari* and focus does not cause ungrammaticality. For this reason, it is better not to exaggerate the connection between focus and *magari*. Anyway, in the light of the following comparative analysis with *if only*, and considering that *only* is a focus-sensitive element, and especially given the contribution of Biezma (2011), the link with focus and in particular with the creation of alternatives cannot be overlooked. Moreover, the fact that *magari* occupies a focus position, at least in some cases, is independently argued for in 2.2.

Magari can be missing with the utterance maintaining its desiderative import. This means that, albeit used in connection with optative or desiderative interpretation, *magari* is not a realisation of these moods.[8] We can employ Grosz' (2012) between a prototypical optative marker (*magari*) and an obligatory optative licensor (like *only* in English *if only* clauses). This point is very important, since it emancipates *magari* from a too strict connection with optative or desiderative semantics.

Nevertheless, what remains to be explained is the way in which desirability comes about. To this purpose, the results obtained by Biezma (2011), who studied optative constructions with *if only*, will be compared to those of Grosz (2012), whose chief interest lies in optative constructions, in order to understand which view fits our case best.

2.1.1 Biezma (2011) and Grosz (2012): deriving desirability in optatives

Biezma (2011) offers a view of optativity in which desirability originates from a combination of a focus adverb, which causes a scalar reading to arise, and informativeness, which forces the speaker to provide the most informative statement. Thus, optativity arises from an interplay of pragmatic and semantic factors. The author couches her research in the theory of Roberts (1996) and the concept of immediate question under discussion (IQuD).

The main goal of a discourse then is to narrow down the context set to finally obtain a singleton, namely, the set containing only the actual world [...] speaker's intentions are tracked by assuming that every utterance is an answer to an (implicit) question that the speaker agrees to address (pay-off moves), i.e. the immediate question under discussion (IQuD) (Biezma 2011: 113).

In Biezma's opinion, optatives are indeed conditionals, which chimes in with our own intuitions concerning *magari*. Nevertheless, they differ from conditionals in relevant ways. First of all, conditionals do not encode desirability. Secondly, optatives are characterised by the presence of a focus adverb, like *only* (see (19b) above).

Thirdly, the presence of a focus-sensitive operator like *only* in optative clauses means that the usual topic-focus relation of conditionals is reversed: in regular conditionals, the antecedent is the (aboutness) topic and the consequent is the focus. But due to the presence of *only*, the element corresponding to the antecedent in optatives is now the focus: the information structure is thus reversed. Crucially, the consequent is not spelled out, which would not be possible if it were the focus. Biezma considers this to be a case of topic-drop (though not in the generally intended meaning). On the other hand, for an optative to be uttered lawfully the consequent must be recoverable, which means that the consequent is presupposed.

Desirability is a key feature of optatives. Biezma tries to lead this feature back to the most evident difference between optatives and conditionals: the presence of the focus adverb *only*. The IQuD of conditionals, given that their form is *if α, β*, is *What does α bring about?* or *What would α have brought about?* which means that in the most similar worlds to w in which α is true, β is true. But given the reversal in information structure, the (presupposed) topic of conditionals is now β and the question is rather *How can β be brought about?* The question no longer concerns the consequences of α, but the conditions that cause β to happen. This means that the question is about the best way to make the propositional content of the antecedent

---

[8] A quick online search confirmed this insight: both *Enciclopedia Treccani* and the *Sabatini Coletti* dictionary list utterances like *Fossi Einstein!*, 'if only I were Einstein!' as optative/desiderative without *magari*.

true, not en exhaustive list of ways it can be true. It corresponds to a mention-some question, asking for the best way of making things happen.[9]

That is where the scalar import of *only* becomes crucial. According to the literature (Beaver and Clark 2008), the meaning of exclusives (like *only*) is threefold: it has the discourse function of weakening expectations (if only John came to the party, then there was an expectation that others would come, the set over which *only* quantifies), it bears the presupposition that the strongest true alternatives in IQuD are at least as strong as the prejacent (no one else is less expected than John to come), while its descriptive content, what the sentence with *only* ends up meaning, is that the strongest true alternatives in the IQuD are at most as strong as the prejacent (the effect of the utterance is that no one is more expected than John to come). Since we are talking about conditionals and optatives, the scale involved here cannot be one of truth, but it will be one of likelihood. Speakers choose the strongest (in this scale, the most likely) alternative that brings about the consequent.

Desirability arises from this scale of likelihood when it is paired with informativeness, in the Gricean spirit. In accordance with conversational maxims, the speaker is expected

to make the strongest claim he can. Hence, if there are two possible alternatives that can bring about the desired consequent (p and p', with $p \subseteq p'$) and if optatives without consequents (*if only α*) are conditionals, we expect speakers to utter the optative spelling out the weaker alternative. The prediction is that if only p' will be preferred over if only p (Biezma 2011: 102).

If I am late at an appointment and regret that I have not taken a cab (any cab), it makes no sense to say *If only I had taken a red cab!*, since red cabs are not *per se* more likely to get me there than cabs of any other colour. Then, *If only I had taken a cab!* will be preferred on the basis of its informativeness.

Anyway, in several languages, including Spanish, one finds optatives which do not have an *only*, *at least* or *but* component providing the scale, for example in HPCs ('haber' plus participle clauses) in Spanish:

(18)   A: No   llegué   a tiempo
              NEG I.arrived at time
              'I didn't arrive on time.'
        B: Haber   salido   antes
              have.INF gone.out before
              'If only you had left earlier.'

For these cases, Biezma claims that a covert *only* is present to provide the scale which causes desirability to arise. This operator is only there in order to provide the scale of likelihood.

Grosz (2012) challenges this view, considering it too centred on English and wondering why it is necessary to provide a differential analysis for cases with or without *only* (or similar elements) in different languages. He suggests that optatives can be derived by the presence of an *EX* (exclamative and expressive) operator and that the conspiracy of pragmatic and semantic factors is not at play, but optative can be derived from the semantics of the covert operator,

---

[9] If I ask *Who came to the party?* what I want is a list of people, but if I ask *How do I get to the station*, then I am asking for the best way of getting there, not for a list of possibilities. Roughly, that is the difference between a mention-all and a mention-some question.

plus the contribution of mood and the disambiguating effect of optative markers, which clarify the optative import of the clause without bringing it about themselves. "Optative utterances are a variant of exclamative utterances, the meaning of which is due to a null operator *EX. EX* selects a contextually salient scale and conveys that the modified proposition exceeds a salient threshold on that scale [...] In optatives, the relevant scale reflects the speaker's preferences". *EX* has the following semantics (Grosz 2012: 91, (138)):

(19)   *Lexical entry for EX*

For any scale *S* and proposition *p*, interpreted in relation to a context *c* and assignment function *g*,

an utterance EX(S)(p) is felicitous iff $\forall q[\text{THRESHOLD}(c) >_S q \to p >_S q]$

'EX expresses an emotion that captures the fact that p is higher on a (speaker-related) scale S than all contextually relevant alternatives q below a contextual threshold'.

where THRESHOLD(c) is a function from a context into a set of worlds / a proposition that counts as high with respect to a relevant scale *S*.

That of exceeding a threshold is way more attractive for this analysis than the simple intuition that optatives refer to an endpoint or that they create a scale. In fact, the other uses of *magari* are easier to explain as an expansion of a previously given context than as an extreme reading which is not always found. The concept of threshold is thus more useful than that of extreme degree.

What is most interesting, the scale is contextually given: the fact that a sentence is optative does not have to do with a specific optative component. In this, Grosz' analysis is after all close to that of Biezma: what distinguishes, say, an optative from a polar exclamative is the fact that in the former the scale is defined in terms of preference, in the latter in terms of belief.

What is most interesting of Grosz analysis is the role of elements such as *only* or *at least*, which Biezma considered crucial for the optative meaning to arise. Grosz treats them as discourse particles, which is why his analysis is taken to be more consistent with ours. *Only* does not have the purpose of creating a scale of likelihood (since *EX* is enough for it to come about). Rather, its purpose is that of disambiguating the exact meaning of the utterance:

I argue that particles in optatives are truth-conditionally vacuous elements that act as pure presupposition triggers, modulating the expressive meaning that is conveyed by means of *EX* [...] Each particle maps a proposition to itself, provided that the particle's non-truth-conditional contribution is licensed in the utterance context. I conjecture that this is a hallmark of the meaning of discourse particles. (Grosz 2012: 263)

The reason why *only*, *at least*, *but* in English, *nur* and *wenigstens* in German, *solo* in Italian are used in optatives is to imply that the speaker's wish is not too much to ask for. *Se solo fossi ricco*, 'If only I were rich', means that being rich would be a sufficient condition for the speaker's preference to be satisfied. *Solo* means that it takes little effort to overcome the threshold that conveys a high preference with respect to the contextually lower alternatives in the scale of preference. This analysis is extremely similar to Manzini's view on DParts. These particles do

not convey optative meaning: they modulate it, contributing pragmatic and presuppositional meaning to the utterance without altering its truth conditions.

2.1.2 The contribution of optative magari

Grosz does take *magari* under consideration, along with what he considers to be cases of *Adv-Optatives*. In his opinion, these are optatives that do not involve an *EX* operator. The presence of a dedicated and optional optative adverb serves to characterise the propositional content as the speaker's wish, without a scale being involved. These elements would not be optative operators; rather, they would be comparable to English *hopefully*.

Spanish *ojalá*, which is not dealt with by Biezma in her chapter on optatives, but is considered by Grosz, would be one such particle. This element has an extreme-degree quality to it, in that it derives from Arabic *law šā'a l-lāh*, 'if (only) God wanted'. As noted by Kehayov (2009), reference to heaven, hell and supernatural elements in general is often exploited by languages as a way of conveying extreme-degree readings, since at that point the utterance concerns states of things which could not be normally achieved in w. What better way of reaching highest desirability than hoping one's wish to be God's will?

(20)   a.   Ojalá (que) me dejaras en paz!
                    if.only C   me you.left in peace
                    'If only you would let me be!'
         b.   Ojalá   (que) me dejes   en paz!
                    hopefully C   me you.let.SUBJ   in peace
                    'Hopefully you will let me be!'
         c.   ¿Qué dice Juan que ojalá hubieras comprado?
                    what says Juan that OJALA you.had bought
                    'What does Juan say that he wishes you had bought?'

The syntax of (20) is also interesting. For one thing, it proves that *ojalá* is in the left periphery above the complementizer *que*. The complementizer is optionally present below the optative element, which is also a remnant of the original biclausal construction. Grosz considers members of the *makari* family to be part of this category as well, because they are embeddable (as in (20c), which means that they are not expressive, so they lack an *EX* operator) and because they are not (necessarily) exclamative. He also lists *magari* as a candidate for being one of these optative adverbs. We disagree with this view. For one thing, Grosz himself notes that natives speakers consistently refuse the embeddability of *magari* optatives:

(21)   *Gianni dice che magari fosse ricco.
          Gianni says that magari he.were rich
          'Gianni says that he wishes he were rich.'

Given that non-embeddability is a crucial test for determining whether an element is such an optative adverbial, this is enough to rule out *magari*: it is best to consider an *EX* operator to be present in Italian optatives with *magari*. Moreover, clauses with *magari* are always exclamative and always refer to the speaker's wish (*ojalá* may well refer the wish to the matrix subject, as above). Most importantly, Grosz does not consider the wide variety of meanings *magari* has in Italian, which makes it doubtful that restricting the characterisation of *magari* as optative adverb

is satisfactory. For these reasons, it is best to consider *magari* as having a definite contribution to optatives, deriving from the application of its semantics to the whole utterance.

As a first step, consider one of the most commonly used forms of optative and desiderative sentences: curses and wishes. These are rapidly dealt with by Grosz (2012: 261). He concludes, rightly in our opinion, that *magari* is not what he calls an optative licenser, because Italian optatives do not need its presence. He also cites wishes in Italian, noting that they are particle-less, but does not go on to test them for the presence of *magari*. If *magari* is just an optional general-purpose optative marker, we would expect to find it in any type of optative construction (like *ojalá*, which can be found in wishes and in optatives with the present subjunctive as in the examples above). The examples below show that this is not the case:

(22)   a.   (*Magari) ti   venisse/venga un accidente!
            magari to.you would.come   a disgrace
            'Woe betide you! (lit. If only evil befell you!)'
       b.   (*Magari) (che) Dio ti   benedica!
            magari   C   God you.ACC bless.SUBJ
            'God bless you!'

Why do wishes not allow for *magari*? Which element is missing in comparison with other optatives, which bars *magari* in these cases? The first thing to be noted is that the utterance in (22) can use both present and past subjunctive. (22a) rather corresponds to English *May evil befall you*, which is not an *if only* optative. The fact is, these optatives do not express preference *in bringing about a desired and presupposed consequent*. In *if only* optatives the desired state of things is presupposed, but in this case it is expressed in the optative itself. The speaker expresses the wish itself, not a preferred condition that brings it about. This can be seen as presupposition failure: *magari* needs a presupposed state of things, which is desired, and it needs a scale of preference defined along an ordered set of propositions that make it happen. When no such presupposition is present, *magari* is not acceptable.

Magari has been recognised as accessory in determining optative mood. This is probably the reason behind the expansion of its uses: had it been a non-obligatory optative marker, as Grosz has it, we would have to allow for a number of changes and shifts in its semantics to expand its uses. Instead, considering its contribution to be independent of optative meaning gives an opportunity to maintain our hypothesis that *magari* could be the same element in all cases. The next paragraphs will be devoted to understanding what the exact semantics of *magari* are, developing the suggestions derived from the optative case.

2.2 Magari as a short answer

Before going on to examine the shift from optatives to hypotheticals, it is fitting to examine the use of *magari* in isolation, since this can be derived from the optative semantics. As mentioned, *magari* can be either a positive or a negative answer, and is thus very similar to holophrastic answer particles. Merchant's (2004) theory of responsive ellipsis assumes that short answers are produced by PF-deletion after evacuation of relevant material (the answer proper) via focus extraction. Since focus is a means of highlighting the only member of a set of alternatives that makes a proposition true, this makes much sense. In this view, the Ellipsis Condition (EC) requires that all the material that is silenced by ellipsis be old. The semantic condition on ellipsis is e-givenness: "roughly, an expression E is e-given iff there is an antecedent

A which entails E and which is entailed by E" (Merchant 2004: 672), which means that there must be mutual entailment between the semantic content of the antecedent expression and that of the elided one, a condition also known as 'no new lexeme requirement'. Additionally, ellipsis has a syntactic condition: what is elided is the complement of F°, which means that anything that is found in the fragment must be situated to the left of the elided site, i.e. at least in F° or SpecFocP. Evacuation of the fragment to SpecFocP has not only the purpose of highlighting the answer through the salient position to which it is moved, but also of exploiting the purpose of Focus, described by Krifka (2007: 6) as a device which "indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions". The function of Focus is showing which element is the only one that makes the proposition true, which in the case of questions is the answer. (9) and (10) can be represented like this (square brackets indicate the ellipsis site):

(23)   A: Vuoi che apra la finestra?
        B: Magari [aprissi   la   finestra]!
                if.only   you.would.open the window
                'If only you would open the window!'
                The speaker wishes that $p = 1$ in w → yes
(24)   A: Hai finito di lavorare per oggi?
        B: Magari [avessi finito di lavorare]!
                if.only   I.had.finished to work.INF
                'If only I had finished working!'
                The speaker would like $p = 1$, i.e. $p = 0$ in w → no

Taking short-answer *magari* to be the result of ellipsis dispenses one from assuming that *magari* means 'yes' in the case of offers and 'no' in the case of yes-no questions (YNQs). This use of *magari* can be analysed as an elided optative sentence based on the content of the offer/question. In the case of an offer, the speaker's wish that the propositional meaning of the previous interrogative be true is pragmatically interpreted as a positive answer. The questioner's reasoning goes along these lines: 'I offered the hearer to bring about p and she manifests the wish that p be true: this amounts to a positive answer'. In the case of YNQs, the reasoning is similar. A question is a demand for a truth value for p. Instead of giving it, the interlocutor, again, expresses the wish that p be true. This means that p is not true in w (otherwise, why wish it?), hence the negative meaning of *magari*. In both cases, the meaning of the short answer is pragmatically derived from the context, via an implicature.

This is also strong evidence that optative *magari* is in a focus position, at the very least in the case of short answers. In Merchant's terms, responsive ellipsis is ellipsis of the complement of F°. Taking the material following *magari* as its complement nicely accounts for all these facts, as can be seen in this tree for (23) (the complement of F° has been indicated generally as FinP):

(25)   FocP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
           Magari   F'   ellipsis
                          ┌─────┴╌╌╌╌╌╌╌╌┐
                        F°   FinP
                                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                aprissi la finestra!
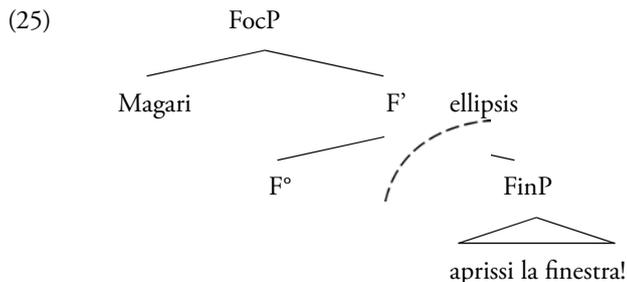
Thus, although it is hard to generalise the position of optative *magari* to that of focus (see fn. 3), there is some evidence that *magari* can indeed occupy SpecFocP, and that it does so in fragment answers.

2.3 Hypothetical magari, additivity and scalarity

Optative and Desiderative are subcategories of Irrealis Mood, which means that optative clauses already have an Irrealis quality to them, as was mentioned in the previous section: what is wished or hoped is either untrue or uncertain.

The difference between Conditional and Potential reading is that, in the case of Conditional, *p* is not true in the actual world, while in the case of Potential, it is not certain whether *p* is true in the actual world or not, but it is not ruled out either. This difference is not a feature of *magari*, at least not *per se*; after all, even optative *magari* has been known to display either the wish that something *were* true, or that it *be* true. This is clear if one takes the English sentence *If only John were alive!*. In a world in which John is dead, the optative has the Conditional reading (John is dead in the actual world). Anyway, the sentence is also acceptable in the case in which the speaker does not know whether John is dead or alive and simply wishes that the proposition *John is alive* be true. The same point is made by Biezma (2011: 77): "counterfactuality is not essential for optatives […]. Rather, what is essential is the speaker's ignorance regarding the truth of the proposition in the if-clause: for an optative to be felicitous the speaker must not know that the proposition in the antecedent is true".

It is clear that at a certain point new uses became available to the item. The core semantics of *magari* must be the least common denominator of these uses. *Magari*'s contribution to optative construction has been taken to be rather dim. It is hard for speakers to analyse optative *magari* as an adverb whose purpose is marking optative mood.

What is the contribution of *magari* to the sentence, then? A fundamental component, which emerged from the previous analysis, is the presence of a scale. So, the next research question is which type of scalarity is involved with *magari*. A minimal pair with *forse* and *magari* can give a clue to this:

(26)   a.   I   liutai   usano l'abete   e   l'acero,   forse   il   salice
                the luthiers use   the.spruce and the.maple maybe the willow
        b.   I   liutai   usano l'abete   e   l'acero,   magari il   salice
                the luthiers use   the.spruce and the.maple maybe the willow
                'Luthiers use spruce and maple, maybe willow'

(26a) means that it is possible that luthiers use willow beside spruce and maple, but that it is not known for sure whether they do so or not. Instead, (26b) means that luthiers possibly use willow. (26a) cannot be uttered felicitously by a speaker who knows for a fact that a given set of luthiers use willow. (26b) does not necessarily mean that the speaker does not know whether luthiers use willow, and can still be uttered if the speaker knows that luthiers use willow, but only seldom. *Magari* in its hypothetical use appears to have a sort of additive nature: it signals that the set of possible propositions can be expanded to include those in which luthiers use willow.

In the case of *magari*, we have seen that this element is first found in a context, optatives, in which a scale plays a very important role. When scalarity is absent from desiderative and optative sentences, as in curses, *magari* is no longer allowed, because a scale, that is, an ordering of propositions, is required. In order to account for the difference between *magari* in optatives

and its hypothetical use it is enough to consider the relevant scale not in terms of preference, but of likelihood. Actually, an inverted scale of likelihood or a scale of unlikelihood. In the example above, the speaker means that in w the proposition in which luthiers use willow is less likely to be true (less expected) than propositions in which they use spruce or maple. Willow is added to the set of woods though being less expected than other wood types. This means that, expectedly, *magari* is a chiefly epistemic element. Nonetheless, differently than in the case of *even*, willow does not have to be the least expected: we can imagine a context in which coco-bolo is used, but to an even lesser extent. Simply, willow is used beyond a contextually given threshold in a scale of (un)likelihood. In this case, as in the case of optatives studied by Grosz (2012), reference to a scale is disjoint from reference to an extreme degree.

Still, this view suffers from two all too evident problems: i) how is the Irrealis nature encoded in *magari*? After all, (26b) is legitimate even in cases in which some luthiers do use willow, or in which all of them use it but only rarely. Couldn't the Irrealis hypothesis be weakened altogether to the reference to a scale likelihood, with other features of the clause providing the Irrealis nature? ii) is *magari* itself additive or scalar?

While the second question will be dealt with in the next paragraphs, an answer to the first question can be anticipated here. The content of the *magari* clause above is underdetermined with respect to the previous part of the utterance. Suppose that what *magari* does is signal that the propositional content lies beyond a given threshold in a scale of (un)likelihood, just as it happens in optatives with a scale of preference. As a matter of fact, nothing but *magari* is responsible for turning an assertion into a hypothesis. Take the sentence *Gianni ha vinto*, 'Gianni won'. Adding *magari* to this assertion weakens it: *Magari Gianni ha vinto* roughly translates as 'It is possible that Gianni won and it is possible that he did not win'. If we take that *magari* simply signals that the proposition is less likely along a contextually salient scale, then the feeling that the sentence is a hypothesis may be derived pragmatically. An interlocutor knows that the speaker might have chosen a stronger proposition (e.g. *Gianni ha vinto*), but chooses not to. The fact that the speaker signals that the proposition lies below a certain threshold of likelihood means that she cannot be any more precise about it, hence the assertion is perceived as a hypothesis or as a possibility. It is arguable that *magari* triggers something similar to an ignorance implicature: the speaker utters weaker p because she has no evidence to affirm stronger p'. The interplay of the Maxim of Quantity (be precise) and that of Quality (be truthful) is responsible for this implicature.

With the data collected so far, it is time to propose a semantic sketch of the meaning of *magari* in these seemingly hypothetical cases:

(27)   *Semantics of* magari:
        Given a proposition p, a scale S and a context c,
        $\|$magari$\|$ is defined iff
        $\exists q \in C \, [q \neq p \text{ and } q = 1]$ and
        $\forall q[\text{THRESHOLD}(c) >_S q \rightarrow p >_S q]$

The first condition refers to additivity. In (26), the proposition with *magari* has alternatives (luthiers use spruce, luthiers use maple) that are true in the CG.

The second refers to the fact that the proposition of *magari* is always above the threshold along the scale S with respect to the alternative propositions. In the case of assertions, the scale involved is one of likelihood, instead of the scale of preference involved with optatives. This has the effect of mitigating the assertion: the first condition on additivity, *per se*, would not imply that the proposition of *magari* is weaker than the other ones.

When considering optatives, (27) appears to create a problem. Is additivity at play in optatives as expressed in the first conjunct? The present suggestion is that it is. Optatives are Irrealis because they concern a wish, but they set the wish against the background of the actual world, which is a set of true propositions. In other words, the proposition of an optative will always be uttered with reference to the state of things, that is, to a set of alternatives which are true but not satisfactory with respect to the speaker's wish. So, *p* is uttered with respect to a set of true propositions in optatives as well. But, none of these are satisfactory when it comes to preference. Optative *magari*, which is neither an optative licenser nor a truth-conditional element, is simply there to disambiguate the pragmatic import of the utterance, making it unmistakeable that a scale of preference is involved (and that the speaker is not, for example, simply uttering the antecedent of a conditional, inviting the hearer to draw her conclusions).

Before moving on to a few more cases which confirm the insights above, it is worthwhile to look back at the premises of this analysis, namely Manzini's (2015) theory, and to consider how the definition outlined here interacts with it. First of all, the two views definitely confirm and even complement each other: the fact that Manzini (2015) assumes ontological identity between the adverb and discourse particle (that is, polysemy rather than homonymy or lexical proliferation) translates as assuming identity for the semantic import of the element across its uses. What Manzini describes as a syntactic and pragmatic property, with different interpretations arising in terms of scope which varies between a propositional and sentential reading, receives here a semantic treatment. To summarise this point, Manzini describes what happens at the syntactic level when an adverbial element receives variable readings depending on variable scope. The present work, on the other hand, demonstrates how a formal semantic analysis of one such element is compatible with that view. Given Manzini's premises, what is expected at the semantic level is that particles of adverbial origin will not have different semantics for each of their uses (which would amount to not being the same element) but rather a core semantics which gives consistent results across the specific contexts to which it is applied. Thus, Manzini's view and this analysis can be seen as complementary, confirming each other and demonstrating how a "look from the inside" at the adverbial item fully confirms the analysis and treatment given at the syntactic and pragmatic level. A few more cases will further clarify this point, showing that the definition in (27) can account for a number of uses of *magari* in which the interplay of scalarity and additivity is very evident.

2.4 Concessive magari: a look at Sicilian macari

(Old) Sicilian offers a very interesting viewpoint on how the concessive reading might have arisen and seems to point to a different path of development of Sicilian *macari*. An analysis of this case may well start with the *even* reading in which *magari* finds itself in concessive clauses.

The concessive use requires additional assumptions concerning the semantics of *magari*. As mentioned, this use of *magari* is typical of (some) colloquial varieties of Italian. (11) is repeated here as (28):

(28)   Supererò   l'esame, magari dovessi studiare di notte
        I.will.pass the.exam even.if I.had   to.study of night
        'I will pass the exam, even if I had to study by night.'

As can be seen in its English translation, a concessive sentence like (24) has two main components: the *if*-component and the scalar one (English *even*). Concessive *magari* does not

correspond to English *though* (which simply puts the main clause against the background of an embedded clause expressing contrariness to the content of the main clause), rather it is found in clauses like those introduced by *even if/though* in English, expressing both the hypothetical and the scalar quality.

Although the OVI corpus lists few examples for the item under exam, the related ArTeSiA Corpus, a corpus of Old Sicilian texts, has quite a bunch of them. The word under exam is *macari*. This word means 'also' in present-day Sicilian, and this seems to be the case with Old Sicilian as well. None of the examples listed below predates the 13th century, which confirms that optative magari is the oldest use in Sicilian.

(29)   non sulamenti di audirili   et vidirili,   ma macari di auridili   nominari
         NEG only   to hear.them and see.them but also   to hear.them mention
         'not only to hear them and to see them, but also to hear them mentioned.'
                              (*Libru di lu transitu et vita di misser sanctu Iheronimu*, anonymous, ch. 61,
                                                                       second half of the 15ᵗʰ century)

(30)   per non allargari macari d'un pocu di ligumi la sua stritta astinentia,
         for NEG slacken also   of.a little of legumes the his strict abstinence
         non   venia a tali spirituali convitu
         NEG came to such spiritual feast
         'in order not to slacken his strict abstinence even with a handful of legumes, he did not
         come to such spiritual feast.'
                              (*Raxunamentu di l'abbati Moises e di lu beatu Germanu*, anonymous, 5.6.,
                                                                          first half of the 16ᵗʰ century)

(31)   E   si macari a quistu modu non sanirà,   tandu l'abbati   servasi
         and if even   at this   way   NEG heal.FUT then the.abbot serve.SUBJ.himself
         di lu ferru chi tagla
         of the iron that cuts
         'And if even in this way he won't heal over, let the abbot use the cutting iron.'
                              (*Santu Benedittu abbati, Regula*, anonymous, ch. 28, first half of the 16ᵗʰ century)

In (29) *macari* is found in a sentence which corresponds to 'not only... but also...' in English. In (30) *macari* means 'not even' in the presence of negation. (31) presents a clear example of a concessive clause.

A quick online search (performed using the *glosbe.com* dictionary of Sicilian and a glossary of Camilleri's literary language) showed the following translations for Sicilian *macari*: 'also', 'even', 'moreover'. Let us turn to the *even*-part of concessives. *Even* creates a scale of likelihood, indicating that the circumstance involved in the predication is the least expected (of a given set of discourse-relevant elements). *Even Mark came* amounts to 'Mark came as well' plus the presupposition that 'Mark was the least expected to come'.

A concessive clause like (28), in which the content of the clause is presented as non-factual, means that, even allowing for an extreme condition (having to study by night), the speaker will pass the exam. Concessive clauses with *magari* cannot be true in the actual world in contexts in which the background of the concessive clause is true and it is not used with the indicative mood. It is only

used with the subjunctive mood. This means that in this case as well *magari* is barred from actual contexts. Anyway, *magari* does not have a concessive quality in and of itself. Compare (28) with (32):

(32)   Supererò l'esame, dovessi studiare di notte
        I.will.pass the.exam I.had to.study by night
        'I will pass the exam, even if I had to study by night.'

A concessive in Italian does not require the presence of *magari*, which seems to be redundant from a comparison between (28) and (32). Then, in the case of Italian it is not even necessary to assume that *magari* is endowed with a specifically concessive meaning. Concessive *magari* is more easily examinable as regular *magari*, applied to the concessive clauses with a non-factual propositional content. Concessive meaning comes about independently in Italian, as in (32). In this case, it is reasonable to think that a covert *even*-operator provides the scale and puts the propositional content at the endpoint of it. Whatever the exact dynamics of this process are, what is relevant is that a scale is created and that the extreme-degree reading is independent of the presence of *magari*. Once more, *magari* appears not to be truth-conditional. *Magari*, in a way, comes for free: if its purpose is that of relating a proposition that exceeds a certain threshold along a scale of likelihood with the true alternatives already present in the CG, it is obvious that the extreme degree of this scale, referred to by the covert *even*, will overcome that threshold, at whatever point it is set. In fact, *magari* is only there to act as a cue or, as Grosz (2012) puts it in the case of optional optative markers, as a disambiguator: (32), with no further characterisation, could be taken to be a conditional ('in the case I were to study by night, I would pass the exam'). In this latter reading, no scale arises: an effect (passing) follows from a cause/state of things (studying by night). This is a relation between a background and a foreground, no scale is defined. But if *magari* requires a threshold along scale to be used, then its presence is there to mark that a scale is at play, and thus that an extreme-degree reading, connected with a concessive one, is involved. Its purpose is leaving the concessive reading as the only available one. It is a prime example of a discourse particle use: it is non-truth-conditional (and in fact it can be removed without consequences) and its purpose is that of guiding the hearer towards a correct interpretation of the utterance.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that Sicilian *macari* has a concessive quality to it either. Given that it means 'also', *macari* in conjunction with *si* ('if') corresponds to Italian concessive compound *anche se*, (literally, 'also if'). Rather, it is more interesting to speculate on how *macari* came to mean 'also' in the first place.

An answer to this question is, in a way, an answer to the second question above: is *magari* simply additive or is it scalar as well? First off, other elements from the *makari* family tend to expand their uses. In Romanian, for example, *măcar* has come to mean *at least* and *even* (!). These are clearly scalar uses. Anyway, what happened with Sicilian *macari* is probably different: it looks like this element, which is no longer used in optatives, simply lost the threshold condition, and only retained the additive one while lowering its scope. The exact nature of this loss would be the subject of an interesting research on Sicilian *macari*, which cannot be pursued here; let it suffice to say that the first conjunct of (27) is enough to account for its behaviour in present-day Sicilian. The fact that it means both 'also' and 'moreover', instead, suggests that scope played a role in its history: as an element meaning 'also' it can scope over constituents which are smaller than those involved with its Italian counterpart (*magari* is in fact limited to sentential scope). As an element meaning 'moreover', it developed the function of a discourse marker, whose function is purely that of relating the utterance to the previous context.

2.5 Imperative magari

Consider the following examples:

(33)   a.   (Magari) prova (magari) in questo modo (magari)
                       magari   try   magari in this   way   magari
                      'You may try this way.'
          b.   (*Forse) prova (*forse)   in questo modo (*forse)
                       perhaps try   perhaps in this   way   perhaps

In (33a) *magari* is used in an imperative. *Magari* makes an imperative more of a suggestion than an order, or even an invitation. A *magari* imperative, like a *pure* imperative, apparently sounds more polite in offering a possibility rather than an order. *Forse* is incompatible with the imperative and (33b) simply makes no sense. It is clear that *magari* cannot be equivalent to *forse*: its contribution must be different.

This use of *magari* displays a behaviour which is very similar to that of German MPs. The very fact that it appears to mitigate an order underlines its similarity with German Abtonungspartikeln, like *bloß*, or Italian *pure*. Moreover, it does not alter the truth conditions of the proposition either by its presence or absence.

A comparison with *pure* suggests itself at this point. In *Prova pure in questo modo*, *pure* operates on the illocutionary force, presenting the order more as a permission than a command. On the other hand, *Prova in questo modo, magari* presents the proposition as possible: it does not invite the hearer to 'try that way if she will', rather it shows her that that the option exposed in the propositional content is available. Since imperatives have either a bouletic or a deontic reading, showing the hearer that the propositional content of the imperative is possible rules out the second reading, as with *pure*.

So far, the contribution of *magari* is similar to that of *pure*. Nevertheless, the difference between the contribution of *pure* and *magari* to imperative sentences must be kept separate. The fact that they are not equal is confirmed by these examples:

(34)   a.   (Magari) prova (magari) in questo modo (magari)
                        magari   try   magari in this   way   magari
          b.   (*Pure) prova (pure) in questo modo (*pure)
                        pure   try   pure in this   way   pure

First of all, *magari* retains its usual positions as an adverb, while *pure* is syntacticised in MP position, which arguably accounts for its sentential scope. There are readings in which *magari* appears to scope over a specific constituent (for example, (34a) is compatible with a reading in which *magari* emphasises *in questo modo*). This is quite similar to what has been suggested in the previous paragraph, when talking about the additive properties of *magari*. The proposition of the imperative is added to the number of possibilities open to the hearer.

M*agari* appears to have some connection to the existence of alternatives, in a way different than *pure*. While *corri pure* ('run if you please') seems to be related to the alternative of not running (i.e. 'you may run and you may also not run'), *corri, magari* seems to suggest that running is a possible action to perform, not simply opposing it to 'not running'. Consider this example:

(35) *A child asks his parent if he can run in the park, and the parent grants him permission*:
    a.   Corri pure
    b.   #Corri, magari

(36) *A man is about to miss a train. He walks hurriedly. A friend who is with him understands that the man's pace is not enough for him to make it:*
    a.   #Corri pure
    b.   Corri, magari

(35a) is felicitous, because it provides an answer to the child's request, consisting in knowing whether he can run *or not*. This means that both the options of running and that of not running are present as possibilities in the context defined by the question. In fact, *pure* simply makes them both possible by allowing the child to run. Moreover, in (35) the speaker has an authority: he can effectively allow or disallow the child to run. In (36), such authority is not perceived but, most importantly, running is perceived as a new topic: *magari* imperatives appear to add something. The friend of (36) refers running to a set of options which are already part of the CG.

Both *pure* and *magari* are additive in a way, but *magari* appears once more to refer the content of the proposition to a threshold along a scale, which has been overcome. In (35), no such threshold is present: *pure* is more than enough to allow the child to run or not run: in that case, the matter under exam is 'running'. (36), on the other hand, is not just about allowing the man to run: it relates the content of the utterance to a previously (and, of course, implicitly) defined set of actions which are ordered with respect to each other. If (35) means 'you can run and you can not run', (36) means 'of all possible actions that are relevant in this context, you can also run'. There is a requirement for the suggested action not to be part of the shared knowledge for *magari* to be felicitous, which corresponds to the additivity requirement seen above. The possibility (bouletic) reading of the imperative derives from the fact that, as the speaker adds the content of the imperative to the set of possible actions, she does so by relating it to the previous knowledge.

This makes one wonder what sort of scale is involved in this case and which threshold is overcome. While the nature of this scale is not so apparent as in the other cases, a speculative analysis will be provided. It can be suggested that, similarly to optatives, these sentences involve a bouletic scale: an inverted scale of preference which, in this case, appears to be hearer-oriented. *Magari* imperatives point out to the hearer that another possibility is there to be tried. If the relevant set of propositions is made up of those ones which are possible for the hearer to perform, then their ordering can be made to derive from the hearer's preference. Though an imperative is neither true nor false, it can be true or false that the hearer has the possibility of performing an action. A bouletic imperative can well add a proposition to this set of p's such that the interlocutor can do p.[10] These propositions are then ranked in terms of preference, and *magari* is used by the speaker to acknowledge that the suggested p ranks lower. Again, *magari*

---

[10] In this view, bouletic *Corri* would be more or less equivalent to 'it is true that x can run'. I think that a scale of preference is more viable than a scale of likelihood. In *Corri, magari*, the speaker emphasises that, despite having been considered less relevant, p is available. She does not put in doubt that the hearer is able to perform p. Actually, the speaker presupposes that the hearer is perfectly able to perform p. Given that *magari* is hearer-oriented, the easiest way to account for the relevance above is preference on the part of the hearer. It means more or less: 'you don't have to run, but if you want, you may'.

does not make the imperative bouletic in and of itself: rather, it excludes the deontic reading and situates the *p* with respect to other true propositions (such that the hearer can perform them), considering it beyond a certain degree of the hearer's preference (hence the politeness effect).[11]

2.6 *Romagnol* magari

In the regional variety of Italian spoken in Romagna (from now on called Romagnol Italian for ease of exposition),[12] *magari* has taken on a very specific reading as a MP. Before moving on to Romagnol Italian, a look at Romagnol proper will show the origin of this expression. Libero Ercolani's dictionary of the Romagnol language, which cites Cielo d'Alcamo as an early attestation, lists *magara* as having the aforementioned optative meaning, but then goes on to present the example in (37a). Broadly speaking, *magara* in (37a) is a reinforcer: it is used to convey that the speaker is very confident of the truth of the proposition and it is used either as confirmation or as correction of a previous utterance. Adelmo Masotti's dictionary also cites the existence of a hypothetical usage of *magara* (37b). It must be noted that in this use *magara* occupies the same position as in (37a), below T.

(37) a. L'è   magara vēra! È proprio vero!, ma anche: È purtroppo vero!
          'she.is *magara* true! It is quite true!, but also: Alas, it is true!'
      b. E' srèb   magara bôn   ad dìr ad nò
          he would.be perhaps good C say C no
          'He would perhaps/even be capable of saying no.'

Ercolani cites *magara* as a short answer as well. Here are some more Romagnol Italian examples. Note that B and B' are legitimate answer to both A and A':

(38) A: Non lo sai perché non lo hai visto.
          NEG it.ACC you.know because NEG it. ACC you.have seen
          'You don't know because you haven't seen it.'
      A': Lo   sai   perché lo   hai   visto
          it. ACC you.know because it. ACC you.have seen
          'You know it because you saw it.'
      B: Lo so magari!
          It. ACC I.know *magari*
          'But I do know!'
      B': L'ho (magari) visto (magari)!
          it. ACC I.have *magari* seen!
          'But I have seen it!'

---

[11] I wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out to me that Greek *makari*, while mostly mirroring the Italian distribution, is incompatible with imperative morphology. Interestingly enough, the reviewer notes that it is attested with *na*+V in the negative form. Looking into this matter, I found that Modern Greek, replicating a pattern also seen in other languages including Italian, has a suppletive form for the negative imperative, which in the case of Greek involves the Subjunctive mood (as is the case in Spanish). Once the imperative is deprived of its specific morphology, no clash arises between *makari* and the imperative clause. This means that Greek *makari* does not only depend on semantics or speech act/clause type, but also on morphological and possibly syntactic conditions, something which would deserve specific attention in further research.

[12] "Romagnol Italian" is just a label for the Italian as it is spoken in the Romagnol provinces. Ontologically imprecise as it can be, it nevertheless identifies a use of the particle, which as such can be accounted for.

The present proposal is that Romagnol *magari* (henceforth RM) has gone down a different path than its Italian counterpart, pushing forward its modal potential, and it is developing into an MP-like element.

As to its MP status, first of all, RM does not have any effect on truth conditions. Removing it from the examples above does not change the meaning of the propositions, which shows that its interpretation is compatible with that of discourse particles.

Secondly, as Fraser puts it, its meaning is procedural rather than conceptual: it helps situate the utterance in the wider communicative context. Its pragmatic import is evident in that the speaker wants to communicate her stance with regard to her assertion. When it reverses a negative assertion, it is used by the speaker to signal that the proposition cannot make its way into the Common Ground, and that truth about the topic of the previous utterance must be re-negotiated. This means that RM has a specifically modal import which, paired with its non-truth-conditional meaning, points to an MP reading.

Thirdly, its syntactic position is relatively fixed and below T°. This property has already been presented as a marked similarity between Italian and German MPs, showing that the mid-position of MPs does not have to do with the presence of a Mittelfeld *per se*, since no such concept is current in Italian syntax. Moreover, just like German MPs, RM scopes well out of its position, over the whole sentence. This is true of (38B') as well, regardless of the position of the MP.[13] Moreover, *magari* cannot take its MP meaning if it is leftmost: **magari l'ho visto* is definitely ungrammatical with the reading under exam. This is a further clue to its MP status, since that of being fixed in a middle position is a well know property of MPs.

Fourth, RM does not take the desired meaning in isolation, nor can it be coordinated with adverbs:

(39) a. A: Non sai   fare.
                NEG you.know do
                'You can't do it'
          B: *Magari! (=instead I can)
      b. *Lo   so   decisamente e   magari fare!
          it.ACC I.know definitely and *magari* do
          'I can definitely do it!'

(39a) shows that like German MPs, RM cannot be used as a short answer. This eventually boils down to the fact that, according to Merchant's PF-deletion view of ellipsis, particles would have to be moved to the left periphery in order to survive ellipsis, but since this is not possible because MPs do not move at all, RM simply cannot stand alone as an answer and the only possible interpretation is short-answer *magari*. (39b), on the other hand, touches on a much more delicate matter, the head vs Spec status of MPs. Without venturing into such intricate matters, let it be noted that, like German MPs, RM has the head-like property of not being coordinated with adverbials since, as heads, MPs could not be coordinated with full phrases.

---

[13] Actually, a difference is to be noted: German MPs are not found below the past participle. Nevertheless, RM cannot occur below lower adjuncts:

(i)   L'ho   (magari) visto (magari) col   binocolo (*magari)!
         it.I.have magari seen   magari with.the binocular   magari
         'But I have seen him with the binocular.'

One more thing German MPs and RM have in common is that they cannot be modified: *_l'ho visto ben magari_ is ungrammatical.

2.6.1 The pragmatic and polarity features of Romagnol magari

Some formal features of the item confirm the data which come from its MP behaviour. Just as German MPs are clause-type and polarity sensitive, RM needs to be used in a positive assertion. This sets it apart from its other uses:

(40)   a.   *Non   l'ho   (magari) visto   (magari)!
              NEG it.ACC I.have   magari   seen   magari
              'I haven't seen it!'
        b.   *L'hai   magari visto? (in the desired meaning)
              'Have you quite   seen it?'
        c.   *Fallo magari!
              Do.it magari
              'Do it!'

RM then aligns itself with Coniglio and Zegrean's (2010) assumption that clause-type is relevant for MP licensing. Note that no such effects as those in (40) obtain with regular Italian _magari_.

Another interesting feature of RM are its requirements with regard to the information status of the material in which the particle is found. As mentioned before, RM cannot be used out of the blue in order to strengthen an assertion: it either vouches a previous assertion from the interlocutor or contradicts it. Thus, it has a very prominent modal function, its purpose being that of manifesting the stance of the speaker toward the content of utterance.

(41)   A: Gianni non è venuto alla   festa
              Gianni NEG is come   to.the party
              'Gianni didn't come to the party.'
        B: È (magari) venuto (magari)!
              is magari come   magari
              'He came indeed!'

As Coniglio (2008) points out, _mica_, which has been defined as presuppositional negation by Cinque (1976), displays a similar MP behaviour. Actually, RM could be considered the positive counterpart of _mica_. The latter can only be used in negative contexts, it is presuppositional (it requires the truth of the proposition in which it is found to have been put in doubt) and it does not alter truth conditions (not being the actual negative marker; a sentence with _mica_ has the same truth conditions as one without it).

(42)   A: Hai   sbagliato   tutto
              you.have   got.wrong all
              'You got it all wrong.'
        B: Non è mica vero!
              NEG is mica true
              '(Instead) that's not true!'

2.6.2 An explanation for the behaviour of magari in Romagnol Italian

What happens when RM is used is that the speaker either confirms something which the interlocutor has said or corrects it. In both cases, a topic is presented by the interlocutor and the speaker ends up strongly affirming, and committing herself to, the fact that the uttered proposition is true. When the previous utterance is negative, the speaker wants to stress that its content must be brought back into the Common Ground. When it is positive, the speaker vouches the assertion by committing herself to adding it to shared knowledge.

A similar case, German MP *ja*, is examined by Gast (2008), who couches his research in Relevance Theory. The German MP *ja*, which roughly means 'as we know', has some similarities with RM when the latter is used to confirm the previous assertion.

Concerning the function of *ja*, [...] this particle is used when a speaker presupposes that the hearer will not contradict or object to what s/he says [...] The function of *ja* can be characterised in terms of the present model as follows: *ja* indicates that an utterance constitutes a 'trivial update', i.e. an update in which a TP context C_i containing a Fact is mapped onto an output context C_o which is identical to the input context. (Gast 2008: 10)

Actually, the parallelism between *magari* and *ja* goes beyond that:

[T]rivial updates are made because they trigger specific contextual effects [...] More often than not, they strengthen existing suppositions or trigger 'contextual implications' [...] What *ja* does in such sentences is make a background assumption explicit which is (supposed to be) taken for granted (a Fact), thus enabling the reader to reach the right conclusions. (Gast 2008: 10-11)

Moreover, *ja* shares with *magari* the emotional and emphatic quality and "cannot be used in questions or conditionals, i.e. in any type of sentence or utterance which expresses Hypotheses rather than Facts" (Gast 2008: 12). Thus, Romagnol *magari* can be taken to be, like *ja*, an indicator of trivial updates in specific communicative contexts. This is why, as noted by Gutzmann and Turgay (2016: 11), *ja* is incompatible with new information: "In einem Kontext, in dem offensichtliche neue und nicht sofort ersichtliche Informationen präsentiert werden, ist die Verwendung von *ja* unangemessen". One more factor which brings together *ja* and *magari* is that they are both propositional MPs in the terms of Gutzmann and Turgay (2016), which comment on the propositional content but do not operate on clause-type like Satzmodus-MPs. In fact, what is relevant in the use of RM is not that the utterance is an assertion (at least, not as far as the meaning of RM is concerned). Rather, what RM stresses is that the proposition is true.[14]

---

[14] This difference is clear in the opposition between these two sentences: *Hein is* **wohl** *auf See* and *Hein is* **vermutlich** *auf See*. Both mean 'Hein is probably at sea', but while *vermutlich* comments on the propositional content of the assertion, like this <ASSERT(Hein is vermutlich auf See)>, and is thus a propositional MP, the other scopes over the illocutionary node, thus turning the assertion into a guess, in this way: <wohl(ASSERT)(Hein ist auf See)>. Since it involves a change in the illocutionary force of the clause, *wohl* is a Satzmodus-MP. These are the two partitions in the class of MPs: "Zum einen gibt es MPs wie wohl, die Satzmodusmodifikatoren sind, zum anderen die durch ja exemplifizierte Klasse, die man als 'direkte, propositionale Modifikatoren' bezeichnen könnte, da sie den propositionalen Gehalt direkt kommentieren. Wir bezeichnen diese beiden Gruppen der Einfachheit halber als Satzmodus-MPs bzw. propositionale MPs" (Gutzmann and Turgay 2016: 11). Since an assertion with RM is still an assertion, RM can be taken to belong to the first group.

The fact that *magari* is only found in positive assertions is more easily explained in terms of Coniglio and Zegrean's (2010) split between ILL and CT. While RM has a pragmatic and modal effect (that of reinforcing an assertion and of declaring the speaker's commitment towards it) which relates to ILL, this item has additional requirements concerning clause-type, encoded in the requirement that the CT of the sentence in which it is found be assertive and positive. In this view, it can be assumed that the illocutionary properties of RM and its clause-typing requirements derive from two different sources, that is, from its relation with two distinct functional projections in the split ForceP.

For the rest, *magari* is remarkably similar to *pure*:

(43) a. A: Gianni non è venuto.   B: Gianni è magari / pure venuto!
          Gianni NEG is come   Gianni is magari pure come
          'Gianni didn't come'   'Gianni came indeed!'
      b. A: Gianni è venuto.   B: Gianni è magari / #pure venuto!
          Gianni is come   Gianni is magari   pure come
          'Gianni came'   'Gianni came indeed!'
      c. A: Gianni è venuto?   B: Gianni è magari / #pure venuto!
          Gianni is come   Gianni is magari   pure come
          'Did Gianni come?'   'Gianni came indeed!'

Both *pure* and *magari* have an additive function, so it comes as no surprise that their particle uses are similar. Neither can be used out of the blue, and both remark that the proposition must be added to shared knowledge. Still, *pure* only has a corrective meaning: it cannot be used in response to a question or to a positive assertion. *Magari* is fine even in the latter cases.

Our last suggestion is that RM serves another purpose. A standard Italian paraphrase of *Gianni è magari venuto* could be given along these lines:

(44) Eccome se   Gianni è venuto! / Gianni è venuto eccome!
      and.how if   Gianni is come   Gianni is come and.how
      'Gianni came indeed!'

(44) is as good an answer to the cases above as *magari*: it can be used with positive and negative assertions and as an answer to questions. *Eccome* literally means 'and how' and can be followed by a *se* complementizer, which both means *if* and introduces embedded yes-no interrogatives. *Eccome* is formed by a discourse marker, *e*, which like English 'and' relates the utterance to the previous context, and a word meaning *how*. It is not comparable to interrogative *how*, though; rather, it is similar to Zanuttini and Portner's (2003) exclamative *wh*-words. These are not (always) acceptable as *wh*-words in questions, but they serve a fundamental scalar purpose in exclamatives:

(45) a. *Come è alto?
           how he.is tall
          'How tall is he?' (cf. *Quanto è alto?*, lit. 'how much tall is he?')
      b. Come è alto!
          'How tall he is!'

In Zanuttini and Portner's (2003) terms, exclamatives map a context D1 to a new context D2 in a process of widening, meaning that a new, higher degree of a given property is provided which was not contemplated before. In the case above, the context is widened to allow for a height which was not yet part of the degrees contemplated in D1. Like questions, exclamatives denote sets of propositions (which is probably why *eccome* can be followed by an embedded interrogative starting with *se*). The *wh*-operator binds a variable for which an appropriate value cannot be found in the Common Ground. The new proposition is ranked with respect to its alternatives in the Common Ground along a scale which allows for a higher degree of the salient property. Thus, exclamatives are inherently scalar.

The suggestion is that RM does more or less the same thing. RM, like *eccome*, remarks that the degree of certainty with which p can be asserted is high. What *magari* and *eccome* do is relate the assertion to a degree of certainty with which the speaker can assert that $p = 1$. *Eccome* quantifies the degree of certainty with which the speaker affirms p, and the same can be assumed for *magari*: along an epistemic scale, the speaker means that p lies beyond a threshold so that she safely assumes p to be true. What *eccome* and *magari* do, then, is in line with the behaviour of modal particles: when *magari* is added to a proposition, it brings about a modal reading which sets the proposition itself against the epistemic beliefs of the speaker. That is also why RM is redundant: the speaker could simply say *Gianni è venuto* to contradict the hearer, perhaps with the addition of Verum Focus. But Verum Focus, while being a powerful informational tool, does not bring in the speaker's beliefs in the way RM does. By adding *magari*, the speaker wants to stress that p is not only true (rather than false, which is what Verum Focus primarily does), but also that it lies beyond a 'safe' threshold in a scale which is defined on epistemic grounds (likelihood being based on the speaker's beliefs). This analysis is once more compatible with a definition of *magari* as a discourse particle and, more specifically, as an MP.

3. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to define in which way a unified analysis of the several uses of *magari* can be provided. This amounts to finding its core semantics and verifying how they interact with propositional content and with pragmatic and informational aspects, like speaker's intentions and presuppositions. The results point to an analysis in which *magari* has two components: one is an additive function and the other is a peculiar scalar function. This function refers the proposition to a contextually given scale of propositions ordered according to a property, and crucially signals that, with respect to this scale, the proposition lies beyond a given threshold. The nature of the scale, contextually defined, is responsible for what *magari* means in the respective cases.

A final remark is in order here. *Magari* originated in optatives, clauses in which the presence of a threshold along a scale is fundamental for the correct discourse inferences to be made. Its optative origin appears to have been the single most influential factor in its further developments. It could be said that *magari* has not developed after all: it has maintained its additive and scalar import, adapting itself to situations in which an epistemic scale is relevant for the hearer to correctly interpret the utterance. This means that *magari* can be viewed under the label of a discourse particle with an epistemic characterisation, and reference to its additive-plus-threshold nature has been suggested to be an effective description of what it does, or rather what it means. More research may be required in some cases (as in the case of imperative *magari*, in which the effect of the particle must be described with respect to the semantics of the imperative, which are likely to be a little less obvious than what our sketch in 2.5 suggested),

but we hope that we have been able to shed new light on some old questions and to pose some new ones. For one thing, this paper has shown how reductive the term 'adverb' can be, and what influence a mood or clause-type can have on the particles that are associated with it and on their further developments.

In all cases, *magari* has been proven not to be truth-conditional: its semantic contribution derives either from the interaction with presuppositions and shared knowledge, or from the implicatures it causes and the pragmatic inferences on the part of the hearer. In all cases, *magari* has been taken to have a primarily discourse-related function, which again shows how blurred the boundary between the category of adverbs and discourse particles is (if needed at all).

References

Bayer, Josef and Hans-Georg Obenauer. 2011. "Discourse particles, clause structure, and question types." *Linguistic Review* 28: 449-491.

Beaver, D.I. and B.Z. Clark. 2008. *Sense and Sensitivity: How Focus Determines Meaning*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Biezma, María. 2011. *Anchoring Pragmatics In Syntax And Semantics*. Doctoral dissertation, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2015. "Italian verb-based discourse particles in a comparative perspective." In *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, ed. by Josef Bayer, Roland Hinterhölzl and Andreas Trotzke, 71-91. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1976. "Mica." *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, vol. 1*, 101-112. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Coniglio, Marco. 2008. "Modal particles in Italian." *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistic* 18: 91-129.

Coniglio, Marco and Iulia Zegrean. 2010. "Splitting up Force: Evidence from discourse particles." *University of Venice Working Papaers in Linguistics* 20: 7-34.

Ercolani, Libero. 1971. *Nuovo vocabolario romagnolo-italiano italiano-romagnolo*. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.

Fraser, Bruce. 1991. "Types of English discourse markers." *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38, 1: 19-33.

Gast, Volker. 2008. "Modal particles and context updating: The functions of German 'ja', 'doch', 'wohl' and 'etwa'." In *Modalverben und Grammatikalisierung*, ed. by Heinz Vater and Ole Letnes, 153-177. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.

Grosz, P.G. 2012. *On the Grammar of Optative Constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gutzmann, Daniel and Katharina Turgay. 2016. "Zur Stellung von Modalpartikeln in der gesprochenen Sprache." *Deutsche Sprache* 42, 2: 97-122.

Haegeman, Liliane and Virginia Hill. 2013. "The Syntacticization of Discourse." In *Syntax and its Limits*, ed. by Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali and Robert Truswell, 370-390. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Holmberg, Anders. 2013. "The syntax of answers to polar questions in English and Swedish." *Lingua* 128: 31-50.

Kehayov, Petar. 2009. "Taboo intensifiers as polarity items: evidence from Estonian." In *STUF – Language Typology and Universals*. 62, 1-2: 140-164.

Krifka, Manfred. 2007. "Basic Notions of Information Structure." <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/10137> (06/2020).

Larrivée, Pierre and Cecilia Poletto. 2018. "Mapping the Syntacticisation of Discourse: The Case of Sentential Particles." <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328077762> (06/2020).

Manzini, M. Rita. 2015. "Italian adverbs and discourse particles: Between recategorization and ambiguity." In *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, ed. by Josef Bayer, Roland Hinterhölzl and Andreas Trotzke, 93-120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Masotti, Adelmo. 1996. *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano*. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Merchant, Jason. 2004. "Fragment Answers." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661-738.

Pesetsky, David and Esther Torrego. 2007. "The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability of Features." In *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture: Syntactic Derivation and Interpretation. In honor of Joseph E. Emonds*, ed. by Simin Karimi, Vida Samiian and W.K. Wilkins, 262–294. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pianigiani, Ottorino. 1907. *Vocabolario etimologico della lingua italiana*. Rome: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri. <http://www.etimo.it/> (06/2020).

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Roussou, Anna. 2015. "Is particle a (unified) category?" In *Discourse-oriented Syntax*, ed. by Josef Bayer, Roland Hinterhölzl and Andreas Trotzke, 121-158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Speas, Peggy and Carol Tenny. 2003. "Configurational properties of point of view roles." In *Asymmetry in Grammar: Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by A.M. Di Sciullo, 315-344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Zanuttini, Raffaella and Paul Portner. 2003. "Exclamative Clauses: At the Syntax-Semantics Interface." *Language*. 79, 1: 39-81.

Sitography

Corpus ArTeSiA. Archivio Testuale del Siciliano Antico <http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it> (06/2020).

Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico. Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano < http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it/> (06/2020).

The propredicative clitic in Italo-romance:
a micro-parametric variation approach

Paolo Lorusso and Andrea Moro
NEtS Scuola Universitaria Superiore IUSS Pavia
(<pavlovlo@gmail.com>, <andrea.moro@iusspavia.it>)

Abstract:

In this paper we describe the distribution of propredicative clitics in nominal copular constructions across different Italo-romance varieties. Different lexical items are recruited from the lexicon to cliticize the predicative NP, all of them either lack inflection or show a neuter inflection: the 'uninflected' status of propredicatives, in fact, is an available option among the categorical status of different pronouns. The characteristics of propredicatives across Italo-Romance confirms the predictions of the analysis of Moro (1997: 1) copular constructions allow only one agreement projection (agreement with the subject of the copular sentence and not with the predicate), 2) the proforms are generated in N^0 rather than a D^0. This analysis challenges the 'definite' analyses of romance l-clitics (which date back to Postal 1966): such proposals often invoke the parallel between clitics and definite articles as a reason to treat clitics as belonging to the category D. We will also show that apparent counterexamples found in some varieties in which the proforms agree in gender and number with the nominal predicates rely on semantic restrictions and ellipsis. We will finally update the proposal of Moro (1997) in terms of the labelling algorithm (Moro 2009; Chomsky 2013; Rizzi 2016): the N^0 cliticization involved in the propredicative items allows a D^0 in situ within the small clause which label the small clause, which otherwise will be unlabelled and imply a crash in the derivation.

Keywords: *agreement, clitics, definiteness, nominal copular constructions, propredicatives*

1. Introduction

In this paper, we provide a comparative overview of the distribution of propredicative clitics. Our research is based mainly on data from Italo-romance varieties, but we also include data from other Romance languages. Propredicative clitics are the proforms found in copular sentence to refer to either the predicative NP or the AP. In Italian the propredicative clitics are invariant in gender and number: for instance, also when they refer to a feminine predicative NP (1b) or to an inflected AP (2b).

(1)   a.   Le ragazze   sono   la   causa   del litigio.
                The girls   are   the$_{fem-sing}$ cause$_{fem\ sing}$ of the quarrel.

        b.   Le ragazze   *la/   lo   sono (la causa   del litigio)
                The girls   it$_{fem-sing}$/ it$_{neuter-sing}$ are   (the$_{fem-sing}$ cause$_{fem-sing}$ of the quarrel)
                'The girls are the cause of the quarrel.'

(2)   a.   Le ragazze   sono   belle.
                The girls   are   beautiful.

        b.   Le ragazze   *le   /lo   sono   (belle).
                The girls   it$_{fem-plur}$/ it$_{neuter-sing}$ are   (beautiful).
                'The girls are beautiful.'

We propose an analysis of copular constructions in which the predicative XP (NP, AP)[1] cliticizises in an invariant/uninflected form (1b, 2b). As for nominal copular constructions, the main idea is that, as Moro (1997) suggests, *lo* is generated in a N^0 rather than D^0: the invariant form of the propredicative clitic does not imply a definite D description ([-referential] in the terms of La Fauci and Loporcaro, 1997), as the other *l-* clitics do, since it refers to the predicative element within the small clause. We report the data from different Romance varieties which uniformly show that the proforms for the predicative NPs are either invariant propredicative clitics or adverbs. These data on the one hand confirm that copular constructions allow only one AGR projection (which is activated for the chain of the raised subject NP), as predicted by Moro (1997), and, on the other hand, the element allowed to stands for the predicate can only be either a non-inflecting lexical item or a proform with neuter inflection so that "it seems that an inherent property of propredicative elements is that they do not have any features of their own [...] (Moro 1997: 66)".

Moreover, the N^0 generation of the propredicative clitics has clear implications at syntax-semantics interface: propredicatives do not refer to any argument or referent in the world (in the sense of definite expression) and since DPs are arguments and NPs are predicates (as argued by Stowel 1989; Longobardi, 1994), they refer to the mere N (the predicate) and they are, semantically speaking, constants (while other pronouns are bound variables). The predicate NPs, in fact, as Moro 1997 shows, can also be found with no determiners in nominal copular sentences (3).

(3)   a.   Le ragazze   sono   (la)   causa   del litigio.
                The girls   are   (the$_{fem-sing}$)   cause$_{fem\ sing}$ of the quarrel
                'The girls are (the) cause of the quarrel.'

Apparent counterexamples which show full inflected propredicative clitics (section 5) will allow us to update Moro's proposal in two directions: on the one side we will analyse the appearing agreeing propredicatives as a semantically and pragmatically restricted case of ellipsis and on the other side we will interpret the entire set of data as an effect of the labelling

---

[1] Although we will focus mainly on nominal copular constructions involving predicative DPs, APs will become relevant in the analysis of some varieties (Occitan in section 4.3) in which we find different proforms depending on the lexical category of the predicative item within the small clause: either a NP or AP.

algorithm involved in the small clause selected by the copula *be*. The crucial fact is that copular small clauses are unstable structures: the symmetry instantiated by the two XPs generates a conflict and the SC remains unlabelled. To solve this labelling problem, the symmetry must be broken: the raising of either XP provide SC with label (Chomsky 2013; Rizzi 2016 relying on Moro 2000, 2009). The small clause is labelled by the D of the predicative DP position which remains in situ, since both the subject and predicative NP (which undergoes cliticization) raise to the inflectional domain.

In section 2 we describe the general pattern of distribution of propredicative *-lo* in Italian and we highlight the most relevant characteristic also shared with many Romance languages. Section 3 addresses the issue on the D morphology attributed to 3rd person clitic: although in Italian propredicative clitics show *l*-morphology which is also found in definite determiner and in other clitics, propredicatives cannot be interpreted systematically as definite element; the propredicative elements, in fact, cliticizes N^0 and not D^0 (as originally proposed in Moro 1997). In section 4 we introduce the data on the different strategies to pronominalize the predicative DP in Italo-Romance: the pronominalizing operation can imply 1) a clitic (or a set of alternating clitics), 2) an adverb or 3) no expression at all. Section 5 introduces some apparent counterexamples to be included in the analysis of the distribution of propredicative expression across Romance: agreeing propredicative clitics. In section 6 we will present our syntactic account for which in nominal copular sentences there is only one agreement projection which is activated for the chain of the raised subject NP and the propredicative proforms refer to the mere N within the postcopular DP, that's why no overt inflection is found across all the varieties described. Section 7 is devoted to update the account in 6 through a 'labelling' approach (Chomsky 2013). In section 8 we present our concluding remarks.

2. On the distribution of propredicative 'lo'

In Italian the object of a verb can be cliticized onto it (by means of a full inflected range of clitics: *la* (fem. sing.), *lo* (masc. sing.), *le* (fem. plur.), etc.; see Burzio 1986).

(4)   a.   La ragazza   riconosce   la   gioia   dei genitori
           The girl   recognizes t   he$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ joy-$_{fem\ sing}$ of the parents
           'The girl recognizes the joy of her parents.'

      b.   La ragazza   la /   *lo   riconosce   (la gioia dei genitori)
           The girl   it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ recognizes (the joy$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ of the parents)
           'The girl recognizes it (=the joy of her parents)'

Object clitic movement (from a postverbal DP) targets an agreement position within the IP and VP layer for licensing its semantic specificity associated to its gender and number features (Roberts 2010).[2]

---

[2] We will not refer here to the difference between the functional projection where clitics land (little *v* positions, m AgrOP, ClP) or whether they are the results of movement or base generated but see Sportiche (1992, 1996), Mavroyorgos (2010), Manzini and Savoia (2005), Manzini (2014). For the purpose of the present descriptive work, we are mainly interested in showing that there is a position, within the inflectional layer, where agreeing (object) clitics land which is not available in copular constructions.

However, as accounted for by Moro (1993, 1997, and subsequent works), in copular sentences involving either a predicative NP or an AP there is a special clitic, namely *lo*, which is invariant in gender and number (presenting overt masculine/neuter morphology-*o*) although it refers to a feminine predicative NP (4).

(4)   a.   le foto   del muro   sono   la causa della rivolta
              the pictures   of the wall   are   the cause of the riot

      b.   * le foto   del muro   la   sono
              the pictures   of the wall   it$_{fem-sing}$ are

      c.   le foto   del muro   lo   sono
              the pictures   of the wall   it$_{masc-sing}$ are
              'The pictures of the wall are the cause of the riot.'

                                                                        (Moro 1997: 71)

The same *lo* clitic can be found in context where it resumes subordinate clauses: in this case, however, since clauses are not inflected for φ features, we obviously expect the resumptive proform to present default agreement: this is actually the case of invariant *lo* in (5).

(5)   lo   sapevo (che   saresti   venuto)
      it$_{masc-sing}$ knew (that   be$_{COND-2sg}$ come$_{PAST-PARTICIPLE}$)
      'I knew it = (I knew you would come).'

Similar propredicative clitics are found across Romance languages: both invariant proforms for predicate NPs (6a 6b, 7b) and for subordinate clause are found in Spanish and in French, but not in Portuguese (8) and Romanian (9).

(6)   a.   Jean est un avocat,   et François le   sera aussi   *French*
              Marie   is a lawyer$_{fem}$ and Jeanne it$_{masc-sing}$ will be too

      b.   Marie   est une avocate, et Jeanne le/   *la   sera   aussi
              Marie   is a lawyer$_{fem}$ and Jeanne it$_{masc-sing}$ /   it$_{fem-sing}$ will be too
              'Marie is a lawyer and Jeanne will be a lawyer too.'
                                            (Dechainee and Witschko 2002:487)

      c.   Je le   saveis (que tu viendrais)
              I it$_{masc-si}$ knew (that you come$_{COND-2sg}$)
              I knew it = (I knew you would come)'

(7)   a.   este niño   es   la   ruina   de los padres   *Spanish*
              this child$_{masc}$ is   the$_{fem}$ ruin$_{fem}$ of the parents.
              'This child is the ruin of his parents.'

    b.   este niño   lo/   *la   es (la ruina de los padres)
          this child$_{masc}$ it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ is (the$_{fem}$ ruin$_{fem}$ of the parents)
          'This child is the ruin of his parents.'

    c.   lo sabía (que ibas a venir).
          it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ knew$_{1sg}$ that   go$_{IMP\text{-}2sg}$ come$_{INF.}$
          'I knew it = (I knew you would come)'

(8)   a.   essa criança   é   a   ruína   dos pais *Portuguese*
          this child$_{fem}$ is   the$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ ruin$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ of parents.
          'This child is the ruin of his parents.'

    b.   essa criança   *o/   *a   é (a ruína dos pais)
          this child$_{masc}$ it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ is (the$_{fem}$ ruin$_{fem}$ of the parents)
          'This child is the ruin of his parents.'

    c.   eu   (*o)   sabia   (que vinhas)
          I   it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ knew$_{1sg}$ (that come$_{PRET\text{-}IMP}$).
          'I knew it = (I knew you would come).'

(9)   a.   fetele   sunt   cauza   conflictului.
          girls-the   are   cause$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ quarrel$_{GEN}$
          'The girls are the cause of the quarrel.'

    b.   fetele   *îl   /*o   sunt.   (cauza   conflictului)
          Girls-the   it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ are   (cause$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ quarrel$_{GEN}$)
          'The girls are the cause of the quarrel.'

    c.   *O/   *îl   **ştiam**   (că **vei**   veni)
          It$_{fem\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ knew1sg   that$_{beCOND\text{-}2sg}$ come$_{PAST\ PARTICIPLE}$
          'I knew it= (I knew you would come).'

                                                           (Bleotu, p.c.)

     The data above show that in Romance there is a systematic pattern in the distribution of the propredicative clitics. So, except for Portuguese and Romanian, in nominal copular sentences both NP and AP predicate cliticize onto a proform with these main characteristics: 1) the propredicative clitic is a 3rd person Direct Object clitic; 2) it is invariant since it does not carry the morphosyntactic features of the predicate it stands for; 3) it shows a masculine singular inflection, that in the case of Spanish and Italian is commonly assumed to be a residual neuter inflection (found only in some lexical categories such as determiners and proforms; 4) last but not least, the propredicative clitics are syncretic with definite determiners. However, in section 4 we will see that the distribution of propredicative clitics across Italo-Romance is more complex than the general pattern sketched above: there are strategies which do not involve a clitic proform (as the Portuguese data show) or that have more than one proform at work (we will see the cases of Occitan and Catalan in section 4 and 5). Anyway, a general characteristic across the varieties we report is

that no agreeing elements are found as predicate proforms, confirming that copular sentences do not have an agreement position within the IP and VP layer. The fact that many varieties show a syncretism between the propredicative clitics and definite determiners seem to be in contrast with the morphological invariant status of propredicatives, since definite descriptions (D category) are commonly assumed to select nominal class inflections. Next section is devoted to examining this apparent contrast between definiteness morphology and clitic distribution.

3. The definiteness morphology of 3ʳᵈ person cliticis and the clitic paradigm in Italian

Accusative 3ʳᵈ person clitics are commonly assumed to be different from other Romance pronouns: the main reason is that, morphologically, they are identical to definite determiners (Postal. 1966[3], and subsequent literature), and like them, and unlike the rest of the clitic paradigm of most of Romance, they have gender features (see Hinzen and Sheenan 2014 for a review).[4]

With respect to their interpretation, the idea that accusative clitics are linked to referential specificity is shared in many works (cf. Suñer 1988; Uriagereka 1995; Roca 1992, 1996; Sportiche 1996; Fernández-Soriano 1993; or Ormazábal and Romero 2007, 2010): concretely, 3ʳᵈ person clitics are commonly assumed to be D category for the Definiteness morphology (*l-* in Romance) embedding an N, i.e. nominal class category, for its inflections (Kratzer 2009; Manzini and Savoia 2007; Manzini 2012).

In Romance, they have a recognizable lexical base *l-* followed by nominal class inflections *-o/ -a*. The same lexical base *l-* turns up as the determiner of nouns, in which case its referential value is clearly definiteness, incidentally the nominal class endings *-o/-a* are the same seen on nouns (10).

(10)   a.   l-o   zi-o   b.   l-a   zi-a
              The_{masc-sing}   uncle   the_{fem-sing}   aunt

For example, in the Italian clitic system at the morphophonological interface, separate lexicalizations for 'speaker' m-, 'hearer' t- and 'definiteness' l- are instantiated (Manzini 2012: 12).

(11)   a.   mi/ ti
              me/ you

        b.   lo/ la
              him/ her

If we go back to 3ʳᵈ person accusative clitics, the definiteness *l-* combines with overt morphosyntactic features: "the alleged '3ʳᵈ person' features are in fact gender features, a variety of descriptive feature … If [a descriptive feature] is to grow into a pronoun, it has to combine with

---

[3] Actually, Postal (1966)'s claim was that all pronouns (including strong pronouns) "are really articles, in fact types of definite articles" (Postal 1966: 203).
[4] In Italian, for example, while 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person accusative clitics are invariant for gender (*mi/ti* as in 11a), all indirect clitics are uninfected for gender. However 3ʳᵈ person indirect clitic in standard Italian has two different forms *gli* for masculine and *le* for feminine, but while the feminine *le* is disappearing, the masculine *gli* is often used to refer to both masculine and feminine referents.

a feature [def] that turns it into a definite description. If [def] is the familiar feature that can also be pronounced as a definite determiner in certain configurations, it should head its own functional projection, hence be a D … Descriptive features … are nominal, hence NsKratzer (2009: 221 apud Manzini 2012: 12).”

At this respect Suñer (1988) suggests that 3rd person direct object clitics are semantically restricted to [+specific] arguments since they refer to negative phrases, nonspecific indefinites, or interrogative elements.[5]

A slight different account is the one of Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), they propose that clitics and definite determiners denote *tokens*, but 3rd person direct object clitic can also be associate to an indefinite DP interpreted as non-specific or as a *type* (Verganud and Zubizarreta 1992, but also Roca 1992, 1996) or with a generic interpretation as in (12a), never as a regular indefinite (12b).

(12)   a.   Una corbata,   no me   la   pondría   ni borracho   *Spanish*
            A tie,   not me_RF it_fem-sing would.put-on.I not-even drunk
            'A tie, I would not dress it not even if I was drunk.'

       b.   *Una corbata,   me   la   puse   ayer
            A tie,   me_RF   it_fem-sing put-on_1sg   yesterday
            'A tie, I dressed it yesterday.'

                                                        (Ormazabal and Romero, 2010: 10)

Similar considerations have been made also about the non-definite reading of *l-* articles. Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002) put down that the French *l*-article does not have a fixed interpretation. In some contexts it may be construed as a definite (13a) while in other contexts it is ambiguous between a generic and a definite construal (13b).

(13)   a.   Jean a achete   le vin.   *French*
            Jean has bought the wine
            'Jean bought the wine.'

       b.   Jean aime le vin.
            Jean likes the wine
            = i. 'Jean likes wine.'
            = ii. 'Jean likes the wine.'

Sinilarly, in Italian a singular definite article introduces a generic (plural) reading (cf. Chierchia 1998; Delfitto 1998, 2002; Storto 2003; Zamparelli 2002; Falco and Zamparelli 2019).

(14)   a.   Il   dodo è estinto (=tutti I dodo sono estinti).
            the   dodo is extinct (=All Dodos are extinct).

So, *l-* articles do not have an uncontroversial and fixed referential value and in many cases they are not inherently definite. Longobardi (1994) accounts for this by the proposal that the

---

[5] Similar proposals have been made by Uriagereka (1995) and Ormazabal and Romero (2010).

definite construal reflects the presence of a null D position (15a). When the D superstructure is absent, the generic reading becomes available (15b).

(15) a. $[_D \ \emptyset \ [_\varphi$ le [NP vin]]] = 'the wine'
      b. $[_\varphi$ le [NP vin]] = 'wine'

Both 3rd person accusative clitics and l-determiners, although often associated to definite reading, can also imply a generic reading. Another strong case in which we can not interpret the *l-* clitic as definite is the case of *lo* propredicative clictis in copular constructions. The *lo* clitic can refer, in fact, either to a predicative DP (16) or to an adjective (17).

(16) a.   Elena è   la causa della guerra
             Elena is   the cause$_{fem}$ of the war
             'Elena is the cause of the war.'

      b.   Elena lo   è   (la causa   della guerra)
             Elena it$_{mascsing}$ is   (the cause$_{fem}$ of the war)
             'Elena is it (the cause of the war).'

(17) a.   le foto del muro sono interessanti
             the picture of the wall   are interesting$_{masc-plur}$
             'the picture of the wall   are interesting.'

      b.   le   foto del muro   *lo* sono (interessanti)
             the   pictures of the wall   it$_{mascsing}$ are   (interesting$_{masc-plur}$)
             'The picture of the wall   are (interesting).'

Consider that *lo* can refer to a bare predicative NPs (Moro: 1997): in the predicative NP in canonical sentences the D^0 can be left empty: (16) is equivalent to (18).

(18)   Elena è causa della guerra
             Elena is cause of the war

Moro (1997) implements the account of Longobardi (1994) for which DPs are arguments and NPs are predicate: since *lo* refers to the predicate it cannot refer to a D element, but to a N.

(19)   Inflected *l* clitics
                               DP
                                |
                               (D′)
                                |
                               D°
                                |
                               infl.cl.

(20)   Invariant *lo*

```
                          DP
                        /    \
                      D°      NP
                              |
                            (N′)
                              |
                             N°
                              |
                         uninfl.cl.
```
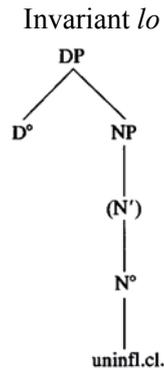
In our respect, despite the fact that propredicative clitics show the *l-* morphology of definite determiners and 3rd person inflecting accusative clitics, these *lo* clitics found in Italian (but also *le* in French and *lo* in Spanish) refer to predicative NPs or adjective: they can never be associated to a referential meaning or a definite description.

The interpretation of propredicative clitics confirms that there is no one-to-one mapping between *l-* morphology and definite interpretation, as we have also seen in the cases of generic interpretation of both articles and clitics (11-14). The lack of definite [+def] interpretation is overtly characterized by the fact that the propredicative clitics do not show inflectional paradigms. Nevertheless, they are not uninflected forms but invariant forms: the -o termination is an invariant (neuter) inflection (actually it is syncretic with masculine singular). The distribution and the interpretation of propredicative clitics are captured by the analysis of Moro 1997: 1) *lo* refers to the predicate in the small clause from which, through raising, the copular sentences are derived; 2) more precisely *lo* refers to an N and not to a D. This analysis accounts for the invariant inflection of *lo* and for its non-definite interpretation and it will be useful (in section 4) to describe the microparametric variation found across Italo-Romance in the distribution of propredicatives. But, before proceeding to review the different varieties, we will introduce another lexical item which is used as a propredicative proform, namely *ci*.

3.1 'lo' and 'ci' propredicatives

The clitic *ci* (there) is a locative clitic which refers to indirect arguments or location. It can also be used as a propredicative proform and can parallels the *lo*-structures, since *ci* is one of the way in which natural language's syntax builds a predicative connection out of a DP (Moro 1993, 1997) as in existentials (21b). *Ci* is a raised predicate since if it were a null expletive (or a proform of an argument) (22b) would be grammatical but this is not the case.[6] So in the analyisis of (21b) *scienziato* is the subject of the small clause and *ci* is the raised 'existential' predicate, being "the existential meaning a function that maps DP into a predicative structure where D^0 is the predicate of a set demoted by the NP (Moro 1992: 10)."

(21)   a.   Gianni è uno scienziato
                   Gianni is a scientist

---

[6] For a complete analysis of ci in existentials see Moro 1997 (Chapter 2).

b   c'e uno scienziato
           there is a scientist

(22)   a.   Gianni lo$_i$ è t$_i$
             Gianni *lo* is

       b   *ce lo$_i$ è t$_i$
             (there lo is)

(Moro 1997: 105)

Acvtually *ci* can overtly occur as a (nominal) propredicative element of a small clause in Italian substandard constructions (23).

(23)   ci sei   o ci fai?
          ci are-2sg   or ci make
          'Are you really like that or are you pretending to be like that?'

(Moro 1997: 275 ff.10)

Ci can be a lexical substitute, as we will see in Section 4, of the *lo* propredicative in some varieties with a reduced clitic paradigm.

4. Distribution of propredicative elements across Italo-Romance

In this section we describe the distribution of propredicative clitics across Italo-Romance. In all the varieties we report the propredicative clitics are invariant just like the Standard Italian *lo*, however different elements are recruited from the lexicon to refer to the predicate DP. We will discuss mainly two descriptive dimensions: the lexical item found to refer to the predicate and the inflectional status of such element. The main descriptive criteria are: 1) the syncretism (or not) between the propredicative items and the 3rd person accusative clitics; 2) the syncretism with *ci*-like clitics; 3) whether the lexical elements used to refer to predicates are proforms or lexical invariant/uninflected elements; 4) whether different lexical items are found to refer to different type of predicative element; 5) the characteristics of the inflectional (inflected/uninflected/invariant) status of the lexical items found to refer to the predicate. We identified three main groups of varieties in Italo-Romance (and Romance):

1) Varieties with *ci*: propredicatives that refers to NP or AP are syncretic with the existential/locative *ci*. In some varieties of these varieties *ci* is also found with 3rd person dative clitics.

2) Varieties with *adverbial* propredicatives: no propredicative proforms are found, as in Portuguese (8) and Romanian (9), some adverbials can appear to refer to predicates but they are never raised in preverbal position. Similarly to propredicatives, no clitic proforms are found for existentials, even if 3rd person accusative/dative clitics are present in these varieties.

3) Varieties with *lo*- propredicatives: as in Italian, French and Spanish. In these varieties an l-clitic is generally used to refer to predicates. However, alternation with other types of clitics (different lexical items) is found to refer to different predicates (for istance, *ne* partitive clitics in Occitan, specialized form like *ho* in Catalan).

*4.1 Varieties with **ci**-like propredicatives*

The first group of varieties we report is the one in which found a propredicative *ci*-there clitics. In (24-25) we found an example of Romanesco in which the propredicative ***ci*** refers to an AP.

(24)   a.   Rosa è 'mbecille forte   *Romanesco*
                  Rose is stupid   strong
                  'Rose is really stupid.'

        b.   (mbecille) Rosa c'è   /*lo è forte
                  (stupid) Rose there is / it is strong
                  '(stupid) Rose really is.'
                                      (La Fauci and Loporcaro1997: 19)

(25)   a.   Te sse'   davero er meio
                  You are r   eally the best
                  'You are really the best.'

        b.   (er meio) ce   sse'   davero
                  (the best) there are$_{2sg}$ really
                  'You are really the best.'

The use of *ci* clictic is quite common in many Southern varieties (mainly Calabrian) to refer mainly to the an AP/NP predicate in copular construction (26) while *l-* masculine direct clitic is not allowed (26b) .

(26)   a.   Maria ε ttʃɔta   *Northern Calabrian*
                  Maria is silly

        b.   (tʃɔta) Maria   tʃ ε / *(l)u ε
                  silly   Maria   there is / * it is
                                        (La Fauci and Loporcaro1997: 27)

In these varieties a *ci* proform (*tʃ*) is used also in locative constructions (27b) and to express oblique dative relation (27c), while Italian restricts the use of *ci* to existential and locative constructions.

(27)   a.   Maria ε ddinʈʂa   a kasa   *Northern Calabrian*
                  Maria is inside   the house

        b.   (dinʈʂa a kasa)   Maria tʃ ε / *(l)u ε
                  (inside the house)   Maria there is / *it is
                                        (La Fauci and Loporcaro1997: 27)

        c.   tʃi   detti   nu libbru   a Maria   *Gioiosa Ionica*
                  her$_{cl}$ I gave   a book   to Maria
                  'I gave a book to Maria.'
                           (Gioiosa Ionica: Ledgeway, Schifano, Silvestri 2017)

To capture the differences between Italian and other varieties on the use of *ci/lo*, La Fauci and Loporcaro (1997) proposed an analysis linked to the feature of referentiality [+/- referential]. They assume that locative and existential propredicatives are referential since they express respectively a location and a proposition about existence or presence of some entities in the world.[7] They resume their analysis in a table (we report as Tab.1): while Italian restricts the use of *ci* to existential and locative constructions and the use of *lo* to non-referential predicate, the varieties above allow the use of *ci* for both propredicative types.

	_ referential +	
Standard	lo	ci
Substandard and dialects	ci	ci

Table1. The distribution of *ci/lo* across Italian and substandard Italia adapted from La Fauci and Lo Porcaro (1997)

The descriptive generalization of La Fauci and Loporcaro (1997) seems to be an *ad hoc* generalization for propredicatives: the propredicative *lo*, in fact, is syncretic with the 3rd person accusative masculine clitic in standard Italian (but a similar pattern is found crosslinguistically for example in Spanish and French) which is [+referential]: should we, then, assume that we are dealing with two different lexical entries for *lo*? It seems theoretically undesirable to assume a different lexical item every time there is a difference in referentiality for proforms which share the very same morphosyntactic root.

Furthermore, there are particular cases in which determining the referentiality of the propredicative *lo* is not trivial as in the famous Fregean classic example in (28). The two DPs are in a relation of identity[8]: the two 'proper names' are interchangeable in subject and in predicate position (28a/28b) and they are two descriptions of the same referent in the world (primary reference in the terms of Frege). The propredicative invariable clitics *lo* can refer to both DPs (28c/28d) since in nominal copular sentences one of the two noun phrases always plays the role of predicate.

(28) a. [$_{DP}$la stella del mattino] è [$_{DP}$la stella della sera] *Italian*
the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the morning is the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the evening
'The morning star is the evening star.'

b. [$_{DP}$la stella della sera] è [$_{DP}$la stella del mattino]
the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the evening is the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the morning
'The evening star is the morning star.'

---

[7] For a proper definition of the semantics of existential see Moro (1993, 2017) or McNally (2016).

[8] Remind 'that identity is not predicated by the copula or equivalently that one of the two noun phrases involved in a copular sentence always plays the role of a predicate. Whether or not the notion of identity can be employed to understand the relation between the two noun phrases is a different matter [...]' (Moro 1997: 225 ffn.33). See Moro (1988, 1997) for an empirical argument base on binding theory against the analysis of copula as an identity predicate.

c. La stella del mattino lo/ *la è (la stella della sera)
the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the morning it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ / it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ is the$_{fem}$star$_{fem}$of the evening
'The morning star is it (the evening star).'

d. La stella dela sera lo/ *la è (la stella del mattino)
the$_{fem}$ star$_{fem}$of the evening it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ / it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ is the$_{fem}$star$_{fem}$of the evening
'The morning star is it (the evening star).'

So, it seems to be a matter of Lexical Parametrization (in the sense of Manzini and Wexler 1987) that shapes the clitic paradigm for each variety on morphosyntactic dimensions. In 24-27, we have showed data from languages (mainly Southern varieties) which have a reduced paradigm for clitics. The same lexical item *ci* is used as a proform to refer to nominal predicate in copular constructions, existential predicates, location or even to indirect (dative) object (27c): clitic proforms which refer both to predicate and indirect arguments.

4.2 Varieties with adverbial propredicatives

In the second group of Italo-Romance varieties (mainly Apulian varieties) no propredicative clitic is possible: the proform used can be a postverbal adverb which is not obligatory (similar data are described by La Fauci and Loporcaro 1997:ff 29 for the variety of Altamura). We report in (29) the variety of Conversano, where no prorpredicative is available: although 3rd person accusative clitics are available (26b) they cannot refer to an NP predicate in copular constructions. Remind that in these varieties 3rd person accusative clitics are syncretic with the definite determiners. In (29b) we can see that an adverb (*akksɛ* = so) can optionally be used as a proform to refer to the nominal predicate. The adverb is always postverbal, it is not allowed in preverbal position (between the subject and the copula).[9]

(29) a. Maria iʒ u priʃə də la nonnə *Conversano (BA)*
Maria is the$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ joy of the$_{fem\ ing}$ grandmother

b. Maria (*u) ie
Maria (*it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$) is

c. Maria (*akksɛ) ie (aksɛ)
Maria (*so) is (so)
'Maria is the joy of the grandmother (=her grandmother).'

Similar data are found also in Romanian: no clitics are available to refer to a predicate (30b), although a full set of inflected clitics is available to refer to argument DP (30e-f). Sometimes an adverb can be found in postverbal position, as *aşa* in (30c). In Romanian a demonstrative pronoun which agrees in gender with the nominal predicate can be found 'in situ' (30d), but not in a raised position before the copula (i.e. a clitic position). The fact that this demonstrative shows overt gender feature does not challenge the hypothesis that copular sentences have just one agreement projection, since the element is left 'in situ' and does not move to any preverbal functional position.

---

[9] Nevertheless, it is allowed in root position but with a contrastive focus intonation.

(30) a.   fetele   sunt   cauza   conflictului.   *Romanian*
        girls-the   are   cause$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ quarrel$_{GEN}$
        'The girls are the cause of the quarrel.'

     b.   fetele   (*îl / *o)   sunt.   (cauza   conflictului)
        girls-the   it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ / it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ are   (cause$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ quarrel$_{GEN}$)
        'The girls are (the cause of the quarrel).'

     c.   fetele   sunt   (aşa)
        Girls-the   are   this way
        'The girls are in this way.'

     d.   fgetele   sunt   (aceasta) (=cauza   conflictului)
        girls-the   are t   his$_{fem\text{-}sing.}$ cause$_{fem\text{-}sing}$ quarrel$_{GEN}$
        'The girls are so.'

     e.   fata   recunoaşte   bucuria   părinţilor.
        girl-the recognizes   joy-the$_{fem\ sing}$ parents$_{GEN}$
        'The girl recognizes (=the joy of her parents).'

     f.   Fata   o/   *îl   recunoaşte
        girl-the   it$_{fem\text{-}sing}$/ it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ recognizes
        'The girl recognizes it (=the joy of her parents).'

                             (Bleotu, p.c.)

As for 3rd person accusative clitics, although no form is found for propredicative use, we still find a full inflected parading for direct object clitic as in (31).

(31) a.   Mari   vətə   a   iedd / iɛdd   *Conversano (Ba)*
        Maria   sees   to   her / him

     b.   Mari   la/u   vətə
        Mari   her / him   sees.
        'Maria sees her/him.'

However, a masculine singular clitic can be found in the variety of Conversano (as in other Apulian varieties) to refer to a subordinate clause, while this option is not available in Romanian (see 9c).

(32)   u   sapevə   (k'   aviv   a   vənə)   *Conversano (Ba)*
        it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ knew   (that   have$_{IMP\text{-}2sg}$ to   come$_{INF}$)
        'I knew it = (I knew you would come).'

As for existential constructions there is no overt *ci* element: it is normally expressed through the use of a different lexical verb ('stay') and through verb subject inversion (33b). However,

contrary to what happens to copular sentences (29c), the use of a postverbal locative adverbial (33c) does not imply any existential meaning but a pure locative meaning.[10]

(33) a.   Maria stɛ   a kɛsə   *Conversano (BA)*
              Maria stays   at home
              'Maria is at home'

      b.   stɛ Maria
               stays Maria
               'There is Maria.'

      c   Maria stɛ ɖɛ
               Maria stays there
               'Maria is there.'

The difference between this last group of varieties and the previous group is due not only to the richness of the clitic paradigms (the number of specialized lexical items found in the set of clitic proforms within each variety), but also to the morphosyntactic characteristics of each clitic lexical entry. For instance, in the variety of Conversano the 3rd person accusative clitic can only refer to argument DP (31b) (not predicates) or to CP (32), while in Romanian it can only refer to argument DP (30e, f) but not to a CP (9c). The analysis of copula (see Moro 1997 and section 6) as a raising verb which has only one agreement projection available for the subject raised from the small clause fits with all the data we have been presenting so far. The micro-parametric differences are linked to the morphosyntactic characteristics of each lexical item used to refer to a predicate in a Lexical Parametrizarion (Manzini and Wexler, 1987) view: so, while in the first group the clitic *ci* refer to both predicats and all indirect arguments, in the second group of varieties no clitic element can refer either to predicates or to location but clitic proforms are found only to refer to argument DPs or CPs.

4.3 Varieties with lo- propredicatives

The last group is the one that works like Italian and includes Spanish, French, Many Northern Italian varieties and Sardinian. We report in (34) the example from Logudorese Sardinian in which two different propredicative clitics are found: one for predicative NP (34a, b) and another for locative PP (34c, d), as in standard Italian.

(34) a.   Maria ɛl fɛa   *Logudorese Sardinian*
              Maria is ugly

      b.   (fɛa) Maria lu   ɛste   / *bb ɛste
              (ugly) Maria it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ is   / there is
              'Maria is ugly.'

---

[10] Curiously also Romanian shows a similar pattern for existential/locative see for a description and an analysis Corniliescu (2009).

    c.   Maria ɛst in dɔmo
          'Maria is at home'
          Maria is at home

    d.   (in dɔmo) Maria *lu ɛste / bb ɛste
          (at home) Maria it is / there is
          'Maria is there.'

                                           (La Fauci and Loporcaro 1997: 27)

Within this group not all predicates are expressed by the same proform (as we have already seen in the example 1-7) the most widespread distinction is between citic proforms which refer to nominal and adjectival predicates on one side and clitic referring to existential and locative predicates (or indirect arguments) on the other.

    There is variation among these varieties on the type of predicate each propredicative clitic can refer to. For example, Occitan patterns with the group of Italian since it selects a *lo*-like invariant propredicative clitic (*o*) to refer to predicative NP (35). However, there is a difference in the propredicatives used to refer to an AP: while the clitic *o* is used to refer to an NP (35), for AP we can find either the *o* clitic or the partitive clitic *en* (*n'* before vowels) in (36).

(35)   a.   la filha   es l'enveja   dels vesins   .   *Occitan*
                the girls is the envy   of the neighbors

       b.   la filha o   es / *n'es.
                the gilr it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ is / it$_{part\text{-}cl}$ is.

(36)   a.   La filha es polida
                The girl is beautiful

       b.   La filha o es / n'es.
                The girl it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ is / it$_{part\text{-}cl}$ is.
                'The girl is beautiful'

                                               (Sichel-Bazin, pc)

Among the range of possible microparametric variation, the morphosyntactic invariant status of the clitic selected to refer to predicates in copular constructions is preserved across all varieties. The domain of the variation is restricted to the type of predicate each lexical item can refer to, once more the mircroparametric variation seems to be limited to the lexical item as Lexical Parametrization predicts. This last group of varieties is characterized for having the highest range of specialization within the paradigm of the propredicative clitics. However, there is a variety which apparently show an inflected propredicative clitic which is used to refer to a predicative NP: Catalan. Next section is devoted to go through the Catalan data.

5. Apparent counterexamples: agreeing propredicatives in Catalan?

Catalan has a full paradigm of inflected 3rd person accusative clitics (for gender masculine/feminine) which use the *l*- morphology and are syncretic with defninte determiners (as all the varieties we have been reviewing so far). However, in Catalan there is a specialised neuter clitic

which has a lexical root different from *l*-clictic (Bonet 1995; Longa Lorenzo and Rigau 1998): the clitic *ho*; it *c*an refer only to predicative DPs (37).

(37) a.   en   Pere   és mestre   *Catalan*
              the   Pere   is teacher
              'Pere is the teacher.'

      b.   En Pere ho /*l'[11]   és
              the Pere it$_{neut}$/it$_{sing-masc}$ is
              'Pere is (the teacher).'

The clitic *ho* can never refer to argumental DP (38a, b) but it refers to embedded CP (38c, d).

(38) a.   No entenc   el tema
              neg understand.1s the topic
              'I don't understand the topic.'

      b.   No el/ *ho entenc
              'neg it$_{sing-masc}$/it$_{neut}$ understand
              'I don't understand it.'

      c.   No entenc   el que vols   dir
              neg understand$_{1sing}$ the that want$_{2sing}$ say$_{INF}$
              'I don't understand what you mean.'

      d.   No *el/ ho   entenc
              neg it$_{sing-masc}$/it$_{neut}$ understand$_{1sing}$
              'I don't understand it.'

                                                    (Hinzen and Sheenan 2014: 158)

Clausal complements, then, unlike referential DP complements, do not get pronominalized by means of accusative clitics, but rather only by means of the neuter clitic *ho*. However, there are copular sentences in which predicative DP can be pronominalized optionally by the means of an accusative clitic see (39) for masculine and (40) for feminine.[12]

(39) a.   En Pere és el mestre del   poble
              Pere   is the teacher of the town
      b.   En Pere ho/ l'   és
              Pere   l'(*el* direct object clitc) is
              'Pere is (the teacher of the town).'

(40) a.   La Maria és la mestra del poble
              Maria   is the teacher of the town
      b.   La Maria ho /la és.
              the Maria it$_{neu}$/it$_{fem}$ is.
              'Maria is (the teacher of the town).'

                                                    (Roca 1996: 106)

---

[11] *l'* is the form of *el* when followed by a vowel.
[12] Similar data are also found in the variety of La Spezia (Loporcaro, p.c.).

Roca (1996) accounts for the contrast between (37) where no inflected clitic is present and (39-40) where there is optionality between the neuter clitic and the inflected element depending on the definiteness of the NP: while in (37) there is a bare NP in (40) we have a definite [+specific] NP.

To understand the scope of the real use of inflected clitic in Catalan we can refer to examples like (41) in which the 'inflected' clitic refer to the DP in predicative position (in this case maybe it is correct to say the postverbal DP) (41b, d) and in which the two DPs are in a relation of identity (as the Fregean proposition in 28) so that their order can be inverted (41a, c) with no remarkable effect (as in the contrast between canonical and inverse copular sentences Moro 1993, 1997, 2017, 2018). Remind that the predicative postverbal DP can always be cliticized in *ho*.

(41)   a.   la mestra del   poble és la germana de la Montse
                the teacher of the town is   the sister   of the Montse
                'The teacher of the town is the sister of Montse.'

        b.   la mestra   del poble   ho/la   és
                the theacher of the town it$_{neu}$/it$_{fem}$ is
                'The teacher of the town is (the sister of Montse).'

        c.   la germana de la Montse   és la mestra   del   poble
                the sister   of the Montse   is the teacher of the town
                'The sister of Montse is the teacher of the town.'

        d.   la germana de la Montse ho /la   és
                the sister   of the Montse it$_{neu}$/it$_{fem}$ is
                'The sister of Montse is (the teacher of the town).'

In our respect, we have been arguing that there is only one agreement projection within copular sentences, and the predicative can only cliticize if an invariant element is available in the lexicon, this element being a proform which refers to N^0 and no to D^0 like the other 3rd person accusative clitics. In the cases like (41b, c) the proform *la* is a clitic marked for gender which is syncretic with the definite article *la*. What if that *la* is not a clitic but a determiner of a DP in which the NP undergoes a process of ellipsis? Or, since in 'identity sentences' both NP are interchangeable in subject and in predicate position, does the inflected clitic refer to the subject (the argumental DP) so it enters in an agree relation?

We propose that in these cases in which the two DPs are in a relation of identity within the small clause we are dealing with an elision strategy of the NP and the overt inflected determiners work as a deictic demonstrative (*this one*, *that one*)[13] to refer to the elided element which is present in the context of the discourse, remind that in Catalan there is a different clitic (*ho*) to refer to predicates. If we imagine a context like the one in (42) we can envisage the use of a copular sentences with an inflected determiner and the elision of the NP already introduced (or visible) in the context. So, the determiner works as a demonstrative, this is not surprising if we think that the inflected determiners introduce relative clauses (see the masculine

---

[13] For the purpose of the present work, we will not go into the issue of whether a BIG DP analysis has some advantages (Torrego, 1985 Ugriagreka 1995, Belletti 1999) in accounting for the data of elided NP.

determiner *el* in 38c).[14] Furthermore, we can also add that in the very constrained 'identity' interpretation between the two DPs, since subject and predicate are almost interchangeable the inflected clitic/determiner could refer to the subject of the small clause which is the only agreeing NPs in copular sentences.

(42)   A: Mira la mestra del poble!
           look he teacher of the town!
           'Look at the teacher of the town'

        B: la germana de la Montse   la   és!
           the sister of the Montse   the   is
                                           fem
           'That's the sister of Montse!'

Since there is a specialized proform just for the predicate *ho*, in other cases in which the two DPs in the small clause complement of the copula are in a relation of identity, Catalan allows, only in deictic use, the elision of the deictic NP and determiner works as a dislocated demonstrative. In Catalan, in fact, all determiners work as pronouns in introducing relative clauses (38c). Since we can account for this apparent counterexamples (39-40) of agreeing propredicative clitics in Catalan in terms of deictic use of determiners (with the ellipsis of the nominal element) in identity copular sentences (where subject and predicate can be interchangeable) , we can conclude that all Romance varieties have invariant propredicative clitics, although each of them can recruit different lexical item by the means of different morpho-syntactic relation.

6. Syntactic Analysis

The extensive description we have been pursuing in the sections above about the propredicative clitics in nominal copular sentences across Italo-Romance is strictly linked to the analysis of the syntax of nominal copular sentences in Moro 1997.

Moro (1997) claims that copular sentences involve a raising predicate (the copula) which: 1) selects as it complement a small clause; 2) does not have any particular meaning, nevertheless the identity meaning in sentences like the one in (28) '*the morning star is the evening star*'. The small clause is the place where the predication occurs between two XPs: a subject and a predicate. The subject generated in the small clause raises to the higher position of the copula as in (43) while the predicates stays *in situ*: this configuration was defined by Moro (1997) as the *canonical* copular sentence.

---

[14] In the IEC Grammatica de la llengua catalana (2016: pp. 692) we find similar examples, always in context where the elided NP is deictic.
    A: Es el degà o no   ho es aquest profesor?
       Is the dean or non it   is this   teacher
                           neu
       "Is this teacher the dean or not?'
    B: Si   que *l*   es, el degà
        Yes   that the   is, the dean.
                    masc
        'Yes he is the one.'

(43)   [[Una foto del muro]$_i$ [$_{VP}$ è [$_{SC}$t$_i$ [la causa della rivolta]]]]
          [[A picture of the wall]$_i$ [$_{VP}$is [$_{SC}$t$_i$ [the cause of the riot]]]]

```
                              S
                            /   \
                         NP_i    VP
                                /   \
                               V     SC
                               |    /   \
                              be   t_i    NP
```
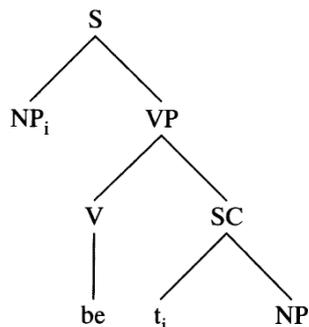
The predicate generate into the small clause can raise to the higher position of the copula while the subject DP stays in situ (44): this configuration is what Moro (1997) calls *inverse copular sentences.*

(44)   [[La causa della rivolta]$_k$ [$_{VP}$ è [$_{SC}$[una foto del muro]t$_k$]]]
          [[The cause of the riot]$_k$ [$_{VP}$is [$_{SC}$[a picture of the wall]t$_k$]]]

```
                              S
                            /   \
                         NP_i    VP
                                /   \
                               V     SC
                               |    /   \
                              be   NP    t_i
```
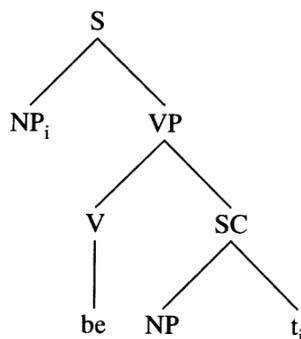
We will not enter into all the syntactic differences (see Moro 1997) that the two configurations imply. In our respect this difference is relevant because only in canonical sentences we can find proforms wich refer to the predicate NPs (45), while it is impossible in inverse sentences (46)

(45)   a.   delle foto   del muro   sono   la causa della rivolta
                 some pictures   of the wall   are   the cause of the riot
                 'Some picture of the wall are the cause of the riot.'

          b.   delle foto   del muro   lo   sono (causa della rivolta)
                 some pictures   of the wall   it$_{masc\text{-}sing}$ are (the cause of the riot)
                 'Some picture of the wall are (the cause of the riot).'

(46) a.   la causa della rivolta   sono   delle foto   del muro
the cause of the riot   are   some pictures   of the wall
'The cause of the riot are some pictures of the wall.'

b.   *la causa della rivolta   lo   sono   (delle foto del muro)
the cause of the riot   it$_{\text{masc-sing}}$ are   (some pictures   of the wall)
'The cause of the riot are (some pictures of the wall).'

In all this work we have been dealing mainly with canonical sentences, however existential are inverse copular sentences since the existential predicate is preverbal and the subject is post-verbal (47).

(47)   Ci   sono   delle ragazze
There   are   some girls
'There are some girls.'

In Italian and the majority of Romance varieties we have been describing in the present work, the copula agrees with the NP subject, albeit postverbal (as in the inverse in 46). This is the only agreement projection which is present in the copular sentences.

As for past participle agreement, Italian transitive sentences show a neuter inflectional morphology, but if the object clitic raises to a preverbal position the past participle agree with the raised object clitic (48).

(48) a.   Gianni ha scritt-o   le lettere
Gianni has written$_{\text{neut}}$ the letters$_{\text{fem.plur.}}$

b.   Gianni le$_i$ ha scritt-e t$_i$
Gianni them-$_{\text{fem.plur.}}$ has written-$_{\text{fem.plur.}}$

This does not happen in copular sentences. Consider the inverse copular sentence in (49). Past participles cannot be neuter in copular sentences: the past participle always agrees with the subject (as unaccusative verbs).

(49) a.   (la causa)   *pro*$_i$ sono stat-i   loro$_i$
(the cause-$_{\text{fem.sing}}$) *pro*$_i$ are been-$_{\text{masc.plur.}}$ they$_{i\ \text{masc-plur}}$
'They have been (the cause).'

b   *(la causa$_k$)   *pro*$_i$ sono stat-o/a   loro$_i$
(the cause-$_{\text{fem.sing}}$)   *pro*$_i$ are been$_{\text{-neuter}}$/$_{\text{fem-sing}}$ them$_{i\ \text{masc-plur}}$
'They have been (the cause).'

This becomes more evident if we see the contrast between transitive sentences involving an object clitic and a canonical copular sentence involving a propredicative clitic in (50/51).

(50)   loro le   hanno scritte (le lettere)
         they them_{fem-plur} have written (the letters_{fem-plur})
         'They have written them.'

(51)   loro_i   lo_k   sono stati_i   (la causa_k)
         they_{masc-plur}   it_{k masc-sing} are been-_{masc.plur} (the cause_{k fem})
         'They have been (the cause).'

In (51) there is no effect of the raised clitic on the past participle agreement, since the only agreement projection available in copular sentences is for subject agreement. Moro (1997), in fact, argues that 'from an abstract point of view, […] the number of Agr°s is a function of the number of argumental DPs. If two DPs are related by a predicative relation, as in fact happens in inverse copular sentences, only one Agr° may occur […] (Moro 1997: 240). Copular sentences have only one argumental DP, as existential *esserci* and unaccusative verbs, which is the subject of the small clause selected by the verb *be* (in copular and existential) or by the unaccusative verb.

Consequently, the proforms (either clitics or adverbs) that refers to the predicates of the copular sentences (which are monoargumental) can not be fully inflected and to not land to any agreement projection.

The Italian *lo* proforms are uninflected and not invariant since they present a masculine singular inflection in the majority of varieties. The-*o* is attached to the lexical base *l-* which identifies determiners an clitics. But what the neuter -o stands for?

We try to answer following the morpho-syntactic model proposed in Manzini and Savoia (2018), Savoia *et al.* (2017, 2018), specifically concerning nouns and clitic, for which inflectional structures are built in the syntax. Within this approach full noun (52) are analyzed as involving a lexical root √ (*alber* = tree) for the category-less root (Marantz 1997) with predicative content (Higginbotham 1985), an N Class to host gender and eventually number specifications and Infl, a label for the vocalic morpheme which in romance varieties externalizes gender and/or number in terms of inflectional class.

(52)   alber-i (tree-_{masc-plur})

```
              Infl
             /    \
        Class      Infl
       /    \       -i (_plur)
   Root      Class
    √
   libr-    [masc]
```
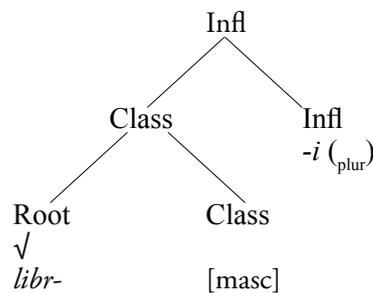
Similarly, for clitics the functional l- root is combined with Class and inflection, as in (53), and it is not in an agree relation with the Class and Infl of the predicative N it stands for.

(53)   l-o (it-masc-sing)

```
                    Infl
                  /      \
             Class        Infl
            /     \       -o (sing)
        Root       Class
         √
         l-         [masc]
```
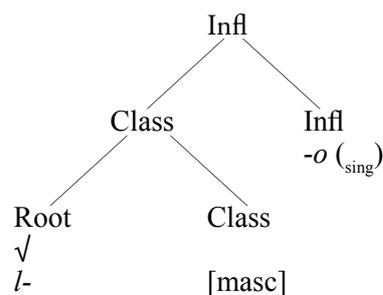
As for the masculine inflection, which work as a nominal class, we could argue that we are dealing in reality with a residual neuter inflection (although it might be the only case of neuter inflection within the variety). The neuter *-o* found in *lo*-like varieties, following Franco, Manzini and Savoia (2015), is an N class with a non-individual content in opposition to instances of individual denotation: the N class *–o* morphology, found robustly in some Central Italian varieties, *o* is associated with mass denotation (54a) while *–u* is associated with count denotation as in the Mascioni variety (54b).

(54)   a.   l-o/kweʃt-o/   kwell-o   vin-u   *Mascioni(L'Aquila)*
              the/this/   that   wine

        b.   l-u/   kwiʃt-u   jatt-u
              th/   this   cat

The N-class is also compatible with propositional contents and with the invariable inflections *-o* found with perfect participles of meteorological verbs as well as of unergative/transitive verbs.

Another reason for recruiting an uninflected (neuter) form from lexicon it is the lack of referentiality at syntax-semantics interface: *lo* refers to a predicate NP and not to D element (as suggested by Longobardi 1994). Moro (1993, 1997) suggests that the propredicative clitic *lo* has to be analysed as being generated in N⁰ (20 repeated here as 56) rather than D⁰ (19 repeated here as 55), the latter being the loci of generation of the inflected 3rd person accusative clitic found with transitives.

(55)   Inflected *l*-clitics

```
            DP
            |
           (D′)
            |
            D°
            |
          infl.cl.
```

(56)   Uninflected *lo*

```
                          DP
                         /  \
                       D°    NP
                              |
                            (N')
                              |
                             N°
                              |
                          uninfl.cl.
```
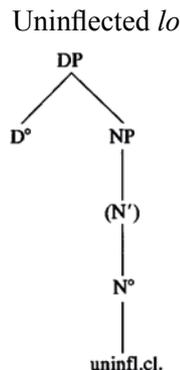
What about the lo-ci-ne alternations for the prorpedicatives in the three group of languages? Bearing in mind that just one agreement projection might be involved in copular sentences, we can adopt a lexical parametrization (Manzini and Wexler 1987; Chomksy 1995) approach to account for the alternations across and within varieties, the micro parametric difference is encoded in the lexical element which show different morpho-syntatctic features and distribution. In each language we may have different lexical entries to cliticize different types of predicates, given the invariant computational component:

1) in the first group of languages, where only *ci* prpredicatives are found, the *ci* lexical element is found to cliticize nominal, adjectival, existential and locative predicates (in some cases also all indirect arguments).

2) in the second group of language while *l*-inflecting 3rd person accusative clitics are found to refer do direct arguments, no other proform are found to refer to predicates: only some adverbial and demonstratives can refer to predicates, they are found in situ and they are not raised in preverbal position.

3) in the third varieties specialised forms are found to cliticize different predicates: for example *lo* clitics for nominal and adjectival predicates (*ne* clitics just for adjective Occitan) and *ci* for locative and existentials. Particular identity relation between DPs within the small clause can imply other strategies such as N ellipsis plus an inflected determiner in varieties like Catalan.

Next section is devoted reformulate the structural analysis about the impossibility of having an inflected propredicative clitics in copular constructions in terms of labelling algorithm.

7. A labelling approach

As for labelling, the crucial fact is that copular SCs of the type {XP,YP} are unstable structures: the symmetry instantiated by the two XPs generates a conflict and the SC remains unlabeled. To solve this, the symmetry must be broken: raising of either XP to provide SC with label since the raised element is a discontinuous chain and as such it cannot project from the lower copy (Chomsky 2013; Rizzi 2016 relying on Moro 2000, 2009 principle of Dynamic Antisymmetry). Formally, let β be the features of the head Y projecting YP which labels the small

clause and where XP is the raised element which does not label the small clause, the structure of a canonical copular sentence can be represented as follows (57).

(57)   XP$_k$ V° {$_β$ ~~XP$_k$~~, YP $_β$ }

This solution also offers an explanation for the fact that no inflected clitic is allowed in nominal canonical copular sentences to refer to the predicative DP, as we have been arguing so far .

(58)   a.   Maria è [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [la causa del litigio]]
                 Mary is   the$_{f.sing.}$ cause $_{f.sing.}$ of-the quarrel

         b.   Maria lo$_j$ è [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [$_{DP}$ D° [$_{NP}$ ~~causa del litigio~~]$_j$]]
                 Mary it$_{neuter.sing}$ is

         c.*   Maria la   è [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [$_{DP}$ ~~la causa del litigio$_j$~~]]
                 Mary it$_{f.sing}$ is

A predicative DP can be cliticized only by the neuter, *qua* non-inflected, clitic *lo* as shown in the contrast between (58b) and (58c). As we have been arguing (section 3, 4, 6), Moro (1997) proposed that while *lo* must be associated with a bare N° full inflected, clitics are rather associated with full D°s (paralleling the distinction between *what* and *which*). The fact that only neuter clitic (*lo*) can occur as propredicates can be explained in these terms: while N (within the predicative YP is cliticized onto the invariaat Clitic, D° is still able to stay *in situ* to label the SC instantiating the symmetry breaking structure in (59).

(59)   XP$_k$ lo$_l$ V° {$_β$ ~~XP$_k$~~, YP[$_{YP}$t$_l$] $_β$ }

So (58c) is ruled out because the entire DP is raised, thus depriving the structure with those features which could label the SC.[15] The considerations just sketched can account for the invariant status of propredicative clitic in nominal copular sentences without referring to the referential status (or the semantics) of the extracted element, but simply employing merge and the labelling algorithm.

8. Concluding Remarks

In this paper we have described the distribution of the propredicative clitics found in copular (and existentials) constructions across different Italo-Romance varieties. Each described variety consistently confirms that propredicative clitics are invariant lexical items, as predicted by the analysis of Moro (1997). The invariant inflection of the propredicative elements is linked to the fact that sentences involving the verb *be* have only one agreement projection (Moro 1997).

---

[15] As an anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out (58c) is apparently the case which is grammatical in Catalan (41bd). However, since we have been analyzing the Catalan apparent counterexamples as cases of ellipsis in deictic context in sentences implying an identity relation between the two DPs, the small clause may still be labelled by the DP predicates before any 'criterial' movement and or ellipsis takes place. Intuitively, if we adopt ellipsis as a mere deletion at PF (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993) the licensing configuration of ellipsis (including the labelling of the small clause) is created before Spell-Out.

As for the distribution across Italo-Romance, apart from the invariant status, we found some differences in the morphosyntactic characteristics of the lexical items employed to refer to the predicates of the copular sentences. We recognized three types of varieties: 1) varieties in which the invariant clitic is mainly a *ci,* 2) varieties with adverbial propredicatives, 3) and varieties which shows *lo* clitics alternating with other invariant clitics (such as *ci, ne* in Italo-Romance varieties). We can account for this micorparametric variation in terms of lexical parametrization (Manzini and Wexler 1988): that is, the morphosyntactic difference are encoded directly in the lexicon where the different lexical items (the clitics) are stored.

As for the varieties that show a *lo* clitic strategy, the definite D reading, sometimes associated with clitic involving a *-l* [+def], cannot be confirmed due: 1) to the basic statement that *lo* refers to a predicate and not to a definite description ; 2) to the fact that the nominal predicate can be found without determiner (it refers to N^0 as in Moro 1997); 3) to case like Occitan where the propredicative clitic can also be rendered optionally through a partitive clitic; 4) to case in which *lo* can be rendered also by *ci.*

Although the invariant morphology of *lo* can be linked to a neuter nominal class (Franco Manzini and Savoia, 2015), in our respect its non-definite reading challenges the generalization about *l-* clitic and definiteness (Postal 1966). Actually, instead of accounting for the invariant status of the propredicative only in terms of non-referentiality (predicative-status), we proposed an update of the analysis of Moro (1997) through the labelling algorithm: since both the subject DP and the predicate (expressed through clitics) raise from the small clause, in canonical copular sentences involving propredicative clitics, the derivation could crash because the small clause would be unlabelled. To prevent this crash in derivation only the N^0 is raised from the predicative DP in small clause, allowing the D (of the predicative DP) to stay in situ (never mind whether it is an expletive or null D) to label the small clause.

References

Belletti, Adriana. 1999. "Italian/Romance Clitics: Structure and Derivation." In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe,* ed. by Henk van Riemsdijk, 543-579. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Bonet, Eulalia. 1995. "Feature Structure of Romance Clitics." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13, 607-647.
Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian Syntax.* Dordrecht: D. Reidel publishing Company.
Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. "Reference to Kinds Across Languages." *Natural Language Semantics* 6: 339–405.
Chomsky, Noam. 2013. "Problems of Projection." *Lingua* 130: 33–49.
Chomsky, Noam, and Howard Lasnik. 1993. "The Theory of Principles and Parameters." In *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research* ed. by Joachim Jacobs, Arnim Von Stechow and Wolfgang Sternefeld, 506-569. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Cornilescu, Alexandra. 2009. "Restructuring Strategies of the Romanian Verb fi 'be' and the Analysis

of Existential Sentences." In *Proceedings of the Workshop Null Subjects, Expletives, and Locatives in Romance*, ed. by Georg Kaiser and Eva-Maria Remberger, 199-231. Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2002. "Decomposing Pronouns." *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 409-442.

Delfitto, Denis. 1998. "Aspect, Genericity and Bare Plurals." *Uil-OTS Working Papers, Utrecht University*, 1-72.

Delfitto, Denis. 2002. *Genericity in Language. Issues of Syntax Logical Form and Interpretation*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Fernández-Soriano, Olga. 1993. *Los pronombres átonos*. Madrid: Taurus.

Falco, Michelangelo, and Roberto Zamparelli. 2019. "Partitives and Partitivity." *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 4, 1: 1-49.

Franco, Ludovico, M. Rita Manzini, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2015. "N Morphology and Its Interpretation: The Neuter in Central Italian Varieties and Its Implications." *Isogloss*, 1, 1: 41-67.

Higginbotham, James. 1985. "On Semantics." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 16: 547-621.

Hinzen, Wolfran, and Michelle Sheehan. 2013. *The Philosophy of Universal Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Institut d'Estudis Catalans. 2016. *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

La Fauci, Nunzio, and Michele Loporcaro. 1997. "Outline of a Theory of Existentials on Evidence from Romance." *Studi italiani di linguistica teorica ed applicata* 26, 1: 5-55.

Ledgeway, Adam, Norma Schifano, and Giuseppina Silvestri. 2017. "Greek and Romance in Contact: When Finite Becomes Non-finite." Paper presented at the workshop 'Language Variation and Change in Contact Situations', 5 September 2017, Stellenbosch University.

Longa, V.M., Lorenzo Guillermo, and Gemma Rigau. 1998. "Subject Clitics and Clitic Recycling: Locative Sentences in Some Iberian Romance Languages." *Journal of Linguistics* 34: 125-164.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. "Reference and Proper Names: A Theory of N-movement in Syntax and Logical Form." *Linguistic Inquiry* 25: 609-665.

Kratzer, Angelica. 2009. "Making a Pronoun: Fake Indexicals as Windows into the Properties of Pronouns." *Linguistic Inquiry* 40: 187-237.

Manzini, M. Rita. 2012. "From Romance Clitics to Case: Split Accusativity and the Person Case Constraint." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2010: Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Leiden 2010*, ed. by Irene Franco, Sara Lusini and Andrés Saab, 1-20. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Manzini, M. Rita. 2014. "Grammatical Categories: Strong and Weak Pronouns in Romance." *Lingua* 150: 171-201.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2007. *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax. Studies in Romance and Albanian varieties*. London: Routledge.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017. "Enclisis/Proclisis Alternations in Romance: Allomorphies and (Re)Ordering." *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 115: 98-136.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of Albanian and Aromanian Varieties*. Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Manzini M. Rita, and Kenneth Wexler. 1987. "Binding Theory, Parameters and Learnability." *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 413-444.

Marantz, Alec. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4: 201-25.

Mavrogiorgos, Marios. 2009. *Proclisis and Enclisis in Greek*. PhD. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

McNally, Louise. 2016. "Existential Sentences Cross-Linguistically: Variations in Form and Meaning." *Annual Review of Linguistics* 2: 211-231.

Moro, Andrea. 1988. "Per una teoria unificata delle frasi copulari." *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, 13: 81-110.

Moro, Andrea. 1992. "A Case Study in Linguistic Variation: The Semantics of Existential Sentences." *University of Venice: Working Papers in Linguistics* 2, 1: 1-20.

Moro, Andrea. 1993. *I predicati nominali e la struttura della frase*. Rivista di Grammatica Generativa Monograph Series 7. Padova: Unipress.

Moro, Andrea. 1997. *The Raising of Predicates*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Moro, Andrea. 2000. *Dynamic Antisymmetry*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph, Series. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Moro, Andrea. 2006. "Copular Sentences." In *Blackwell Companion to Syntax II* ed. by Martin Everaert, and Henk van Riemsdijk , 1-23. Oxford: Blackwell.

Moro, Andrea. 2009. "Rethinking Symmetry: A Note on Labelling and the EPP." In *La grammatica tra storia e teoria: Scritti in onore di Giorgio Graffi*, ed. by Paola Cotticelli Kurras and Alessandra Tomaselli, 129-31. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso. <http://www.ledonline.it/snippets/allegati/snippets19 007.pdf>. (06/2020)

Moro, Andrea. 2017. "Existential Sentences and Expletive There." In *Blackwell Companion to Syntax Revised Edition vol. II* ed. by Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, 210-236. Oxford: Blackwell.

Moro, Andrea. 2018. "Copular Sentences." In *Blackwell Companion to Syntax Revised Edition vol. II* ed. by Martin Everaert, and Henk van Riemsdijk, 1-32. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ormazábal, Javier, and Juan Romero. 2007. "The Object Agreement Constraint." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25: 315-47.

Ormazábal, Javier, and Juan Romero. 2010. "Object Clitics and Agreement." Ms., Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea/ Leioa-Badajoz: University of the Basque Country and Universidad de Extremadura. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/001032 > (06/2020).

Postal, Paul. 1966. "On So-called Pronouns in English." In *Modern Studies in English*, ed. by David Reibel and Sanford Schane, 201-223. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2016. "Labeling, Maximality, and the Headphrase Distinction." *The Linguistic Review* 33, 103- 127.

Roberts, Ian. 2010. *Agreement and Head movement: Clitics, Incorporation and Defective Goals*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Roca, Francisc. 1992. *On the Licensing of Pronominal Clitics: The Properties of Object Clitics in Spanish and Catalan*. MA thesis, Barcellona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Roca, Francisc. 1996. "Morfemas objetivos y determinantes: los clíticos del español." *Verba* 23: 83-119.

Savoia, Leonardo M., Benedetta Baldi, and M. Rita Manzini. 2018. "Sigmatic Plurals in Romance Varieties Spoken in Italy and Their Interaction with -i Plurals." *LINGBAW*, 4: 141-160.

Savoia, Leonardo M., M. Rita Manzini, Ludovico Franco *et al.* 2017. "Nominal Evaluative Suffixes in Italian." In *Di tutti i colori. Studi linguistici per Maria Grossmann*, ed. by Roberta D'Alessandro, Gabriele Innàccaro, Diana Passino *et al.*, 283-300. Utrecht: Utrecht UP.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1992 "Clitic Constructions." Ms., Los Angeles: UCLA.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. "Clitic Constructions." In *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon,* ed. by Johan Rooeyck and Louise Zaring, 213-277. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Storto, Gianluca. 2003. "On the Status of the Partitive Determiner in Italian." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2001: Selected Papers from Going Romance 2001* ed. by Josep Quer, Jan Schroten, Mauro Scorretti *et al.*, 315-330. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Stowell, Tim. 1989. "Subjects, Specifiers and X-bar Theory." In *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure*, ed. by Mark Baltin and Anthony Kroch, 232-262. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Suñer, Margarita. 1988. "The Role of Agreement in Clitic-doubled Constructions." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 391-434.

Torrego, Ester. 1985. *Pronouns and Determiners: A DP Analysis of Spanish Nominals*. Unpublished MA dissertation, Boston: University of Boston.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. "Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance." *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 1-79.

Vergnaud, J.R., and M.L. Zubizarreta. 1992. "The Definite Determiner and the Inalienable Constructions in French and in English." *Linguistic Inquiry* 23(4). 595-652.

Zamparelli, Roberto. 2002. "Definite and Bare Kind-denoting Nouns Phrases." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2000; Selected Papers from "Going Romance" 2000* ed. by Frank Drijkoningen, Claire Beyssade, Paola Monachesi *et al.*, 305-342. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Intervention in agreement and case assignment: the role of doubling

Mihaela Moreno Marchis, Ludovico Franco
Universidade Nova de Lisboa (<mihaela.moreno@gmail.com>),
Università di Firenze (<ludovico.franco@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

In this paper we will show that there are two types of languages which involve different mechanisms in obviating Minimality Violations/Defective Intervention and Case opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Romanian/Spanish-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization. On the basis of rich empirical data we show that Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Potential counterexamples can be accounted for by assuming that (oblique) clitics, in some languages, do not always move to T, so that the phi-features of the arguments they introduce still intervene and give rise to default agreement (as in Vafsi and some other Western Iranian varieties). Our approach has theoretical implications for the theory of case, cliticization and linear order.

Keywords: *applicative, clitic doubling, defective intervention, Indo-Iranian, romance*

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of intervention is a core topic of investigation in the recent minimalist literature starting with Chomsky (2000). The basic mechanism of intervention is that a finite T seeks a matching NP to agree, like in languages with subjects *in situ* for instance, or to attract like in languages with a strict SVO word order, but some other NP intervenes either in the agreement or the movement of a DP to a T. Dative/oblique DPs/ PPs, for example, are interveners blocking subject-to-subject movement (see McGinnis 1998 for French, Torrego 1998 for Spanish, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003 for Icelandic, Rizzi 1986, Boeckx 2008 for Italian).

(1)   *Jean   a   semblé   à   Maria   avoir   du   talent   *French*
       Jean   has   seemed   to   Mary   to.have of   talent
       'Jean seemed to Mary to have talent.'
(2)   *Gianni   sembra   a   Piero   fare   il   suo   dovere   *Italian*
       Gianni   seems   to   Piero   to.do   the   his   duty
       'Gianni seems to Piero to do his duty.'   (McGinnis 1998: 93)

According to Chomsky (2000) and Preminger (2008), defective intervention in agreement might trigger default agreement in languages such as Icelandic, as shown in (3) (see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003).

(3)   a.   það   finnst(/*finnast)   [mörgum   stúdentum]   *Icelandic*
             EXPL   find.SG/*find.PL   many   students.PL.DAT
             [_SC tölvan   ljótar].
             the.computer.SG.NOM   ugly
             'Many students find the computer ugly.'
       b.   það   finnst(/*finnast) [einhverjum   stúdent]
             EXPL   find.SG/*find.PL some   stúdent.SG.DAT
             [_SC tölvurnar   ljótar]
             the.computers.PL.NOM   ugly
             'Some student finds the computers ugly.'   (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000)

Yet, there are some languages that seem to obviate defective intervention: Romanian and Spanish are interesting with respect to intervention because in these languages the clitics of the experiencers do not seem to intervene (see also Marchis and Petersen 2014). Indeed, contrary to what was reported in Torrego (2002), most of our informants considered grammatical the raising construction with experiencer clitics in (4):[1]

(4)   a.   Ese   taxista   me   parece   estar   cansado. *Spanish*
             That   taxi-driver   CL.1SG   seems   to.be   tired
             'That taxi-driver seems to me to be tired.'
       b.   Taximetristul   acela   îmi   pare   să   fie/a fi obosit *Romanian*
             Taxi-driver.the that   CL.1SG   seems   SUBJ   be/to be tired
             'That taxi-driver seems to me to be tired.'

Nonetheless, in this paper, we will show that not only an experiencer oblique DP causes defective intervention and, hence, default agreement like in Icelandic but also the oblique case of the arguments. Specifically, two apparently independent phenomena such as defective intervention and case opacity trigger the same surface results across languages, namely default agreement. This is precisely what happens in many Indo-Iranian languages with 'exotic' double-oblique patterns and related alignment variants (cf. Malchukov 2008; Comrie 2013; Haig 2008, for a typological survey). Consider the Punjabi examples in (5), adapted from Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015).

---

[1] Also Italian allows raising constructions with experiencer/dative clitics, as in (i):
(i)   Quel tassista mi/ti/gli pare (essere) intelligente   *Italian*
       'That taxi-driver seems to me/you/him to be smart.'

(5) a. muɳɖ-e-ne   roʈʈ-i   khadd-i   *Punjabi*
         boy-OBL.M.SG-ERG   bread-F.SG   eat.PRF-F.SG
         'The boy ate some bread.'

    b. kuɾ-i-ne   roʈʈ-i-nu   khadd-a
        girl-F.SG-ERG   bread-FSG-OBL   eat.PRF-MSG(default)
        'The boy ate the bread'

    c. muɳɖ-e   dərvaddʒ-a   khol-d-e
        boy-ABS.M.PL   door-abs.M.SG   open-PROG-M.PL
        'the boy/boys is/are opening the/a door' (Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015)

Under a Tense/Aspect/Mood (TAM) based ergativity split (cf. Coon 2013 for a recent theoretically informed typological survey on the topic), in the Punjabi perfect the external argument of a transitive verb displays the ergative case *-ne*, while the verb, which is a perfect participle, agrees with the (absolutive) internal argument, as in (5a). When in the perfective a specific/definite internal argument bears the DOM case/postposition *–nu*, the DOM object does not agree with the perfect participle, which shows up in the default masculine singular, as illustrated in (5b). Namely, the agreement with the internal argument is blocked when it bears a DOM/dative inflection.[2] In the imperfective, as in (5c), Punjabi displays a canonical nominative-accusative alignment.

Interestingly, there are also Indo-Iranian languages which may display a sort of agreement-like pattern in which objects agree with oblique (ergative) inflected arguments via (fronted) oblique clitics matching the phi-features of those arguments (e.g. experiencers in all TAM, agents in the perfective), as shown with the Vafsi (a Northwest Iranian language spoken ca. 200kms Southwest of Tehran) examples in (6a,b), taken from Stilo (2009: 707). In these cases the verb shows up with a default inflection. With transitive imperfectives, as in (6c) alignment is nominative-accusative and the verb agrees with the external argument.

(6) a. tini$_i$ kelj-i-s$_i$ bæ-girætæ.   *Vafsi*
         he.OBL   girl-DOM.F-CL.OBL.3SG   PFV-took(default)
         'He married/took that girl.'

    b. taemen$_i$ ane-m$_i$ ær-gó
        I.OBL   that.PL-CL.OBL.1SG   DUR-like(default)
        'I like that'

    c. az$_i$ in   leyle-y   æt-æsbir-om$_i$ o   esdæ
        I.DIR   this   boy-DOM   DUR-entrust-CL.DIR.1SG   to   you.OBL
        'I am entrusting this boy to you.'

Vafsi allows double oblique alignment in perfective sentences, as represented in (6a). In such cases the object bears a DOM oblique inflection. The pattern of agreement displays an

---

[2] In this paper, we follow Manzini and Franco (2016) in assuming that there is a syntactic category Dative coinciding with the morphological one and encompassing both thematic (goal) and DOM Dative in Indo-European languages. In Punjabi, as in many other languages, the same *–nu* inflection lexicalizes both DOM and Goal datives, as shown in (i).

(i) tu: kəmidʒə   o-nu   pe:dʒ-d-a/-i   a
     you.ABS(M/F)   shirt.ABS-FSG   he-OBL   send-PROGR-MSG/-FSG   be.PRES
     'You are sending a shirt to him.'

oblique clitic doubling the phi-features of the (oblique/ergative) external argument and the verb surfacing with a default/expletive inflection. Another example of this kind of alignment pattern is provided in (7), where it is also possible to see that DOM exponence is sensitive to gender (*-i* for the feminine, *e-* for the masculine).

(7)   luas-i   kærg-e-s   bæ-værdæ   *Vafsi*
       fox-OBL   chicken-DOM.M-CL.OBL.3SG.   PFV-take.PST(default)
       'The fox took the chicken.'   (Stilo 2004; cf. Arkadiev 2009: 156)

Nonetheless, also in Iranian, as in Indo-Aryan, there are varieties that display double oblique alignment, without the presence of oblique pronominal clitics doubling the features of the external argument (e.g. in some Northern Kurdish varieties, cf. Baker and Atlamaz 2013, Karimi 2013, Matras 1997, Haig 2008). In such cases agreement is usually set to *default* just like in the Punjabi examples given in (5), as shown in the Kurmanji Kurdish examples below, taken from Matras (1997).[3]

(8)   a.   min   te   dit   *Kurmanji Kurdish*
             I.OBL   you.OBL   saw(default)
             'I saw you.'
       b.   te   min   dit
             you.OBL   I.OBL   saw(default)
             'You saw me.'
       c.   min   ewana   dit
             I.OBL   they.OBL   saw(default)
             'I saw them'
       d.   ewana   min   dit
             they.OBL   I.OBL   saw(default)
             'They saw me.'

So, one of the main questions to answer in this paper is what triggers default agreement and what the doubling strategy is.

1.1 The Aim of the paper

Our research question is to find an answer why some languages are sensitive to defective intervention and/or oblique cases while others not. On the basis of rich empirical data we show that Case Opacity, as defined below in this paragraph, represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Typologically, there are two types of languages, which involve different mechanisms in obviating defective intervention/Case Opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Romanian/Spanish-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization.

---

[3] Dorleijn (1996) argues for instance that the double oblique alignment illustrated in (8) is the predominant pattern for Kurdish spoken in the Diyarbakir regions.

Following current theoretical assumptions, we argue that the pattern of (default) verbal agreement in Indo-Iranian languages follows from a general constraint. In many languages, it is not possible to agree in phi-features with a DP that bears inherent case, or case assigned with a theta-role (Chomsky 1986: 193). Rezac (2008: 83) precisely labels this constraint *Case Opacity* (cf. also Preminger 2011; Toosarvandani and Van Urk 2012). We argue that Indo-Iranian oblique/ ergative subjects are embedded under a PP/KP phase domain just like DOM/dative arguments (see Manzini and Franco 2016; Boeckx 2007; Gallego 2010: 71; Karimi 2011, among others, cf. fn. 2) that introduces a barrier that makes the DP inside invisible to agreement outside the PP/KP. When both the subject and the object bear oblique case in type 1 **agreement** languages, then – given that the T probes downward without finding accessible goals – the agreement on the verb is set to default just like in the cases with defective intervention in Icelandic. Preminger (2014) recently highlights the importance of default inflections for a theory of agreement. He basically argues that standard minimalist (un)interpretability should be abandoned in favour of mere valuation of features. Lack of valuation by a given goal does not lead to the crashing of the derivation but to mechanical assignment of default values to the probe. When an inflectional head does not find an accessible target – for instance in the double oblique structures exemplified above for Punjabi perfects in (5b) the derivation does not crash; rather the morpho-syntax insures that the relevant inflection surfaces in the default form.

Hence, the default agreement in e.g. Punjabi in (5) and Kurdish in (8) is basically due to Case Opacity. We assume that Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Crucially, in line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007), Preminger (2008) and Marchis and Alexiadou (2013) we assume that some languages such as Greek, Romanian, Basque, Spanish develop a special mechanism to obviate defective intervention such as phi-features matching by clitic doubling and, hence, they do not display default agreement. In more specific terms, one possible way to go is to assume that when the Vocabulary Insertion takes place, the Subset Principle (Halle 1997) imposes that the spell-out element must match at least a subset of the features specified for that position. Hence, the insertion of default agreement on the verb in Icelandic and Punjabi is a case of underspecification due to defective intervention/Case Opacity and it takes place post-syntactically as the result of failed Agree in the syntax (cf. Chomsky 2000; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003; Preminger 2011). Clitics, however, are the result of Move and they are syntactic objects fully specified for phi-features that obviate defective intervention. This is precisely the mechanism available in type 2 languages: **movement** languages. In line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007) Pylkkänen (2008), Demonte (1995), Marchis and Alexiadou (2013), we will assume that clitics realize the Applicative head, which possibly triggers an inclusion relation of sort (cf. Marchis and Alexiadou 2013, Manzini and Franco 2016). Furthermore, we will also try to account for the puzzling behaviour of those Iranian languages (of the type of Vafsi), which display oblique clitic matching and still surface with default agreement. Last but not least, we show in line with Chomsky (2000) and Boeckx and Gallego (2008) that both Move *vs*. Agree are sensitive to the Minimal Link Constraint and are regulated by a phase-based locality condition (the Phase Impenetrability Condition).

2. Defective Intervention

The general explanation for defective intervention follows from a Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995: 311) or a Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990) violation: an element α may enter into a relation with an element β if there is no γ that meets the requirement(s) of α and γ c-commands β (9). The illicit relation is sketched in (10).

(9)   [α ... [... γ ...[... β ...]]] (γ c-commands β and α c-commands γ)

(10)   [$_{TP}$ the students seem [$_{DP}$ to-the teacher] [$_{CP}$ that [$_{TP}$ ~~the students~~ studied for the test]]

If Romance [*a* DP] experiencers are not PPs but are DPs with *a* considered to be actually a morphological realization of inherent (oblique) Case (cf. Torrego 1998, 2002) experiencers DPs should block A-movement. But why do we have then variation within Romance languages? If we look closer to languages that allow agreement with oblique cases and obviate defective intervention, we realize that those languages that seem to violate Case Opacity and Minimal Link Constraint/Relativized Minimality, have an additional mechanism to save the derivation, namely cliticization.

The oblique agreement in Basque has been identified by Preminger (2011) also as a case of clitic doubling that obviates defective intervention just like in Romanian, Greek and Spanish (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2007; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013; Marchis and Petersen 2014). Anagnostopoulou (2003) points out that in Greek, cliticization of indirect objects systematically licenses A-movement of themes, an operation that is blocked in the absence of clitics in (11) due to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) violation. However, note that the cliticization of the genitive object in (11b) is not obligatory in active constructions:[4]

(11)   a.   [To vivlio]$_i$ *(tis)   charistike ti   Marias   t$_i$ apo ton Petro.   *Greek*
             The book   CL.GEN awarded   the Mary.GEN   from the Peter.
             'The book was awarded to Mary by Peter.'
       b.   O Gianis   to   edhose   tis   Marias.
             Gianis   CL.ACC   gave.3SG   the   Mary.GEN
             'John have introduced her to Mary.'

In (11) when the indirect object clitic is realized in preverbal position, movement of the DP *to vivlio* is allowed as the intervening features of the indirect object have been removed through cliticization. Unlike in Greek dative/oblique DPs/PPs in other languages block subject-to-subject movement, as shown in (1), repeated below in (12) for ease of reference.

(12)   a.   *Jean   a   semblé   à   Maria   avoir   du   talent   *French*
             Jean   has   seemed   to   Mary   to.have of   talent
             'Jean seemed to Mary to have talent.'
       b.   *Gianni sembra   a Piero   fare   il   suo   dovere   *Italian*
             Gianni seems   to Piero   to.do   the   his   duty
             'Gianni seems to Piero to do his duty.'   (McGinnis 1998: 93)

Analogically, Marchis and Petersen (2014) show that in Brazilian Portuguese the A-movement of the subject is not possible when there is a full experiencer DP (cf. (13a)). The sentence is fine, however, with clitic experiencers (13b) (cf. also fn.1 for analogous facts from Italian).

---

[4] In contrast to Greek, Romanian does not obligatorily need a clitic in passives with datives as Marchis (to appear) shows that ditransitive constructions in Romanian are ambiguous between double object constructions (where the clitic realizes the appl head) and prepositional constructions (without cliticization).

(13)   a. *Os alunos   parecem *pro* professor   que estudaram para a   prova   *Br. Port.*
          the students   seem.3PL [to the teacher]$_{EXP}$ that studied.3PL for the exam
       b. Os alunos   me   parecem   que   estão   cansados.
          the students   CL.DAT.1SG   seem.3PL   that   are   tired
          'The students seem to me to be tired.'

To sum up, we have illustrated so far that defective intervention can trigger either default agreement like in Icelandic, ungrammaticality like in French or clitic doubling like in Greek, Romanian and Spanish. As follows, we regard another type of intervention, e.g. Case Opacity, also triggered by oblique arguments.

3. Case Opacity

3.1 (Double) obliques and morphological default agreement in Indo-Iranian

In this section (focussing on Indo-Iranian varieties),[5] we show that oblique arguments trigger patterns of default agreement as expected in case of (defective) intervention. Many Indo-Iranian languages, in particular, display a double oblique alignment pattern in perfective transitive sentences. We have already seen some examples from Punjabi (5), Vafsi (6-7) and Northern Kurdish varieties (8). The term double oblique has been restricted in the typological literature (Malchukov 2008; Stroński 2009; Phillips 2012; Comrie 2013) to those languages displaying the same (oblique) inflection for both the agent and the (highly ranked in animacy/definiteness/specificity) patient/theme. Examples from Indo-Aryan micro-variation include Rajastani varieties, such as Bangru (14) (cf. Stronsky 2009; Manzini and Franco 2016). The doubled *ne* inflection below is indeed the all-purpose oblique inflection in these languages, encompassing ergative, DOM and (proper) dative morphology.

(14)   babbu-nẽ   tʃʰore-nẽ   gʰəəŋɑ   piʈʈɑ   *Bangru*
       father-ERG   son-DOM   very much   beat.PRF(default)
       'The father beat the son very much.'   (Khaṇḍelval 1980: 220; cf. Stronski 2009)

Nevertheless, once we assume that DOM object bears an inherent case (Manzini and Franco 2016; cf. Ormazabal and Romero 2013), also examples from Hindi can be reduced to the same pattern of Bangru, with two (differently shaped/context sensitive) inherent cases blocking agreement and the verb which shows up as a default form, normally corresponding to an 'expletive' 3rd person singular/a perfect participle (cf. Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015). Just consider an example from Hindi (15), where the external argument bears the ergative inflection *ne* and the internal argument the DOM/dative inflection *ko*.

---

[5] Another language family that displays Case Opacity and, hence, default agreement is Slavic. For instance, in Polish, there is subject-verb agreement in person, number and gender with subject quantified by lower numerals (less than 5), while phrases with higher numerals and numeral quantifiers exceptionally force default agreement (3.sg, Neut). Interestingly, higher numerals that subcategorize oblique/genitive case are good candidates as elements triggering defective intervention in terms of Case Opacity. Due to space reasons, we do not present Slavic data and their analysis, as this is part of our forthcoming work.

(15)   sita-ne   radha-ko   piti-a   *Hindi*
        sita.F.SG-ERG   radha.F.SG-DOM   hit-PRF-M.SG (default)
        'Sita hit Radha.'

In (15) both the ergative subject and the DOM object are feminine, but the verb bears a default masculine inflection. In the Hindi perfective agreement is consistently with the (unmarked) patient/theme internal argument. Evidence that the *ko* morpheme lexicalizing DOM objects is hosted by an oblique argument is given by the fact that the same ending *ko* appears on recipients/goals in ditransitives (16a), and on experiencer subjects of psych verbs (16b) (cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011; Butt and King 2004; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996).

(16)   a.   anjum-ne   saddaf-ko   ciTThii   dii   *recipient*
              Anjum.F.SG-ERG   Saddaf.F.SG-KO   letter.F.SG   give.PERF.F.SG
              'Anjum gave the letter to Saddaf.'
        b.   omair-ko   iinaam   milaa   *experiencer*
              Omair.M.SG-KO   prize.M.SG   touch.PERF.M.SG
              'Omair got the prize.'   (Ahmed 2006: 3-4)

In our characterization of the Hindi ergative morpheme *ne* assigned to the agent in the examples above, we assume – following a quite standard picture – that, at least in Indo-Iranian languages considered here, it is an inherent/oblique case (Woolford 1997, 2006; Legate 2008; Coon 2013; Karimi 2013; Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

At this regard, striking empirical evidence comes from the cognate language Punjabi (cf. (5)) above. In this language a subset of masculine nouns present the inflection –*a* in the absolutive form singular (17a), while *-e* inflects the absolute form plural, but also the oblique (non-absolute) singular, as in (17b); the oblique plural is *-ea* as in (17c). The *-ne* ergative suffix attaches not to the absolutive stem, but to the oblique-inflected stem, exactly like the *-nu* suffix (dative, DOM, cf. (5) above) and the *-de* suffix (genitive) – as exemplified in (17d–f) taken from Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015). Morphologically, the paradigm in (17) leaves little doubt that absolutive forms, endowed with a specialized stem inflection, and not followed by any case postposition, are set apart from other forms, bearing a different stem inflection and followed by a (inherent) case postposition.

(17)   a.   muṇḍ-   a   *Punjabi*
                    boy-   M.SG.ABS
        b.   muṇḍ-   e
                    boy-   M.SG.OBL/M.PL.ABS
        c.   muṇḍ-   ea
                    boy-   MPL.OBL
        d.   muṇḍ-   e-   nu
                    boy-   M.SG.OBL-   OBL
        e.   muṇḍ-   e-   de
                    boy-   M.SG.Obl-   GEN
        f.   muṇḍ-   e-   ne
                    boy-   M.SG.Obl-   ERG   (Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015: 312)

The same double oblique pattern illustrated above for Indo-Aryan is widespread among Iranian languages (Comrie 2013). Indeed, many Iranian languages (though not Persian) are characterized by the same contrast between a nominative alignment in the imperfective and an ergative alignment in the perfect. Consider the Zazaki (North-Western Iranian) examples below, taken from Toosarvandani and Van Urk 2012, cf. Franco, Manzini and Savoia 2015).

(18) a. Kutik-i   ez   guret-a   *Zazaki*
          dog(M)-OBL.M.SG   1SG.DIR   bite.PST-1SG
          'The dog bit me.'
      b. Ez   layik-i   vinen-a
          1sg.dir   boy(m)-obl.m.sg   see.prs-1sg
          'I see the boy.'

In Zazaki DOM/oblique inflections do not ever surface in the past/perfective, allowing the internal argument to agree with the verb in such contexts. In some Iranian languages, however, the internal argument bearing DOM dative/oblique case inflection is not sensitive to the ergative alignment in the perfect (namely it shows up in all TAMs). This precisely leads to a double oblique alignment pattern, where languages are often reported to use a 'fossilised' 3rd person singular agreement morpheme (default/expletive) in the perfect. Consider the Masali (Western Iranian) and Roshani (Eastern Iranian) examples in (19)-(20) that illustrate this pattern (cf. also the Northern Kurdish examples reported in (8)).

(19) a. xərdan-i   asb-un   vel   â-du-a   *Mâsâli*
          child-OBL.SG   horse-OBL.PL   loose   ALL-give.PST-DEFAULT
          'The child let the horses go.'
      b. xərdan-un   asb-i   vel   â-du-a
          child-OBL.PL   horse-OBL   loose   ALL-give.PST-DEFAULT
          'The children let the horse go.'   (De Caro 2008: 5)

(20)   mu   tā   wunt   *Roshani*
          I.OBL   you.OBL   see.PST (default)
          'I saw you.'   (Payne 1980:154)

Hence, default agreement is a widespread device when double oblique patterns arise in Iranian as in Indo-Aryan. Nevertheless, there is another pattern, to our knowledge previously unexplored in formal literature (with the sole exception of Karimi 2013) that deserves to be illustrated in what follows. Some Iranian languages display a system in which default agreement is accompanied by a clitic doubling strategy, namely by obligatorily cross-referencing the oblique subject with an oblique pronominal clitic, usually a floating clitic which may be attached in front of the verb (less frequently) but also to other hosts in the clause (more frequently). We will illustrate here the case of Vafsi, based on the detailed account of Stilo (2004, 2010) and Sorani Kurdish, based on our primary data (reported also in Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

3.2 Vafsi oblique doubling

Vafsi belongs to the Tatic family of Northwest Iranian and has been extensively documented in Stilo (2004, 2009, 2010). As shown in (21), Vafsi is characterized by a TAM split in case

assignment. More precisely, Vafsi alignment is characterized by three factors: (i) a TAM-based split ergativity (21a vs. b,c,d) (and its 'Double Oblique' variant), (ii) the presence of a DOM pattern insensitive to the alignment split (again 21a vs. b,c,d), (iii) doubling of core arguments with two different sets of (direct vs. oblique) clitics, with the oblique ones characterized by an accentuated mobility (Stilo 2010). Note that in a ditransitive structure (21d) all the arguments in the past/perfective may turn out to be expressed as obliques/with oblique inflections.

(21)   a.   tæ   in   xær-i   næ-ruš-i   *Vafsi*
             you   this   donkey-OBL   NEG-sell-2SG
             'Won't you sell this donkey?'
       b.   in   luti-an   yey xær-esan   æ-ruttæ
             this   wise.guy-OBL.PL   one donkey(DIR)-CL.3PL.OBL   DUR-sell.PST(default)
             'These wise guys were selling a donkey.'
       c.   luas-i   kærg-e-s   bæ-værdæ
             fox-OBL   chicken-OBL-CL.3SG.OBL   PFV-take.PST(default)
             'The fox took the chicken.'
       d.   taemen   kell-i-m   hà-da   hæsaen-i
             I.OBL   daughter-OBL.F-CL.1SG-OBL   PVB-gave(default)   Hassan.OBL.M
             'I gave my daughter to Hassan.'   (Stilo 2004: 243-244, 2010: 263)

In (21a) the definite internal argument is marked with a DOM/oblique (cf. (21d)), and agreement is with the (unmarked/direct) external argument. (21b) shows an ergative-like construction, involving an indefinite internal argument in the direct case and an external argument in the dative/oblique case. (21c) repeating (7) for ease of reference shows a double oblique pattern in which both external argument and the DOM internal argument are marked with the dative/oblique in the perfect. In both (21b) and (21c) the verb is set to default and an oblique clitic matching the phi-features of the external argument shows up. The double object construction in (21d) basically shows the same pattern of (21c).

Regarding the clitic doubling of core arguments, note that in Vafsi there are two clitic series represented in Table 1, from Stilo (2010: 244).

Person/Number	Direct Case	Oblique Case	Set₁		Set₂	
			Suffix	Enclitic (Copula)	Enclitic	Prefix
1ˢᵗ sg	æz	tæ-mén	-om(e)	=im(e)	=om	im-
2ⁿᵈ sg	tæ	es-dǽ	-i	=i	=i	i-
3ʳᵈ sg	an, in	t-an-í, t-in-í	-e (comm. gender)	=e (m.) =oæ (f.)	=es	is-
1ˢᵗ pl	awán	t-awán	-ám(e)	=ám(e)	=oan	oan-
2ⁿᵈ pl	soán	soán	-a	=a	=ian	ian-
3ʳᵈ pl	án-e, ín-e	t-an-án, t-in-án	-énd(e)	=énd(e)	=esan	isan-
'who'	ke	te-gé				

Table 1. Pronouns in Vafsi

Vafsi (contra e.g. standard Persian) is an Iranian language, which preserves both gender (masculine vs. feminine) and case (direct vs. oblique). Arguments, as we have seen in the discussion that precedes, are normally co-indexed by two sets (labelled Set 1-2, in the table) of clitics in the verbal domain. Their rough distribution is illustrated in the examples in (22).

(22)   a.   isan-ær-vend-am   *Vafsi*
                3PL.OBL-DUR-find-1PL.DIR
                'We will find them.'
    b.   isan-ær-venda-yam
                3PL.OBL-DUR-find.PERF-1PL.DIR
                'They used to find us.'

(22) precisely illustrates an ergative split of sort. As argued in Stilo (2010: 248) "the flip-flop of functions" of direct and oblique clitics between the present and past tenses is a reflection of the TAM split between (fully canonical) Nominative-Accusative alignment in the present tenses *vs.* Ergative alignment in the past tenses in DP case marking.

Oblique clitics (so called Set 2) co-index salient patients/themes in the present and direct clitics (so called Set 1) co-index non-salient (inanimate/unspecific) patients in the past. The mirror pattern is available with the external argument. It is obligatory matched by a direct clitic (agreement marker) in the present and by an oblique clitic in the past. In this latter case the verb invariantly shows up as a default form.[6] Experiencers, as already illustrated in (6) are matched in phi-features by an oblique clitic form in all tenses and the verbal element is again set to default. DOM is available independently of the presence of the oblique subject clitic, as shown with the minimal pairs below illustrating an ergative-like pattern (23a) and a double oblique alignment (23b), respectively. Namely, the host noun/pronoun can be in the direct or oblique case forms.[7]

(23)   a.   tæmen æsbǽ-m   bǽ-diæ   *Vafsi*
                I.OBL   dog.DIR-CL.1SG.OBL   PFV-saw(default)
                'I saw a dog.'

---

[6] Yarshater (2003) shows that other Tatic varieties (e.g. Xo'ini) share the basic pattern of Vafsi, as described in this section.

[7] On the contrary consider the Central Kurdish variety of Mukiryāni illustrated in Karimi (2013). Here object DPs are case marked by a suffix –i, distinguishing them from the bare subject DPs in imperfective clauses.

(i)   Mindāl-ak-ān kiteb-i   da-xwen-in
        boy-DEF-PL   book-OBL   IMPRF-study-3.PL.NOM
        'The boys are reading a book.'

However, in the past transitive structures, the presence of the case-marker –i on the direct object DP gives rise to ungrammaticality. In the past transitive construction, the object DP appears in its bare form which is nominative. The contrast is significant because it shows that the oblique inflection (+/- optionally) appearing on the internal argument can be sensitive to the TAM based shift of alignment (cf. also the data from Zazaki in (22). The pattern in the Mukiryāni perfective replicates Vafsi with an oblique clitic co-indexing the oblique external argument and default inflection on the verb:

(ii)   Mindāl-ak-ān kiteb-yān/*kiteb-i-yān   xwend
        Boy-DEF-PL   book-3.PL.DAT/*book-ACC-3.PL.DAT   read.PST
        'The boys read a book.'

b.	tæmen	æsbǽ-y-m		bǽ-diæ
	I.OBL	dog-DOM(OBL)-CL.1SG.OBL		PFV-saw(default)

'I saw the dog.'

Further consider that oblique clitics are fronted and attached to a noun, pronoun, adverb or PP within the VP while direct clitics are invariantly suffixed.

(24) a. hæzíri   tani-m   bǽ-diæ   *Vafsi*
        yesterday   he.OBL-CL.OBL.1SG   PFV-saw.default
     b. tani   hæzíri-m   bǽ-diæ
        he.OBL   yesterday-CL.OBL.1SG PFV-saw.default

'I saw him yesterday.'

Also unergatives in the perfective present the same doubling effect and the external argument is co-indexed by an oblique clitic, as in (25).

(25) Tani   há-s   kærd   *Vafsi*
      He.OBL   run-CL.3SG.OBL   do.PST(default)

'He ran away'

In contrast, perfective unaccusatives display direct enclitics (i.e. agreement), as in (26). Interestingly similar contrasts can be observed in other Indo-Iranian languages.[8]

(26) bæ-ss-e   yey xær   ha-gir-e
      PFV-went-3SG.DIR   one donkey(DIR)   PVB-take-3SG

'He went to buy a donkey.'   (Stilo 2004: 243; cf. Arkadiev 2008: 155)

Finally note that in Vafsi there exists also one particular, textually quite rare construction, termed by Stilo the "OSV Ergative"- construction represented below.

(27) æz   æhmæd-i   yédieym
      1SG.DIR   ahmed-OBL   see.PST.1SG

'Ahmed saw me.'

In this case, the external argument bears the oblique case, but it is not doubled by an oblique clitic and the verb agrees with the internal argument (showing up as direct enclitic/ set1 inflection).

Let's turn now to consider with primary data the case of Sorani Kurdish, a language showing ergativity splits (and double oblique) without overt case marking on full arguments.

---

[8] In Punjabi, for instance, unaccusative verbs in the perfective take their sole (internal) arguments in the absolutive form and agree with them. By contrast, with unergatives, the sole argument of the predicate is the external argument introduced by ergative case and the perfect turns up in an invariable, non-agreeing form (cf. Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

3.3 Sorani Kurdish: caseless DP – oblique clitics

In Sorani Kurdish (Thackston 2006, cf. Dabir-Moghaddam 2012, Karimi 2013, Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015, from which the following discussion is based) lexical DPs and pronouns lack case inflections. Nevertheless, an ergativity split of sort is still present in this variety and it is associated with the agreement inflections hosted by the verb and in the clitic system. The latter have a distinctive morphological shape (*-m/-t/-i/-man/-yan/-tan*) that matches that of possessive clitics within DPs, as illustrated in (28). Based on their occurrence in (28) we can call these forms oblique clitics.[9]

(28)   ktjeb-akæ-i/-m/-n   (M)
        book-DEF-3SG/-1SG/-3PL
        'his/her/ my/ their-book'

In the imperfective, the verb inflection agrees with the external argument of transitives, as in (29a-c) and with the sole argument of intransitives, as in (29d). The oblique clitics in (29a-c) pick up the internal argument of transitives. In (29) the oblique clitic seems to be placed immediately to the left of the verb stem, where it is preceded by the *a-/e-* aspectual morphology. In (29c) we may also observe a *–t* clitic after a preposition, which is consistent with its oblique status.

(29)   a.   kor-ak-æ   a-i/-m/-t   bin-et   (M)
                boy-DEF-LNK   PROGR-3SG.OBL/-1SG.OBL/-2SG.OBL   see-3SG
                'The boy sees him/me/you.'
        b.   ema   e-i/   a-t   ʃor-in   (S)
                we   PROGR-3SG/PROGR-2SG   wash-1PL
                'We are washing it/you'
        c.   mən   e-i   a-m   pe:-t   (ɔu krasa)   (S)
                I   PROGR-3SG   give-1SG to-2SG   the   shirt
                'I am giving it to you (the shirt)'
        d.   korakɛ   a-χɛw-et   (M)
                the boy PROGR-sleep-3SG
                'the boy is sleeping.'

Thus, in the imperfective Sorani shows a canonical nominative-accusative pattern. In the perfective, on the contrary, oblique clitics lexicalize the external argument of transitives, as in (30a-c), revealing the existence in Sorani of an ergative alignment parallel to that of Vafsi.[10] As expected, the verb inflection agrees with the internal argument of transitives, as for instance in (30c), or with the sole argument of intransitives, as in (30e). Distributionally, the clitic appears before the verb stem, matching again the behaviour of Vafsi; the oblique clitic attaches to the closest argument, in (30a-b). There also appears to be a descriptive constraint against sentence-initial clitics or clitics attaching to the subject, forcing the clitic to follow the verb in (30c).

---

[9] The labels (M) and (S) specify the data from our Mariwan informant and those from our Sanandaj one, respectively.
[10] Karimi (2013), precisely working within an Appl framework, argues that the oblique clitic of the perfect corresponds to a high Appl head (cf. section 4.1).

(30)   a.   du   ʒəd-du   bini   (M)
            two   woman -CL.OBL.1SG   see.PERF(default)
            'I saw two women.'
       b.   to   qalam-aka-t   grt(-ue)   (M)
            you   pen-DEF-CL.OBL.2SG   take.PERF-(3sg)
            'You took the pen.'
       c.   mən   da-m   pe:-t   a'ma   (S)
            I   give.PERF-CL.OBL.1SG   to-CL.OBL.2SG this
            'I gave you this.'
       d.   hat-i   (M)
            come.PERF-2SG
            'You came.'
       e.   korakɛ   χaut   (M)
            boy   sleep.PERF.3SG
            'The boy slept.'

A further pattern emerges in transitive perfects, for our Sanandaj speaker, involving two oblique clitics, as in (31), one picking up the internal argument and the other the external argument. The realization of two obliques, one for the internal argument and one for the external one, creates again a double oblique structure. In clusters of two object clitics, the internal argument clitic always precedes the external argument clitics (i.e. it is lower than it, according to a mirror analysis à *la* Baker 1988).[11]

(31)   a.   ema   di-   t-man   (S)
            we   see.PERF   2SG   1PL
            'We saw you.'
       b.   ema   na-   t-   man-   di   (S)
            we   NEG   2SG   1PL   see.PRF(default)
            'We did not see you.'

4. A unified analysis of default agreement and clitic doubling

On the basis of our data, languages seem to involve two types of mechanisms in obviating defective intervention/Case Opacity: **default agreement** and/or **clitic doubling.** If defective intervention and Case Opacity trigger a similar syntactic behaviour, then they might involve one and the same phenomenon. But how can we provide a unified analysis to Case Opacity and Defective Intervention?

Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Following Toosarvandani and Van Urk (2012), Pesetsky (2013), among others (cf. Citko 2014), we assume that prepositions (P) (and their inflectional/templatic counterparts in the verbal domain, namely applicatives (Appl), cf. Pylkkänen 2008) may introduce a phase boundary. Whenever such condition is realized, the DP embedded within the P/K phase is invisible to agreement mechanics. The

---

[11] Note that a pattern similar to that of Sorani Kurdish is described for Davani, a South-Western Iranian language spoken in Southern Iran, by Dabir Moghaddam (2012: 65-68).

head of such a phase may be pronounced or not, but in any case it acts as an (oblique) case assister in its minimal domain (cf. Rezac 2008). Moreover, both defective intervention and Case Opacity involve a uniform pattern to save the derivation within a language and across languages: either default agreement or cliticization. The technicality with respect to head intervention in Case Opacity and DP intervention in Defective Intervention/Minimal Link Constraint can be overcome if we assume a Featural Relativized Minimality in line with Starke (2001), Rizzi (2004) and Franks (2014) who all argue that both movement and intervention are feature-driven phenomena[12] rather than minimality violations due to DP interveners (for more details, see Franks 2014). This approach goes hand in hand with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) who shows that intervention is obviated by clitics, which remove intervening features. Cliticization of indirect objects systematically licenses A-movement of themes, an operation that is blocked in the absence of clitics due to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) violation (cf. (11) above for Greek).

Another strategy is drawing upon default agreement just like in cases with double oblique alignment, as e.g. in Northern Kurmanji (cf. examples in (8)):

(32)   min   te   dit   *Northern Kurmanji*
        I.OBL   you.OBL   saw.default
        'I saw you.'

We argue that the clitic doubled dative/oblique DP/PP[13] in both Spanish/Romanian and the Iranian varieties described in section 3.2-3.3 is introduced by an applicative head,[14] and c-commands the theme creating, hence, a new minimal domain, as roughly represented in (33) (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013; Marchis and Petersen 2014):

(33)   a. DOCs-like pattern[15] (Romance)

---

[12] We extend Franks' analysis of multi-attachment in Wh movement to defective intervention by assuming that phrases are feature sets. Their features (or their feature) cause agreement, movement/multi-attachment or intervention.

[13] Crucially, Romance experiencers function as a DP (the preposition is a realization of inherent Case, Torrego 1998, 2002) while in English they are PPs that do not c-command the embedded arguments. That is the reason why English experiencers do not cause defective intervention (Boeckx 2008 and Kitahara 1997 for detailed discussion)

[14] The main structural distinction between Romance and English experiencers is that the latter is not introduced by an applicative head and presumably does not strictly c-command the embedded clause.

[15] Constructions with oblique arguments are regarded on a par with Double Object Constructions (DOC) while the ones with prepositional experiencers like in English are similar to Prepositional Construction (PC) in Larson's (1988) terms.

Since all the oblique arguments both in Romance and in Indo-Iranian are introduced by an applicative head, the difference in defective intervention is made only by cliticization. cobsidere for instance the Spanish pair in (34)-(35), respectively involving an intervening lexical D and an oblique clitic:

(34)   *[TP [Los niños]]] [T' parecen [al profesor] [vP estudiar] [los niños]]]
          children   seem-3PL   to professor   study   children
          'The children seem to the professor to study.'

(35)   [TP [[Los niños]]] [TP lei   parecen-T [al profesori] [vP estudiar] [los niños]]]]]
         Children   cl-DAT seem-3PL   to professor   study   children
         'The children seem to the professor to study.'

According to Marchis and Petersen (2014), the derivation in (34) crashes because the embedded subject DP cannot agree and/or move since the features of the dative experiencer intervene (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Preminger 2008),[16] while the one in (35) is saved because:

i.   the experiencer is doubled by a clitic that hosts the φ-features of the A-chain, rendering the φ-features in the DP inert for derivation (Anagnostopoulou 2003).

ii. the clitic head Cl (Sportiche 1999) moves to T and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, Marchis to appear).

iii. T is allowed to agree with the embedded subject DP and the embedded subject is allowed to move since there are no longer features that intervene.[17]

In contrast to Romanian/Spanish, dative experiencers in Italian and French are also oblique arguments introduced by an Applicative head, but since they are not clitic-doubled, their intervening features have not been removed and create minimality effects (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; cf. Cuervo 2003).

On the basis of the discussion that precedes, we take that ergative/oblique external arguments in Indo-Iranian are also introduced by an Applicative head which assigns them oblique case. This is in line with Rezac (2008: 106-111) who, as we have already seen, assumes that Case Opacity results from a PP structure/phase whose features intervene and block phi-agreement between T and the embedded argument. In Indo-Iranian an adposition (normally a postposition) assigns oblique case to its argument, in conjunction with a theta-role. All in all, we go for a unified analysis of oblique arguments in Romanian-type and Punjabi-type languages. However, the distinction between clitic doubling languages of Romanian/Spanish-type and default

---

[16] Note that the experiencer must also obligatorily occur with the dative clitic in order to have its φ-feature and Case valued. Hence, 'seem' + experiencers seem to be similar to the quirky constructions of the type *gustar* 'like' in Romance where the dative clitics are obligatorily and the experience have structural quirky case (Rivero 2004).

[17] Similarly, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Wurmbrand (2014) assume that the clitic obviates defective intervention due to the fact that the clitic extends the phase of the matrix verb.

agreement languages of the Punjabi/Northern Kurmanji-type is that the former are *Movement languages* involving phi-feature movement to an applicative head disguised as cliticization (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003) while the latter are *Agreement languages* just like Icelandic: in the case of Case Opacity and/or defective intervention, they trigger default agreement.

Vafsi and Central Kurdish varieties like Sorani complicate the overall picture and they are apparently problematic for our analysis based on the distinction between Agreement and Movement languages. Recall that like Punjabi, Vafsi verbs also involve default agreement in cases with double oblique arguments despite that the oblique external argument is cliticized just like in Romanian and Spanish. The same pattern shows up when the direct object does not display a DOM inflection. The puzzle to solve is why the clitic in Vafsi/Sorani does not obviate defective intervention like in Romance.

4.1 Towards an analysis of (doubling) oblique arguments in Vafsi (and Sorani Kurdish)

As we have seen in section 3.2, Vafsi alignment may trigger default agreement and oblique clitic doubling. A similar pattern is replicated in Central Kurdish varieties (as in Sorani, cf. section 3.3.), where nevertheless full DP arguments are not overtly case marked. Vafsi experiencers trigger default and clitic doubling irrespectively of TAM.

Cross-linguistically, we may see many instances of "doubled experiencers", where the agreement on the verb targets the DP object. Consider the case of experiencer constructions in Romance. They may display oblique clitic doubling, which still do not disrupt the internal argument agreement with T. Consider for instance the Italian sentence in (36). Here, the dative experiencer is doubled by an oblique clitic. Contra what happens in the aforementioned Iranian varieties, verbal agreement is not set to default but targets the DP object (*i gelati*):[18]

(36) A Gianni (gli)   piacciono   i   gelati.   *Italian*
      to Gianni CL.OBL.3SG   like.3PL   the.PL   ice-cream.PL
      'Gianni likes ice-creams.'

Apart from the different verbal agreement pattern, Vafsi displays the same syntax, as shown in (37) reapeating (6b) for ease of reference:

(37) taemen   ane-m   ær-gó
      I.OBL   that.pl-CL.OBL.1SG   DUR-like(default)
      'I like those (things)'   (Stilo 2010)

If default agreement in presence of an oblique clitic has to be ascribed to defective intervention, as we argue, it is suspicious to find that languages may choose to agree or not in the presence of an intervener. Namely, if defective intervention is part of UG it is unwelcome to find that languages may choose to obviate or not intervention in the presence of the very same syntactic pattern, as we have seen below with the oblique clitic doubling patterns of Vafsi *vs.* Romance experiencers.

---

[18] Notice however that in some sub-standard varieties of Italian default agreement may be acceptable in the presence of oblique clitic doubling, as in (i).
(i)   Ai   bambini gli   piace   i   gelati
      To.the.PL children CL.OBL.3PL like.PRS(default)   the.PL   ice-cream.PL
      'Children like ice-creams.'

In this work we aim at explaining linguistic variation in terms of (a quite conservative) Chomskyan perspective on the (parasitic) relation of case with respect to agreement where the head acting as a probe is searching for a target in its agreement domain.

Given this basic picture, we may try to address Vafsi (and Sorani) agreement paradigm. We may assume that in the imperfective/present, T probes onto its domain with respect to its φ-set. The imperfective/present external argument is always targeted by the phi-probe on T, being the highest argument and being un-embedded under a phasal node (Appl/P). If an oblique case is attached to the internal argument because of DOM, we assume that this is licensed by a low Appl head (roughly along the lines of Manzini and Franco 2016, who label such head (⊆)).[19] The relevant rough patterns are represented respectively in (38a) (direct object) and (38b) (oblique object) below.

(38)   a. *Vafsi imperfective [direct Subj - direct Obj]*

```
                              TP
                       _____/  _____
                      /                 \
                 DP(Subj)               AspP
                   az_i             ___/    \___
                                   /            \
                                  vP             T
                             ___/   \___       [PHI:]
                            /           \     æsbir-om_j
                       DP(Subj)        Asp_(imperfective)
                       [PHI:VAL]            æt-
                          t_i
                                  v        VP
                                        __/   \__
                                       /         \
                                   DP(Obj)         V
                                    leyle          t_j
```

_____
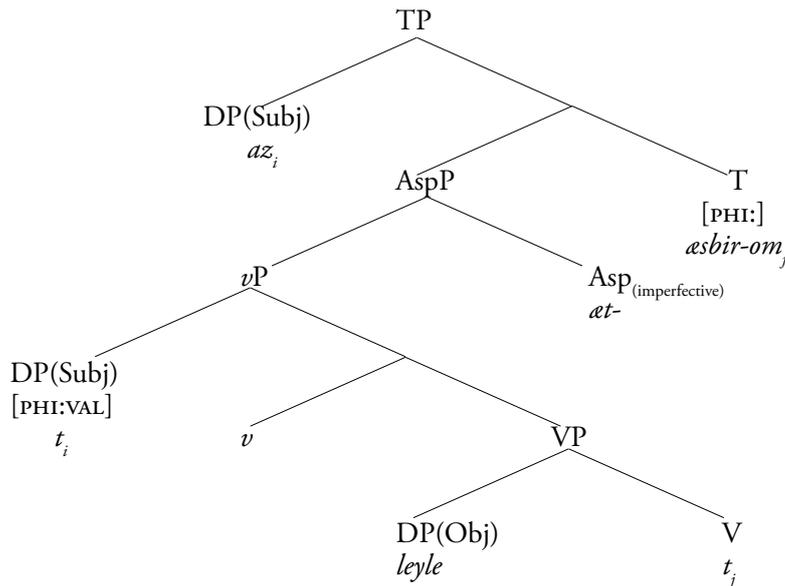
[19] In Vafsi such Appl postposition is phonologically unrealized, but such a device is overtly displayed in many Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Punjabi, Hindi, cf. the discussion above).

b. *Vafsi imperfective [direct Subj – oblique Obj]*
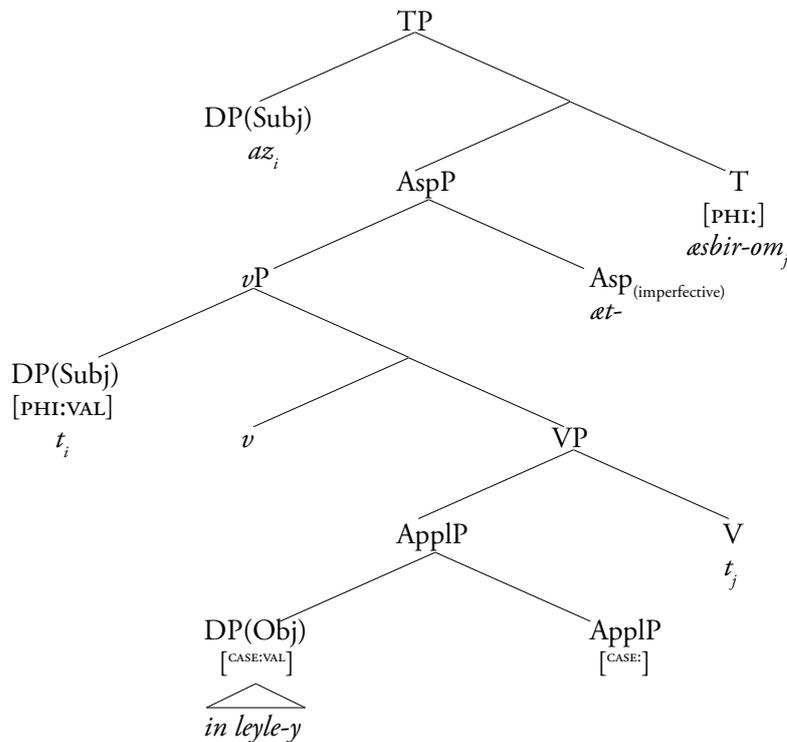
We may assume that in the perfective the external argument is introduced by the same Appl head introducing the salient internal argument, irrespectively of TAM specifications. Such head may be assumed to be a high Appl head, following insight by Pylkannen (2008), Cuervo (2003).

The Appl that introduces the perfective external argument not only assigns it oblique case but also causes it to be clitic-doubled, so that the perfective subject is doubled by an oblique-clitic, precisely hosted in the Appl head, matching its phi-features. The motivation for this machinery may be ascribed to the fact that the external argument is assigned oblique case and the probe cannot see inside a Appl phase) (cf. Abels 2003, 2012; Citko 2014). Hence, the features of the oblique external argument are copied to be accessible for the T probe. In our view, in Vafsi the direct clitics (Set1) are the realisation of true agreement with the grammatical subject, while oblique clitics (set 2) are the realisation of the Appl head.[20]

---

[20] Our Applicative analysis of the experiencer dative/oblique perfective subject in Vafsi introduces it by means of what corresponds to a high Appl head, establishing a relation between it and the VP sub-event/state. We expect that the latter will be interpreted as saying that the V-Theme complex is an elementary event/state in the 'zonal inclusion/ possession' domain of the experiencer (Manzini and Franco 2016; cf. Belvin and Den Dikken 1997). The experiencer is perceived as such simply in that the event/state described in the VP predicate is a mental one (cf. also Boneh and Nash 2011). Further note that the standard Applicative literature (Pylkkänen 2008), takes it as not coincidental that the same dative/oblique morphology found to express goals also introduces experiencers. For the Appl literature, indeed, this corresponds to the fact that the same Appl head (externalized by dative/oblique) can attach at different points in the syntactic tree. The low Appl head establishes a relation between two arguments (namely the goal and the theme), while the high Appl head introduces relation between an argument (e.g. the experiencer) and an event (the VP).

The rough representations of the alignment taking place in Vafsi perfective (clitic doubling feature matching with or without DOM internal arguments leading to a double oblique alignment) are illustrated below in (39a, b)).

(39)   a. *Vafsi perfective [oblique Subj-direct Obj]*
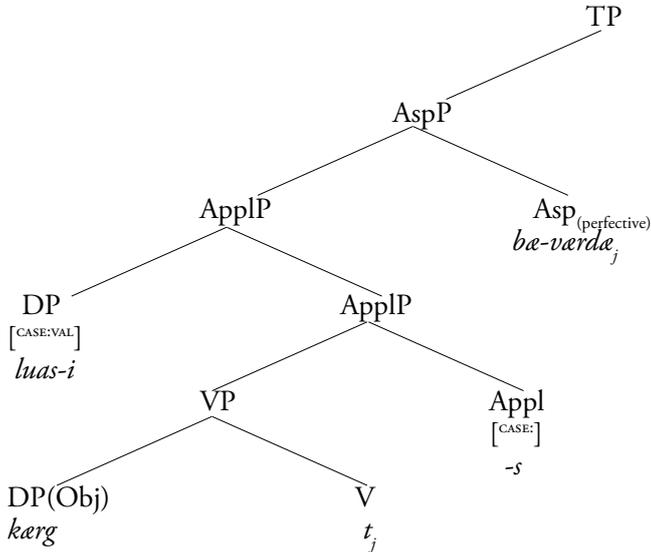
b. *Vafsi perfective [oblique Subj-oblique Obj]*
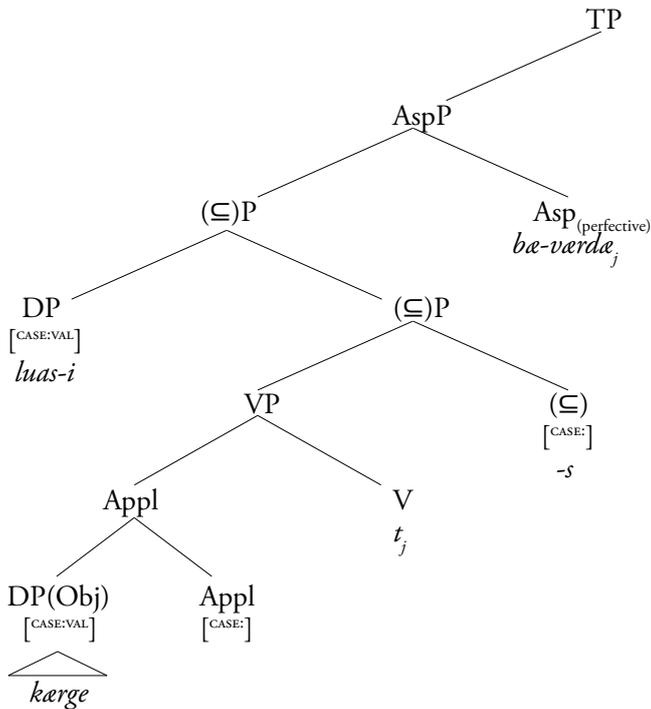
Our main concern is now why T is impeded to agree when an overt clitic morphologically marked with phi-features realizes the Appl head in Vafsi (contra what happens in Spanish/Romanian subject-to-subject raising constructions). We argue that the oblique clitic does not obviate defective intervention in Vafsi, because the clitic does not move to T so that the features of the embedded argument are still intervening, blocking agreement (see (37) where the clitic is attached to the closest argument rather than to T).

As already pointed out, in subject-to-subject raising constructions in Spanish/Romanian the clitic head Cl (Sportiche 1999) moves to T and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Marchis to appear). Thus, T is allowed to agree with the embedded DP, whence intervening material has been removed from its domain. We will consider the data supporting our idea in what follows. Before that, we will introduce some other recent analyses have been proposed in the literature for the patterns of agreement in Western Iranian Languages.

Baker and Atlamaz (2013) specifically address Kurmanji Kurdish varieties. They assume that the perfect is passive-like and differs from the imperfective in that it involves a non-phasal v and that the oblique subjects surfacing in the perfect are simply defaults. Specifically, they propose an analysis based not on the category T, but on the category Voice. They construct the present (imperfective) form as bearing active voice and implying a phasal vP; vice versa the past (perfective) form is passive and corresponds to a non-phasal vP. Their idea that oblique arguments are default is, in particular, problematic. According to Baker and Atlamaz (2013), the distribution of direct/nominative forms is strictly governed by agreement and they treat the oblique (or objective, in their terms) case as default morphology.

There are reasons both interpretive and morphological why the oblique case cannot be a default. Interpretively, as shown with primary data from the Bahdini dialect of Kurmanji Kurdish by Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), the oblique case introduces a possession (dative, genitive) relation between the head predicate and a complement. In other words, if there is a default case interpretively, this must surely be the nominative/absolutive. Morphology matches interpretation – since it is the oblique that is morphologically instantiated, while the nominative/absolute corresponds to the bare nominal base. Furthermore, briefly addressing central Kurdish clitic doubling in the perfective (cf. fn. 10 with examples from Mukiryāni) Baker and Atlamaz assume that they are just default clitic forms and not oblique items. Their idea is clearly undermined by the facts illustrated from Vafsi, where we have two different clitic series (cf. Table 1), a direct one and an oblique one. Oblique clitics (Set 2) only cross-reference the external argument in the perfective.

On the contrary, our analysis, in line with the main assumptions in Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), is somewhat compatible with Karimi's (2013) account of Northern (i.e. Kurmanji) and Central (i.e. Sorani) Kurdish dialects. For him, the subject clitic in Sorani is a manifestation of an agreeing applicative head, and this is perfectly fitting our proposal. Specifically, Karimi assumes that oblique subject in perfective structures in Sorani, as illustrated by our own data in 3.3, is licensed as the specifier of a high applicative (Appl) phrase and, thus, agrees with the head Appl. We endorse the view that oblique cases attached to external arguments signal a high applicative projection. The oblique clitic doubling, in accordance with our view, is assumed by Karimi to be an instantiation of the Appl° *head which has entered into Agree with the Oblique subject. For Karimi, in Sorani Kurdish default agreement on the verb arises given the following facts. "The subject having satisfied the EPP on T°, the uninterpretable φ-features on T° search for a goal. The only available goal is the object DP; however, the matching of φ-features between T° and the object DP is hindered owing to the Defective Intervention induced by the inactive* Appl° *head which is associated with a full complement of φ-features." (Karimi 2013: 53-54)*

In our view, Sorani (more broadly Central Kurdish and sporadically Southern Kurdish varieties, cf. Fattah 2000) displays exactly the same pattern like Vafsi, despite for the fact that case is not overtly marked on the DP and its reflex is only visible via the agreement path. We take, nevertheless, a view different from that of Karimi. We have seen that oblique arguments/ experiencers still allow T to agree with the lower (direct) argument in Romance (cf. (36) vs. (37)). The appearance of an oblique clitic (e.g. *gli* in (36)) in Romance experiencer constructions should invariantly block agreement with the internal argument, if we follow Karimi's way of reasoning. Actually, that prediction is not borne out by the data.

We assume that the different behaviour of Vafsi *vs.* Romance has to be ascribed to clitic movement. Vafsi oblique clitics do not obviate defective intervention because the Appl head does not move to T, so that the features of the experiencer/oblique inflected agent are still intervening. On the contrary, in Romance the Appl head moves to T (cf. Sportiche 1999) and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T. Thus T is allowed to target the internal argument of the verb. As a piece of evidence that Vafsi oblique clitic hosted in (⊆) do not move to T we may consider the fact that they can be attached to other constituents, such as preposition, adverb etc., unlike in Romance where, as well known, it either precedes or follows the verb. Consider for instance the example in (24b), reported also in (40) for ease of reference.

(40)   tani   hæzíri-m   bǽ-diæ   *Vafsi*
        he.OBL   yesterday-CL.OBL.1SG   PFV-saw.default
        'I saw him yesterday.'

Moreover, it is interesting to consider the data we have reported in (27) that show that there is a rare construction in Vafsi where there is "direct" enclitic (i.e. full) agreement on the verb in the presence of a 'non-doubled' oblique external argument. The example is repeated in (41) for ease of reference:

(41)   æz   æhmæd-i   yédieym   *Vafsi*
        1SG.DIR   ahmed-OBL   see.PST.1SG
        'Ahmed saw me.'

Examples like (41) apparently show that the clitic is responsible for blocking the agreement in Vafsi, contrary to Romance. Here we have a (quite standard) ergative construction like the one represented in (18) for Zazaki, with T picking up the internal argument for agreement purposes. The simplest explanation is to say that in (41), given the absence of the clitic there is no applicative head to block T to probe, so there are structural differences between constructions with clitics in Vafsi, which involve an Appl head and those without clitics that do not have an Appl head and, hence, do not intervene. The latter are similar to English raising-over-experiencers constructions where experiencers never intervene because the experiencer is not introduced by an Appl head in *John seems to Mary to be intelligent.*[21] That we are on the right track is

---

[21] There is crosslinguistic variation in the realization of Appl head. Greek genitives/obliques always realize the Applicative head independently of the realization of clitics similar to Italian, French, Brazilian Portuguese, so an oblique argument in these languages always intervenes (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Alexiadou *et al.* 2011, 2012). Romanian and Spanish, on the hand, realize Appl head only in the presence of dative clitics (the clitic doubling of indirect objects is optional while the clitic doubling of oblique experiencers is mandatory). So the clitic always obviates the defective intervention of experiencers (Diaconescu and Rivero 2005;

confirmed by the different behaviour of unaccusatives/unergatives in the past/perfective. We have seen that perfective unaccusatives in Vafsi trigger direct agreement and no oblique clitics (i.e. the same pattern as with present/imperfective) while perfective unergatives adopt the clitic doubling strategy (cf. (25) vs. (26)).

How to explain this split-intransitivity contrast in agreement? We assume that unaccusatives take as their only argument their sister DP and do not have the need of a further argumental slot between T and V (at least a set of pure unaccusatives behave like that and do not require a *v-like* projection in their derivation, cf. Deal 2009). T finds no intervention in probing onto its domain and triggers 'direct agreement' (Vafsi Set 1 enclitics).[22] Following Hale and Keyser's (1993) original intuition we assume that on the contrary, unergatives have the shape of hidden/concealed transitives, involving (at least) a two-tiered structure, e.g. *v*-V according to Chomsky (1995). In such case we have an added projection between T and V (just like standard transitives in the perfective).[23] We assume that Vafsi realized this projection as High Appl (and not as *v*), leading to a clitic doubling pattern. Given the constraint on clitic movement illustrated above, T cannot probe and the agreement on the verb is set to default. Hence, data from experiencers and split-intransitivity patterns in West-Iranian languages are particularly useful in showing that in such varieties there are two heads (T and Appl)) that do not join 'their' forces to obviate defective intervention: due to the defective intervention of the Appl head, T can probe only defectively – so it triggers default/underspecified agreement while Appl probes full phi-features in form of the oblique clitic. In Romance, the Appl and the T head join – so that we have a complex head that jointly probes obviating defective intervention. The oblique clitics in Romance are the manifestation of an agreeing Appl head, then they move to T, allowing it to further probe downwards without encountering intervention.

5. *Theoretical Implications for the proposed analysis*

Our analysis has several theoretical implications and it provides evidence or counter-evidence for different approaches of case assignment, the analysis of clitics and of the defective intervention.

Marchis to appear). Vafsi is similar to the latter type of languages as it uses the clitic as the hallmark of the Appl head. It is also similar to English whose experiencers/oblique arguments in raising constructions are not introduced by an Appl head and, hence, do not intervene.

[22] Interestingly in the Tatic dialect Dānesfāni (Yar-Shater 1969: 204), a cognate language of Vafsi, the past participle agrees with the unaccusative theme (also) in gender, but this does not happen with constituents of a transitive perfective sentence, where the pattern is the same as in Central Kurdish (Sorani). Consider the examples below:

(i)   Hasan   buma.
         Hasan-(M)   came.M
         'Hasan came.'
(ii)   Zeynaba   bumia.
         Zeynaba-(F)   came.F
         'Zeynaba came.'
(iii)   Hasan /Zeynaba   šet-eš   uxa
         Hasan-(M) /Zeynaba-(F)   milk-(M).CL.OBL.3SG   drank
         'Hasan/Zeynaba drank the milk.'

[23] An alternative approach on the issue of default agreement, explored in Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), is to assume the idea that all agreement inflections have an interpretable content (or are checked by an interpretable content). We will not explore this challenging path any further in this paper.

5.1 Dependent Case vs. Parasitic Case

Bobaljik (2008) and Preminger (2011) offer accounts for agreement failure. Their idea is in a way the opposite of Chomsky's (2001) – namely that case is primitive with respect to agreement. Which DP agrees with a given head is determined by an accessibility hierarchy of cases, where unmarked cases are maximally accessible, followed by dependent cases and finally, by inherent cases (in a fashion similar to the implicational hierarchy assumed in the typological literature, cf. Moravcsik 1978). When an inflectional head does not find an accessible target – for instance in the double oblique structures exemplified above for Punjabi/Masali perfects, the derivation does not crash; rather the morphology insures that the relevant inflection surfaces in the default form.

Despite these welcome results in accounting for linguistic variation, there does not seem to be any special advantage in the accessibility hierarchy of cases with respect to a naked stipulation of the facts, like the VIVA (Visibility of Inherent-Case to Verbal Agreement) parameter of Anand and Nevins (2006), namely languages will differ as to whether their verbs can agree with an inherently case-marked DP.

Another way to go would be to consider that certain morphemes such as Agreement (AGR) nodes or Case features are added after syntax as they are demanded by language-specific requirements and are never essential to semantic interpretation (see Marchis Moreno 2015). This could explain the mismatch or the split between direct/unmarked and indirect/marked cases in the discussed varieties. In the spirit of Embick and Noyer (2006), we could argue that the direct Case is relevant only at PF while indirect Case, such as the oblique one, bears semantic content and, hence, it is introduced by the applicative head in the syntax, conditioning the choice of Vocabulary Items. But how does the mechanism of Vocabulary Insertion know how to make the right choice between the two Vocabulary Items, marked or unmarked cases, full versus default agreement? The Subset Principle (cf. (42)) resolves this case of competition.

(42)   **Subset Principle:**

The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a position if the item matches all or a subset of the features specified in that position. Where several Vocabulary Items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal node must be chosen. (Halle 1997: 428)

By the virtue of the fact that the phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a position only if the item matches all or a subset of the features specified in that position, unmarked items cannot be inserted into an Appl head. Specifically, oblique cases come as a free rider with the semantic content of the applicative head[24] while unmarked/direct cases are realized post-syntactically since they do not trigger interpretable information at LF. Analogically, default agreement (like in Icelandic and Punjabi) is a case of underspecification due to defective intervention/Case Opacity and it takes place post-syntactically as the result of failed Agree in the syntax (cf. Chomsky 2000; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003; Preminger 2011). Clitics,

---

[24] Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007) and Marchis and Alexiadou (2013) have shown that in Greek and Romance languages clitics as the heads of applicative head trigger semantic content such as familiarity (like Greek clitics), specificity (like Romanian and Spanisch clitics) or possession (like Romanian clitics). This implies that in line with the Subset Principle, semantic content (or interpretability) comes as a free rider with oblique cases while unmarked cases (like direct cases of clitics and default agreement) are the result of post-syntactic information as the result of failed agreement and underspecificity.

however, are the result of Move and they are syntactic objects fully specified for phi-features and semantic content (specificity, familiarity see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007) and they can obviate defective intervention (cf. Marchis and Petersen 2014). The advantage of this approach would be that one could make a clear distinction between clitics and agreement markers based on their syntactic role and their semantic content. However, as we will see below there is no agreement in the literature on their status.

5.2 A defragmented view on clitics

In the literature there are two divergent perspectives: clitics were either argued to be base generated in their surface position (Rivas 1977; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Borer 1984; Suñer 1988; Sportiche 1999) or to be generated in an argument position and to undergo movement to their surface position, (e.g. Kayne 1975; Torrego 1988; Uriagereka 1995; Anagnostopoulou 2003).

This paper regards only dative/oblique clitics which are analyzed *a la* Anagnostopoulou as the reflex of phi-feature movement in order to obviate defective intervention. However, we have shown that they realize the applicative head, triggering, hence, a rich(er) semantic content. Thus, we have provided evidence that oblique clitics are not agreement markers like default verbal agreement and, hence, they are real syntactic objects. The empirical facts from Vafsi clearly point to such an interpretation: direct clitics are agreement markers while oblique clitics are syntactic objects that realize the Appl head interpreted as inclusion/possession at LF.[25] Crucially, the idea that clitics realize the Applhead is not new, it has been proven from by several scholars (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013 among others) but these same scholars have also shown that clitics come in different guises. One way to distinguish between clitics and agreement markers would be to show that they occur at different stages in derivation: syntax *vs*. PF and that they are outcome of two different processes: Move vs. Agree. Moreover, Preminger (2011) proposed on the basis of Basque a diagnostic to distinguish between agreement markers triggered by Agree and clitics as a reflex of Move. Interestingly, he showed that defective intervention/failed Agreement triggers default agreement or in our terms "underspecified" agreement markers which can be obviated by clitic doubling. However, failed Movement or the absence of clitic doubling triggers un-grammaticality. Our data showed that Preminger's account is on the right track and it can be further explored in our future work on the differences between direct and oblique clitics in Vafsi.

5.3 A linear view on defective intervention: Bruening (2014)

A potential counter-argument for our approach comes from Bruening (2014) who debates the status of defective intervention as a real syntactic phenomenon. Bruening (2014) argues that both experienceres and adverbs do not syntactically intervene but rather disrupt the linear order of the constituents.

---

[25] The idea that clitics realize the Appl head is not new, it has been proven from by several scholars (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013 among others) but these same scholars have also shown that clitics come in different guises. One way to distinguish between clitics and agreement markers would be to show that they occur at different stages in derivation: syntax *vs*. PF and that they are outcome of two different processes: Move vs. Agree.

(43)   *Jean a semblé   [au cours de la réunion] avoir du talent.   *French*
        John has seemed   during the meeting   to have talent.
        'John seemed during the meeting to have talent.'   (Bruening 2014: 714)

Marchis and Petersen (2014) show that Bruening's (2014) potential counterexamples to the existence of syntactic defective intervention in the case of experiencers are only apparent. Based on Haider's (2004) fine-grained analysis of adverbs/adjuncts, they show that experiencers and adverbs occupy completely different positions in the architecture of the clause and, hence, create different locality effects in A movement.

Haider's (2004) analysis of preverbal and postverbal adverbs can explain why high adverbs in Cinque's (1999) terminology – or "simple" adverbs, such as *easily or yesterday*, are allowed between the raising verb and the embedded domain, while Bruening's phrasal adverbs, such as *without any difficulties,* are illicit in that same position. See the contrast in English below:

(44)   He will easily/soon/*without any difficulties find an appropriate solution

In brief, Haider (2004) shows that some adverbials are adjoined or embedded, depending on the relation to the head of the containing phrase. Only adverbs that are adjoined precede the head of the containing phrase such as simple adverbs like *easily* or *soon* in (44) while the embedded adverbs like *without any difficulties* follow the head of the phrase in which it is contained. He derives this analysis of adverbs from a general projection restriction, namely that adjunction is possible only to the left, but not to the right (cf. (45a)). Consequently, post-head adverbials are embedded, i.e., they are the most deeply embedded element in V projection consisting of VP-shells (cf. (45b)).

(45)   a. [John$_2$ [$_{XP}$ often [$_{XP}$ … [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ talks$_1$ [$_{VP}$ t$_1$ to Mary]
        b. [$_{TP}$ Ana$_2$ [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ saw [$_{VP}$ Peter [$_{V'}$ t$_1$ [at the meeting]]]

This analysis is compatible with the empirical data that show a distinction between simple adverbs such as manner and time adverbs, and phrasal adverbs that, according to Bruening (2014), intervene on a par with experiencer DPs. However, their different behavior is even more visible in languages like English where adverbs can occur either preverbally or postverbally.

According to Haider (2004), the unacceptability of postverbal adverbs in the preverbal position is a consequence of the edge effect, namely the reflex of a constraint against post-head material in a phrase that serves as a preverbal adverbial constituent. This is known as "head final constraint", or "head final filter", a ban on pre-head adjuncts that do not end in a (lexical) head (Williams 1981). Below in (46) there is an example of this constraint in English:

(46)   He has [(much less) often (*than I (thought))] rehearsed it.   (Haider 2004: 782)

Specifically, a preverbal adverb c-commands the finite verb while VP-internal, post-verbal adverbial phrases do not c-command the surface head position of the VP head, and they cannot c-command the finite verb. That is: any adverbial that c-commands the finite verb is preverbal in English and adjoined (somewhere to the left of) the VP while strictly VP-internal adverbials cannot precede the finite auxiliary in English. Larson (1988) and Stroik (1990) analyze postverbal adverbs as structural complements, and assign them to the most deeply embedded positions in the VP shells.

(47) $[_{V_{max}} \ldots [_{V0}$ V Adv]   (adapted from Haider 2004: 789)

Based on Larson's (1988) analysis of postverbal adverbs, Haider (2004) shows that postverbal adverbials are "extraposed" and the "extraposition zone" is a non-compositional subconstituent of the V-projection, so its order relations are not determined by the head; the order relations for adverbials in the extraposition zone are interface effects, that is, they are semantically driven. Note that in contrast to postverbal adverbs in (48), preverbal adverbs cannot be topicalized without a strong focus stress (cf. (49)). Moreover, unlike postverbal adverbs, preverbal adverbs can occur naturally between the verb and its complement (compare (48b) with (49b)):

Extraposed postverbal adverbs:

(48)   a.   He talked to me at the meeting.
        b.   ?He talked at the meeting to me. (only when "to me" is stressed)
        c.   At the meeting he talked to me. (no stress is necessary)

Non-extraposed preverbal adverbs:

(49)   a.   He often talked to me.
        b.   He talked often to me. (no stress on *often* is needed)
        c.   Often he talked to me. (strong stress on *often* is needed)

However, in VO languages like English, Romanian, and Spanish, adverbials (like manner adverbs in English and all other core adverbs in Romance) may be postverbal without being extraposed (they become postverbal through verb movement). To show that there are non-extraposable postverbal adverbs in English, note that some postverbal adverbs precede prepositional objects and extraposed material (50a). Moreover, they are obligatorily fronted with VP-topicalization (50b,c). Cross-linguistic evidence from German (50d) confirms that manner adverbs do not extrapose.

(50)   a.   He talked gently to everyone
        b. *. . . and talk he will gently to everyone
        c. . . . and [talked gently to everyone] he has
        d. Er hat protestiert, dagegen/*lautstark   *German*
           'He has protested, against loudly.'   (Haider 2004: 804)

Therefore, postverbal adverbs may be extraposed or not, depending on their base generated position and their syntactic behavior (compare (51) to (63)). Non-extraposed ones are non-phrasal (e.g. manner adverb *gently*). Let us look at Romanian adverbs in more details.

Unlike English that makes a distinction between post- and preverbal high (or "simple") adverbs, high adverbs in Romanian are postverbal in general. But there are several adverbs such as *adesea* 'often' that can be used both preverbally and postverbally and, as we saw in the previous section, they are grammatical in the position where non-clitic doubled experiencers cause defective intervention (51):

(51)   Fata   (adesea)   învaţă   (adesea)   pentru examen.   *Romanian*
        Girls   sometime   learn-3SG   sometimes   for the exam
        'The girls often learns for the exam.'

Importantly, in line with Haider's (2004) analysis, these high adverbs are structurally different from the phrasal adverbs presented in Bruening (2014). In biclausal sentences, note that phrasal adverbs can be extraposed to the left periphery of the matrix domain since this is the position for topicalized phrases (cf. (52a)) (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, 1994; Motapanyane 1995; Rizzi 1997; Alboiu 2000; Cornilescu 2000)[26] and focalized phrases (Alboiu 2000) in Romanian.

As discussed before, Bruening's (2014) data showed that the same phrasal adverbs are illicit in Romance languages when preposed between the matrix verb and the embedded domain like in (52c). However, phrasal adverbs are not illicit in that position due to linear intervention, but rather because not all languages have a topic position available in the left periphery of the non-finite embedded domain.[27] Note that in (52b), the adverb is licit in that position only if it is introduced by *ca* which is a subjunctive complementizer. Alboiu (2000) claims that *ca* co-occurs with *să* when a topicalized element is present. In these cases, the order is *ca – topicalized phrase – să,* where *ca* must occupy the left-most position.

(52)   a.   De această ocazie   e probabil să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
              On this occasion   is probable subj not be missed Mary the classes.
              'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'
        b.   E probabil   *ca* de această ocazie să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
              Is probable   that on this occasion   subj not be missed Mary the classes.
              'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'
        c.   ??E probabil de această ocazie   să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
              Is probable   on this occasion   subj not be missed Mary the classes
              'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'

The availability of an overt topic marker in non-finite/subjunctive clauses in Romanian can bring us a crucial piece of evidence that experiencers and Bruening's phrasal adverbs do not occupy the same position and, hence, cannot create the same type of intervention. Note that unlike with phrasal adverbs in (52b), *ca* can introduce neither doubled nor undoubled experiencers in Romanian:

(53)   a.   *Maria îi pare   ca   lui   Ion   să   fie   inteligentă.
              Mary CL seems that   dat-art John   subj   be   intelligent.
        b.   *Maria pare   ca   lui   Ion   să   fie   inteligentă.
              Mary seems that dat-art John subj be intelligent.
              'Mary seems to John to be intelligent.'

---

[26] However, these scholars share different opinions where a TopicP is available in Romanian left periphery. If Romanian lacks a TopP projection, topicalised elements can be analysed in two possible way: they are either base-generated as adjuncts in the Romanian left periphery (Motapanyane 1995), or they involve movement from an IP-internal base-generated position to the left periphery (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994).

[27] Like Alboiu, Motapanyane (2002) shows that the presence of *ca* in the *ca-să* constructions is strictly linked to the presence of a maximal projection, usually a topicalized item, which follows it. In the absence of a topicalized phrase *ca* is excluded; viceversa, in the absence of *ca* no lexical material can appear in front of *să:*
(i). Zicea (*numai mâine)   că/ca numai mâine   să nu se ducă la câmp.
      said only tomorrow-FOC   that   only   tomorrow-FOC să not se go   to field
      'She said it's only tomorrow that he should not go to the field.'   from Motapanyane (2002: 6)

We conclude that defective intervention is a syntactic phenomenon, and not a linear order mechanism. However, a fine-grained analysis of adverbs within a language and across languages is necessary to understand Bruening's (2014) puzzling data (for a more detailed analysis see Marchis Moreno and Petersen 2015). We have learned so far that high ('simple') adverbs and Bruenings' phrasal adverbs are structurally different: the former are adjoined, while the latter are embedded within the VP across all languages while experiencers are the only ones that create defective intervention as they are introduced by an applicative head.

6. Conclusion

There are two types of languages which involve different mechanisms in obviating minimality violations and Case opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Spanish/Romanian-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization (cf. Marchis to appear). Rich empirical data clearly show that two apparent distinct phenomena such as Case Opacity and defective intervention are actually one and the same: Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Across languages there is, however, a mechanism to obviate defective intervention, namely cliticization. Languages like French or Italian do not have means to obviate defective intervention when the experiencer is present (e.g. they lack clitic doubling) so that the derivation crashes when the movement of a DP crosses an experiencer that is realized in a higher Spec of an applicative head. However, the clitic alone does not suffice to obviate the defective intervention of the oblique – Vafsi teaches us that defective intervention can be overcome only if the clitic moves to T so that there are no longer phi-features in the probe domain of T that intervene. Hence, clitics repair defective intervention only in languages where the Appl head and T join their forces and build a complex head via the climbing of the clitic to T as in Romanian and Spanish. Moreover, we have seen that clitics do not always signal the presence of the Appl[28] head: in languages like Italian and French, oblique experiencer DPs are introduced by an Appl head in the absence of clitics, and, therefore, they always intervene in raising constructions. In contrast, English experiencers are not oblique but rather PPs never introduced by an Appl head; therefore, they do not intervene similar to Vafsi non-doubled oblique. The assumptions of this paper have crucial implications for Case Theory (dependent vs. Marked and syntactic vs. Post-syntactic case assignment), for a defragmentated analysis of the clitics and for Bruening's proposal against syntactic intervention and in favour of linear intervention (cf. Marchis and Petersen 2014).

Appendix: Romance se constructions

Our unified analysis of defective intervention and case opacity can explain also the Person constraint in passives *se* in Romance. It has long been recognized that sentences with passive *se* obey a Person constraint: the internal argument (IA) cannot be 1st or 2nd person (Burzio 1986; Cinque 1988; Cornilescu 1998; D'Alessandro 2007; Mendikoetxea 2008; Rezac 2011; MacDonald 2016, among others). Cornilescu (1998) noticed that also some 3rd person subjects are excluded:

---

[28] Note that in Greek applicatives introduce oblique arguments also in the absense of clitics.

(i)   a. La noi   întotdeauna se întâmpină   {musafirii / *Ion/*el} la gară   *Romanian*
             at us   always   SE welcome.3SG guests-the / Ion he at station
             'In our family/department/... guests/*Ion/*he are/is always welcomed at the station.'
         a´. Am   întâmpinat musafirii / *Ion / *el
             have.1PL   welcomed   guests-the / Ion / he
             'We welcomed the guests / *Ion / *him'.   (Cornilescu 1998: ex.16)

Giurgea (2016) argues that all these cases can be subsumed under a Person constraint of the following form:

(ii)   DPs that bear [Person] are banned as IAs of *se*-passives

He proposes that these DPs, which are high on the Person/Animacy scale, have a Person feature (manifested by clitic doubling when they are case-licensed by v*), whereas those that can occur as subjects of *se*-passives lack the Person feature completely. The ban on +Person internal arguments in *se*-passives is due to the intervention of the Person feature associated with the external argument (EA). We argue that the element saturating the EA is differently projected in *se*-passives vs. participial passives, which explains the lack of an intervention effect in the latter case. According to our analysis, the EA in *se* passive would be projected in an Applicative head just like in cases with double datives in Indo-Iranian languages. Hence, our analysis of default agreement in terms of defective intervention and case opacity receives support also from the dichotomous behaviour of impersonal *se* constructions in Spanish and Italian, on a one hand, and Romanian, on the other hand. First, impersonal *se* can occur in transitive configurations, manifested by default agreement between the verb and the IA (iiia) and oblique marking on the IA (iva), 0) in Spanish and Italian and verb agreement with IA and the lack of oblique agreement in Romanian:

(iii)   a. In questa università si   insegna le materie letterarie   *It.*
             In this   university SE teaches the humanities
             'Humanities are taught in this university.'   (Dobrovie-Sorin forth: ex. 31c)
         b. În această universitate se predau /*predă   ştiinţele umane   *Ro.*
             in this   university   SE teach.3PL/ teaches sciences-the human (*ibidem*, ex. 32c)
(iv)   a. (Le materie letterarie) le   si   insegna in questa università.   *It.*
             (the humanities)   CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches in this   university
             '(The humanities,) one teaches them in this university.'   (*ibidem*, ex. 31d)
         b. *(*Ştiinţele umane) le   se predă / se le   predă în această
             (the humanities)   CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches/ SE CL.3FPL.ACC teaches in this
             universitate.   (Ro.)
             university   (*ibidem*, ex. 32d)
(v)   En esta escuela se castiga   a   los alumnos.   *Sp.*
          in   this school SE punishes DOM the students
          'In this school they punish the students.'   (Dobrovie-Sorin forth.: ex. 33)

Specifically, we argue that default agreement in Spanish and Italian with impersonal *se* is due to the intervention feature of person available in the phase introduced by the oblique PP. This is a complete phase that has complete features including person, but this phrase is opaque to agreement because it has inherent case and the intervening feature person. In contrast, Romanian

does not allow + person IA in impersonal agreement, so there is neither default agreement nor inherent case in impersonal *se* in Romanian and the verb agrees with the the IA. The observed dichotomy in Spanish/Italian *vs.* Romanian is similar to the ergative/oblique agreement pattern vs. absolutive agreement in Indo-Iranian languages and, hence, confirms our analysis that the defective intervention of a feature triggers case opacity and default agreement or the movement of the intervening feature to the probe in form of cliticization across languages.

References

Abels, Klaus. 2003. *Successive Cyclicity, Anti-locality, and Adposition Stranding*. Doctoral dissertation, Mansfield: University of Connecticut.

Abels, Klaus. 2012. *Phases: An essay on cyclicity in syntax*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ahmed, Tafseer. 2006. "Spatial, temporal and structural usages of Urdu ko." In *On-line proceedings of the LFG06 conference*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, <http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/site/ONLN.shtml> (06/2020).

Alboiu, Gabriela. 2007. "Moving forward with Romanian Backward Control and Raising." In *New Horizons in the Analysis of Control and Raising*, ed. by William Davies and Stanley Dubinsky, 187-213. Dordrecht: Springer.

Alboiu, Gabriela 2000. *The Features of Movement in Romanian*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Manitoba.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Gianina Iordachioaia *et al*. 2010. "No Objection to Backward Control." In *Movement Theory of Control*, ed. by Norbert Hornstein and Maria Polinsky, 89-118. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Gianina Iordachioaia, *et al*. 2012. "In Support of Long-Distance Agree." In *Local Modeling of Non-Local Dependencies in Syntax*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou, Tibor Kiss and Gereon Müller, 55-81. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Susi Wurmbrand. 2014. "Movement vs. Long Distance Agree in Raising: Disappearing Phases and Feature Valuation." In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistics Society Annual Meeting (NELS) 43*, ed. by Hsin-Lun Huang, Ethan Poole and Amanda Rysling, 1-12. Amherst: GLSA.

Anand, Pranav and Andrew Nevins. 2006. "The Locus of Ergative Case Assignment: Evidence from Scope." In *Ergativity: Emerging issues*, ed. by Alana Johns, Diana Massam and Juvenal Ndayiragije, 3-27. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives: Evidence from Clitics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2005. "Cross-linguistic and Cross-categorial Variation of Datives." In *Advances in Greek Generative Syntax*, ed. by Melita Stavrou and Arontho Terzi, 61-126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Arkadiev, P.M. 2009. "Differential Argument Marking in Two-Term Case Systems and its Implications for the General Theory of Case Marking." In *Differential Subject Marking*, ed. by Helen de Hoop and Peter de Swart, 151-171. Dordrecht: Springer.

Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baker, Mark and Ümit Atlamaz. 2013. "On the Relationship of Case to Agreement in Split Ergative Kurmanji". Ms. Rutger University.

Bhatt, Rajesh and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1996. "Object Shift and Specificity: Evidence from Ko-Phrases in Hindi." *CLS* 32: 11-22.

Bleam, Tonia. 1999. *Leísta Spanish and the Syntax of Clitic Doubling*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Delaware.

Bobaljik, J.D. 2008. "Where's Phi? Agreement as a Postsyntactic Operation." In *Phi theory: Phi-features across Modules and Interfaces*, ed. by Daniel Harbour, David Adger, and Susana Bejar, 295-328. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Boeckx, Cedric. 2007. *Understanding Minimalist Syntax: Lessons from Locality in Long distance Dependencies*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Boeckx, Cedric. 2008. *Aspects of the Syntax of Agreement*. London: Routledge.

Boeckx, Cedric and Ángel Gallego. 2008. "Clitic Climbing by (Long Distance) Agree." Paper presented at *Meeting Clitics*. Workshop on Explanatory Proposals of Clitics. Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 18-29 August 2008.

Boneh, Nora, and Ivy Sichel. 2010. "Deconstructing Possession." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 1-40.

Boneh, Nora, and Léa Nash. 2011. "High and Higher Applicatives: The Case of French Non-core Datives." In *Proceedings of the 28th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. by Mary Byram Washburn, Katherine McKinney-Bock, Erika Varis, *et al.*, 60-68. Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Borgonovo, Claudia and Vidal Valmala. 2010. "The Syntax of Spanish Comparative Correlatives." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008,* ed. by Reineke Bok-Bennema, Brigitte Kampers-Manhe and Bart Hollebrands, 17-36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2014. "Defects of Defective Intervention." *Linguistic Inquiry* 45: 707-719.

Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian syntax. A Government-Binding Approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Butt, Miriam, and Tracy Holloway King. 2004. "Case systems: Beyond Structural Distinctions." In *New Perspectives on Case Theory*, ed. by Ellen Brandner and Heike Zinmeister, 53-87. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Butt, Miriam, and Tafseer Ahmed. 2011. "The Redevelopment of Indo-Aryan Case Systems from a Lexical Semantic perspective." *Morphology* 21: 545–572.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1988. "On Si Constructions and the Theory of arb." *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 521-582.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-linguistic Perspective.* Oxford: Oxford UP.

Citko, Barbara. 2014. *Phase Theory: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

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

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework." In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam, 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-54. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 2013. "Ergativity in Iranian Languages. A Typological perspective." Hand-out of a Talk given at International Conference on Iranian Linguistics (University of Bamberg, 24-26 August 2013).

Coon, Jessica. 2013. *Aspects of Split Ergativity*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Cornilescu, Alexandra. 1998. "Remarks on the Syntax and the Interpretation of Romanian Middle Passive se Sentences." *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 43: 317-342.

Cuervo, Maria Cristina. 2003. *Datives at large*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

D'Alessandro, Roberta. 2007. *Impersonal si Constructions: Agreement and Interpretation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

De Caro, Gerardo. 2008. "Remarks on Alignment Variation in Mâsâli (Southern Tâlesi)." Ms. London: SOAS.

Dabir-Moghaddam, Mohammad. 2012. "Linguistic Typology: An Iranian Perspective." *Journal of Universal Language* 13: 31–70.

Deal, Amy R. 2009. "The Origin and Content of Expletives: Evidence from 'Selection'." *Syntax* 12: 285-323.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko 2002. "Decomposing Pronouns." *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 409-442.

Demonte, Violeta. 1995. "Dative Alternation in Spanish." *Probus* 7: 5-30.

Diaconescu, C.R., and M.L. Rivero. 2005. "An Applicative Analysis of Double Object Constructions in Romanian." *Proceedings of the 2005 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association.* University of Ottawa.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian.* Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen 1998. "Impersonal Se Constructions in Romance and the Passivization of Unergatives." *Linguistic Inquiry* 29: 399-438.

Dorleijn, Margreet. 1996. *The Decay of Ergativity in Kurmanci. Language Internal or Contact Induced?* Tilburg: Tilburg UP.

Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2007. "Distributed Morphology and the Syntax Morphology Interface." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*, ed. by Gillian Ramchand and Charles Reiss, 289-324. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Fattah, Kamandar. 2000. *Les Dialectes kurdes méridionaux: étude linguistique et dialectologique.* Louvain: Peeters.

Fernández Soriano, Olga. 1999. "El pronombre personal. Formas y distribuciones. Pronombres átonos y tónicos." In *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española, vol.1*, ed. by Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, 1209-1274. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Franks, Steven. 2014. "Multiattachment Syntax, "Movement" Effects, and Spell-Out" In *Minimalism and Beyond: Radicalizing the interfaces*, ed. by Peter Kosta, S.L. Franks, Teodora Radeva-Bork, *et al*, 195-235. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Franco, Jon. 2000. "Agreement as a Continuum: the Case of Spanish Pronominal Clitics." In *Clitic Phenomena in European Languages*, ed. by Fritz Beukema and Marcel den Dikken, 147-189. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Franco, Ludovico, M. Rita Manzini, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2015. "Linkers and Agreement." *The Linguistic Review* 32: 277-332.

Gallego, Ángel. 2010. *Phase Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Giurgea, Ion. 2016. "On the Person Constraint on Romanian se-passives." Ms. "Iorgu Iordan - Alexandru Rosetti." Bucharest: Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2008. *Alignment Change in Iranian Languages: A Construction Grammar Approach.* Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Haider, Hubert. 2004. "Pre- and postverbal adverbs in VO and OV." *Lingua* 114: 779-807.

Hale, Kenneth, and S.J. Keyser. 1993. "On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations." In *The view from building 20*, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel J. Keyser, 53-109. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Halle, Morris. 1997. "Distributed morphology: Impoverishment and fission." *MITWPL 30: Papers at the Interface*, 425-449. Cambridge: MITWPL.

Holmberg, Anders, and Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir. 2003. "Agreement and Movement in Icelandic Raising Constructions." *Lingua* 113: 997-1019.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1986. "Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled Nps, and Extraction." In *The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics,* ed. by Hagit Borer, 15-42. New York: Academic Press.

Karimi, Yagdar. 2011. "The Ergative Phase." Ms. Sanandaj: University of Kurdistan, <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/001410> (06/2020).

Karimi, Yagdar. 2013. "Extending Defective Intervention effects." *The Linguistic Review* 30: 51-77.

Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Kayne Richard. 2008. "Expletives, Datives, and the Tension between Syntax and Morphology." In *The Limits of Syntactic Variation*, ed. by Theresa Biberauer, 175-217. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 1997. *Elementary Operations and Optimal Derivations.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Laka, Itziar. 1996. "A Brief Grammar of Euskara, the Basque Language." Ms. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country).

Larson, Richard. 1988. "On the Double Object Construction." *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335-391.

Ledgeway, Adam, and Alessandra Lombardi. 2005. "Verb movement, Adverbs and Clitic Positions in Romance." *Probus* 17: 77-111.

Legate, J.A. "Morphological and Abstract Case." *Linguistic Inquiry* 39: 55-101.

MacDonald, J.E. 2016. "An Implicit Projected Argument in Spanish Impersonal and Passive se Constructions." *Syntax* 20: 353-383.

Malchukov, A.L. 2008. "Animacy and asymmetries in differential case marking." *Lingua* 118: 203-221.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011. "Reducing "case" to Denotational Primitives: Nominal Inflections in Albanian." *Linguistic Variation* 11: 76-120.

Manzini M. Rita, and Ludovico Franco. 2016. "Goal and DOM datives." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 34: 197-240.

Manzini, M. Rita, Leonardo M. Savoia and Ludovico Franco. 2015. "Ergative case, Aspect and Person splits: Two case studies." *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 62: 297-351.

Marchis Moreno, Mihaela. To Appear. "'Minimal Link Constraint' Violations: Move vs. Agree." *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*. Amsterdam*:* John Benjamins.

Marchis Moreno, Mihaela. 2015. "Relational Adjectives at Interfaces." *Studia Linguistica*.

Marchis, Moreno, Mihaela, and Artemis Alexiadou. 2013. "The Syntax of Clitics Revisited: Two Types of Clitics." *Lingua* 127: 1-13.

Marchis Moreno, Mihaela, and Carolina Petersen. 2014. "On Locality Effects in Brazilian Portuguese and Romanian: Hyper-Raising *vs.* LDA." Paper presented at LSRL44 (London, Ontario, 2-4 May 2014.

Matras, Yaron. 1997. "The Function and Typology of Coordinating Conjunctions: Evidence from Discourse and Language-Contact Situations." *In Discourse Pragmatics in Functional Grammar*, ed. by John Connolly, Roel Vismans, Christopher Butler, *et al*, 177-191. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

McGinnis, Martha. 1998. *Locality in A-Movement*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Mendikoetxea, Amaya. 2008. "Clitic Impersonal Constructions in Romance: Syntactic Features and Semantic Interpretation." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 106: 290-336.

Moravcsik, Edith. A. 1978. "Agreement." In *Universals of Human Language*, ed. by J.H. Greenberg, 331-373. Stanford: Stanford UP.

Motapanyane, Virginia. 1995. *Theoretical Implications of Complementation in Romanian*. Padua: Unipress.

Motapanyane, Virginia. 2002. "Complementizer Phrases (CP) in Romanian." Ms., Fredericton: University of New Brunswick.

Nunes, Jairo. 2010. "A Note on Wh-islands and Finite Control in Brazilian Portuguese." *Estudos da Língua(gem)* 8: 79-103.

Ormazabal, Javier, and Juan Romero. 2013. "Objects Clitics, Agreement, and Dialectal Variation." *Probus* 25: 301-344.

Payne, John. 1980. "The Decay of Ergativity in Pamir Languages." *Lingua* 51: 147-186.

Pesetsky, David. 2013. *Russian Case Morphology and the Syntactic Categories*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Phillips, Maxwell P. 2012. *Dialect Continuum in the Bhil Tribal Belt: Grammatical Aspects*. Doctoral Dissertation. London: SOAS.

Poletto, Cecilia. 1996. "Three Types of Subject Clitics and the Theory of Pro." In *Parameters and Functional Heads*, ed. by Adriana Belletti and Luigi Rizzi, 269-300. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Preminger, Omer. 2008. "Breaking Agreements: Distinguishing Agreement and Clitic Doubling by their Failures." *Linguistic Inquiry* 40: 619-666.

Preminger, Omer. 2011. *Agreement as a Fallible Operation*. Doctoral dissertation, Cambridge: MIT.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rezac, Milan. 2008. "Phi-Agree and theta-related Case." *In Phi theory: Phi-features across Modules and Interfaces*, ed. by Daniel Harbour, David Adger, and Susana Bejar, 83-129. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Rezac, Milan. 2011. *Phi-features and the Modular Architecture of Language*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Rivas, A.M. 1977. *A Theory of Clitics*. Doctoral Dissertation, Cambridge: MIT.

Rivero, M.L. 2004. "Spanish Quirky Subjects, Person Restrictions, and the PCC." *Linguistic Inquiry* 35: 53-66.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1986. "On Chain Formation." In *The Syntax of pronominal clitics*, ed. by Hagit Borer, 65-95. New York: Academic Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. "Locality and Left Periphery." In *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. III, ed. by Adriana Belletti, 104-131. New York: Oxford UP.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1999. *Partitions and Atoms of Clause Structure. Subjects, Agreement, Case and Clitics*. London/New York: Routledge.

Starke, Michal. 2001. *Move Dissolves into Merge*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Geneva.

Stilo, Donald. 2004. "Grammar Notes." In *Vafsi Folk Tales*, ed. by Donald Stilo, 223-244.Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Stilo, Donald. 2009. "Case in Iranian: From Reduction and Loss to Innovation and Renewal." In *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, ed. by Andrej Malchukov, and Andrew Spencer, 700-715. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Stilo, Donald. 2010. "Ditransitive Constructions in Vafsi: A Corpus based Study." In *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*, ed. by Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath and Bernard Comrie, 243-276. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stronski, Krzysztof. 2009. "Variation of Ergativity Patterns in Indo-Aryan." *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 45: 237-253.

Suñer, Margarita. 1988. "The Role of Agreement in Clitic-Doubled Constructions." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 391-434.

Thackston, W.M. 2006. *Sorani Kurdish: A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*. Harvard University.

Toosarvandani, Maziar, and Coppe van Urk. 2012. "Directionality and Intervention in Nominal Concord: Evidence from Zazaki ezafe." Poster presented at the 43rd Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS) (City University of New York, Graduate Center, 19 October 2012).

Torrego, Esther. 1988. "A DP Analysis of Spanish Nominals." Unpublished manuscript, University of Massachusetts.

Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge: MIT Press,

Torrego, Esther. 2002. "Arguments for a Derivational Approach to Syntactic Relations based on clitics." In *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, ed. by Samuel Epstein and T. D. Seely, 249-268. Malden: Blackwell.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. "Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance." *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 79-124.

Williams, Edwin. 1981. "Argument structure and morphology." *The Linguistic Review* 1: 81-114.

Woolford, Ellen. 1997. "Four-way Case systems: Ergative, nominative, objective, and accusative". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15: 181-227.

Wooford, Ellen. 2006. "Lexical Case, inherent Case, and argument Structure." *Linguistic Inquiry* 37: 111-130.

Yarshater, Ehsan. 1960. "The tāti dialect of Kajal." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23. 275-286.

Yarshater, Ehsan. 1969. *A Grammar of Southern Tati Dialects*. The Hague: Mouton.

Yarshater, Ehsan. 2003. "The Xo'ini dialect." In *Persica. Annual of the Dutch-Iranian Society*, XIX, 165-182. Leuven: Peeters.

Locality in music and syntax:
a minimalist analysis of modulation

Diego Pescarini
CNRS, Université Côte d'Azur, BCL
(<diego.pescarini@univ-cotedazur.fr>)

Abstract:

The article provides an analysis of tonicization and modulation in western tonal music within the framework of minimalist syntax. In the spirit of Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 Identity Thesis for Language and Music, I argue that syntactic notions such as Agree and (Phase) Impenetrability may shed light on some aspects of music theory involving dependencies within local domains.

Keywords: *agree, locality, music, phases, syntax*

1. Introduction

This article elaborates on some parallelisms between music theory and formal syntax, a line of inquiry inaugurated by Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983. I will focus on *tonicisation* (Schenker 1906/1954: 256) and *modulation*, i.e. the harmonic processes whereby the *tonal centre* changes from one key to another. I will show that tonicisation and modulation hinge on syntactic-like *dependencies* that are constrained by *locality conditions*.

In syntax, locality conditions constrain syntactic dependencies such as agreement, *wh-* movement, binding, etc. For example, reflexive pronouns like *himself* must be bound by an antecedent belonging to the same clause, see (2)a *vs* (2)b. Roughly speaking, (2)b is impossible not because there are too many words between the reflexive and its antecedent, but because the dependency between the two crosses a structural barrier that impedes binding. Locality conditions are therefore sensitive to syntactic constituency (e.g. clause boundaries), while they are independent from processing issues such as short-term memory capacity.

(1) a.   John$_i$ is impressed with *himself*$_i$
    b. * John$_i$ asked Mary to help *himself*$_i$

In highlighting similarities between music and syntax, I intend to support Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 thesis in (2), although I will depart from their analysis of tonicisation and modulation.

(2) *Identity Thesis for Language and Music*
    All formal differences between language and music are a consequence of differences in their fundamental building blocks (arbitrary pairings of sound and meaning in the case of language; pitch-classes and pitch-class combinations in the case of music). In all other respects, language and music are identical.

The article is organized as follows: §2 overviews some properties of tonal music; §3 reviews Katz and Pesetsky's analysis of *cadence*, *tonicisation*, and *modulation*; §4 suggests a revision of the analysis. §5 concludes.

2. Some features of tonal music

Music perception relies on the categorisation of pitch events. In this respect, musical systems exhibit universal properties (Brown and Jordania 2011) such as:

(3) a.   Use of discrete pitches rather than slides/portamentos.
     b.   Octave equivalence = unison choral singing in octaves.
     c.   Use of pitch sets = musical scales.

Hence, in all musical systems octaves are segmented into discrete intervals, yielding *scales* of pitch events (*notes*) ordered by fundamental frequency. The set of notes forming a scale is called *key* or *tonality* (henceforth: T). Although humans can distinguish up to 240 different pitches over an octave, musical traditions rely mainly on scales comprising five to seven tones (Gill and Purves 2008).
Notes can combine both 'horizontally', forming sequences called *melodies*, and 'vertically', forming simultaneous combinations called *chords*. Chords are sequenced according to *harmonic rules*, governing harmonic progressions within *musical phrases*. Rules are subject to variation across cultures and styles, but, like the rules of grammar, they are probably constrained by few invariable principles rooted in cognition.
Above all, the categorisation of pitch events, including chords, does not rely on absolute frequencies, but on scale degrees with respect to a reference pitch, called *tonic*. From now on, we will represent a tonality/key T as a set of scale degrees represented by Roman numerals; the *tonic* (t) is I in T:

(4) $T_{(t)}$ = {I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII}

For instance, the note A[1], which correspond to a frequency of about 440Hz, is the degree VI in $T_{(C)}$ (i.e. in the tonality that has C as its tonic), V in $T_{(D)}$, III in $T_{(F)}$, I in $T_{(A)}$, etc.

---

[1] In the English-speaking world, notes are represented by letters (A, B, C, etc.), while other countries adopt *solmization*, i.e. a mnemonic attributing a syllable to each note C = *Do*, D = *Re*, E = *Mi*, F = *Fa*, G = *Sol*, A = *La*, B = *Si*.

In modern western tonal music, scales are normally formed by seven notes at intervals of a whole or half step.[2]

The most common patterns (termed *modes*) are the *major* and *minor* modes: in the former, half steps occur between the III and IV degree and the VII and I degree of the scale, while in the minor mode half tones occur between the II and III degree and between the V and VI grade (of the descending scale):

(5) Major mode: I^n II III IV V VI VII I_2

Minor mode: I^n II III IV V VI VII I_2

The distribution of whole/half steps is fixed, regardless of the frequency of t. Therefore, if the pitch of t changes, the pitch of the other notes forming the tonality must be adjusted. For instance, (6) shows the sets of notes forming the tonalities of C, D and F Major: the diacritics ♯ and b signal that the preceding note is raised or lowered of half step in order to obtain scales in the same mode:

(6) $T_{(C)}$ = {C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C_2}

$T_{(D)}$ = {D, E, F♯, G, A, B, C♯, D_2}

$T_{(F)}$ = {F, G, A, Bb, C, D, E, F_2}

Since the intervals within the scale are fixed, the three melodic contours (7) will be perceived as instantiations of the *same* melody in the tonalities $T_{(C)}$, $T_{(D)}$, and $T_{(F)}$, respectively. In fact, the four notes in (7)a-c have the same degrees (I III V I), but in different keys:

(7) a.   C E G C
     b.   D F♯ A D
     c.   F A C F

Analogously, the perception of chord progressions depends on the degree of the chord's *root* (the root is the fundamental note of the chord; I will abstract away from the rules of harmony pertaining chord formation). For instance, a C major chord, which is formed by the notes {C, E, G}, is interpreted as V in $T_{(F)}$ because the root C is V in the key of F.

In conclusion, music categorization consists of a process of *interpretation* (Katz and Pesetsky 2011), whereby pitch events (tones, chords) are interpreted in relation to a reference pitch, called tonic (*t*). In our notation, interpretation maps notes (e.g. C, D, etc.) into degrees of a scale/key/tonality (e.g. I, II, etc.) in which *t* = I.

In the next sections, we will see that western tonal music allows *key change*: musical pieces can be therefore decomposed into *key domains* headed by a local tonic.

---

[2] Other types of scales can be obtained by dividing the octave in equal intervals of either a whole or half step. In the former case, the octave is divided into five intervals, yielding a hexatonic scale; in the latter we obtain a dodecaphonic scale.

3. Cadence, Tonicisation, and modulation

A musical phrase is a string of pitch events that is perceived as an autonomous unit. A phrase is formed by subconstituents (*cells*) and it may be part of a larger *period*. Several factors contribute to defining musical phrases, including rhythm, melody, and harmony. With respect to harmony, musical phrases usually end with a *cadence*: a progression in which a chord conveying tension (e.g. V) resolves into a chord giving a sense of stability (e.g. I).

(8) a.   [$_{Phrase}$ …   V   I]$_{cadence}$
    b.   [$_{Phrase}$ …   V   I   …   ]
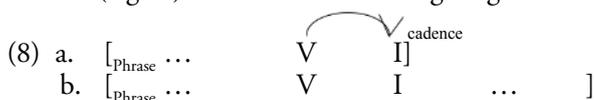
Notice that, to be perceived as a cadence, a V-I progression must occur at the *edge* of the phrase: schematically, V-I is a cadence in (8)a, but not in (8)b. In the following subsections I will introduce Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 analysis of the cadence. In §§3.2-3 I will elaborate on the two related components that yield cadence: tonicisation and key-domains.

3.1 Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 analysis

Katz and Pesetsky 2011 argue for a parallelism between *head movement* in natural language and the cadence in western tonal music. In current syntactic theory, head movement is a kind of displacement resulting when a lexical head is moved without displacing the phrase it belongs to. For instance, the Italian verb *mangio* 'I eat' in (9) is the head of the Verb Phrase containing the object *piselli* 'peas'; in simple tenses, the verbal head is moved before the adjoined adverb *sempre* 'always', yielding the order:

(9) *mangio* sempre [$_{VP}$ ~~*mangio*~~ piselli]
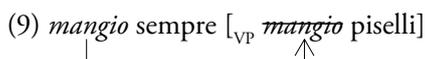
Verb movement results in incorporation of the verbal head to a functional head (dubbed T for Tense), which encodes inflectional features. In compound tenses, T is spelled out by an auxiliary verb (see (10)a), whereas in simple tenses V moves (above the adverb) to incorporate T's features, see (10)b:

(10)a.   [T   [Adv   [$_{VP}$ V   NP]]]
        | | | |
        ho   *sempre*   *mangiato* | *piselli*   'I have always eaten peas.'

    b.   [V+T   [Adv   [$_{VP}$ V   NP]]]
        | | |
        mangio   *sempre*   *piselli*   'I always eat peas.'
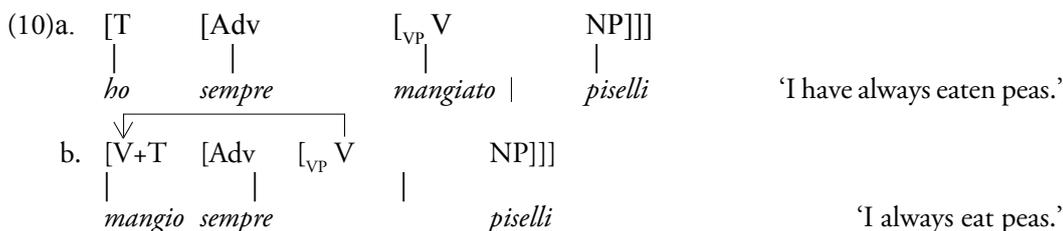
Katz and Pesetsky argue for a parallelism between head movement and cadence. They claim that, in a cadence between a chord δ and a tonic τ, the relationship established between δ and τ is comparable to the one holding between the two heads V and T in (10)b. The parallelism is supported by the following similarities, some of which will be discussed in the following subsections:

a.   after head movement, the remnant phrase (e.g. the VP in (10)b) remains an independent phrase, which can be displaced autonomously regardless of the position of its head V; *mu-*

tatis mutandis, the basic key domain – our metaphorical "VP" – and the cadence – which is our metaphorical T+V complex head – are not necessarily adjacent, but they can be separated by various temporary tonic centres (more on this in §3.2);

b. head movement is obligatory; similarly, the participation of I in a cadence (e.g. V, I) is necessary to establishing the key (more on this in §3.3);

c. once the head has undergone head movement, it is pronounced string-adjacent to the higher head; the two end up tightly coupled, like the V and I chords in the full cadence.

In the remainder of the section, I will elaborate further on points (a) and (b). I will deal with the notion of Tonicisation first, which is instrumental in the analysis of modulation.

3.2 Tonicisation

Given a tonality $T_{(t)}$, it is possible to introduce a chord X which does not belong to $T_{(t)}$. Extra-T chords (usually dubbed *altered* or *borrowed* chords) make the harmonic sequence richer, but their presence needs to be licensed by a process called *tonicisation* (Schenker 1906/1954: 256).

Tonicisation is a process whereby a chord that does not belong to the basic tonality is licensed by a local/temporary tonic. Take for instance a sequence of three major chords such as C, D, G in the tonality of C major. D major does not belong to $T_{(C)}$. However, the sequence is not ill-formed as the chord D precedes G, which acts as a temporary tonic for D as the chord D belongs to $T_{(G)}$:

(11) $[_C$ C D G …]

By contrast, a chord such as Eb in the same position results in an illicit combination as Eb does not belong to the original tonality $T_{(C)}$ and it cannot be licensed by a temporary tonic as the chord of Eb does not belong to the secondary key $T_{(G)}$.

(12) $[_C$ C *Eb G …]

In §3.1 I reported that Katz and Pesetsky hint at the possibility that the cadential formula may be preceded by a progression of *altered/borrowed* chords that do not belong to the basic key. Tonicisation does not establish a new key-domain (more on this below), but it consists of a temporary detour from the base tonality. Katz and Pesetsky notice that altered or borrowed chords often occur before the cadential formula, as shown in (13), in the same way in which adverbs or other adjuncts may occur between the VP and the complex head formed by V and T (cf. (11)b):

(13) $[[[_C$ …   ]   X Y Z   ]   V I   ]
                 Basic tonality   altered/borrowed chords   cadence

The fact that the cadence is separated from the body of the phrase in the base tonality is, according to Katz and Pesetsky 2011, the musical homologous of syntactic (head) movement.

3.3 Modulation

Another common trait between the cadence and head movement is that both are obligatory. In particular, the cadence is necessary to establish a key domain and/or to establish a new tonic via *modulation.* Modulation differs from tonicisation (in §3.1): both yields tonic marking, but only the latter establishes a new key domain. To illustrate this point, let us compare a case of tonicisation with a full-fledged modulation.

Consider first the progression in (14)a and its extended variant in (14)b (corresponding to Katz and Pesetsky (58)): (14)a is formed by three chords belonging to the tonality of C (IV V I), whereas the latter contains an extra chord (in bar 2), which does not belong to $T_{(C)}$ (in is the same progression as in (11)).

(14)   a.   b.

1	2	3	1	2	3	4
IV	V	I$_{[+TON]}$	IV	?	V	I$_{[+TON]}$

One may argue that the altered chord in bar b2 is interpreted as V of an embedded key domain $T_{(G)}$, which is centered on the G chord of bar 3:

(15) $[_C \ldots IV [_G V I_{+TON}] I_{+TON}]$

This conclusion, however, is not desirable as we perceive (14)b as a variant of (14)a. This amounts to saying that G is always interpreted as V in $T_{(C)}$ and no embedded key domain is established in (14)b. Instead, the altered chord in bar 2 is usually analysed as a *secondary chord* (noted as V/V), i.e. the V degree of the G chord, which in turn is the V degree of the basic tonality.

(16) $[_C \ldots IV V/V V I_{+TON}]$

No embedded key domain is established in (16): the G chord acts as a temporary tonic (cf. §3.1), but G does not establish its own Key Domain.

Conversely, when we modulate from a tonality (e.g. $T_{(C)}$) to another (e.g. $T_{(G)}$), we must establish a new key domain and all harmonic functions in the new domain must be assigned in the new key. The mechanism is illustrated in (17): at the beginning, the base tonality is $T_{(C)}$; then, at the end of bar 6 an altered D chord occurs and, as in (14b)/(16), D is interpreted as V/V in $T_{(C)}$ via tonicisation of G; in bar 7, however, the D chord is repeated, this time within a cadential formula (i.e. at the edge of the musical phrase). The combination of tonicisation and cadence yields modulation, i.e. a change of tonality from $T_{(C)}$ to $T_{(G)}$ that is permanent: starting from bar 8, all harmonic functions are assigned in the tonality $T_{(G)}$.

(17)   Clementi, Sonatina op. 36 n. 1 (bars 1-13)

This simple example provides a clear comparison between tonicisation, which occurs between bars 6 and 7 (and does not result in key change), and modulation, which occurs between bars 7 and 8 (at the edge of the musical phrase), establishing a new key domain. Both tonicisation and modulation yield tonic marking, which, however, is not a necessary condition for establishing a key domain, cf. (15). In order to establish a key domain (via modulation), tonic marking must occur at the edge of a constituent ending with a cadence.

In the light of this conclusion, let us focus on Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 formal analysis of the cadence. In particular, I will focus on the relationship between three related concepts: cadence, key domain, and tonic-marking. In the following quote (from their §5.2.3), Katz and Pesetsky suggest that:

> cadential δ-to-τ movement has the function of **tonic-marking** τ, i.e. assigning it the feature [+TON]. When a head τ in a structure K is tonic-marked […], it has the consequence of allowing the terminal nodes of a particular subtree of K (determined by τ) to be understood as belonging to *the key of τ*.

According to the previous quote, the cadence assigns the feature [+TON] to a given pitch τ so that all others pitches belonging to the structure K are interpreted in the key $T_{(\tau)}$. However, this claim is too strong because also tonicisation assigns the feature [+TON] to a given pitch. In Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 words in (18), being marked [+TON] is a necessary, but not sufficient condition to establish a key domain:

(18)   Key Domain
         Optional: A node marked [+TON] is a key-domain.

In order to establish a key domain, a second condition must be met, namely that tonic-marking occurs in a cadence (recall that a cadence is a progression in which a chord conveying tension (e.g. V) resolves into a chord giving a sense of stability (e.g. I) at the edge of a phrase). The logical relationships between the concepts introduced so far is eventually schematized in (19): modulation results from two independent conditions, tonic-marking and cadence; the latter in turns depends on constituency. When tonic-marking takes place outside of a cadence, no key domain is established (§3.2):

(19) Constituency (i.e. musical phrases with an *edge*)
        ↓
     Cadence
        ↓
     Key domain   ⟵————————   Tonic-marking
                                     ↓
                                Tonicisation
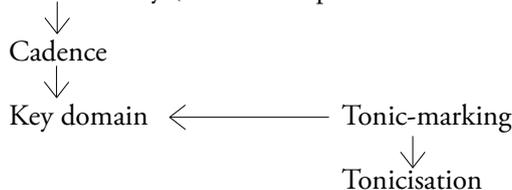
Following (19), the cadence *per se* does not have "the function of tonic-marking τ", although it has the power of establishing a key domain by promoting a node marked [+TON] to the role of tonic of a key-domain.

Given this state of affairs, we can define modulation as a process of tonicisation that takes place in the context of a cadence: if a new tonic is introduced at the edge of a phrase, the new tonic will be will become the centre of the newly established key domain:

(20) Constituency (i.e. musical phrases with an *edge*)
        ↓
     Cadence
        ↓
     Key domain   ⟵————————   Tonic-marking
        ↓   ↓
     Modulation   ⟵————————   Tonicisation
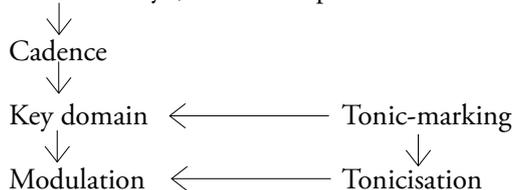
The latter point is illustrated (21), which is an analysis of the excerpt (17). In (17), bars 1-8 form a phrase K, whereas bars 9-15 form another phrase Z. The first seven bars of K are in the tonality $T_{(C)}$; then the cadence between bar 7 and 8 establishes a new key domain – $T_{(G)}$ – which is the tonality of the following phrase Z:

(21)   K   Z
        ⏞⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⎴⏞
        | 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 | 8   9   10   11   12   13   14   15 |
        |_____| |_____|
                 $T_{(C)}$ $T_{(G)}$
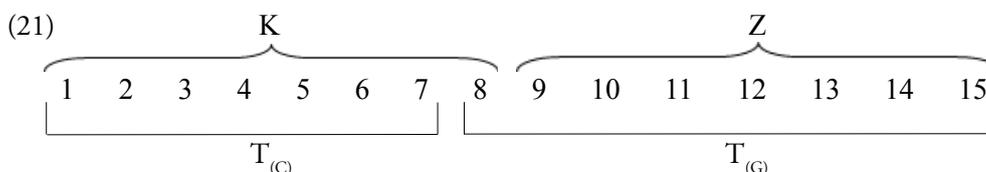
What is crucial is that the key domain $T_{(G)}$ crosses the phrase boundary between K and Z. This contradicts (my understanding of) Katz and Pesetsky's hypothesis, according to which the cadence determines the harmonic functions of the phrase *it belongs to*, namely K (see the above quote from Katz and Pesetsky). Rather, the cadence yields a modulation that creates a key domain that is formed by the right edge of K and the following phrase Z. In my opinion, this misalignment between phrases and key domains requires a partial reformulation of Katz and Pesetsky's analysis, which will be discussed in the next section.

4. *Towards a revision of Katz and Pesetsky's account*

This section aims to revise the analysis of tonicisation (§3.2) and modulation (§3.3) in order to meet two desiderata:
- divorce the definitions of tonicisation (tonic marking) and cadence;

- revisit the notion of cadence in order to provide a better analysis of the relationship between phrases and key domains.

§4.1 argues that tonicisation consists of an Agree relation between an uninterpretable chord (the Probe) and an interpretable chord (the Goal); §4.2 suggests that modulation results from an Impenetrability Condition, which prevents successive pitch events from being interpreted according to a previous tonic centre.

4.1 Tonicisation as Agree

As mentioned in §2, *interpretation* is a process assigning *harmonic functions* (expressed by Roman numerals, e.g. I, II, V, etc.) to pitch events with respect to a key. If a chord does not belong to the base key, it is *uninterpretable* as it cannot be assigned a harmonic function. For instance, given the progression C D G in $T_{(C)}$, D is uninterpretable (u) as it has no harmonic function in $T_{(C)}$:

(22) Chords: C   D   G
     Functions: $iI_{(C)}$ $u_{-()}$ $iV_{(C)}$

In current minimalist theory, an uninterpretable element acts as a Probe searching for an interpretable Goal in a local domain. In the case of music, the goal is a nearby – though not necessarily adjacent – interpretable chord which may act as a temporary tonic for the probe (see §3.1). In (22), a licit probe-goal relation can be established between uD and G as the latter acts as a temporary tonic because D belongs to the (secondary) key $T_{(G)}$. Given the presence of G, the chord D is eventually interpreted as a second-grade harmonic function: the notation in (23) shows that the uninterpretable chord D becomes interpretable when it is *valued* by the harmonic function of the chord it agrees with:[3]

(23) Chords: C   D   G
     Functions: $iI_{(C)}$ $iV_{(V)}$ $iV_{(C)}$
                                   ▬▬▬ Agree

In conclusion, Agree allows a temporary deviation from a given tonality without establishing a new key domain. It seems to me that, by deriving tonic marking from a mechanism of agree,

---

[3] An anonymous reviewer pointed out that Chomsky's Agree consists of matching under feature identity (Chomsky 2000: 122). However, matching refers to a system in which various kinds of features co-exists and probe-goal relations can be established only between objects with matching features. Conversely, music relies only on harmonic functions: I, III, IV, etc. In a system like this, matching is always ensured since it is based on a sole type of feature.

This leads me to address another remark made by the same reviewer, who noticed that syntax is standardly ordered by dominance, while music (like phonology) is necessarily ordered by precedence. This, however, is not entirely true. Dominance plays a fundamental role in music computation, as argued extensively by Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983. In the same line, Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 analysis of modulation entails movement within a hierarchical structure. However, it is true that music displays fewer types of long-distance dependencies than language. In my opinion, this is partly due to the fact that interpretation in music hinges on a single set of harmonic functions (I, II, III), whereas in language it results from various kinds of features that must be matched. If no intervening feature occurs, matching of syntactic feature may result in long-distance dependencies. In music, conversely, matching always takes place between adjacent/close pitch events because, having a sole set of harmonic functions, long-distance dependencies of the linguistic kind are disfavoured.

we eventually divorce tonicisation from the cadence. The former results from a formal mechanism that, in music as well as in grammar, turns uninterpretable elements into interpretable ones. For this reason, it seems to me that Agree provides a suitable homologous of tonicisation in syntactic theory.

4.2 Modulation as Phase Impenetrability

Syntactic dependencies, which are ultimately reduced to probe-goal relations, are constrained within local domains. A principled account of local domains is provided by Chomsky's *Phase theory* (1999, 2001). Phase theory assumes that syntactic computation proceeds in *phases*: once a syntactic subtree is built, it is spelled out, i.e. it is sent to the semantic and phonetic interfaces in order to be mapped into phonological and conceptual structures, respectively. When a phase is sent to the interfaces, its inner structure is no longer available for further computation, while its outer layer is still visible from the successive phase. This hypothesis is captured by the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC):

(24) In a structure $[_{ZP}$ Z…$[_{HP}$ α [H YP]]], where Z and H are phase heads, the domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations

Let us suppose that musical structures, like syntactic structures, are organized into phases, which define impenetrable domains. If this analysis is on the right track, one can eventually suggest that notions such as key-domain and cadence are better analysed in terms of phasehood, which is independent from the algorithm building phrase structure/constituency. To illustrate the hypothesis, let us resume the analysis of Clementi's excerpt in (17): recall that the first 8 bars of Clementi's *sonatina* form a phrase K ending with a cadence; the *edge* of K (containing the cadence) forms a key domain in $T_{(G)}$ with the next phrase (bars 9-15).

(25)
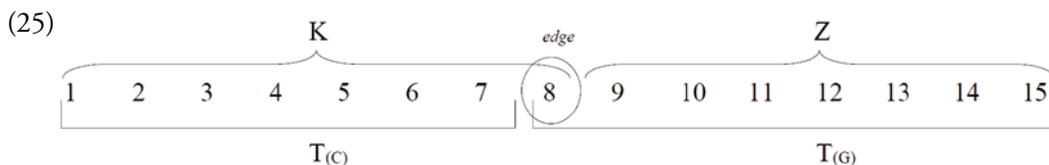
This recalls Chomsky's discussion (1999: 10) concerning the spell-out domain in a structure of the following type:

(26) $[_{ZP}$ Z … $[_{HP}$ α [H YP]]]

Chomsky argues that "H and its edge α in (8) [= our (26)] belong to ZP for the purposes of Spell-out, under PIC". Thus, at least in its original formulation, Chomsky hints at the possibility that the edge of a phase forms a Spell-out domain with the superordinate phase ZP. It seems to me that the same intuition may provide a suitable account for the (mis)alignment between musical phrases and Key domains: a phrase K ends with a cadence, which may establish a new key domain (to which the next phrase Z belongs). The analysis of cadences as edges, which is compatible with Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 analysis in terms of head movement, provides a promising account of the mapping between constituent structures ("phrases") and key domains ("phases").

Most importantly, the PIC in (24) provides a sound explanation of modulation: in fact, the key domain preceding the cadence becomes impenetrable from the successive phase. Thus, any chord belonging to Z in (25) will be interpreted with respect to the new tonic established in bar 8, while no probe-goal relation can be established with any chord belonging to the previous key domain.

5. Conclusions

The present paper has addressed the notions of *tonicization* and *modulation* in the framework of minimalist syntax. In the spirit of Katz and Pesetsky's 2011 *Identity Thesis for Language and Music,* I argued that syntactic notions such as Agree and Phase (Impenetrability) may shed light on some aspects of music theory involving dependencies within local domains.

I suggested a partial revision of Katz and Pesetsky's analysis by divorcing tonicisation from the cadence and by redefining the role of the cadence in establishing key domains. I argued that tonicisation consists of an Agree relation turning an uninterpretable chord into an interpretable pitch event by sharing the harmonic function of a nearby interpretable element. Lastly, I suggested that modulation results from a locality constraint reminiscent of Chomsky's 1999 *Phase Impenetrability Condition*, which prevents the interpretation of pitch events in a previous key if tonicisation takes place at the edge of a phase.

References

Brown, Steven and Joseph Jordania. 2013. "Universals in the World's Musics." *Psychology of Music* 41, 2: 229-248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0305735611425896> (06/2020).

Chomsky, Noam. 1999. "Derivation by Phase." *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 18. MITWPL, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist Inquiries." In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalism in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Gill, Kamraan Z., and Dale Purves. 2009. "A Biological Rationale for Musical Scales." *PLoS ONE* 4, 12: e8144. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0008144.

Katz, Jonah, and David Pesetsky. 2011. "The Identity Thesis for Language and Music." <lingbuzz/000959> (06/2020).

Lerdahl, Fried and Ray Jackendoff. 1983. "A Generative Grammar of Tonal Music." Cambridge: MIT Press.

Schenker, Heinrich. 1906/1954. *Harmony* (English edition by Oswald Jonas). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

Descendants of Muhajir Georgians in Giresun (Turkey) and their speech codes[1]

Tariel Putkaradze and Mikheil Labadze
University of the Patriarchate of Georgia, Tbilisi
(<t.putkaradze@sangu.edu.ge>; <mlabadze@sangu.edu.ge>)

Abstract:

In our article we review a Georgian dialectal speech of the Georgian Muhajirs' descendants in Giresun, Turkey. All the research materials are obtained by us during the expedition July 8-19, 2019 in Turkey, Karadeniz (Black Sea Coast) region. In the article, all the Illustrative phrases in Georgian are transcribed with specific Latin-based transcription for Ibero-Caucasian Languages. The most part of Muhajir Georgians' Giresun descendants have preserved the Georgian ethnical self-concept. Due to the code-switching process going on during 140 years the historical mother tongue is only spoken by the older generation; their knowledge of the Turkish language is mostly poor. The people of middle generation are usually bilingual speaking both Georgian and Turkish. The younger generation speaks only Turkish, which they consider more prestigious than the mother tongue of their ancestors. Consequently, the Acharan dialect of Georgian spoken in Giresun is at risk of going extinct in the near future. The risk is increased by the fact that the representatives of younger generation who want to know their ancestors' language and develop friendly relations with Georgia are learning the literary Georgian: having learnt the literary Georgian they try to speak "correctly" and avoid using dialects.

Keywords: *code-mixing, code-switching, dialectology, Georgian, Muhajir*

1. Settlement of Muhajirs

Based on historical sources, Ottoman Turkey and Iran divided the Georgian kingdom Kartli (Georgia), dating back to the 4th century, into spheres of influence by the 1555 Amasya Treaty. As a result of such division two kingdoms – Kartli and Kakheti –

were formed in the part controlled by Iran. Those two kingdoms were ruled by the Bagrationi dynasty. The Southern part of Georgia – historical Meskheti (Samtskhe, Javakheti, Erusheti, Kola, Artaani, Tao, Shavsheti, Chaneti, Livana and Achara with Machakhela) – was soon made part of the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, the third Georgian kingdom named Imereti, which was ruled by the Bagrationi dynasty, emerged in the central part of western Georgia. Initially, this kingdom included the principalities of Odishi, Abkhazeti, Svaneti and Guria.

At the turn of the 19th century, the Georgian kingdoms oppressed by Iran and Ottoman Turkey let the Russian Empire with common Orthodox faith enter the central Caucasus. However, Russia had its own interests: the Russian Empire began intensive efforts to oppress Iran and Ottoman Turkey in Caucasus, and, at the same time, to destroy the Georgian kingdoms and principalities.

By converting the local Georgians to Islam the Ottoman Empire tried to preserve the occupied Georgian territory, but as a result of the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878 it was forced to give up a large part of the south-western Georgia. It was not in the interest of the Russian Empire that the border area should be populated by Georgians, so it made sure that Georgian Muslims left the Georgian territory and settled the central part of Ottoman Turkey. At the end of 1878 a secret treaty was concluded between Russia and Ottoman Turkey strictly forbidding Ottomans to let the Muhajirs who had moved from the Russian occupied Georgian territories settle the area east of the Giresun-Sivas-Adana line (see Asan 2016: 42-43 for details). The Ottoman government settled the Georgian Muslims in Giresun İli of the present-day Republic of Turkey.

Based on the materials obtained during our expedition in 2019,[2] part of Muhajir Georgians' descendants are concentrated in Giresun Ili/Merkez İlçe village of ambaralani/Anbaralan and the following villages of Bulancak İlçe: k'išla kjoj/Kışla köyü, tekmezeri/Tekmezer, kučukdere/Küçükdere, tepewrani/Tepeviran köyü, tepekjoj/Tepe köyü, q'ajadibi/Kayadıbı, jenikjoj/Yeni köyü, šemšetini/Şemşetin, erekluγi/Eriklik, kušluani/Kuşluvan, haži jetimi/Hacı Yetim köy and damudere/Damudere.[3] These villages are situated in mountains 20-30 kilometers off the coast. In some of them also other ethnic groups (Turks, Turkified Pontic Greeks etc.) live side by side with Georgians. Descendants of Muhajir Georgians also live in the cities Giresun and Bulancak.

According to the descendants of Muhajir Georgians, some of the settled villages had been previously populated by Orthodox Christian Greeks, who left for Greece in 1922-1923. It is logical to assume that the goal of the Ottoman Empire would have been to have the mentioned territory populated by Sunni Muslim Muhajirs instead of Orthodox Christian Greeks. Descendants of Muhajirs also say that their ancestors came to Ottoman Turkey walking. Being reluctant to go too far from their homeland (i.e. from Georgia), they wanted to stay in Trabzon, but the government did not let them do it and sent them to Giresun by force, accompanied by armed escort.

As the data on the ethnic makeup of Turkey is not officially collected, we found it difficult to determine the current number of Muhajir Georgians in Giresun. Based on the information provided by the local population there are about 15000 Ethnic Georgians living in Giresun İli.

---

[2] Participants of the expedition: T. Putkaradze, Professor at the Andew the First-Called Georgian University; Maka Salia, Associate Professor at Düzce University; Mikheil Labadze, Doctor of Philology; Sopo Kekua, Doctor of Philology; Fevzi Çelebi, Doctor of Philology; Keso Gejua, Doctoral Student.

[3] We write the toponyms in Georgian in the same way as they are pronounced by the Georgian Muhajirs' descendants. For Turkish versions we use their official names.

2. Muhajirs' lingual and ethnic self-concept and speech codes

Based on the materials we obtained during the expedition most of the Georgian Muhajirs sent to Giresun during early 1880s were from Acharistskali Gorge – Zemo Achara[4] (higher regions of Achara), the present-day Keda, Shuakhevi and Khulo municipalities. Currently, their descendants are divided into two groups: those whose ancestors came from today's Keda municipality and who call themselves *ač'arlebi* 'Acharans' and others from Shuakhevi and Khulo villages, known as *zegnelebi* 'Zeganians, highlanders'. It is most likely that such classification was caused by the attitude of Keda Acharans: The Keda Acharans living in today's Autonomous Republic of Achara (Georgia) still call the settlers of Shuakhevi and Khulo Municipalities *zegnis ač'arlebi* 'highlander Acharans'. Apparently, during the 140-year isolation the Muhajirs living in Turkey developed different self-concepts: they got to differentiate between the highland (Shuakhevi and Khulo) and relatively lowland (Keda) Acharans: the themonym[5] *Ač'areli* 'Acharan' was ascribed to the residents of Keda, while *Zegneli* 'Highlander', the name created based on geographical peculiarities of the particular place was given to those who came from Shuakhevi and Khulo.

The largest Acharan villages are Ambaralani and Damudere, while Küçükdere and Kışla köyü are the biggest among Zeganian villages. From a linguistic point of view, 'Acharans'speak the Kedian sub-dialect of Georgian, while Zeganians the Shuakhevian and Khuloan sub-dialects. The Muhajirs of both groups consider themselves ethnic 'Gürcü' (Georgian) except a small part of younger generation, who define themselves as ethnic Turks. All our respondents without exception regarded themselves as patriots of the Republic of Turkey and demonstrated their respect for the country they are legal citizens of.

Based on their speech codes and code-switching, descendants of Muhajir Georgians can be conventionally divided into three groups:
- People over 50: 3rd generation – older generation.
- People between 25 and 50: 2nd generation – middle generation.
- People under 25: 1st generation - younger generation.

Among the Georgian Muhajirs living in Giresun, the ethnic Georgians of the third generation have preserved their mother tongue. During their conversation with members of our expedition they chose to speak Georgian (its Acharan dialect). Those who had completed

---

[4] Achara is one of the ancient districts of Georgia. Acharans – the local Georgian inhabitants of that district – do not really differ from their compatriots living in other districts of Georgia. The only difference is that one part of Acharans was converted to Islam during the Ottoman occupation (1540-1878). In the period of Soviet occupation (1921-1991), almost all the religions were eliminated in Georgia. Since the restoration of the independence of Georgia (1991), present generations of Acharans have been gradually returning to Orthodox Christianity, the religion of their ancestors (In the village Didač'ara, present day Khulo region, based on the Georgian and Greek sources, one of the first churches was built in the Apostolic Age). Their speech is a Georgian dialect like Gurian, Meskhian (Samtskhe-Javakhetian), Kakhetian, Kartlian and others. Unfortunately, the Soviet tendency of providing inaccurate information about Georgia and Georgians to Europe continues under its own momentum. For instance, the English spelling "Ajaria" of the mentioned Georgian district name originated from the Ottoman Turkish form Acarya (acarıstan), which entered the Russian language as Аджария and later was introduced into European languages. Since the residents of Achara, who are local Georgians, have always used the name Achara to refer to this district and that is the only form used in literary Georgian, the version Achara, which sounds similar to the Georgian (and not Russian) name, should be established in foreign languages. It should be also noted that the present-day Autonomous Republic of Achara was created in 1920s after the division of the Caucasus between Ottoman Turkey and Soviet Russia and its creation was not the choice of its people. The fact that it still exists can only be accounted by the soviet inertia (for details see Putkaradze, 2009; Putkaradze, 2017; Putkaradze, 2018).

[5] Ethnonym – the name of ethnos; Compare: Temonym – the name of "temi", ('community' in Georgian) a part of ethnos.

secondary school spoke Turkish as well, but with a Georgian accent. When speaking Turkish they often used Georgian words.

The second generation of Muhajirs displayed equal knowledge of literary Turkish and their native Acharan dialect of the Georgian language. During their conversation with the expedition members they mostly spoke Georgian (Acharan dialect), while speaking Turkish they seldom used the Georgian speech code.

The younger (first) generation speaks only Turkish. And the level of their language proficiency is much higher. Many of them understand Georgian, which is historically their mother tongue, but they find it difficult to use it even for simple communication.

It could be said that switching between Georgian and Turkish speech codes (code-switching) is more characteristic of the middle generation, with Georgian dominating in the speech of older people (aged 35-50) and Turkish prevailing in case of the younger ones (aged 25-35). Unlike previous years, during the expedition we could not find a single person who did not speak Turkish, while the number of those who do not speak Georgian is growing every day.

There is one more factor that is worth noting: with the opening of the border with Georgia (1988) and development of friendly relations between Georgia and Turkey, which resulted in intensive trade and economic relations, Giresun Georgians' interest in their native language increased. However, this became another precondition for disappearance of the Acharan dialect of Georgian, since those who try to study their historical mother tongue, learn literary Georgian and not the Acharan dialect spoken by their ancestors.

In July 2019, during our visit to Damudere, a village of Bulancak İlçe, a local resident called Musa tan (Musa Helimoɣli-Baramiӡe) named several young people who learnt Georgian after they had started taking trips to Batumi. Their speech did not really differ from the Georgian spoken by our expedition members. Recently, the cases when people study literary Georgian are not rare, but are not common either. On the whole, the language spoken by their ancestors (the particular dialect of Georgian) is irreversibly lost by new generations of Giresun Georgians. The survival of the Acharan dialect spoken by Giresun Georgians is seriously threatened by Georgian-Turkish code-switching. It is possible that Giresun Georgians will lose their historical language (Compare: 40-50 years ago the mother tongue of Muslim Armenians or Hemshins living in Rize Ili was lost due to the dominance of Turkish in the process of Armenian-Turkish code-switching; The Hemshin speech only preserved Armenian vocabulary, while the grammar is completely Turkish; for details see Simonian 2007: 353-356).

Code-switching is a spontaneous, unconscious process that takes place in a society characterized by complete bilingualism or diglossia because its members have equal knowledge of A and B languages (dialects). They distinguish the five main subtypes of speech code-switching:

1) Tag-switching – adding a lexical unit (so-called "tag") of B language/dialect at the beginning or at the end of the A language/dialect phrase;
2) Intra-sentential switching (inside a phrase) - inserting a lexical unit of B language/dialect into the A language/dialect phrase;
3) Extra-sentential switching (outside a phrase) – switching from A language/dialect phrase to B language/dialect phrase;
4) Intra-word switching – borrowing B language/dialect phonemes and morphemes by A language/dialect; when speaking B language/dialect substituting the phonemes not characteristic of A language/dialect with different phonemes;
5) Calque switching – due to the influence of B language/dialect creating lexical and grammatical calques in A language/dialect spontaneously. We list some Georgian-Turkish examples.

Subtype I:

(1) baxtəm ki, isic mwaʒirula lak'ajbops[6] (Amb.-Dam.)[7]
    I.saw that he/she too like.muhajir speaks
    'I saw that he also speaks like Muhajir.'[8]

(2) me wilap'arik'ep, šen dimiq'ure, jawrum! (Küç.-Kış.)
    I I.will.speak you listen[to me] please
    'When I speak, you listen to me, please!'[9]

Subtype II:

(3) k'arma-m giexsnā, hepten tamam oldu, dejc'q'o misla-mosla (Amb.-Dam.)
    door.ERG.-that is.opened fully good was, is started coming-going
    '[When] entrance [to Sarpi] opened, it was very good, people started travelling'[10]

(4) imas dūʒaxa-ki, wesiet q'abul edaʒaxsin-dedi, utxra (Küç.-Kış.)
    he/she.DAT called-that last will agree you.must.do-said, told.him
    'He/she called that person and told him/her to execute the last will.'[11]

Subtype III:

(5) me q'amionʒi war, bir arada trabzona gittim (Amb.-Dam.)
    I lorry driver am onceto.Trabzon I.went
    'I am a lorry driver [and] once I went to Trabzon"[12]

(6) čweneburi xar tu, türkča nija bilmiyorsun? (Küç.-Kış.)
    from.ours you.are if Turkish why you.don't.know
    'If you are from ours, why don't you speak Turkish?'[13]

Subtype IV:

(7) gaxede erti, zegneli mia, win ari? (Amb.-Dam.)
    Look.you one Zeganian if is who is
    'Will you look out to see if it is a Zeganian or someone else?'[14]

---

[6] *lak'ajbops* means 'speaks'. Dialect form: Giresun Kedians ('Acharans') say it only this way.
[7] The abbreviated form Amb.-Dam. stands for Ambaralani-Damudere speech, Küç.- Kış. stands for Küçük-dere-Kışla-köyü speech.
[8] *baxtəm ki* < Turk. dial.: *baxtım, ki* 'I saw that.'
[9] *jawrum* < Turk.: *yavrum* 'My baby'.
[10] *hepten tamam oldu* < Turk.: *hepten tamam oldu* 'it was very good.'
[11] *wesiet q'abul edaʒaxsin-dedi* < Turk. dial.: *vesiyet qabul edäcäxsin, dedi* 'told him/her to execute the last will.'
[12] *bir arada trabzona gittim* < Turk.: *bir arada Trabzon'a gittim* 'once I went to Trabzon.'
[13] *türkča niya bilmiyorsun?* <Turk. dial.: *türkçä niyä bilmiyorsun?* 'why don't you speak Turkish?'
[14] *mi* < Turk.: *mi*, interrogative particle.

(8) šen dimiq'ure,   jawrum!   (Küç.-Kış.)
     you listen [to me] my.baby
     'You listen to me, please!'[15]

     Subtype V:

(9) čem gonši 'ar modis isi,   wer gewgnep!   (Amb.-Dam.)
     my mind-in not comes it,   not I.understand
     'I can't understand it, cannot make it out!'[16]

(10) inat   nu ik,   č'ow!   (Küç.-Kış.)
     stubborn not make you.boy
     'Don't be stubborn, boy!'[17]

3. The Georgian speech of Muhajir Georgians

Most of the materials obtained by us show that the current Georgian speech of Muhajir Acharans' descendants is confined to Acharan dialect. Experts have different approaches towards the division of Acharan into sub-dialects. For example, in 1930s Jemal Noghaideli (1936: 3) made a distinction between Acharan and Kobulian dialects:

The dialect spoken by Acharans can be divided into two branches: a) Acharan spread in two regions: Khula and Keda, including the Southwest part of Batomi region, which was influenced by Akhaltsike and, generally, Southern Georgian (Shavsheti, Klarjeti and others) speech; and b) Kobulian[18], covering Kobuleti and a big part of Batomi region, which seems to be greatly influenced by the Gurian dialect.

Later Noghaideli, having somewhat changed his opinion, drew a line between highland and lowland Acharan dialects (included Kobuletian into lowland Acharan dialects, see Noghaideli 1972: 209).

According to Shota Nizharadze, the Zemoacharan sub-dialect covers Khulo, Shuakhevi and Kedi regions; Kvemoacharan is spoken in Khelvachauri; and Kobuletian should be regarded as a separate sub-dialect of the Acharan dialect (Nizharadze 1961: 10; Nizharadze 1975: 15-22).

The *Georgian Dialectology* by Ivane Gigineishvili, Varlam Topuria and Ivane Kavtaradze (1961) considers two approaches: according to the first approach Zemoacharan includes Khulo and Shuakhevi speeches, while Kvemoacharan is comprised of Kedi, Khelvachauri and Kobuletian speeches. By the second approach Khulo, Shuakhevi, Kedi and partially Khelvachauri sheeches should be regarded as Zemoacharan, while Kvemoacharan consists of part of Khelvachauri and the entire Kobuletian (Gigineishvili et al. (1961): 43-44).

Kobuletian was deemed to be an Acharan sub-dialect by Shota Dzidziguri as well. In the work Georgian Dialectology Materials published in 1974, Kobuletian texts are placed under the category of the Acharan dialect. In the introduction Dzidziguri wrote: "*In 1929 we recorded the texts in* Acharan *(particularly in the Kobuletian sub-dialect)*" (the emphasis was made by the author. See Dzidziguri 1974: 5).

---

[15] *jawrum* < Turk.: *yavrum* 'my baby'.
[16] *čem gonši 'ar modis* < Turk. *aklıma gelmiyor* 'I can't understand'.
[17] *inat nu ik* < Turk. *İnat etme*! 'don't be stubborn!'
[18] The author's term; It is the same as Kobuletian.

According to Besarion Jorbenadze, Acharan can be divided in the Zemoacharan and Kve-moacharan sub-dialects, and also speeches: Khulo, Shuakhevi and Kobuletian (Jorbenadze 1989: 540).

Mamia Paghava distinguished "the following sub-dialects of Acharan: a) Zemoacharan (Keda, Shuakhevi and Khulo speech); Batumian (the speech used in villages around Batumi, which can be called Kvemoacharan); c) Kobuletian (the speech used in Kobuleti and Chakvi)" (Paghava 2013: 138). Later, in the work he published together with Nana Tsetskhladze, Pa-ghava remarked that "the issue of determining the sub-dialects making up the Acharan dialect will be discussed again, but that will happen in future" (Paghava and Tsetskhladze 2017: 39).

We think that the Acharan dialect could be divided into four sub-dialects: Zemoacharan, MachaKhelian[19], Kirnat-Maradidian[20] and Kvemoacharan (Chakvi-Kobulatian).[21] Zemoacharan can be further subdivided into three groups:
- Kedan speech;
- Shuakhevi-Khikhanian speech;
- Khulo speech.

As we have mentioned before, during 140 years Giresun Georgians developed two local self-concepts: 'Acharan' and 'Zeganian'. Respectively, while living together the descendants of Shuakhevi, Khikhadzira and Khulo residents became 'identical' in dialect, while the Khulo speech of Zemoacharan sub-dialect became dominant in the speech of 'Zeganians'. Hence, we can con-sider the Georgian speech of Giresun Georgians to be represented by the following two speeches:
- Acharan spoken by descendants of Kedians: Ambaralani-Damudere speech;
- Acharan spoken by descendants of Shuakhevians and Khuloans: Küçükdere-Kışla-köyü speech.

It is remarkable that the difference between phonetics and vocabulary of the mentioned speeches (idioms) is insignificant. It should be also noted that as a result of isolation from the Georgian language area for 140 years, internal sub-dialectal interference and the influence of the Turkish language, the speech of Muhajir Georgians settled in the interior areas of Turkey developed a lot of peculiarities. Consequently, Muhajirs' speech can be considered as a new type of Georgian dialectal speech. I think it would be justified if we conditionally called it "the Georgian spoken by Chveneburis".[22] (*Chveneburi* means 'our person' or 'an ethnic Georgian living in Turkey').

The phonetics of Ambaralani-Damudere speech is characterized by the same non-vibrant *r* as in Laz dialects and Keda speech (Surmava, 2008:185-186). According to descendants of Muhajirs, pronunciation of this consonant is a distinctive feature of 'Acharans', as 'Zeganians' pronounce *r* as a vibrant sound. It is remarkable that even if they speak Turkish, descendants of Keda Muhajirs substitute the vibrant Turkish *r* with its non-vibrant version (like the Laz do).

---

[19] Traditionally, Machakhelian is considered as one of the Acharan sub-dialects. Conventionally, the Mach-akhelian speech could be regarded as a separate dialect.

[20] Traditionally, Kirnat-Maradidian is considered as one of the Acharan sub-dialects. Conventionally, the Kirnat-Maradidian speech could be regarded as a part of the Livanan dialect.

[21] Kobuletian speech is a transitional speech code between the Acharan and Gurian dialects.

[22] Compare: according to Sh. Putkaradze (2016: 9-13) the term "the Georgian spoken by Chveneburis" covers several Georgian dialects spoken in Turkey - the Tao-Klarjetian dialectal group: Livanan (Nigalan), Machakhelian and Imerkhevian.

As a rule, the non-vibrant *r* is a very weak sound: it can disappear so that it will be impossible to trace – for example, according to Damudere settler Şaban Tan (*šāban helimoɣli-Baramiʒe*), the Acharan version is *maili* 'salt', while Zeganians pronounce *marili*. The non-vibrant *r* is sometimes pronounced, but is difficult to perceive acoustically; in phonetic transcriptions it is inserted in square brackets: *ma[r]ili* 'salt', *maga[r]i* 'strong', *xaša[r]i* 'stake', etc. In some cases at the expense of losing non-vibrant *r*, the preceding vowel sound is elongated: *bāsami < // barsami < *bare sami* 'several', *ōmo < // ormo* 'pit, hole', etc.

It is noteworthy that the forms: *gej[r]bina* 'he/she ran', *geja[r]s* 'he/she walks' are characteristic of all the Acharan sub-dialects and speeches.

The Küçükdere-Kışla-köyü speech is characterized by the aspirated 'anlaut' (like Vitse-Arkabian and Atina-Artashenian sub-dialects of the Laz): *hejse* 'this way', *hejmprat* 'that way'… (Compare to Ambaralani-Damudere speech: *ise*, *imp[r]at* etc.). Also, in the words borrowed from Arabic and Turkish – when pronouncing the 'ayn' sound we clearly hear a strong glottal stop: *'emjaj* 'uncle', *'ajdilaj* 'a male name'; in Ambaralani and Damudere these words are pronounced without a glottal stop: *emjaj*, *ajdilaj*…

A significant phonetic feature encountered in both speeches is a positional manifestation of secondary, palatalized vowels caused by the influence of the Turkish language:

(11) zɣü   kenerze adgili   mūcemian   (Amb.-Dam.)
     of.sea on   coast.place   they.had.given
     'They gave him a place by the Sea.'

(12) čön   helimoɣli   xar?   (Amb.-Dam.)
     our   Helimoğlu   are.you
     'Are you from our Helimoğlu clan?"

(13) čemi nenečems   ajše   küoda   (Küç.-Kış.)
     my   mother.my   Aishe   was.named
     'My mother's name was Aishe.'

(14) tkön   'ar wici,   ras   et'q'üt   (Küç.-Kış.)
     you (pl.)   not I.know   what   you.call.it
     'I don't know what you call it.'

The same forms with secondary palatalized vowels can be pronounced in the following way as well: *zɣwi kenerze*, *čweni*, *kwioda*, *tkwen*… Palatalized vowels are not characteristic of the Zemoacharan dialect of Georgian – 'standards' of such vowels were formed in Muhajirs' perceptive base during the last 140 years.

We list some morphological differences: in the Ambaralani-Damudere speech the third person plural of all the verbs in the past tense ends in -es:
- *c'ewdes* 'they went'
- *mowdes* 'they came'
- *kondes* 'they had'
- *icodes* 'they knew'

In the Küçükdere-Kışla-köyü speech the same function is fulfilled by -en:
- *c'ewden* 'they went'
- *mowden* 'they came'
- *konden* 'they had"
- *icoden* 'they knew'

Furthermore, in the Ambaralani-Damudere speech the third person singular of subjunctive forms ends in -o-s:
- *c'ewd-o-s* 'let him/her leave'
- *mowd-o-s* 'let him/her come'
- *misc-o-s* 'let him/her give him'
- *icod-o-s* 'let him/her know'

In subjunctive II -o- is encountered (instead of -e- and -a-) in other Georgian dialects as well: *gamowd-o-s* 'let him/her come out', *mokc-o-s* 'let him give you' (Livanan), *dadg-o-n* 'let them stand", Dawrč-o-t "let us stay", c'owd-o-t "let us leave" (Machakhelian), šešind-o-n "let him be scared", *mokc-o-n* 'let them give it to you' (Taoan) (Putkaradze 2016: 210, 246, 378). Such forms are spread in the Ingilo dialect (Aliabatian sub-dialect) as well: *dawdg-o* 'let me stand', *gitxr-o* 'let me tell you', *digik'l-o* 'let me butcher it for you', *mowk'l-o* 'let me kill it' (Imnaishvili 1966: 118).
Both sub-dialects are characterized by a different expression for the occasional, "it seems to" semantics: the *-imiš* suffix borrowed from Turkish:

(15) amatjepši   k'oγo   bewri ari-jmiš,   wer dawdgebit-dedi   (Amb.-Dam.)
     here in them moskito   a lot seems to be we cannot stay   said
     'There seem to be many mosquitoes in these areas, we cannot stay here - he said.'

(16) šen k'aj k'aci xar-imiš-dedi, čemi gogo mokce-nao,   utxra   (Küç.-Kış.)
      you good man seem to be said my girl I will give to you, said   told him
      'You seem to be a good man, I will let you marry my girl - he told [the man].'

The forms derived by adding the mentioned suffix are semantically close to Laz (Hopa) kort'eren 'it seems to be', ideren 'it seems to leave' or Kvemo Imeretian: namuševara 'he/she seems to work', nakoneba 'he/she seems to have' forms: they express the action that already occurred (and is in progress at the moment of speaking), and the speaker has learnt about it from others.
In both sub-dialects the Georgian particles used for representing the speech of other people are substituted with Turkish borrowings:

(17) oci   c'lisi   gawxdi-dedim   (Amb.-Dam.)
     twenty   of year   I had turned-I said
     'I had turned twenty, I said'

(18) ra   puna   c'ejk'ide-dedi,   ras   wer   gnebulop?   (Küç.-Kış.)
     what   dung   you got hooked-he said   what   not you understand?
     'Don't be a nuisance - he said,- why can't you understand?'

Compare Turkish 'Yirmi yaşındayım, dedim' and 'Sana ne oldu dedi, niye anlamıyorsun?'. In origin, *dedim* and *dedi* are the first and third person past perfect forms of the Turkish verb *demek* 'to say'.

As for syntactic peculiarities, it is remarkable that in both speeches we often have ergative constructions instead of nominative constructions:

(19) babam   momik'da me   (Amb.-Dam.)
     father.ERG   died (for me) I
     'My father died'

(20) ɣorma   wozdaxuti   c'elic'adia, akit mowda   (Küç.-Kış.)
     wild boar.ERG   twenty five   years is to here   came
     'It is twenty five years since the wild boar appeared in this area'

The verbs *momik'da* 'he (my relative) died' or *mowda* 'he came' given in the examples, build only nominative constructions in Standard Georgian. Like some other languages (e.g. Hindi-Urdu, Kurdish etc.), the Standard Georgian is characterized by the so-called Split Ergativity - ergative construction is only used in the past tense of polypersonal verbs:

(21) man   gāk'eta is
     he/she.ERG did it   it
     'He/she did that'

(22) man   misces   mas   is
     he/she.ERG let.him.give   he/she.ERG   it
     'Let him/her give it to him/her'.

In these sentences, the subject is active, it requires the ergative case, while the object is in the nominative and not in the accusative case (there is no accusative case in Georgian). In Georgian dialects, the situation is different – ergative constructions can be built by the verbs that are usually encountered in nominative constructions (for ergative constructions see I. Melikishvili 2008).

Lexical peculiarities: both sub-dialects have preserved the basic lexical stock, although they certainly contain a lot of borrowings from Turkish (and through Turkish from other eastern languages). It is noteworthy that almost all the Turkish, Arabic and Persian lexical units, which could be found in the Acharan dialect until the first half of the 20th century and were later replaced by their Georgian equivalents (see Nizharadze 1971: 59-65), are still active in the speech of Muhajir Georgians' Giresun descendants. Such words are: *lule* 'tobacco pipe', *bardaɣi* 'a glass', and *anʒax* 'hardly', which, according to Shota Nizharadze, have purely Georgian equivalents in today's Acharan: k'ip'aj, č'ikaj, and ʒwilaj. These words are known to Giresun Georgians, but they prefer to use the borrowings.

One of the lexical units that changed meaning in Girusen Georgians' speech is the form *moc'irixebaj* 'turn/change course':

(23) agze   pac'aj mūc'irixo-nda   (Amb.-Dam.)
     on here littley ou have to turn
     'Here you have to turn slightly'

Shota Nizharadze (1971: 272) gives two meanings of the form *moc'irexwa* derived from the same root. These meanings are: 1. to twist a withe; 2. to bend, crook; also, for Giresun Georgians *q'artopilaj* only means 'potato as a root vegetable', while 'fried potatoes' are called *p'uraj*.

There are some interesting phraseological units, e.g.:

(24) dasaxčolebeli   nu   gawxtebit!
     to burn incense   not we will turn
     'Be careful not to do something that will expose us to danger!'

Daxčoleba literally means 'to burn incense', but Giresun descendants of Muhajir Georgians do not know about it. Likewise, *punajs mok'ideba* (literally: 'to get hooked the dung') means 'to be a nuisance':

(25) ra   puna mejk'ide,   č'ow?! p'ac'aj dadeki, dā!   (Küç.-Kış.)
    what dungy   ou got hooked boy   a little stay you yo
    'Can't you stop being a nuisance, boy?! Wait a minute, yo!'

Thus, the Georgian speech of Muhajir Georgians – Acharan dialect of the Georgian language – has survived in Giresun İli Giresun İlçe and Bulancak İlçe, the Republic of Turkey, to this day. Since 1950 (when Turkish became the language of education at all the compulsory secondary schools) the Acharan speech, which has been overwhelmed by the literary Turkish and lately, the literary Georgian as well, is slowly disappearing.

The most part of Muhajir Georgians' Giresun descendants have preserved the Georgian ethnical self-concept. Due to the code-switching process going on during 140 years the historical mother tongue is only spoken by the older generation; their knowledge of the Turkish language is mostly poor. The people of middle generation are usually bilingual speaking both Georgian and Turkish. The younger generation speaks only Turkish, which they consider more prestigious than the mother tongue of their ancestors. Consequently, the Acharan dialect of Georgian spoken in Giresun is at risk of going extinct in the near future. The risk is increased by the fact that the representatives of younger generation who want to know their ancestors' language and develop friendly relations with Georgia are learning the literary Georgian: having learnt the literary Georgian they try to speak 'correctly' and avoid using dialects.

Despite the influence of Ottoman-Turkish and, later, modern literary Turkish, the Acharan speech of Georgian Muhajirs' Giresun descendants has preserved unchanged the systemic and structural features of the Georgian language.

References

Asan, Hakan. 2016. "Devlet aşiret ve eşkıya bağlamında osmanlı muhacir iskân siyaseti (1860-1914)" (In the Context of Tribe, Bandit, Ottomonan's Policy of Migrant Settlement (1860-1914)), *Göç araştırmaları dergisi* (The Journal of Migration Studies), 2, 3: 34-61.

Dzidziguri, Shota. 1974. შოთა ძიძიგური, ქართული დიალექტოლოგიის მასალები, გამომცემლობა „მეცნიერება", თბილისი (Materials of Georgian Dialectology). Tbilisi: Metsniereba Publishing House.

Gigineishvili, Ivane, Varlam Topuria, and Ivane Kavtaradze. 1961. ივანე გიგინეიშვილი, ვარლამ თოფურია, ივანე ქავთარაძე, ქართული დიალექტოლოგია I, თბილისი (The Georgian Dialectology I). Tbilisi: Tbilisi UP.

Imnaishvili, Grigol. 1966. გრიგოლ იმნაიშვილი, ქართული ენის ინგილოური დიალექტის თავისებურებანი, თბილისი (Peculiarities of the Ingilo Dialect of the Georgian Language). Tbilisi: Metsniereba Publishing.

Jorbenadze, Besarion. 1989. ბესარიონ ჯორბენაძე, ქართული დიალექტოლოგია I, უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, თბილისი (Georgian Dialectology I). Tbilisi: UP.

Melikishvili, Irine. 2008. ირინე მელიქიშვილი, ერგატიული კონსტრუქციის მეორეულობის შესახებ ქართველურ ენებში, უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, თბილისი (Secondary Ergative in Kartvelian Languages). Tbilisi: UP.

Nizharadze, Shota. 1961. შოთა ნიჟარაძე, ქართული ენის ზემოაჭარული დიალექტი, ბათუმი (Zemoacharan Dialects of the Georgian Language). Batumi: Achara Publishing House.

Nizharadze, Shota. 1971. შოთა ნიჟარაძე, ქართული ენის აჭარული დიალექტი, ლექსიკონი; თბილისი (The Acharan Dialect of the Georgian Language, Lexicon). Tbilisi: Metsniereba Publishing House.

Nizharadze, Shota. 1975. შოთა ნიჟარაძე, აჭარული დიალექტი, ბათუმი (The Acharan Dialects). Batumi: Achara Publishing House.

Noghaideli, Jemal. 1936. ჯემალ ნოღაიდელი, აჭარა დიალექტოლოგიურად, ბათომი (Achara from Dialectological Point of View). Batomi: Achara Publishing House.

Noghaideli, Jemal. 1972. ჯემალ ნოღაიდელი, აჭარა დიალექტოლოგიურად, ნარკვევები და ჩანაწერები II, დიალექტოლოგიის საკითხები, ბათუმი (Achara from Dialectological Point of View, Sketches and Notes II, the Problems of Dialectology). Batumi: Achara Publishing House.

Paghava, Mamia, and Nana Tsetskhladze. 2017. მამია ფაღავა, ნანა ცეცხლაძე, სამხრული კილოები - ბრუნებისა და უღლების ძირითადი პარადიგმები, თბილისი (The southern Sub-dialects – Main Paradigms of Declination and Conjugation). Tbilisi: UP.

Paghava, Mamia. 2013. მამია ფაღავა, ქობულეთურის ზოგიერთი თავისებურება მუჰაჯირთა შთამომავლების მეტყველების მიხედვით (Some Peculiarities of Kobuleti Dialect, based on the Speech of Muhajirs' Descendants). In *Collected Works* VII. Batumi: The Kartvelological Center of the Faculty of Humanities, Batumi State University.

Putkaradze, Shushana. 1993. შუშანა ფუტკარაძე, ჩვენებურების ქართული, წიგნი პირველი, ბათუმი (The Georgian of Chveneburebi, Book One). Batumi: Achara Publishing House.

Putkaradze, Shushana. 2016. შუშანა ფუტკარაძე, ჩვენებურების ქართული, წიგნი მეორე, ბათუმი (The Georgian of Chveneburebi Book Two). Batumi: Achara Publishing House.

Putkaradze, Tariel. 2009. ტარიელ ფუტკარაძე, გეოპოლიტიკური ინტერესების შეხახება ამიერკავკასიაში: ბათუმი 1878, 1920, 1991, 2008, კრებული: "სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველო მეზობელ სახელმწიფოთა გეოპოლიტიკური ინტერესების კონტექსტში", აჭარის დედასამშობლოსთან დაბრუნების 130 წლისთავისადმი მიძღვნილი საერთაშორისო სამეცნიერო კონფერენციის მასალები (Impact of Geopolitical Interests in Transcaucasia: Batumi 1878, 1920, 1991, 2008, Collection: "The South-West Georgia in the Context of Geopolitical Interests of Neighbouring States". International Scientific Conference on the occasion of the 130 years since return to the motherland, International conference organizer: Government of Au-tonomous Republic of Achara Archive, Batumi, June 11-12), 111-136. Batumi: Printing House Shota Rustaveli State University. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/3809567/batumi-geostrategia> (06/2020).

Putkaradze, Tariel. 2017. ტარიელ ფუტკარაძე, თანამედროვე ბათუმი: ინტერესთა კონფლიქტი და პერსპექტივა, "ბათუმი: წარსული და თანამედროვეობა, საერთაშორისო სამეცნიერო კონფერენციის მასალები (Modern Batumi: Conflict of Interests and Prospects, Batumi: past and modernity), 350-366. Batumi: Batumi State University. <http://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/bitstream/1234/295640/1/Choroxi_2017_N5.pdf> (06/2020).

Putkaradze, Tariel. 2018. ტარიელ ფუტკარაძე, საქართველოს დემოკრატიული რესპუბლიკის კონსტიტუცია და „ბათუმის ოლქის" ავტონომიის საკითხი (ტერმინოლოგიური ასპექტი), საქართველოს საპატრიარქოს წმიდა ანდრია პირველწოდებულის სახელობის ქართული უნივერსიტეტის, გორის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტისა და სოხუმის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის ერთობლივი სამეცნიერო კონფერენცია, რომელიც მიეძღვნა საქართველოს პირველი რესპუბლიკის გამოცხადების 100 წლისთავს, თბ., 15-18 მაისი (Constitution of Democratic Republic of Georgia and an Issue of Autonomy of "Batumi Borough" (terminological aspects), joint scientific conference of St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia, Gori State Teaching Univer-

sity and Sokhumi State University, dedicated to the 100 years of formation of the first republic of Georgia, Tb., May 15-18). Gori State Teaching University and Sokhumi State University.

Simonian, Hovann. 2007. *The Hemshin: History, society and identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey.* New York: Routledge.

Surmava, Nargiza. 2008. ნარგიზა სურმავა, რ ბგერის რეფლექსი ქვემოაჭარულსა და ლაზურში (The Reflex of "r" Sound in Kvemoacharan and Laz Dialect). *Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics* XXXVI: 185-191.

German *wh*-copying:
A top-down analysis[*]

Giuseppe Rugna
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<giuseppe.rugna@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

German *wh*-copying is often taken to represent clear evidence for successive cyclicity and for the Copy Theory of Movement. The generative literature has focused on a particular type of *wh*-copying displaying morphophonological identity among the overtly realized members of the A'-chain. The present article discusses the case of two additional types of *wh*-copying found in German, i.e. 'imperfect' and 'complex' *wh*-coping. It will be argued that standard bottom-up analyses run into a few complications when extended to account for the latter types of *wh*-copying. A novel analysis embedded in a Top-Down derivational model of grammar is then proposed, which is argued to be conceptually as well as empirically superior over more traditional alternatives. The analysis of complex *wh*-copying in German is further extended to the case of Afrikaans and dialectal Dutch.

Keywords: *copy theory of movement, German morphosyntax, successive-cyclic movement, top-down derivation,* wh-*copying*

1. *Introduction*

It is standardly assumed that long-distance *wh*-movement — i.e., displacement of some *wh*-XP from an embedded to a matrix clause — can be modeled as proceeding in a successive-cyclic fashion (Chomsky 1977, 2001). Moreover, according to the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993), the members of some non-trivial A'-chain represent tokens of one and the same element. This characterization of movement finds wide empirical support (see e.g. Chung 1998 and Lahne 2008 for detailed overviews of the effects of successive-cyclicity in natural languages; cf. Den Dikken 2009 for an opposing view).

The German *wh*-copying construction is often considered one such type of evidence, as it displays the overt realization of multiple tokens of the A'-chain. More specifically, such a construction involves a type of long-distance interrogative[1] where the overtly realized copies include a criterial (Rizzi 2006) or *extracted* copy located at a scope-discourse position, and one or more intermediate or *resuming* copies found at the edges of the embedded clauses (terminology in italics borrowed from Pankau 2013). This is illustrated in (1), where the spelled-out *wh*-copies display phonological identity (the extracted and resuming elements will be boldfaced and italicized, respectively, throughout the discussion). The purpose of the present article is to investigate the formalization of such A'-chains and the members that constitute them. Moreover, I attempt to challenge the idea whereby A'-tokens are featurally non-distinct for the purposes of the narrow syntactic computation. Given the scope of the paper, I therefore leave out discussion of the issue why the in situ copy should not be spelled-out (cf. the collection of papers in Corver and Nunes 2007), as well as a comparison of *wh*-copying with seemingly similar types of interrogatives, such as the so-called 'scope-marker construction' (Lutz et al. 2000) or pseudo *wh*-copying (Pankau 2018).

(1)   **Wen** glaubst du *wen* sie liebt?
       who   believe you   who   she   loves
       'Who do you think she loves?'

                                                                           (Pankau 2013: 1)

The example in (1) represents a prototypical case of what may be called *identical wh*-copying. According to standard analyses, the derivation of (1) may be (roughly) described as a copying operation involving the entire featural content of the *wh*-phrase; such copies are then internally merged in a step-wise fashion from their original VP-internal position to the specifier of each intervening clause, until a copy ultimately reaches its criterial position in the matrix clause, as illustrated in (2) (cf. e.g. Fanselow and Mahajan 2000). Whichever parameter is involved in licensing the spell-out of the intermediate copies (see e.g. Felser 2004, Nunes 2004, Schippers 2012, Baier 2018, for some proposals), *wh*-copying appears to be a morphophonological manifestation of one of the most fundamental properties of natural language syntax.

(2) $[\text{SpecCP}_{n+x} \text{WH}_k [... [\text{SpecCP}_n \text{WH}_k [... [\text{VP} <\text{WH}_k>]]]]]$

However, recent studies have highlighted a number of properties that appear hard to reconcile with certain widely held assumptions about the Copy Theory, in particular that copies of an A'-chain are featurally undistinguishable at Narrow Syntax. Two types of copying appear to bring about complications for standard analyses: (i) *imperfect wh*-copying involving d-pronouns[2] at intermediate positions (cf. *den* in (3)); and (ii) *complex wh*-copying involving D-linked *wh*-phrases

---

[1] The idea that *wh*-copying is parasitic on long-distance *wh*-extraction seems to be well-established (see e.g. Felser 2004: 548ff., Pankau 2013: 5ff. for discussion). I assume such an idea here to be essentially correct. However, it should be pointed out that *wh*-copying has been argued to show a somewhat different behavior than regular long-distance *wh*-movement under certain conditions (see Murphy 2016; cf. however Pankau 2018 for a different analysis that may possibly be applied to some of Murphy's data).

[2] The term essentially refers to demonstratives like *der* 'that one.NOM', *den* 'that one.ACC', *das* 'that', etc., so called because they start with the letter 'd' (Pankau 2013: 50 fn.6). Cf. McDaniel (1986: 183-4), who first observed the use of such pronouns in German *wh*-copying.

at criterial positions and simplex *wh-*/d-pronouns at intermediate positions (cf. *wen*/*dem* in (4)).

(3) **Wen**   glaubst   du   *den*   ich   gesehen   habe?
     whom   believe   you   this   I   seen   have
     'Who do you think that I have seen?'

                                                                    (Pankau 2009: 206)

(4) Welchem   **Mann**   glaubst   du   *wem*/*dem*   sie   das   Buch   gegeben   hat?
     which   man   believe   you   who   she   the   book   given   has
     'Which man do you think she has given the book to?'

                                                        (Adapted from Anyadi and Tamrazian 1993: 4)

The issue arising in connection with this sort of data is then how to account for the apparent morphophonological asymmetry obtaining between the criterial and the intermediate copy if according to standard implementations of the Copy Theory they are assumed to be featurally identical. In fact, here it will be argued that it is not at all clear how such an account may be achieved by standard bottom-up analyses, which moreover face some theoretical complications with the derivation of successive-cyclicity, such as violations on the ban on phasal "look-ahead" or their inadequacy with capturing freezing effects (Chesi 2012). Possible stipulations within standard frameworks (such as e.g. the assumption that the features retained on a copy are the result of feature-valuation; cf. Pankau 2009) do not seem to be readily implementable from a cross-linguistic perspective (cf. complex *wh*-copying in dialectal Dutch in (5) and Afrikaans (6), where intermediate copies, unlike those in German, carry a morpheme that expresses D-linking in the sense of Pesetsky 1987):

(5) **Welke**   **boeken**   denk   je   *welke*   zij   gekocht   heeft?
     which   books   think   you   which   she   bought   has
     'Which books do you think she bought?'

                                                                    (Dutch; Koster 2009: 23)

(6) **Watter**   **meisie**   sê   hy   *watter*   *meisie*   kom   vanaand   kuier?
     which   girl   say   he   which   girl   come   tonight   visit
     'Which girl did he say is coming to visit tonight?'

                        (Afrikaans; Lohndal 2010: ex. 16, reporting Theresa Biberauer's judgments)

The solution proposed here is that the intra- and cross-linguistic variation may be captured within a derivational model of grammar in which the directionality of operations flows Top Down (i.e. from the root of the tree (CP/ForceP) down to its predicative core (VP); Chesi 2004 *et seq.*). More specifically, I aim to show how the relevant featural asymmetry may be derived as a consequence of the adopted approach.

The present article is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an empirical overview of German *wh*-copying in order to highlight certain aspects of the construction that must be captured by formal analyses. Section 3 discusses the analysis of the data within some bottom-up approaches and concludes that previous analyses can capture the construction from neither an empirical

nor a theoretical standpoint. Section 4 argues in favor of an alternative analysis, based on a Top-Down model of grammar, which seeks to derive the morphophonological shape of the copies as a direct consequence of the syntactic computation. In particular, the assumption that A'-tokens are featurally non-distinct at Narrow Syntax is argued to be empirically unwarranted. Moreover, two parameters are proposed, which are argued to account for the cross-linguistic variation with complex *wh-copying*. Finally, Section 5 wraps up the discussion and draws some conclusions.

2. *An empirical characterization of German wh-copying*

2.1 *Imperfect and complex wh-copying*

Consider again the case of imperfect copying in (3), repeated below:

(3) **Wen**   glaubst   du   *den*   ich   gesehen   habe?
     whom   believe   you   this   I   seen   have
     'Who do you think that I have seen?'

                                                                    (Pankau 2009: 206)

Examples like (3), with a d-pronoun in the embedded clause, appear to be the only option allowed by some speakers of the *d-variety*[3] (cf. Pankau 2009). Such a variety is to be distinguished from the wh-*variety,* which cannot employ d-pronouns as legitimate resuming elements. Some speakers of the d-variety also have the option of employing *wh*-pronouns alongside d-pronouns at intermediate positions; in fact, both types of pronoun can freely alternate for such speakers — that is, without triggering semantic or pragmatic effects (cf. (7)).

(7) a. **Wen**   glaubst   du   *wen*   Peter   denkt   *den*   sie   geküsst   hat?
     b. **Wen**   glaubst   du   *den*   Peter   denkt   *wen*   sie   geküsst   hat?
         who   believe   you   who   Peter   thinks   who   she   kissed   has
         'Who do you think Peter believes she has kissed?'

                                                                    (Pankau 2013: 50)

Imperfect *wh*-copying thus displays a featural mismatch between the criterial and the intermediate copies. A similar asymmetry can be observed in complex *wh*-copying (cf. (4)):

(4) **Welchem Mann**   glaubst   du   *wem/dem*   sie   das   Buch   gegeben   hat?
     which   man   believe   you   who   she   the   book   given   has
     'Which man do you think she has given the book to?'

                                                              (Adapted from Anyadi and Tamrazian 1993: 4)

---

[3] The term "d-variety" will be used to refer to those varieties of German which allow d-pronouns to occur as intermediate elements in *wh*-copying, regardless of whether such varieties can also employ *wh*-pronouns or not.

Though the first mention of complex *wh*-copying traces back to Anyadi and Tamrazian (1993), it is only recently, with Pankau's (2013) doctoral dissertation, that an articulate discussion has been offered. In fact, data of the kind in (4) have largely been ignored by the literature on *wh*-copying (presumably, because they do not display actual copies of the extracted phrase). Fanselow and Ćavar (2001), for instance, dismiss the possibility that (4) constitutes a case of *wh*-copying, suggesting instead that the intermediate copy be treated as an agreeing form of the complementizer. However, as Pankau (2013: 49) notes, they do not provide arguments in support of their claim, whereas examples such as (8a) clearly show that complex *wh*-phrases can be copied multiple times, in an unbounded fashion, precisely as one would expect with the extraction of a *wh*-pronoun (cf. (8b)). According to Pankau (2013: 49), then, "there seems little justification for the claim that wh-copying with complex *wh*-phrases is different from *wh*-copying with *wh*-pronouns".

(8) a. **Welchen Mann** glaubst du *wen* Peter denkt *wen* sie geküsst hat?
         which   man   believe you who Peter thinks who she kissed   has
         'Which man do you think Peter believes she has kissed?'

     b. **Wen**   glaubst du *wen* er meint *wen* sie liebt?
         who   believe you who he means who she loves
         'Who do you think he believes she loves?'

(Pankau 2013: 1)

In fact, Pankau (2013) corroborates the legitimacy of complex *wh*-copying by presenting novel data from the variety that judges as grammatical questions such as (4). He dubs such a variety "liberal" (henceforth Liberal German, LG), which contrasts with the more "restrictive" variety of German (Restrictive German, RG), where complex *wh*-copying is banned altogether. The following sentences are thus prohibited in RG, but grammatical in LG:

(9) a. **Was für einen Mann** glaubst du *wen* sie eingeladen hat?
         what for a   man   believe you who she invited   has
         'What a man do you think she has invited?'

     b. **Wessen Freund** glaubst du *wen* sie eingeladen hat?
         whose friend   believe you who she invited   has
         'Whose friend do you think she has invited?'

     c. **Wem seinen Freund** glaubst du *wen* sie eingeladen hat?
         who his   friend   believe you who she invited   has
         'Whose friend do you think she has invited?'

     d. **Wen von den Männern** glaubst du *wen* sie eingeladen hat?
         who of the men   believe you who she invited   has
         'Which of the men do you think she has invited?'

(*Ibidem,* 48-49)

It is important to note that the intermediate copies always agree in φ-features with the lexical restriction. In fact, *wh*-copying cannot take place in German when φ-agreement between the extracted and the resuming element does not obtain. In Tables 1-2 I present the paradigm for *wh*- and d-pronouns showing that the former lack inflection for feminine gender and plural number.

	SG			PL
	MASC	FEM	NEUT	
NOM	*wer*	-	*was*	-
ACC	*wen*	-	*was*	-
DAT	*wem*	-	*was*	-

Table 1. Paradigm for *wh*-pronouns (Pankau 2013: 60)

	SG			PL
	MASC	FEM	NEUT	
NOM	*der*	*die*	*das*	*die*
ACC	*den*	*die*	*das*	*die*
DAT	*dem*	der	dem	denen

Table 2. Paradigm for d-pronouns (Pankau 2013: 60)

As shown in Pankau (2013: 59ff.), feminine and plural complex *wh*-phrases cannot be resumed by *wh*-pronouns (cf. (10-b)) due to latter's defective inflectional paradigm (cf. Table 1). Nonetheless, copying of extracted complex feminine *wh*-phrases may still apply if d-pronouns may be used instead as resuming elements (cf. (10c)), as these do have the option of inflecting for the relevant φ-features (cf. Table 2).

(10) a. * **Welche**   **Frau**   glaubst   du   *wen*   er   eingeladen   hat?
                which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   who.MASC.SG   he   invited   has

      b. * **Welche**   **Frau**   glaubst   du   *was*   er   eingeladen   hat?
                which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   what.NEUT.SG   he   invited   has

      c.   **Welche**   Frau   glaubst   du   *die*   er   eingeladen   hat?
                which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   who.FEM.SG   he   invited   has
             'Which woman do you think he has invited?'

                                                                                    (*Ibidem,* 62-63)

However, despite the fact that determiners that can adequately express the φ-features of the criterial copy are available in the lexicon, the grammar seems unable to license intermediate copies on the basis of φ-features alone (cf. (11)), suggesting that some other constraint must be at play in regulating their realization.

(11) a. * **Welche**   **Frau**   glaubst   du   *sie*   er   eingeladen   hat?
             which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   she   he   invited   has

      b. * **Welche**   **Frau**   glaubst   du   *welche*   er   eingeladen   hat?
             which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   which.FEM.SG   he   invited   has

2.2 *A characterization of the intermediate copy*

A few questions arise from an empirical standpoint when considering the sort of data presented so far. Of particular importance for a characterization of the construction under investigation is whether a principled reason can be given as to why the set of resuming elements contains only *wh*-pronouns for some speakers, while the set is extended to include d-pronouns for others. Furthermore, why is it the case that LG resumes the extracted complex *wh*-phrases by means of pronominal elements, instead of *which*-like elements or full-fledged copies? Recall that the two options are allowed by Dutch and Afrikaans, respectively (cf. section 4.3). In other words, we are interested in understanding the status and nature of the intermediate copy in German as a means of tackling also the issue of variation.

One condition noted above with respect to the morphological realization of copies in a German *wh*-copying construction is that their φ-features must remain unchanged throughout the A'-chain. However, this restriction alone is clearly insufficient to capture the full range of data, as shown by the fact that not all imaginable forms are admissible (cf. (11) above and (12-14)). The ungrammaticality of (12a) is due to the fact that the sentence contains two full copies of the same complex wh-phrase, an option that neither the restrictive nor the liberal varieties of German permit. Example (12b), on the other hand, shows that spelling out one of the copies as a *wh*-pronoun is not a sufficient condition for the grammaticality of the sentence. The position where such copies appear is crucial, the complex copy being licensed only at scope position.

(12) a. * **Welchem** **Mann** glaubst   du   *welchem* *Mann* sie   eingeladen   hat?
             which   man   believe   you   which   man   she   invited   has
             'Which man do you think she has invited?'

      b. * **Wem**   glaubst   du   *welchem* *Mann*   sie   eingeladen   hat?
             who   believe   you   which   man   she   invited   has
             'Which man do you think she has invited?'

(*Ibidem,* 77-78)

Lastly, examples (13) and (14), involving extracted PPs, show that the grammaticality of the sentences is not yielded by the selectional constraints imposed on the moved constituents by the gap site, i.e. by what Jacobson (1984) calls connectivity effects. For if connectivity effects were involved, we would expect the copied constituents in sentences (13-14) to be licensed by the predicates *sprechen* and *schreiben*, since both options would be compatible with them (cf. (15) and (16)).

(13)   * **Wen**   denskt   du   *an   wen*   sie   einen   Brief   schreibt?
          who.DAT   think   you   on   who.ACC   she   a   letter   writes
          'Who do you think she writes a letter to?'

(*Ibidem*, 67)

(14)   a.   * **Von**   **wen**   glaubst   du   *über   wen*   er   spricht
                 of   whom   believe   you   about   whom   he   talks

       b.   * **Über**   **wen**   glaubst   du   *von   wem*   er   spricht
                 about   whom   believe   you   of   whom   he   talks
                 'Who do you think he talks about?'

(*Ibidem*, 68)

(15)   Ich   spreche   von   Maria/   über   Maria.
       I   speak   of   Maria   about   Maria
       'I talk about Maria.'

(16)   Sie   schreibt   ihm/   an   ihn   einen   Brief.
       she   writes   him.DAT   on   him.ACC   a   letter
       'She writes a letter to him.'

(*Ibidem*, 67)

Various characterizations of the intermediate element have been proposed in the literature (see Pankau 2013: 42ff. for an exhaustive overview). According to some, the intermediate element would be nothing more than a copy of the extracted element, minus the latter's *wh*-feature (Pankau 2009). According to others, the intermediate copy belongs morphologically to the class of indefinites (Felser 2004). For others still, it is a relative pronoun (Barbiers et al. 2009). Though theoretically plausible, all these solutions seem to be empirically untenable, at least for the German data. For instance, consider Pankau's (2009) approach, which is partially based on the following contrast:

(17)   a.   * Ich   glaube$_{[-wh]}$ [wen   sie   liebt].
                 I   believe   whom   she   loves
                 'I believe whom she loves.'

       b.   Wen   glaubst$_{[-wh]}$ du   [wen   sie   liebt]?
                 whom   believe   you   whom   she   loves?
                 'Who do you think that she loves?'

(Pankau 2009: 200-201)

Since bridge verbs such as *glauben* cannot select as complements *wh*-marked clauses (cf. (17a)), Pankau (2009) suggests that the *wh*-feature must be absent from the intermediate element in the *wh*-copying construction (cf. (17b)). Alternatively, one could propose that the selectional requirements of the verb can somehow be overridden, but as Pankau (2009: 201) notes, it would seem rather unlikely that this could be the case. Pankau's (2009) approach can correctly include in the set of resuming elements both *wh*- and d-pronouns, since d-pronouns do not bear a *wh*-feature,[4] and *wh*-pronouns do not bear it obligatorily (cf. (18a-b), where the *wh*-pronouns is used as an indefinite and a free relative pronoun, respectively):

(18) a. Ich   sehe   wen

           I   see   who

           'I see someone.'

           (Pankau 2013: 89)

    b. Ich glaube wem   du   vertraust

           I   believe whom   you   trust

           'I believe who you trust.'

                                             (Pankau 2009: 207)

While Pankau's (2009) approach may correctly capture the observations that the intermediate element is not interpreted as an interrogative operator and that it may at times show up as a d-pronoun, it is not sufficient, as later acknowledged by Pankau (2013: 89). Indeed, consider the following sentences, which turn out to be ungrammatical in spite of the fact that the *wh*-feature has been stripped from the resuming phrases:

(19) a. * **Welchen**   **Mann**   glaubst   du   *den*   *Mann*   sie   eingeladen   hat?

              which   man   believe   you   the   man   she   invited   has

    b. * **Welchen**   Mann   glaubst   du   *diesen* *Mann*   sie   eingeladen   hat?

              which   man   believe   you   this   man   she   invited   has

              'Which man do you think she has invited?'

    c. * **Was**   **für** **einen**   Mann   glaubst   du   *einen*   *Mann*   sie   eingeladen   hat?

              what   for   a   man   believe   you   a   man   she   invited   has

              'What man do you think she has invited?'

                                            (Pankau 2013: 105)

Felser's (2004) approach is similar to Pankau's (2009) in that it attributes the featural difference amongst copies to the different structural positions that they occupy.[5] Thus, building on Cheng's (2000) treatment of German *wh*-items (according to which such items are the

---

[4] I take the *wh*-feature to represent the property of some item to be used as an interrogative operator. It is thus unrelated with and ought to be kept distinct from the actual morphophonological aspect of said item.

[5] Felser (2004) and Pankau (2009) can be grouped together into a class of approaches called the *partial copy* analysis, which is to be contrasted with the *full copy* analysis, where copies are instead assumed to be identical under every aspect (cf. Pankau 2013: 91 and 93-4).

combination of a morphological 'core' with a *wh*-feature, cf. section 4.2), Felser (2004) analyzes *wh*-copying as the result of a "selective" spell-out: criterial positions spell out the *wh*-feature or the quantificational part, whereas intermediate positions spell out the core part, which she takes to correspond to an indefinite. Her proposal is partially based on the observation that some resuming elements can indeed be used as indefinite pronouns, as was noted for (18a) above. However, this approach is problematic in that it incorrectly excludes d-pronouns from the set of resuming elements, as these cannot be used as indefinite pronouns (cf. Pankau 2013: 89-90):

(20)   *   Ich   sehe   den
           I   see   who
           'I see someone.'

<div align="right">(<i>Ibidem,</i> 89)</div>

Though one could envisage that Felser's (2004) characterization is perhaps correct only for the *wh*-variety, it still faces other problems, such as the fact that not all *wh*-items can be used as indefinites. For instance, while adverbs like *wann* 'when' and *wo* 'where' cannot realize indefinites (cf. (21)), their use as intermediate elements in *wh*-copying is deemed acceptable (cf. (22)). Therefore, the characterization of the resuming element as an indefinite pronoun cannot be maintained, either for the d- or the *wh*-variety of German.

(21)   a.   *   Ich   ruf   dich   wann   an.
               I   call   you   when   on
               'I call you at some point.'

       b.   *   Ich   hab   ihn   wo   abgesetzt.
               I   have   him   where   dropped-off
               'I dropped him off somewhere.'

(22)   a.   **Wann**   glaubst   du   *wann*   wir   uns   treffen   sollten?
               when   believe   you   when   we   us   meet   should
               'When do you think we should meet?'

       b.   **Wo**   glaubst   du   *wo*   wir   uns   treffen   sollten?
               where   believe   you   where   we   us   meet   should
               'Where do you think we should meet?'

<div align="right">(<i>Ibidem,</i> 90)</div>

A more recent alternative, developed in Pankau (2013), takes the resuming element to be a free relative proform. The term proform is used to indicate that: (i) the resuming element is not just a pronoun, since it can be a PP or an AdvP in the case of PP- or AdvP copying; and that (ii) the resuming element cannot host lexical nouns (Pankau 2013: 56).

Pankau (2013: 52-3, 72-5) provides a diachronic as well as three synchronic arguments in support of his proposal. Let us briefly consider them, starting with the latter. First, recall that while the *wh*-variety allows only *wh*-pronouns to occur at intermediate positions in *wh*-copying, the d-variety

licenses the use of d-pronouns. The contrast between the two varieties is related by Pankau (2013) to a difference in the size of the set of free relative proforms: while the set of free relative proforms is a proper subset of the set of *wh*-pronouns in the *wh*-variety, the set of free relative proforms also contains d-pronouns in the d-variety. In other words, the *wh*-variety does not allow d-pronouns in *wh*-copying because they cannot be used to introduce free relative clauses in that variety (the following a-sentences are indeed ungrammatical for speakers of the *wh*-variety), whereas this use is fully grammatical in the d-variety (both a- and b-sentences are permitted), hence their availability in *wh*-copying:

(23) a. Ich   lade   ein   <u>den</u>   alle   mögen.
      b. Ich   lade   ein   <u>wen</u>   alle   mögen.
          I   invite   in   who   everyone   likes
          'I invite who everyone likes.'

(24) a. Ich   esse   <u>das</u>   du   gekochst   hast.
      b. Ich   esse   <u>was</u>   du   gekochst   hast.
          I   eat   what   you   cooked   have
          'I eat what you cooked.'

(*Ibidem,* 52)

The second argument Pankau (2013) provides is based on the observation that whenever an item is not allowed as a resuming element, that item is not allowed to introduce free relative clauses either:

(25) * **Welchen Mann**   glaubst   du   *ihn*   sie   eingeladen   hat?
         which   man   believe   you   him   she   invited   has
         'Which man do you believe she has invited?'

(26) * Ich   lade   ein   <u>ihn</u>   alle   mögen.
         I   invite   in   him   everyone   like
         'I invite who everyone likes.'

(*Ibidem*)

The third synchronic argument is related to the fact that the alternation between *wh*- and d-pronouns is restricted to free relative clauses only. The alternation may not occur in headed relative clauses, as illustrated by the following example:

(27) a. * Der Mann <u>wen</u> sie liebt ist ein Idiot.
      b.   Der Mann <u>den</u> sie liebt ist ein Idiot.
             the man   who   she loves is   an   idiot
             'The man whom she loves is an idiot.'

(*Ibidem,* 91)

Pankau (2013: 72-5) provides additional support in favor of the characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform by presenting the following diachronic argument.

He observes that *wh*-copying has been a productive strategy of question formation through most stages of the history of German. Consider example (28) from Middle High German (ca. 1050-1350), example (29) from Early New High German (ca. 1350-1650), and example (30) from an older stage of New High German (XVIII century; see Pankau 2013: 72 and references therein).

(28) **Wër** wænestû *dër* ëz sage dëm Bernære?
     who think.you who it say the Barnese
     'Who do you think will say it to the one from Bern?'

(29) **Wer** meinestu wol, *der* ein Mitleiden mit deiner
     who believe.you well who a pity with your
     armen Seel und ihrer Verdammnus haben werde?
     poor soul and her perdition have will
     'Who do you think will have a pity on your soul and its perdition?'

(30) **Was** wollen sie *das* noch geschehen soll?
     what want you that still happen should
     What do you want to happen?

Examples (28-30) feature d-pronouns as resuming elements.[6] If such examples are representative of older stages of German, as Pankau (2013: 73) takes them to be, the question now arises as to what allowed d-pronouns to be preferred over *wh*-pronouns, given that the situation is completely reversed in modern German. The reason seems clear: d-pronouns were standardly used to introduce free relative clauses in older stages of German, as illustrated by the following examples from Old High German (31) and Middle High German (32) (Pankau 2013:73):

(31) Ther brut habêt, ther scal brûtigomo sîn.
     who wife has who shall husband be
     'He who has a wife shall be a husband.'

(32) Ich bin der hât gewarnet die edelen fürsten rîch.
     I am who has warned the noble prince rich
     'I am the one who has warned the noble rich prince.'

The characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform thus seems to find adequate empirical support, from both a synchronic and a diachronic point of view.

---

[6] This is also true of example (30). As Axel-Tober (2012: 81, cited in Pankau 2013: 73 fn. 20) points out, German orthography was already distinguishing between *das* (d-pronoun) and *dass* (complementizer) at the time of the sentence's writing.

2.2.1 *Problematic data and some proposed solutions*

Some apparently problematic data for the characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform involve two types of constructions featuring complex wh-phrases as resuming elements (see Pankau 2013: 77-81), illustrated by the following examples:

(33) **Wen**   denkst   du   *wen*   *von*   *den*   *Studenten*   man   einladen   sollte?
      who   think   you who   of   the   students   one   invite   should
      'Which of the students do you think that one should invite?'

(34) **Wieviel**   sagst   du   *wieviel*   *Schweine*   ihr   *habt*?
      how.many   say   you how.many   pigs   you   have
      'How many pigs do you say that you have?'

<div align="right">(Fanselow and Ćavar 2001: exx. 37-38)</div>

Both examples suggest that the resuming element can be complex with certain types of phrases, namely with phrases of the type *wen von den* + NP and *wieviel* + NP. If this were the correct analysis, then examples such as (33) and (34) would represent clear evidence against the characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform (recall that proforms, by definition, cannot host lexical nouns). However, it can be argued that this is not the case. The analysis proposed by Pankau (2013) to account for these examples is consistent with his characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform. In fact, according to Pankau (2013), it is only the proforms (*wen* and *wieviel*) that occupy the intermediate position, and not the entire complex phrases (*wen von den Männern* and *wieviel Schweine*), out of which the proforms have undergone sub-extraction. The following illustration provides a sketch of his analysis for example (33).

(35) Wen_i denkst   du wen_i $[t_i$ von   den $Studenten]_k$ man t_k einladen   sollte?
      who   think   you who   of   the   students   one   invite   should
      Which of the students do you think that one should invite?

Pankau (2013: 79) further shows that sub-extraction of *wen* is not an ad hoc solution, as it is a generally available process in German (cf. (36)).

(36) a. [Wen   von   den $Männern]_i$ hat   Maria t_i eingeladen?
          who   of   the   men   has   Maria   invited?

      b. $[Wen]_k$ hat   Maria $[t_k$ von   den   Männern]   eingeladen?
          who   has   Maria   of   the   men   invited

      c. $[Wen]_k$ hat $[t_k$ von   den   Männern]   Maria   eingeladen?
          who   has   of   the   men   Maria   invited?
          'Which of the men has Maria invited?'

<div align="right">(Pankau 2013: 79)</div>

If the proform and the rest of the complex phrase are analyzed as being split from each other, we can predict that overt material should be able to intervene between them, since they would be part of two different constituents. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated by the following example from a dialect where the *wh*-pronoun and the complementizer can co-occur (i.e. where the Doubly Filled Comp Filter does not hold).

(37) Wen   glaubst   du   wen   dass   von   den   Professoren   die   Studentin   verführt   hat?
      Who   believe   you   who   that   of   the   professors   the   student   seduced   has
      'Which of the professors do you think the student has seduced?'

<div align="right">(Ibidem, fn. 25)</div>

The sub-extraction analysis seemingly faces one problem when applied to the example in (34), namely that Standard German does not allow such a process to occur with *wieviel* (cf. (38b)).

(38) a.   [Wieviel   Schweine]$_i$ habt   ihr   t$_i$?
            how.many   pigs   have   you
      b. * [Wieviel]$_k$ habt   ihr   [t$_k$ Schweine]?
            how.many   have   you   pigs?
      'How many pigs do you say that you have?'

<div align="right">(Ibidem, 81)</div>

However, as Pankau (2013: 81) remarks, this is not a real problem since sentences such as (38b), involving sub-extraction of *wieviel*, are in fact grammatical for the speakers who accept (34) above.

We can then conclude that these data do not pose a threat for the characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform, at least as far as German is concerned.[7, 8]

2.3 *Summary*

German *wh*-copying is subject to parametric intra-linguistic variation with respect to the shape and 'size' of the copies generated by successive-cyclic movement, in particular, (i) the contrast between LG and RG pertaining to the availability or otherwise of D-linked *wh*-expressions as extracted elements; and (ii) the possibility of employing d-pronouns for some speakers as opposed to others. The morphosyntactic behavior of resuming elements moreover supports

---

[7] As van Urk (2015: 210-1) notes, Dutch prohibits scrambling of material over subjects of the relevant type, which would render problematic an extension of Pankau's sub-extraction analysis to the Dutch data. However, just as there are speakers of German who allow sub-extraction processes that are not permitted in the standard language (i.e. sub-extraction of *wieviel*), it might be the case that the same could be true for some Dutch speakers. Future work would need to document the intra-linguistic variation of Dutch *wh*-copying with complex *wh*-phrases in order to establish whether Pankau's analysis can be extended to this language.

[8] Note that Pankau (2013) does not claim that the characterization of the resuming element as a free relative proform is correct for every language with *wh*-copying, but only that such a characterization is correct for German. Afrikaans, for instance, seems to differ remarkably in this aspect (cf. example (6) in section 1). Moreover, it is important to note that the fact that free relative proforms appear as resuming elements does not imply that embedded clauses in *wh*-copying are free relatives, which in fact can be shown not to be the case (Pankau 2013: 75-7).

the generalization developed in Pankau (2013), according to which intermediate copies may be ascribed to the class of free relative proforms.

3. *Some theoretical issues raised by German wh-copying*

3.1 *Introduction*

Consider the following schema:

(39) $[\text{SpecCP}_{n+x} \text{WH}_k [\dots [\text{SpecCP}_n \text{ FR-PROFORM}_k [\dots [\text{VP} <\text{WH}_k>]]]]]$

What the schema in (39) says is that the German *wh*-copying construction features multiple tokens of some interrogative phrase (WH_k) which surface as relative proforms at intermediate positions. According to standard bottom-up accounts of long-distance *wh*-movement, the *wh*-phrase originating in the VP is displaced onto each intervening specifier until it reaches its criterial position.[9] More precisely, it is usually assumed since Chomsky (1993) that movement amounts to a copying operation targeting the entire featural content of some syntactic object.[10] Given such an analysis, the tokens of the A'-chain are expected to preserve their φ-features (or prepositions in the case of PPs) throughout the derivation. This may correctly capture the observation that copies are in φ-agreement in German *wh*-copying,[11] but it raises further questions. First, there is the more general issue of how the process of successive-cyclicity may be formalized. That is, how can the fact that *wh*-phrases transit through intermediate, unselecting positions be modeled? Second, how can the fact be captured that intermediate copies overtly surface as free relative proforms in German *wh*-copying? In particular, how is such an observation compatible with the assumption that the members of the A'-chain are featurally non-distinct?

3.2 *Bottom-up successive-cyclic movement*

Concerning the issue of successive-cyclicity, two major classes of approaches may be identified within the standard bottom-up framework (cf. Chesi 2007): the Formal Feature Approaches (FFA) (e.g. Chomsky 2000, McCloskey 2002, Rizzi 2006), and the Edge Feature Approaches (EFA) (e.g. Chomsky 2008; cf. Preminger 2011).

Associated with the FFA is the classical minimalist idea that movement is a last resort operation, 'triggered' by the need to satisfy some interface requirement (Chomsky 1995). A standard implementation of this idea identifies movement with a feature-checking operation following

---

[9] Since nothing crucial hinges upon it for our purposes, I will leave aside discussion of movement targeting the edge of vP.

[10] Barbiers et al. (2010) propose a bottom-up derivational system wherein displacement is allowed to be partial as well as total. In particular, they suggest that partial movement be conceptualized as a copying operation affecting only a proper subset of the features of a given element. Note however that besides raising the question of why syntax should allow copying to be both total and partial — or indeed how syntax should decide whether to execute one or the other type of copying — such an approach seems to be incompatible with the German data, as it predicts a richer featural specification for the intermediate copies with respect to the criterial one (i.e. the exact opposite of what the present article will propose). Indeed, as discussed in Pankau (2013: 102-4), for instance, it would be difficult to see how complex *wh*-copying may be captured under Barbiers et al.'s (2010) bottom-up partial copying approach.

[11] We are abstracting away here from the case of adverbial *wh*-copying, which naturally lacks φ-agreement.

the establishment of an Agree relation between a probe and a goal. The main advantage of such approaches is that they can adequately capture important empirical observations, such as freezing effects (see e.g.: Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007, Bošković 2008). This is because a goal is allowed to move as long as its features are still active, i.e., until they have not been checked, or deleted, by a matching probe. Upon deletion of its features, the goal is rendered inactive: it is thus 'frozen' in place. Conceptualizing displacement as a feature-checking operation however leads to a few problems. For instance, given the unbounded nature of long-distance dependencies, an indefinite number of formal features would need to be postulated on the goal in order for it to transit through intermediate positions, as each step of the movement path would delete a different formal feature from the moving element. The illustration in (40) represents a derivation predicted by the idea of feature-triggered movement (from Chesi 2007: 58); (40a) shows the pre-movement configuration; (40b) shows the post-movement configuration, where the deleted features on both the probe and the goal are stricken through after each movement step. As pointed out in Chesi (2007: 59), such a mechanism would violate the finitary nature of the lexicon. Moreover, it would violate the ban against look-ahead, since the computation would need to 'know' how many intermediate steps there will be in the course of the derivation in order to insert the appropriate number of formal features on the goal. Clearly, however, such knowledge could not obtain if we follow Chomsky (2001) in assuming that derivations proceed in locally determined chunks of computation, which should therefore be blind to subsequent operations.

(40) a. $[_{+WH}$ C] do you think $[_{+FF}$ C] Mary said ... $[_{+FF}$ C] everybody admired
$[_{-FF\ -FF\ ...\ -FF\ -WH}$ who]?
   b. $[_{+WH\ [-WH}$ who] C] do you think $[_{+FF} <_{-FF\ -WH}$ who> C] Mary said ...
$[_{+FF} <_{-FF\ -FF\ ...\ -FF\ -WH}$ who> C] everybody admired $<_{-FF\ -FF\ ...\ -FF\ -WH}$ who>?

The EFA, on the other hand, might provide a solution to these issues, as they dispense with the mechanism of feature-checking. Chomsky (2008) proposes to endow phase heads with Edge Features responsible for triggering movement. The mechanism of paired deletion can therefore be removed from the theory and the problems faced by the FFA overcome. The advantages brought about by dispensing with feature-triggered movement are maintained in more recent formulations of such approaches (Chomsky et al. 2019), wherein movement, an instance of Merge, is taken to operate freely. In other words, according to Chomsky et al. (2019), movement (or Merge in general, for that matter) is not triggered by any type of feature and can apply unboundedly, i.e. without constraints (but within the confines of phases). Freeing Merge from triggering requirements may thus yield successive-cyclicity without violations on either the ban against look-ahead or the finitary nature of the lexicon. It moreover leads to a simpler system where the fundamental properties of syntax (e.g. hierarchical constituency, recursion, etc.) can be derived straightforwardly (cf. Fukui and Narita 2014). Nonetheless, a few issues remain with this class of approaches. First, as discussed in Chesi (2012: 147), a free-Merge system may not be desirable from a computational standpoint: if Merge is allowed to 'over-generate' with respect to what is empirically attested, the complexity of the derivation could grow boundlessly as a result of constructing indefinitely many objects which would get filtered out only at the interfaces. Second, by eliminating the mechanism of feature deletion on the goal, it becomes unclear how an element's movement through the structure may be formally ceased. In other words, as there in nothing in these systems that would prevent an element from moving into positions other than those in which their satisfy their scope-discourse semantics, such approaches would have a hard time with capturing freezing effects (Chesi 2007; cf. however Epstein et al. 2016, Gallego 2018).

3.3 *Accounting for the morphophonological shape of copies*

Leaving aside the complications raised by successive-cyclicity, let us now turn to the second issue raised by (39), namely how to account for the fact that intermediate copies surface as free relative proforms in German *wh*-copying. Consider again the case of identical *wh*-copying in (1), repeated below for convenience:

(1) **Wen**   glaubst   du   *wen*   sie   liebt?
     who   believe   you   who   she   loves
     'Who do you think she loves?'

<div align="right">(Pankau 2013: 1)</div>

Despite the fact that the criterial and the intermediate copies display phonological identity, there is a featural asymmetry between the two: only the upstairs copy is a *wh*-operator. Indeed, recall that bridge verbs such as *glauben* cannot select as complements interrogative clauses (cf. (17) and (18b) above). This suggests the criterial *wh*-feature must be absent from the intermediate copy, despite the copy's overt morphophonological shape. The lack of a *wh*-feature on the intermediate copy is perhaps more clearly visible in the case of imperfect *wh*-copying, where d-pronouns are used as resuming elements (cf. (3)). However, the fact that *wh*- and d-pronouns may freely alternate at intermediate positions for some speakers strongly indicates that we are in fact dealing with one and the same morphosyntactic element (cf. (7)).

(3) **Wen**   glaubst   du   *den*   ich   gesehen   habe?
     whom   believe   you   this   I   seen   have
     'Who do you think that I have seen?'

<div align="right">(Pankau 2009: 206)</div>

(7) a. **Wen**   glaubst   du   *wen*   Peter   denkt   *den*   sie   geküsst   hat?
     b. **Wen**   glaubst   du   *den*   Peter   denkt   *wen*   sie   geküsst   hat?
         who   believe   you   who   Peter   thinks who   she   kissed   has
         'Who do you think Peter believes she has kissed?'

<div align="right">(Pankau 2013: 50)</div>

Given these considerations, I will assume that what differentiates the extracted from the resuming element is the criterial feature, which is present on the former but not on the latter. This is, in its essence, the insight shared by Felser (2004) and Pankau (2009), who attribute the featural asymmetry between copies to the different structural positions that they occupy. Roughly, what these authors suggest is that the absence of the *wh*-feature on the intermediate copy would be due to a lack of agree between the *wh*-feature on the moving element and the embedded (non-interrogative) C. Conversely, the criterial *wh*-feature can be spelled-out at matrix C since such a position would be endowed with the relevant feature with which the moving element can agree (cf. Pankau 2013: 104-5). Put another way, whereas the highest copy can get its *wh*-feature valued by the criterial head, intermediate copies cannot do so, as embedded positions cannot provide the relevant value. Thus, the crucial idea, sketched in

(41) (adapted from Pankau 2013: 104), is that the retained features on a copy are the result of feature-valuation:

(41) [CP1 **wen** [*wh*: +] glaubst du [CP2 *wen* [*wh*: -] Maria *t* liebt]]

This mechanism may correctly capture the featural asymmetry between the criterial and the intermediate copy in the case of identical and imperfect *wh*-copying. Furthermore, the free alternation between the use of *wh*- and d-pronouns at intermediate positions may be accounted for by assuming a post-syntactic, "Late Insertion" mechanism reminiscent of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; cf. Pankau 2009). The assumption that copies are featurally identical at Narrow Syntax could then be maintained under such approaches.

However, the idea that the features to be retained on a copy are the result of feature-valuation runs into serious issues when considering complex *wh*-copying (cf. (4)). Here I will limit myself to pointing out certain problematic aspects with such a mechanism, referring the reader to Pankau (2013: 105-11) for a more thorough discussion.

(4)   **Welchem   Mann**   glaubst   du   *wem/dem*   sie   das   Buch   gegeben   hat?
       which   man   believe   you   who   she   the   book   given   has
       'Which man do you think she has given the book to?'

(Adapted from Anyadi and Tamrazian 1993: 4)

As was observed in the previous section, intermediate copies in complex *wh*-copying do not lack just the *wh*-feature of the criterial copy: what is also absent on such copies is the D-linked feature (expressed by the morpheme *-lch-*) that is present on the extracted element, as well as the lexical restriction (the noun *Mann*, in example (4)). Leaving momentarily aside the question why the lexical restriction should not be spelled out on intermediate copies, it could be proposed that the absence of D-linking on resuming elements may be motivated on grounds of feature-valuation, i.e., just as was proposed for their lack of a *wh*-feature. As such, the D-linked feature could get its value in the left periphery of the matrix clause (presumably, where such a feature can get valued), whereas all other copies cannot do so, hence their lack of D-linking. However, as pointed out by Pankau (2013: 107), valuation of the D-linked feature should not be "at stake [...] because d-linking and the φ-features are all inherent features of the complex wh-phrases, and therefore need no valuation. Therefore, one is left wondering why the resuming element doesn't show the reverse pattern of retention: φ-features are not spelled out, whereas d-linking is spelled out".

Let us nonetheless assume, for the sake of argument, that feature-valuation is necessary whenever some scope-discourse property of an item must be licensed.[12] Thus, the highest copy could achieve its D-linked status through feature-valuation with a relevant head in the left periphery, as sketched in (42) (again, I am abstracting away from the issue of the absence of the lexical restriction on the intermediate copy):

(42) [CP1 **welchen Mann**[*D-linked*: +], [*wh*: +] glaubst du [CP2 *welchen Mann* [*D-link*: -], [*wh*: -] Maria *t* liebt]]

---

[12] In fact, in light of its peculiar semantic and morphosyntactic properties, D-linking will be assumed to represent a criterial feature in the analysis to be developed (cf. 4.3).

Given the absence of valuation of the D-linked feature on the intermediate copy at Narrow Syntax, such a feature presumably could not receive an interpretation at the interfaces. Removing the criterial features from the intermediate tokens at the point of Spell-Out through a process of feature-valuation could therefore suggest a way to capturing the proform status of the resuming elements.

However, as mentioned in section 1 such an approach is problematic in that it could not be readily extended to account for the fact that the D-linked feature can in fact be present on intermediate copies in complex *wh*-copying in other languages, such as Dutch (5) and Afrikaans (6):

(5) **Welke** **boeken** denk je *welke* zij gekocht heeft?

which books think you which she bought has

'Which books do you think she bought?'

(Dutch; Koster 2009: 23)

(6) **Watter** **meisie** sê hy *watter* *meisie* kom vanaand kuier?

which girl say he which girl come tonight visit

'Which girl did he say is coming to visit tonight?'

(Afrikaans; Lohndal 2010: ex. 16, reporting Theresa Biberauer's judgments)

Therefore, if the idea illustrated above were adopted, one would need assume that in such languages as Dutch and Afrikaans the D-linked feature of the moving *wh*-phrase can get valued at each C, be it root or embedded, given its overt presence on each copy. This seems to be untenable. First, such an assumption would require stipulating that whereas some languages may value certain features at specific positions, other languages may do so in a more unconstrained way. Specifically, this would raise the question of how the parametric difference between the varieties of German on the one hand and Afrikaans and Dutch on the other could be formally encoded in the grammar. More problematic still is that such a mechanism would conflict with the standard implementation of feature-valuation, whereby features are removed from the syntactic computation upon their valuation (see e.g. Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). The presence of D-linking on the extracted copy would be then left unexplained.

4. *A new Top-Down Analysis*

4.1 *Top-Down movement*

Given the complications faced by standard bottom-up analyses in formalizing certain aspects of the German *wh*-copying construction (i.e. (i) the successive-cyclic displacement of the tokens of the A'-chain, and (ii) their morphophonological realization), I propose an alternative solution, embedded in a Top-Down derivational model of grammar (Chesi 2004 *et seq.*). In what follows, I will sketch the main assumptions of the particular Top-Down framework I adopt, referring the reader to Chesi (2007, 2012, 2015) and Bianchi and Chesi (2006) for a more articulate exposition of its theoretical underpinnings (cf. also Den Dikken 2018 for a partially overlapping approach).

Computing from the top down essentially means that the derivation starts from the root of the tree (CP, or ForceP as in Rizzi 1997) and proceeds down its predicative core (the VP). In such a system criterial/functional features are therefore computed before the thematic ones.

In the case of a *wh*-question such as *who does John love?*, the criterial *wh*-feature present on the *wh*-probe (C, or Foc) will trigger the insertion of a compatible feature-bundle (43):

(43) *who* = [+wh +D +φ N][13]

The criterial *wh*-feature of *who* is thus licensed (*lexicalized*) at C upon the insertion/merger of the feature-bundle. However, the feature-bundle corresponding to *who* also contains *unexpected* features (Chesi 2015: 75), namely those features that cannot be licensed/selected at a particular position. The unexpected features of the *wh*-item (the remaining argumental features, in this case) are therefore stored into a repository termed *memory buffer*, as illustrated in (44):

(44) [+D +φ N] (feature-bundle stored in the memory buffer after lexicalization of the wh-feature)

Simplifying, the unexpected features remain on hold in the memory buffer according the following regulation (cf. Chesi 2015:80):

(45) Constraint on memory buffer inheritance:[14]

The contents of the memory buffer must be discharged either through appropriate selection within the current phase or onto the edge of the subsequent phase.

---

[13] This particular formalism is based on Stabler (1997). In the case of (43), the '+' symbol indicates licensing of scope-discourse/morphosyntactic properties, whereas 'N' indicates the morphosyntactic category to which the item belongs. Semantic features will be omitted from the representation since not relevant for our purposes. We moreover assume that phonological features are never present at Narrow Syntax, the phonological interpretation of an item being assigned at spell-out on the basis of its abstract morphosyntactic features (cf. Halle and Marantz 1993 and the discussion in section 4.2).

[14] See Bianchi and Chesi (2006) and Chesi (2012: 166-70) for a discussion of the computational advantages caused by this assumption. Note however that the classical notion of 'edge' (corresponding to the specifier of some phase head) is hard to capture precisely within this particular Top-Down framework. Indeed, it is not clear how intermediate edges could be projected in Chesi's (2015) framework, as he defines phases as the set of licensers and selectors that are projected by the phase head. Within Chesi's (2015) framework it would thus be hard to justify the presence of intermediate edges, which are not intrinsically part of the phase, as they can neither select nor license the expectations of the phase head. Perhaps more problematic still is the fact that, despite their inability to select/license features of any kind, such intermediate edges are apparently somehow capable of retrieving the contents of the memory buffer (as correctly pointed out by Den Dikken 2018: 92). However, these two problematic aspects may find a unified solution if we abandon the idea of intermediate edges as being projected by some phase-internal head. Instead, the presence of an edge might be justified on a third factor principle (Chomsky 2005), that is, as some extra-syntactic factor. Such edges could then be characterized as positions demanded by other cognitive systems with which language interfaces, and in particular working memory. More specifically, an edge so characterized would be triggered by the need to re-active the items stored in the memory buffer (*memory refresh*; cf. Felser 2001, Chesi 2012: 164) so that they may be processed in the upcoming phase. The memory refresh is justified as an operation when considering the effects of memory decay in the processing of long-distance dependencies (cf. Lewis and Vasishth 2005). Some evidence pointing towards the characterization of an edge as a being linked to the memory refresh operation may be found in Gibson and Warren 2004: 60-1), who show how sentences containing more intermediate edges are processed faster than sentences of similar length that contain fewer. If this idea were on the right track, the presence of an edge and its ability to retrieve unexpected features would find an immediate account: edges are points at which Narrow Syntax interfaces with working memory in order to refresh the unlicensed contents of the previous phase and thus increase the probe's chances of establishing a successful dependency with its goal by mitigating the effects of memory decay. The presence of a (oft-unpronounced) copy in such positions would then be a byproduct of the refresh operation. Note moreover that the insight of standard Phase Theory that phases are the product of memory limitations would be captured in a more transparent way by such a characterization of 'edge'.

Such a mechanism has the advantage of preserving the complexity-reducing insights of Phase Theory (Chomsky 2001, Gallego 2010), as it restricts the set of items that must be kept active in memory at each derivational stage (cf. Chesi 2015: 79). At the same time, since movement is no longer driven by *ad hoc* features on probes, but from the unexpected/unselected features of the item lexicalizing the criterial position, the theoretical complications faced by the standard bottom-up approaches outlined in the previous section may fall out naturally. In particular, while movement can be constrained (*pace* Chomsky et al. 2019),[15] the Top-Down system violates neither the ban against look-ahead nor the finitary of the lexicon (as opposed to the FFA). Moreover, the assumption that members of the A'-chains are tokens of the same element is maintained, as in the Copy Theory. The Top-Down approach to movement however generates a featural asymmetry between the criterial token on the one hand and the intermediate/thematic one on the other by its very nature. In other words, copies in the A'-chain are featurally distinct at Narrow Syntax, the lower copies being only partially related to the higher copies. Consequently, distinct re-merge positions are in fact predicted to behave differently as a result of the syntactic computation. This leads to a more efficient syntactic system that can do away with featural redundancies,[16] is more in line with processing concerns,[17] and, as I attempt to show in the remainder of this section, may be empirically more adequate.[18]

4.2 *Deriving identical/imperfect wh-copying*

This section outlines the implementation of the Top-Down approach for the derivation of *wh*-copying involving bare *wh*-elements. For illustrative purposes I will only discuss the case of bare DPs, although it should be clear that the same mechanism could be readily transposed to the derivation of bare AdvP- and PP-copying with no extra assumptions or modifications. Consider the sentence in (46):

(46) **Wen**   glaubst   du   *wen/den*   sie   liebt?

     who   believe   you   who   she   loves

     'Who do you think she loves?'

What needs to be accounted for in (46) is the fact that (i) the resuming element is found at the edge of the embedded CP-phase (i.e. successive-cyclic movement); and that (ii) the resuming element is featurally distinct from the extracted element and behaves as a free relative pronoun (cf. 3.3).

---

[15] Of course, for Chomsky et al. (2019) movement is constrained by the PIC. But the PIC only serves to constraint movement out of phases. Within the confines of phases movement remains unconstrained, as does any other instance of Merge.

[16] From a processing perspective, assuming featural non-distinctness among the tokens of the A'-chain may lead to less economical computations as irrelevant features must be kept active in working memory throughout the derivation.

[17] Although it is not necessary to conclude that "the grammar is the parser" (Phillips 1996), assuming a model of grammar with one derivational mechanism active in both parsing and production should be favorable (cf. Jackendoff 2002), as it would be more in line with the tenets of the Minimalist Program.

[18] A particularly problematic aspect of the analysis to be developed is the fact that German shows case morphology on copies whose predicates have not yet been introduced in the derivation. This is in fact a problem that afflicts the Top-Down model in general and is still pending treatment (I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this point).

Both of these facts follow straightforwardly from a Top-Down approach. In particular, successive-cyclic movement is derived from the mechanism outlined in the previous section (cf. Chesi 2015). As for (ii), the featural asymmetry between the extracted and the resuming element is generated as a result of the syntactic computation. More specifically, from the current perspective the criterial features are removed from the item upon their lexicalization in the left periphery. This means that the intermediate copy will correspond to a proper subset of the set of features of the criterial copy. That resuming elements really lack the criterial feature of the extracted element is suggested by the following observations (as discussed in section 3.3.). First, we note that bridge verbs may not select interrogative clauses as complements. Second, d-pronouns may appear as resuming elements, which clearly lack a *wh*-feature. Third, the free alternation between d-pronouns and *wh*-pronouns at intermediate positions indicates that both types of resuming element correspond to the same set of morphosyntactic features. Fourth, the correlation between the availability of a type of pronoun as a resuming element and its availability as a free relative pronoun further indicates that their features must be identical. These facts then indicate that the criterial *wh*-feature must be absent from the intermediate copy, as is in fact expected under our approach.

Moreover, the fact that intermediate copies correspond to free relative pronouns in German is not unexpected if, with Cheng (2000) and Felser (2004), we assume that *wh*-operators are constructed by combining a morphological 'core' with an inherently silent *wh*-feature, as illustrated in (47) for the *wh*-operator *wer* 'who.NOM' (from Cheng 2000: 86).[19] From the perspective of the present analysis, (47) may be featurally decomposed as in (48). In particular, the core is taken to correspond to the argumental features, namely [+D +φ N], a nominal extended projection in the sense of Grimshaw (1991), whereas the full-fledged *wh*-operator corresponds to the nominal extended projection with an interrogative specification: [+wh +D +φ N].

(47)   *wer*:   [Ø-*wer*]
              wh-core

(48)   *wer*: [[*wh*: +wh (Ø)] [core: +D (*w-*) +φ (*-er*) N (Ø)]]

Given that the *wh*-feature gets removed in the matrix clause, we expect intermediate copies to spell out the morphological core part of *wh*-operators (cf. Felser 2004). In light of the generalizations proposed in Pankau (2013), however, I am led to assume (*contra* e.g. Felser 2004) that in German such cores correspond to the morphosyntactic features of free relative pronouns. As a consequence, argumental *wh*-operators in German may be constructed by at-

---

[19] Some evidence in support of the morphological process whereby quantificational elements can attach to cores comes from indefinites, which may be formed by attaching an existential quantifier to the morphological basis. Cf. the following table from Cheng (2000: 86):

(i)   *wh*-phrases: indefinites:

      wer   'who'   irgendwer   'someone'

      was   'what'   irgendwas   'something'

      wann   'when'   irgendwann   'sometime'

      wo   'where'   irgendwo   'somewhere'

      welche   'which'   irgendwelche   'some kind of'

taching a *wh*-feature to the features of free relative pronouns.[20] If this is on the right track, the analysis may straightforwardly derive the following observations. First, it accounts for the fact that intermediate copies may be spelled-out as either d- or *wh*-pronouns, depending on whether these are independently available as free relative pronouns. Second, given that feature-bundles remain unaltered through intermediate A'-positions (as such positions may license no features), the analysis accounts for the fact that intermediate copies can show up at intermediate positions only as free relative pronouns (and not, e.g. as personal pronouns).[21] It is important to remark in this regard that I do not assume items to enter the derivation endowed with phonological features. Rather, their phonological interpretation would be assigned via a Late Insertion mechanism at the interface with phonology on the basis of their morphosyntactic features (Halle and Marantz 1993; cf. Pankau 2009 for a similar approach). As mentioned, this would allow us to readily account for the free alternation between *wh*- and d-pronouns found in (some of) the d-varieties of German: the feature-bundle [+D +φ N] can be spelled-out as either *wen* or *den* for such varieties.

Therefore, in order to derive (46), I assume that the *wh*-probe triggers the insertion of the *wh*-operator ([+wh +D +φ N]). Upon its lexicalization, the operator's criterial feature is removed from the computation and its remaining unexpected features ([+D +φ N]) stored into the memory buffer, where they are put on hold until the subsequent phase is initiated. By regulation (45), the lower CP-edge can then retrieve the stored feature-bundle from the memory buffer, where they can be spelled-out as either *wen* or *den*, depending on the particular morphemes the variety uses to introduce free relatives.[22] The relevant derivation may be sketched as in (49):

(49) [+wh +D +φ N (*wen*)] ... glaubst du ...   *lexicalization of* wh-*probe*
     [+~~wh~~ +D +φ N (*wen*)] ... glaubst ... [+D +φ N (*wen*)/(den*)]   *lexicalization of next edge*

4.3 Deriving complex wh-copying

The derivation of complex *wh*-copying may require some additional assumptions, especially in view of its cross-linguistic variation. The issue engendered by complex *wh*-copying stems from the fact that it is subject to the following variation:[23]

---

[20] If correct, the Top-Down framework could offer a new perspective on the issue of the featural decomposition of determiners (cf. Leu 2015).

[21] An anonymous reviewer points out that the same effect can be obtained via a bottom-up derivation assuming that the variable moves edge-by-edge and is interpreted as a *wh*-operator when it is merged with an interrogative C. This is true, and I concede that the Top-Down analysis might not offer a substantial empirical advantage in the case of bare *wh*-copying. However, the suggested bottom-up alternative seems to me to be comparable to previous analyses such as Pankau's (2009) or Felser's (2004) in that the operator comes to be spelled out as such thanks to some property of interrogative C. The problems discussed for those analyses in section 3.3 are therefore applicable to the reviewer's alternative: how can we account for the fact that German shows no D-linking morpheme on intermediate copies in complex *wh*-copying, whereas (the relevant dialects of) Dutch and Afrikaans do?

[22] This follows from the assumption that cores correspond to free relative proforms in German: the feature-bundle [+D +φ N] could not be interpreted phonologically as a d-pronoun by the *wh*-variety, because such morphemes cannot be used to introduce free relatives in that variety.

[23] Here we will only discuss the case of the Germanic branch, though it should be noted that the phenomenon has also been reported in Seereer (Baier 2018), a Senegambian language. Interestingly, Vallader, a Rhaeto-Romance variety, shows a similar pattern to Liberal German complex *wh*-copying (cf. (i-ii)), which has traditionally been analyzed as a *quel/qui* alternation (Taraldsen 2002: 30-1; cf. Poletto and Sanfelici 2018: 273ff.). This raises the question whether the *quel/qui* alternation may be reanalyzed as a form of residual *wh*-copying.

Restrictive German:

(50) * **Wessen** **Buch** glaubst du *was/* *wessen* *Buch* Hans liest?
      whose   book   believe you what whose   book Hans reads
      'Whose book do you think Hans reads?'

<div align="right">(Adapted from McDaniel 1986: 183)</div>

Liberal German:

(4) **Welchem** **Mann** glaubst du *wem/dem* sie das Buch gegeben hat?
     which   man   believe you who   she the book given   has
     'Which man do you think she has given the book to?'

<div align="right">(Adapted from Anyadi and Tamrazian 1993: 4)</div>

Dialectal Dutch:

(5) **Welke** **boeken** denk je *welke* zij gekocht heeft?
     which   books   think you which she bought   has
     'Which books do you think she bought?'

<div align="right">(Koster 2009: 23)</div>

Afrikaans:

(51) a. **Watter** **meisie** sê hy *watter* *meisie* kom vanaand kuier?
         which   girl   say he which   girl   come tonight visit
         'Which girl did he say is coming to visit tonight?'

   b. **Watter** **mooi** **meisie** sê hy
       which   beautiful girl   say he
       watter *mooi* *miesie* kom vanand kuier
       which   beautiful girl   come tonight visit
       'Which beautiful girl did he say is coming to visit tonight?'

<div align="right">(Lohndal 2010: ex. 16, reporting Theresa Biberauer's judgments)</div>

The cross-linguistic variation may be represented by means of Table 3. Therefore, what needs to be accounted for is the fact that the intermediate copy either must not be spelled-out

(i) **Qual** **cudesch** crajast *cha* las mattas cumpraran?
     which   book   think.you what the girls will.buy

(ii) **Qualas** **mattas** crajast *chi* cumpraran quel cudesch?
      which   girls   think.you who will.buy   that book

at all or may be spelled out to varying degrees. I contend that the Top-Down derivation may account for the observed intra- and cross-linguistic variation when coupled with two parameters: (i) a morphophonological parameter regulating the spell-out of intermediate feature-bundles; and (ii) a morphosyntactic parameter concerning the cross-linguistic distribution of the criterial +D-linked position.

	Intermediate Copy	Ex.	Eng.
RG	silent	Ø	Ø
LG	proform	*wen*	'who'
Dialectal Dutch	adjectival	*welke*	'which'
Afrikaans	full copy	*watter* + N	'which + N'

Table 3. Crosslinguistic variation with complex *wh*-phrases

As concerns the morphophonological parameter, it can be noted from Table 3 that intermediate copies vary in morphological complexity: the resuming element either incorporates the +D-linked feature (Dutch, Afrikaans) or not (LG), or realizes the lexical restriction along with its determiner (Afrikaans). Such variation can however be argued not to be arbitrary. In fact, it can be accounted for by a morphophonological constraint whereby the spell-out of the features of intermediate copies amounts to the set of functional features projected by the lexical head (an extended projection; Grimshaw 1991).[24] Indeed, notice that a generalization presents itself: apart from RG (where the resuming element must be silenced altogether), the intermediate copy is realized via morphemes encapsulating the functional features of the extracted phrase: +D and +φ. Specifically, in German, the resuming element *wem* is a determiner morphologically inflected for the case and gender of the noun *Mann*. Similarly, in Dutch, the determiner *welke* is the form of *welk* inflected for the lexical restriction *boeken*'s number. In Afrikaans, since the *which*-like determiner *watter* does not inflect for φ-features (Donaldson 1993), it may be necessary to spell out the lexical restriction as well in order to assign a proper value to such features. It might then be suggested that what gets spelled out as a resuming element corresponds to the morphosyntactic features of the extracted phrase (as is also the case in bare *wh*-copying). In particular, the spelled-out morpheme is of the same functional category as the extracted phrase (+D, in this particular cases), and realizes the φ-features of its lexical restriction either via an inflectional morpheme on the determiner (LG and Dutch), or, when these are not present in a particular lexicon, via the lexical restriction itself.[25] These considerations then suggest the morphophonological principle in (52):

---

[24] Interestingly, if this idea is correct, the spelled-out portion could be identified with the domain of a Top-Down phase, with the boundary coinciding with its edge. See Chesi (2007, 2015) for a description of such phases; cf. Chesi and Brattico (2018).

[25] Recall that in either case the φ-features are assumed to be projected by the lexical head as part of its extended projection.

(52) Morphophonological principle on intermediate copy spell-out:

> A PF-convergent intermediate copy corresponds to the set of functional features of the feature-bundle in memory.

> Assuming that intermediate tokens indeed amount to bundles of features, the generalization may be stated as the following morphophonological parameter:

(53) Morphophonological parameter on intermediate copy spell-out:

> Languages may either silence a feature-bundle at intermediate position or spell-out a PF-convergent object (i.e. its set of functional features).

Such a parameter captures the observation that the intermediate copies may minimally spell out +D and +φ (and everything in between in some cases; cf. (51b), where even the adjective *mooi* is resumed). The elision of the lexical restriction observed in LG and Dutch would thus receive an immediate account: as the set of functional features terminates with the spell-out of the +φ-features, the lexical restriction can be left out. From a Top-Down perspective, the elision of the lexical restriction may be derived via a mechanism of truncation, which begins with the realization of the left-most feature of the set functional features (+D, in the above examples) and terminates with the realization of its last feature (+φ). Put another way, the phonological interface will be 'satisfied' as long as it gets to spell out the functional features of the extracted phrase: everything that follows such features will be removed from the phonological output.[26] Thus, upon receiving the 'complex' feature-bundle, the phonological component can decide whether to discard it (as in RG), or whether it should spell out the relevant features.

If (53) is accepted, then it follows that the set of functional features of intermediate feature-bundles must contain the +D-linked feature in the dialect of Dutch and Afrikaans, as may be gathered from the presence of specific morphemes overtly found on the resuming elements (*-lk-* and *-ter*, respectively). These two languages then differ with respect to German, which cannot realize a +D-linked feature on intermediate copies:

(54) * **Welche**   **Frau**   glaubst   du   *welche*   er   eingeladen   hat?

      Which   woman.FEM.SG   believe   you   which.FEM.SG   he   invited   has

      'Which woman do you think she has invited?'

                                                                    (Pankau 2013: 63)

Recalling that extracted feminine phrases cannot be resumed by *wh*-pronouns (as the *wh*-paradigm lacks the appropriate φ-inflection; cf. 2.1), we may note that the adjectival *welche*, even if inflected for the relevant φ-features, cannot resume the extracted phrase in (54). Recall further that there is no general ban against resuming complex feminine extracted phrases, as these are allowed in the d-variety:

---

[26] Why such a generalization should hold, however — that is, why the set of functional features should deliver a PF-convergent object — remains to be determined more precisely.

(55)	**Welche**	**Frau**		glaubst	du	*die*		er	eingeladen	hat?
	Which	woman.FEM.SG		believe	you	which.FEM.SG		he	invited	has

   'Which woman do you think she has invited?'

(*Ibidem*)

These facts strongly indicate that the +D-linked feature cannot be realized on intermediate copies in German complex *wh*-copying. The question then arises as to why that is the case. Let us therefore introduce the second parameter I assume in my analysis, which concerns precisely the morphosyntactic status of D-linked *wh*-phrases.

Pragmatically, phrases like *which man*, as used in e.g. *which man did she kiss?*, can be characterized as D(iscourse)-linked (Pesetsky 1987), that is, phrases which interrogate about an item belonging to a specific set that is presupposed by both interlocutors (i.e. 'she kissed *x* and *x* is part of the set of men' is presupposed). Given the discourse-related character of D-linking, I follow Rizzi (2011) a.o. in assuming that D-linking is expressed as a criterial feature licensed in the left periphery.[27] In addition to theory-internal arguments, there is in fact empirical evidence supporting this assumption. For instance, as shown by Munaro (1999), some dialects of northern Italy place their D-linked *wh*-phrases at a higher position with respect to bare *wh*-operators. Similarly, in Romanian, which allows multiple *wh*-phrases to occur in the left periphery in interrogatives, complex non-subject *wh*-phrases must be placed higher than bare subject *wh*-operators (*Cu care candidat cine a votat?* 'For which candidate who voted?'), an option not available to bare non-subject *wh*-phrases (*Cine cu cine a votat?* 'Who for whom voted?') (see Villata et al. 2016: 79-80 and references cited therein). These studies suggest the hypothesis that D-linked *wh*-phrases land onto specific ("criterial") positions located within an articulated left periphery dedicated to hosting a wide but universally-arranged array of scope-discourse functional heads (Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*). I assume such a hypothesis here.

Villata et al. (2016) further suggest that D-linked phrases might have the option of landing onto two different positions in the left periphery: one exclusive to D-linked phrases, simply referred to here as +D-linked, and a distinct one normally available to bare *wh*-operators, +wh (see also Friedmann et al. 2009 and Rizzi 2011). Building on these studies, it could then be hypothesized that the varieties discussed here differ with respect to the criterial feature that they license in the left periphery. Specifically, the German varieties would generate their D-linked phrases at +D-linked, while Afrikaans and the dialect of Dutch would lexicalize +wh instead. I then propose the following morphosyntactic parameter:

(56) Morphosyntactic parameter on the distribution of D-linked positions:
    Languages may either lexicalize D-linked wh-phrases at +D-linked or +wh.

We are now in a position to account for the cross-linguistic variation.

As far as the German varieties are concerned, given parameters (53) and (56) and the Top-Down mechanism, the derivation of a complex *wh*-copying sentence such as (4) may be outlined as follows. First, the +D-linked position triggers the insertion of the compatible feature-bundle in (57):

---

[27] See Cruschina (2011) on the focal nature of D-linked phrases; Grewendorf (2012) for evidence of their topicality in Bavarian.

(57) [+wh (Ø) +D (*w-*) +D-link (*-lch-*) +φ (*-en*) N (*Mann*)]

Second, the criterial features are removed from the item upon its lexicalization in the left periphery.[28] The unexpected features stored in the memory buffer will therefore correspond to (58):

(58) [+D (*w-*) +φ (*-en*) N (*Mann*)]

Whereas RG would silence this complex feature-bundle at the interface with phonology,[29] LG would spell it out according to principle (52), obtaining the free relative proform *wen* (or *den*, for the d-varieties) as a resuming element. Since the elision of the lexical restriction is licensed by +φ and the +D-feature of the extracted copy is preserved into the memory buffer, the analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of the following examples.

(59) a. * **Welchen** **Mann** glaubst   du   *den   Mann* sie   eingeladen   hat?
              which   man   believe   you   the   man   she   invited   has

(*Ibidem*, 105)

b. * **Welchen** **Mann** glaubst du   *ihn*   sie   eingeladen   hat?
       which   man   believe you   he   she   invited   has

c. * **Welchen** **Mann** glaubst du   *diesen   sie   eingelanden   hat?*
       which   man   believe you   this   she   invited   has

       'Which man do you think she has invited?'

(*Ibidem*, 50-51)

On the other hand, the intermediate copies of Afrikaans and of the Dutch dialect would have a different featural specification because of the different functional features that they would lexicalize. More specifically, the +D-linked feature would be preserved at intermediate position in these languages, because such a feature would not be licensed in the left periphery, as expected under parameter (56).[30] The intermediate feature-bundles would then correspond to something like (60) for Dutch, and (61) for Afrikaans. Therefore, by parameter (53), examples (5) and (6/51a) can be correctly ruled in.

(60) [+D (*w-*) +D-link (*-lk-*) +φ (*-e*) N (*boeken*)]

(61) [+D (*wat-*) +D-link (*-ter-*) +φ (*-Ø*) N (*meisie*)][31]

---

[28] It is irrelevant for our purposes whether +D-linked is a simple position encoding solely for +D-linked, or whether it can also lexicalize the +wh feature.

[29] Although I do not currently have a full-fledged analysis as to why RG should silence complex feature-bundles, it would not be unreasonable to assume that such a restriction may be caused by the semantic conflict that would ensue by spelling out a phrase containing both a pronoun and a noun.

[30] I leave out the issue of how the presupposition of the speaker can be expressed in these languages (though a possible means might be prosody).

[31] It is irrelevant for our purposes whether *watter* should be analyzed as *wat + ter*, as in the representation in (60), or as *w + atter*. What is important is that the element carries no overt φ-features.

Note moreover that the assumption that the Dutch dialect and Afrikaans may preserve the +D-linked feature at intermediate positions seems to be a necessary one. In fact, while one could assume that the intermediate feature-bundle corresponds to the one assumed for German in (57), this approach would turn out to be problematic for at least two reasons. First, it would need to be explained how the +D-linked feature can be spelled-out at intermediate positions for such languages if this feature had already been licensed at a criterial position. It could be suggested here that the +D-linked feature may be added through a process of morphological reanalysis which allows these languages to spell out the relevant φ-features, as they would otherwise remain unexpressed by pronominal *wh*-elements.[32] But making this assumption would lead us to the second problem with this approach, namely that it would remain unexplained why such a process of morphological reanalysis is not available for German, as shown by the impossibility of resuming complex *wh*-phrases expressing φ-features unavailable for *wh*-pronouns (cf. (54) above). Conversely, example (54) suggests that the analysis whereby the +D-linked feature is removed in the left periphery is on the right track for German. Note indeed that the fact that in LG *welche* may not be used as an intermediate copy — in spite of the fact that such an element would constitute a legitimate morphophonological object as per principle (52) — would otherwise remain unexplained on principled grounds.

5. *Summary and Conclusions*

From a theoretical perspective, *wh*-copying appears to involve the cooperation of multiple modules of the grammar: while the morphosyntactic component would be involved in the mechanism of successive-cyclicity and the generation of the featural asymmetry that ensues among copies at distinct re-merge positions, the morphophonological interface would regulate the intra- and cross-linguistic realization of such features.

The present article proposed an analysis of German *wh*-copying under a derivational framework that takes the order of computations to proceed from the top (CP) down (VP). The analysis is argued to be superior over more traditional bottom-up alternatives, for the following reasons. For starters, the assumption that derivations may proceed from the top down is empirically well-justified when considering sentence parsing and production, both of which necessarily require the flow of the computation to proceed in a left-to-right, top-down order; syntactic derivations could then be brought "into closer harmony with processing concerns" (Chesi 2015:79).

The Top-Down directionality may also prove to be theoretically and empirically superior for the derivation of long-distance *wh*-extraction, and, consequently, *wh*-copying. First, movement is constrained in an effort to reduce the computational complexity of the derivation, whilst achieving successive-cyclicity with the aid of no teleological device (such as movement-triggering probes; cf. 3.2). Second, the morphophonological shape of the copy may be derived as a consequence of the Top-Down syntactic computation. In particular, the present analysis assumed that the proform status of the intermediate copy in German is achieved as a result of the lexicalization of the criterial features in the left periphery of the matrix clause. Such an assumption is justified in my view if, with Cheng (2000), we take bare *wh*-operators to be a combination of a core with quantificational features. Under our approach, such quantificational features are criterial and are thus removed from the item upon its lexicalization in the left periphery. The intermediate copy will then corre-

---

[32] Afrikaans *wh*-pronouns do not inflect for φ-features; Dutch, like German, does not inflect its pronouns for number in the *wh*-paradigm: the plural phrase *welke boeken* could thus not be resumed by a pronominal *wh*-element.

spond to a featurally-impoverished version — the morphosyntactic core — of the criterial copy. Furthermore, I take the free alternation between *wh-* and d-pronouns at intermediate position to be suggestive of the fact that the morphosyntactic features of these types of resuming element are identical (as predicted by our analysis for intermediate A'-tokens in general). The fact that the availability of some pronoun as a resuming element is contingent upon the pronoun's availability as a free relative pronoun moreover indicates that the features of the cores must be identical to those of free relative pronouns. If this idea is on the right track, the empirical generalizations put forth in Pankau (2013) may be captured within a generative model, whilst also offering a new perspective on the issue of the featural decomposition of determiners (cf. Leu 2015).

The Top-Down analysis may also unify aspects of the morphosyntactic and morphophono-logical sides of *wh*-copying that might otherwise remain unrelated from a bottom-up perspective. Consider for instance the case of complex *wh*-copying, and in particular the phenomenon of the elision of the lexical restriction found in LG and the dialect of Dutch. While the Top-Down derivation can identify a precise spell-out domain to derive the morphemes used at intermediate position (i.e. the set of functional features of the item in the memory buffer), the bottom-up models would need to stipulate some extra mechanism in order to filter out the unattested features. Indeed, note that spelling out the set of functional would not work from a bottom-up perspective (cf. Pankau 2013: 105-11), as that would incorrectly rule in examples like (54), where the D-linked feature is present on the intermediate copy.

On the other hand, the analysis described here can account for the facts of German by as-suming that: (i) such features as +wh and +D-linked are criterial and are thus removed from the item upon their lexicalization; and that (ii) the spell-out of intermediate copies is regulated by a parameter set to either silence the entire feature-bundle or to overtly realize the set of functional features. Finally, another advantage of the present analysis is that it can be extended to account for the observed cross-linguistic variation with complex *wh*-copying. Such an extension might have to rely on the assumption that D-linked phrases can be generated at a position normally reserved for bare *wh*-operators. In light of the considerations outlined in the previous section, however, such an assumption would not seem unreasonable; nonetheless, its consequences are not entirely clear yet, and I leave their investigation to future research.

References

Anyadi, Stefanie, and Armine Tamrazian. 1993. "Wh-movement in Armenian and Ruhr German." *UCL Working papers in Linguistics* 5: 1-22.

Baier, Nico. 2018. "Spell-out, Chains, and Long Distance Wh-movement in Seereer." *Berkeley Papers in Formal Linguistics*, 1, 1, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8rg91081> (06/2020).

Barbiers, Sjef, Olaf Koeneman, and Marika Lekakou. 2010. "Syntactic doubling and the structure of wh-chains." *Journal of Linguistics* 46, 1: 1-46.

Bianchi, Valentina, and Cristiano Chesi. 2006. "Phases, left branch islands, and computational islands." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 12, 1: 15-28.

Bošković, Željko. 2008. "On the operator freezing effect." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26, 2: 249-287.

Cheng, L.L. 2000. "Moving Just the Feature." In *Wh-scope marking,* ed. by Uli Lutz, Gereon Müller and Arnim v. Stechow, 77-100. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Chesi, Cristiano and Pauli Brattico. 2018. "Larger than expected: constraints on pied-piping across languages." *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, 1: 1-38.

Chesi, Cristiano. 2004. *Phases and Cartography in Linguistic Computation: Toward a Cognitively Motivated Computational Model of Linguistic Competence*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Siena.

Chesi, Cristiano. 2007. "An introduction to phase-based minimalist grammars: Why move is top-down from left-to-right." *Studies in Linguistics* 1: 49-90.

Chesi, Cristiano. 2012. *Competence and computation: Toward a processing friendly minimalist grammar.* Padova: Unipress.

Chesi, Cristiano. 2015. "On directionality of phrase structure building." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 44, 1: 1-50.

Chomsky, Noam. 1977. "On wh-movement." In *Formal syntax*, ed. by Peter Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Akmajian, 71-132. New York: Academic Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1993. "A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory." In *The View from Building 20*, ed. by Ken Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist inquiries: The framework." In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by phase." In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2005. "Three factors in language design." *Linguistic Inquiry* 36, 1: 1-22.

Chomsky, Noam. 2008. "On phases." In *Foundational issues in linguistic theory*, ed. by Robert Freidin, Carlos Otero, M.L. Zubizarreta, 133-166. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam, Á.J. Gallego, and Dennis Ott. 2019. "Generative grammar and the faculty of language: insights, questions, and challenges." *Catalan Journal of Linguist*ics 0: 229-261.

Chung, Sandra. 1998. *The Design of Agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Corver, Norbert, and Jairo Nunes. 2007. *The Copy Theory of Movement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cruschina, Silvio. 2011. *Discourse-Related Features and Functional Projections*. New York: OUP.

Den Dikken, Marcel. 2009. "Arguments for successive-cyclic movement through SpecCP: A critical review." *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9: 89-126.

Den Dikken, Marcel. 2018. *Dependency and Directionality*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Donaldson, Bruce. 1993. *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Epstein, Samuel, Hisatsugu Kitahara, and Daniel Seely. 2016. "What Do We Wonder is Not Syntactic?" In *Explorations in Maximizing Syntactic Minimization*, ed by. Samuel Epstein, Hisatsugu Kitahara, Daniel Seely, 222-239. New York: Routledge.

Fanselow, Gisbert, and Anoop Mahajan. 2000. "Towards a Minimalist Theory of Wh-Expletives, Wh-Copying, and Successive Cyclicity." In *Wh-scope marking,* ed. by Uli Lutz, Gereon Müller, Arnim v. Stechow, 195-230. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Fanselow, Gisbert, and Damir Ćavar. 2001. "Remarks on the economy of pronunciation." In *The rise of competition in syntax: A synopsis*, ed. by Gereon Müller, Wolfgang Sternefeld, 107-150. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Felser, Claudia. 2001. "Wh-Copying, Phases and Successive Cyclicity." *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 37: 43-78.

Felser, Claudia. 2004. "Wh-copying, phases and successive cyclicity." *Lingua* 114, 5: 543–574.

Friedmann, Naama, Adriana Belletti, and Luigi Rizzi. 2009. "Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies." *Lingua* 119, 1: 67-88.

Fukui, Naoki, and Hiroki Narita. 2014. "Merge, Labeling, and Projection." In *The Routledge Handbook of Syntax*, ed. by Andrew Carnie, Dan Siddiqi, Yosuke Sato, 3-23. London: Routledge.

Gallego, Á.J. 2010. *Phase Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gallego, Á.J. 2018. "Freezing effects in a free-Merge system: A configurational approach." In *Freezing: Theoretical approaches and empirical domains*, ed. by Jutta Hartmann, Marion Jäger, Andreas Kehl, *et al.*, 66–104. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gibson, Edward, and Tessa Warren. 2004. "Reading-Time Evidence for Intermediate Linguistic Structure in Long-Distance Dependencies." *Syntax* 7, 1: 55-78.

Grewendorf, Günther. 2012. "Wh-movement as topic movement." In *Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. vol. 7*, ed. by Laura Brugè, Anna Cardinaletti, Giuliana Giusti, *et al.*, 55-68. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Grimshaw, Jane. 1991. "Extended projection". In *Lexical specification and insertion*, ed. by Peter Coopmans, Martin Everaert, Jane Grimshaw, 115–134. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. "Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection." In *The View from Building 20*, ed. by Ken Hale, S.J. Keyser, 111-176. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jackendoff, Ray. 2002. *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Jacobson, Pauline. 1984. "Connectivity in phrase structure grammar." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1, 4: 535–581.

Koster, Jan. 2009. "IM not perfect: The case against copying." Ms., Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

Lahne, Antje. 2008. *Where There is Fire There is Smoke. Local Modelling of Successive-Cyclic Movement*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Leipzig: Universität Leipzig.

Leu, Thomas. 2015. *The Architecture of Determiners*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Lewis, R.L., and Shavran Vasishth. 2005. "An activation-based model of sentence processing as skilled memory retrieval." *Cognitive science* 29, 3: 375-419.

Lohndal, Terje. 2010. "Medial-wh Phenomena, Parallel Movement, and Parameters." *Linguistic Analysis* 34: 215–244.

Lutz, Uli, Gereon Müller, and Arnim v. Stechow. 2000. *Wh-scope marking*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

McCloskey, James. 2002. "Resumption, successive cyclicity, and the locality of operations." In *Derivation and explanation in the Minimalist Program*, ed. by S.D. Epstein, D.T. Seely, 184-226. Oxford: Blackwell.

McDaniel, Dana. 1986. *Conditions on wh-chains*. Phd Dissertation, New York: City University of New York.

Munaro, Nicola. 1999. *Sintagmi interrogativi nei dialetti italiani settentrionali*. Padua: Unipress.

Murphy, Andrew. 2016. "What copying (doesn't) tell us about movement: Remarks on the derivation of wh-copying in German." *Linguistische Arbeits Berichte* 93: 149-188.

Nunes, Jairo. 2004. *Linearization of chains and sideward movement*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Pankau, Andreas. 2009. "Copies at the Interfaces." *Proceedings of the Patras International Conference of Graduate Students in Linguistics* 1: 197–209.

Pankau, Andreas. 2013. *Replacing copies: The syntax of wh-copying in German*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Utrecht: Utrecht University.

Pankau, Andreas. 2018. "Pseudo wh-copying as wh-slifting." Ms., <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/004298> (06/2020).

Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2007. "The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features." In *Phrasal and clausal architecture: Syntactic derivation and interpretation*, ed. by Simin Karimi, Vida Samiian, Wendy Wilkins, 262-294. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pesetsky, David. 1987. "Wh-in-situ: movement and unselective binding." In *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, ed. by Eric Reuland, Alice ter Meulen, 98-129. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Phillips, Colin. 1996. *Order and Structure*. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Preminger, Omer. 2011. *Agreement as a fallible operation*. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Poletto, Cecilia, and Emanuela Sanfelici. 2018. "On relative complementizers and relative pronouns." *Linguistic Variation* 18, 2: 265-298.

Rizzi, Luigi, and Ur Shlonsky. 2007. "Strategies of Subject Extraction." In *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?*, ed. by Uli Sauerland, Hans-Martin Gärtner, 115-160. Berlin-New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery." In *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Generative Syntax*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2006. "On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects." In *Wh-movement: Moving on*, ed. by Lisa Cheng and Norbert Corver, 97-134. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2011. "Minimality." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Minimalism*, ed. by Cedric Boeckx, 220-238. Oxford-New York: OUP.

Schippers, Ankelien. 2012. "Some people are repeaters. Medial copy spell-out in long-distance wh-dependencies." In *Proceedings of ConSOLE XVII*, ed. by Camelia Constantinescu, Bert Le Bruyn, Kathrin Linke, 269-288.

Stabler, Edward. 1997. "Derivational minimalism." In *Logical Aspects of Computational Linguistics*, ed. by Christian Retoré, 68-95. Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer.

Taraldsen, Knut. 2002. "The Que/Qui Alternation and the Distribution of Expletives." In *Subjects, Expletives and the EPP*, ed. by Peter Svenonius, 29-42. New York-Oxford: Oxford UP.

van Urk, Coppe. 2015. *A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A case study of Dinka Bor*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge: MIT.

Villata, Sandra, Luigi Rizzi, and Julie Franck. 2016. "Intervention effects and Relativized Minimality: New experimental evidence from graded judgments." *Lingua* 179: 76-96.

The syntactic structure of the Xhosa
e- N *-ini* locatives

Knut Tarald Taraldsen
The Arctic University of Norway / Masarykova Univerzita
(<knut.taraldsen@uit.no>)

Abstract:

This article aims at presenting arguments for a new analysis of locative expressions with the prefix *e* and the suffix *-ini* in Xhosa. This analysis views the most striking properties of these expressions as syntactic in nature and is based on arguments to the effect that a purely morphological analysis doesn't provide explanatory accounts of the relevant facts.

Keywords: *augments, locative prefixes, locative suffixes, Xhosa*

1. Background

In Xhosa and Zulu, locative expressions are formed from noun phrases by adding the prefix *e-* and, in the general case, the suffix *-ini* to the noun:[1]

(1)   Ndi-fundisa   e-si-kolwe-ni
        I-teach   E-7-school-INI
        'I'm teaching at a/the school.'

There are restrictions, and there are also other ways of forming locative expressions. The focus of this paper, though, is on *e-* … *-ini* locatives, and I will only make sporadic remarks on *ku-* and other locative prefixes.

---

[1] The initial *i* of *-ini* affects the final vowel of its host in various ways and may itself fail to surface. In (1), for example, the host noun is *kolo* 'school'. For ease of exposition, my parses will only separate out *-ni* from the host, but it will be glossed as INI. Likewise, *e-* is glossed as E not to prejudice the analytical options.

A locative *e-* or *i-* is also found in Northeastern Bantu languages and some Northwestern languages.

1.1 Distribution

The locative prefix *e-* and the accompanying suffix *-ini* only go onto nouns, and only when the noun is initial in the noun phrase, e.g. not preceded by a demonstrative. Demonstratives use the locative prefix *ku-*, and pronouns use *ku-* or *ki-*.

According to Van der Spuy (2014), nouns in classes 1 and 2 also only use *ku-* in Zulu. This is not the case in Xhosa according to the native speakers I have consulted.

1.2 The relation between e- and -ini

With certain nouns, the locative prefix *e-* occurs without the suffix *-ini*:

(2)   e-khaya
         E-*home*
         'at home'

Different ways of accommodating this fact are discussed in sections 2.1 and 3.2.3. Also, the suffix *-ini* only co-occurs with *e-*, never with the locative *ku-*.

1.3 The goal of this paper

My aim is to sketch a novel account of *e- … -ini* locatives based on the idea that an analysis treating these as complex syntactic structures can explain various properties that seem to remain mysterious on a purely morphological account.

I will only consider the properties of *e- … -ini* locatives in Xhosa, and I will not discuss how my account of Xhosa might be related to the analyses proposed for locatives in other Bantu languages. As will become apparent at various point, the *e- … -ini* locatives in Xhosa behave rather differently from superficially similar locatives of certain other Bantu languages, in particular those in which locative nouns trigger agreement on modifiers and predicates, i.e. those in which the locative prefixes have been taken to belong to special locative noun classes largely similar to other noun classes.[2] The empirical facts strongly suggest that this type of analysis cannot be extended to the Xhosa *e- … -ini* locatives (nor, for that matter, to the Xhosa locative *ku-*). To place an account of Xhosa in the proper comparative perspective, I believe it is first necessary to develop an in-depth account of the Xhosa facts as they are, which is what I will attempt to do.

I will also not have anything much to say about Xhosa locatives with the prefix *ku-* except as to point out relevant contrasts between these and the *e- … -ini* locatives.

1.4 A brief guide for readers unfamiliar with Xhosa

A nominal stem typically combines with two prefixed structural elements in Xhosa – a C(V)-shaped class prefix preceded by a V-shaped augment, as in *a – ba – ntu* 'people' (class 2).[3] The

---

[2] Bantuists have analyzed the locative-forming *e-* as the class prefix of a locative class variously numbered 23, 24 and 25; Maho (1999: 204). For a recent overview of locatives in Bantu languages, see Zeller (2019).

[3] Augmented nouns are glossed as X – X – noun where X is the number of the N's class. X – noun glosses an Aug-less noun.

augment (Aug) can be absent in certain syntactic environments, e.g. in the scope of negation.[4] The vowel spelling it out (*i, u* or *a*) is determined by agreement with the basic class prefix.

A noun as just described can be followed by a possessor phrase linked to it by *a* 'of'. The actual spell-out of the "linker" illustrates a phonological process which will become important in section 4.2. When *a* is followed by a noun whose Aug is *i*, *a* is replaced by *e* and the noun seems Aug-less, e.g. *a i-li-fu* 'of 5-5-cloud' becomes /*elifu*/, but when the Aug is *u*, the outcome is *o*, e.g. *a u-m-fazi* 'of 1-1-woman' becomes /*omfazi*/. When the Aug is *a*, we get a single *a*, as in *a a-ma-nzi* 'of 6-6-water' becoming /*amanzi*/.[5]

I will refer to this phonological process as "coalescence" following general Bantuist practice. Theoretically, it may be seen as the association of two sets of phonological features with a single V-slot, as in Element Theory (see Kaye et al. 1985 and much subsequent work). The reason coalescence becomes important in section 4.2., is that coalescence is also involved in the spell-out of the "relative concords", special agreement markers that appear right before the verb in relative clauses. These are spelled out as *a, e* or *o* depending on the class membership of the subject. Thus, they can be seen as the outcome of coalescence of *a* with the augment for the class the subject belongs to.

2. Van der Spuy (2014)

In order to motivate a purely syntactic analysis of the *e-* … *-ini* locatives, it is convenient to begin by commenting on Van der Spuy's (2014) thorough account of these constructs within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993).

2.1 Claims

Van der Spuy takes the *e-* to be a vocabulary item spelling out the Aug(ment) (notated D by Van der Spuy, but Aug here) of its host noun when the Aug bears the case feature [+loc]. So, the structure of *e-khaya* 'at home', for example, would be the one in (3):

(3)   [$_{AugP}$ [$_{Aug}$ +D, +loc][$_{NP}$ khaya]]

The entry in (4) (Van der Spuy's (19)d) warrants replacing [$_{Aug}$ +D, +loc] with *e*:

(4)   [+loc, +D] ←→ *e*

This analysis has the advantage that it automatically explains why *e-* is never followed by the regular Aug of the host noun.

To explain the absence of a spatial preposition in *e-* … *-ini* locatives, Van der Spuy considers the [+loc] on the Aug to be sufficient to induce the locative interpretation all by itself.

Abbreviations:
[SCX] = the subject concord of class X
[OCX] = the object concord of class X
[RCX] = the relative concord of class X
[RP] = the recent past tense suffix
[REL] = a suffix that may appear on VP-final verbs in relative clauses.
[4] See Visser (2008) and Halpert (2016) for different views of the syntactic nature of Aug.
[5] When followed by an Aug-less noun, *a* remains unaffected.

It should be noted that the locative *ku-* (at least the one appearing on nouns in classes 1 and 2 in Zulu) is also taken to lexicalize an Aug with the feature [+loc] (see Van der Spuy's (19) b), but for reasons that will appear below, I don't think *ku-* is an Aug.

Likewise, the suffix *-ini* spells out [+loc], but not a [+loc] associated with the Aug. The relevant lexical entry (Van der Spuy's (21)) is (5):

(5)   [+loc] ⟷ /-ini/

The cases where *e-* occurs without *-ini* are accounted for by positing a zero morpheme with a lexical entry like (6) (Van der Spuy's (24)), where X is a variable over the nouns that allow *-ini* to be absent:

(6)   [+loc] ⟷ -Ø/ {class {1, 2}, X} _

2.2 Problems

I know turn to some problems that arise on the kind of account that Van der Spuy proposes.

2.2.1 Locative e- as an Aug

The claim that *e-* is an Aug is confirmed by the fact that unlike *ku-*, it may fall away in syntactic environments that license Aug-drop, e.g. in the scope of negation:

(7)   A-ndi-fundisi si-kolwe-ni
           not-I-teach   6-school-*ini*
           'I'm not teaching at any school.'

But another fact may be incompatible with the idea that *e-* is the spell-out of the host N's Aug with [+loc] assigned to it. In Xhosa, the class 10 prefix *-zi-* drops on polysyllabic nouns when the class 10 Aug *i-* is added:[6]

(8)   a.   ii-ndlebe
                     10-ear
                     '(the) ears'
           b.   I-n-yoka a-yi-na-**zi**-ndlebe
                     9-9-snake not-SC9-with-10-ear
                     'A snake doesn't have ears.'

However, *-zi-* is retained when preceded by the locative *e-*:

(9)   e-**zi**-ndlebe-ni
           E-10-ear-INI
           'in the ears'

---

[6] It may be that only the *z* of the prefix *-zi-* drops, and that the long *i* (*ii*) reflects coalescence between the augment and the *i* of *zi*. The exact analysis seems irrelevant to the point being made here.

If *zi-* drop is simply triggered by the presence of a vowel in the Aug-position, (9) entails that the locative *e-* is not sitting in the Aug-position of the host N, although one might postulate a more complex morpho-phonological rule of *zi*-drop making it inapplicable when the Aug carries the feature [+loc].

Notice that it is unlikely that *zi*-drop is induced by the phonological shape of the augment /*i*/ rather than its morphological status. In class 8, the augment is also /*i*/ and the class prefix is *zi*, but the *zi* never drops. This is not to deny that phonology plays a role. In fact prosody/syllabification is a factor, since the augment does not cause *zi* to fall away even on monosyllabic class 10 nouns like *i-zi-nja* 'dogs'. This may suggest that prosody/syllabification is determined by morpho-syntactic structure, and that the morpho-syntactic structure spanning *i-zi-*noun in class 10 is not quite the same as the one in class 8.

Yet another relevant fact is that *e-* is invariant across N-classes.[7] Presumably, the spell-out of the different Augs is conditioned by class-features inherited from the host N, and it would in principle be possible for these class-features to continue to condition the spell-out of Aug even when [+loc] has been added to it. In fact, the Aug with [+loc] added might be expected to be spelled out exactly like the same Aug without [+loc]. In Distributed Morphology, the insertion of vocabulary items (VIs) is governed by the Subset Principle and the Elsewhere Principle:

(10)   The Subset Principle
        A VI A with the lexical entry A ↤ F (where F is a set of syntactic features) can
        replace a terminal T associated with the feature set G if and only if F is a subset of G.

(11)   The Elsewhere Principle
        Given a terminal T = F and lexical entries A ↤ G and B ↤ H with G and H both
        subsets of F, A wins if and only if G is a larger subset of F than H.

Suppose now that an Aug, as a morpho-syntactic object, is associated with a nontrivial set of features as determined by the class membership of the noun, e.g. {X, Y, ...} for some class Z. The spell-out of Aug on a noun in class Z would be determined by the Subset Principle and the Elsewhere Principle selecting the optimal candidate from among VIs with lexical entries like those in (12):

(12)   a   A ⟷ {X, Y}
        b   B ⟷ {X}

By the Elsewhere Principle, A would win.

To have *e-* invariant across the noun classes, the entry for *e* would have to ignore all the features that differentiate between Augs of different classes:

(13)   e ⟷ {[+loc]}

Suppose now that [+loc] has been added to an Aug with the basic class features {X, Y, ...} giving {X, Y, [+loc], ...}. By the Elsewhere Principle, the A in (12)a would win, i.e. the spell-out of the Aug of a locativized noun would be the same as for the same noun without the feature [+loc]. From this perspective, it is striking that *e-* is in fact invariant.

---

[7] Except that *e-* is replaced by *o-* on class 11 nouns in Zulu according to Van der Spuy. The account to be presented below abstracts away from this. In the Xhosa spoken by my consultants, even class 11 nouns have *e-*.

2.2.2 Case

On Van der Spuys' analysis, the case-feature [+loc] on the Aug *e-* is not assigned by a preposition and suffices all by itself to induce the locative reading of the noun phrase. But cross-linguistically, it seems that synthetic locative case, i.e. locative case spelled out together with gender and number by a portmanteau morpheme, does not license a locative interpretation in the absence of a locative preposition (modulo special cases like the names of cities and smaller islands in Latin). This stands in contrast to some analytical languages, e.g. Turkish, in which the locative case affix does not fuse with gender or number and could be reanalyzed as a pure locative postposition. But Van der Spuy's analysis has [+loc] assigned to an Aug which also is associated with class/gender features as determined by the host noun and these features too must be taken to be spelled by *e-* together with [+loc]. In this sense, Zulu and Xhosa would be like the synthetic languages.

Hence, saying that adding [+loc] to Aug is sufficient in Xhosa and Zulu makes these languages look somewhat exceptional in a cross-linguistic perspective.

As for the locative prefix *ku-*, this too is taken to be the spell-out of fused [+loc] and D by Van der Spuy's context-sensitive insertion rule (19)b, which is designed to make *ku-* block *e-* in classes 1 and 2. One notes, however, that *ku-* is not likely to be an Aug, since, unlike *e-*, it cannot drop in the scope of negation. Also, taking *ku-* to spell out [+loc] fused with D seems somewhat implausible for the cases where it attaches to a pronoun or a prenominal demonstrative. In addition, it seems that *ku-*, unlike *e-*, sometimes allows the host noun to retain its usual Aug. In particular, a form like *kwieropleni* 'on the plane', with the class 9 noun *i-eropleni* 'airplane', presumably has the following structure:[8]

(14)   ku-**i**-eropleni
        on-9-airplane
        'on the airplane'

Finally, setting up an insertion rule that makes *ku-* block *e-* is incompatible with the fact that Xhosa speakers often allow both *ku-* and *e-* to combine with the same noun.

In addition, unlike *e-*, *ku-*, as already mentioned, doesn't co-occur with the locative suffix *-ini*, which is surprising if *ku-* and *e-* are just different spell-outs of the same structural elements.

2.2.3 *-ini*

Van der Spuy's account of *-ini* inserted as in (5) seems to presuppose that the feature [+loc] associated with D is spelled out twice and in two different locations. The technical details of this proposal need to be clarified and the analysis must also account for the fact that *-ini* survives under Aug-drop, as in (7), where there is no D carrying [+loc].

To account for the cases where *-ini* is absent, the context-sensitive insertion rule in (6) posits a zero morpheme blocking *-ini* with a class of nouns including all the nouns in classes 1 and 2 (the nouns that must have *ku-* rather than *e-* in Zulu). However, this approach doesn't provide a way of explaining why the larger syntactic context seems to matter. In Xhosa, the

---

[8] If *kwi-* only appears on class 9 nouns, however, and not also on nouns in other classes with the Aug *i*, a different analysis suggests itself: The *i* in (14) might not be the Aug, but rather (part of) the class prefix as suggested by the fact that whereas attributive adjectives without a "relative concord" (RC) generally have a C(V)-shaped agreement marker matching the class prefix of the modified Aug-less noun, the agreement marker is *i-n-* rather than just *n-* when the modified noun is in class 9.

noun *i-khaya* 'home', for example, regularly occurs without *-ini*, as in Zulu, but not in the presence of a possessor phrase:

(15)   e-khaye-ni lethu
        E-home-INI our
        'in our home'

3. An alternative proposal

I will now present an alternative analysis of *e- … ini* locatives aiming at eliminating the various problems discussed in the previous section.

3.1 Locative prepositions and locative nouns

To set the scene, I start with some discussion of the relationship between locative prepositions and locative nouns, i.e. nouns such as *place*.

3.1.1 Locative prepositions

According to much recent work on spatial adpositions, a preposition like *in* can be seen as corresponding to a syntactic head whose semantics is such that it applies to a noun phrase and returns a space associated with the thing that noun phrase refers to. I'll call this head Loc(ation). Further heads, e.g. heads denoting paths into/from the space picked out by Loc, can be added giving rise to prepositions like *into, from* etc. This, however, may have no place in Bantu where directionality seems to be encoded in the verb instead (as in Van der Spuy 2014).

From this perspective, a spatial P corresponding to Loc is needed to obtain a spatial expression by associating a space with the denotation of the noun phrase. However, there may be an exception to this.

3.1.2 Locative nouns

In various languages, nouns meaning 'place' are exceptional. Other nouns need a preposition to form a spatial expression, but not the nouns meaning 'place':

(16)   a.   Hun bor *(i) en by i Nord-Norge   (Norwegian)
              she   lives *(in) a   city in Northern Norway
              'She is living in a city in Northern Norway.'
        b.   Hun bor   (på) et sted/en plass i Nord-Norge
              she   lives (at) a place   in Northern Norway
              She is living some place in Northern Norway.'

Notice that *sted* and *plass* share all other distributional properties of nouns, e.g. they come with an indefinite article, unlike prepositions.[9]

---

[9] Likewise, certain nouns denoting places can function as locative expressions without locative affixes in certain Bantu languages (Zeller 2019: 11).

What's special about nouns meaning 'place' is presumably that they can denote a space all by themselves without the aid of a spatial preposition. This gives rise to the possibility (not realized in Norwegian) that a noun meaning 'place' might be associated syntactically with another noun and denote the space related to an entity denoted by that noun. In that case, no spatial preposition should be needed. In particular, if *e ... ini* locatives contain a (silent) noun like *sted*, it follows that they don't also need a preposition.[10]

This proposal is reminiscent of Carstens (1997) and also of Bresnan and Mchombo (1995: 200), who analyze Chichewa locative prefixes such as the class 17 prefix *ku* as locative nouns. However, the analysis to be developed below will not identify the locative noun with the prefix *e-*, since, as we saw in section 2.2.1., *e-* behaves as an Aug, not as a N.

3.1.3 e- as the Aug of the locative N

Suppose that the noun meaning 'place' (N_{Loc}) is merged on top of an Aug-less host noun before Aug is added:

(17)   [Aug [N_{Loc} [host-N]]]

Then, N_{Loc} is the head of the noun phrase embedded under Aug, and the Aug inherits its class features and spells out as *e-*.[11]

This immediately explains why *e-* is not affected by the class-membership of the host noun. It also explains why the class 10 prefix *-zi-* is retained after *e-*, since although *e-* is an Aug, it is not the Aug of the overt host noun.

We take the locative *ku-* not to be an Aug, since it cannot drop under negation, and there is no N_{Loc} in the structure underlying *ku-*locatives.

3.2 -ini as a locative N

On the background of the proposals just made, I now turn to the locative suffix *-ini*.

3.2.1 -ini spells out the locative N

From the perspective adopted here, it becomes possible to see the locative suffix *-ini* as the spell-out of N_{Loc}. Since *-ini* follows the host noun, this presupposes movement of the host noun across N_{Loc}:

(18)   [Aug [N_{Loc} [host-N]]] → [Aug [[host-N] [N_{Loc}]]]

We must assume that N_{Loc} continues to act as the head of the complement of Aug even after this movement has taken place so as to guarantee that Aug agrees with it. This will follow

---

[10] The noun *i-n-dawo* 'place' occurs as a locative without *e- … -ini* in *n-dawo-ni* – 9-place-which = 'where' and *n-dawo-nye* – 9-place-one = 'together', but otherwise needs *e- … -ini* to form a locative expression (*e-n-dawe-ni*). Suggestions in Taraldsen (2017) as to why *sted* 'place' may also combine with a locative preposition as in (12) b might be relevant.

[11] This raises an issue to which I return in section 4: No other N can belong to the same class as N_{Loc} since no other N comes with the Aug *e-*.

if we take the moved NP in (18) to be become the specifier of the NP containing N_{Loc} and assume the analysis of specifiers in Kayne (1994) taking specifiers to be similar to adjuncts:

(19) $[_{NP2} N_{Loc} [_{NP1} host-N]] \rightarrow [_{NP2} [_{NP1} host-N] [_{NP2} N_{Loc}]] = [_{NP2} [_{NP1} host-N] [_{NP2} ini]]$

Then, Aug is merged on top of this structure, whose head is the head of NP_2, i.e. N_{Loc}.

Since the spatial interpretation comes from N_{Loc} = *-ini* and not from its Aug *e-*, it follows directly that the spatial interpretation is not lost when *e*-drops in the scope of negation.

Given that I assume that there is no N_{Loc} in the structure embedded under the locative *ku-*, it also follows that *ku-* never co-occurs with *-ini*.

3.2.2 Agreement

In several Bantu languages, modifiers of a noun with a locative class prefix, i.e. a prefix of class 16, 17 or 18, agree with the locative class prefix, but in Xhosa, agreement with a noun locativized by *e- ... -ini* is not affected by *e- ... -ini*. Instead, the modifier's agreement marker is in the basic class of the noun to which *e- ... -ini* is affixed:

(20)   a.   e-khaye-ni l-e-thu
                 E-5.house-INI 5-of-us
                 in our home'
         b.   i-khaya l-e-thu
                 5-house 5-of-us
                 'our house'

On the one hand, this suggests that the Xhosa *e-* is not a locative class prefix on a par with the locative class prefixes in many other Bantu languages. On the other hand, what we see in examples like (20) is perfectly consistent with the alternative analysis proposed in section 3.2.1., which allows us to say that the possessor phrase in (20)a modifies the host-N in (18), not the locative noun N_{Loc}:[12]

(18) $[Aug [N_{Loc} [host-N]]] \rightarrow [Aug [[host-N] [N_{Loc}]]]$

(21)   [e [ini [khaya [lethu]]]] $\rightarrow$ [e [[khaya] [ini [lethu]]]]

This assumption will play a key role in the proposal to be made in the following subsection. But in the context of that proposal, I will also be forced to assume an analysis of demonstratives, adnominal adjectives and relative clauses in which these modifiers don't form a constituent with the host-N to the exclusion of N_{Loc} and therefore, do not modify just the host-N. Instead, they are merged to the structure formed by (15):

(22) $[[_{NP2} [_{NP1} khaya][_{NP2} ini]][eli]]$

---

[12] In some Bantu languages, a modifier can choose between agreement with the locative prefix and agreement with the noun hosting the prefix, e.g. in Shona. Myers (1987) assumes a structural analysis similar to mine for the case where agreement is with the host noun.

Then, one may say that modifiers agree with the highest NP in the structure they merge with. In both (21) and (22), that NP is NP$_1$, the noun hosting *e- ... -ini*.

Notice that these agreement facts are difficult to account for, if we follow Van der Spuy and analyze *e-* as the Aug of the host N with a locative case feature added to it, and take Aug to be the head of Aug – prefix – N (as suggested by Van der Spuy's analysis of Aug as D). Then, we should expect the locative case feature to be carried over under agreement to the Aug of the modifiers that contain an Aug, since case-features are generally carried over under agreement. But then, the Aug of those modifiers should also be spelled out by *e-* for the same reason as the class prefix on the localivized noun. Demonstratives, for example do contain an Aug agreeing with the modified noun which coalesces with a preceding *a* 'of':

(23)   a   u-m-thi l-o   = ... [l [a [u]]]
                3-3-tree this   of 3
        b.   i-n-ja l-e   = ... [l [a [i]]]
                9-9-dog this   of 9
        c.   a-ma-nzi l-a   = ... [l [a [a]]]
                6-6-water this   of 6

Thus, taking *e-* to be the Aug of a localivized N modified by a demonstrative would incorrectly predict forms like (24)a rather than (24)b, since coalescence would produce *e* from *ae*:

(24)   a.   *e-ma-nzi-ni l-e   = ... [l [a [e]]]
                6+loc-6-water-ini this   of 6+loc
        b.   e-ma-nzi-ni la   = ... [l [a [a]]]
                6+loc-6-water this   of 6
                'in this water'

As for agreement markers on verbs and predicative adjectives, one notes that nouns affixed with *e- ... -ini* never occur as subjects or objects triggering agreement, be it with the locative noun or the noun hosting *e- ... ini*. The question why that is seems orthogonal to the issues discussed here except that it is again reasonable to think that the answer will turn on not analyzing the Xhosa *e-* as a locative class prefix like those found in many other Bantu languages, e.g. *pa-* (class 16), *ku-* (class 17) and *m-* (class 18) in Chichewa, which do trigger subject agreement and, to a more limited extent, also object agreement.[13]

3.2.3 When *-ini* doesn't occur

Taylor (1996: 292, quoted by Van der Spuy) points out that the nouns that allow *e-* without *-ini* "denote entities which are, in some sense, already locative in character", like *i-khaya* 'home', although there are exceptions. This recalls Comrie and Polinsky's (1998) discussion of Tsez. In this language, a locative expression is generally formed from a noun phrase by adding the locative suffix *-x(o)*, but the locative suffix may be absent "after certain nouns with inherently locational semantics" (Comrie and Polinsky 1998: 104, cited in Caha 2017). For example, *idu* 'home' can mean 'at home' without a locative suffix. The same pattern is also seen in Malayalam.

---

[13] It has been proposed by various authors that locative prefixes that don't trigger agreement are prepositions, but while the Xhosa *ku-* is a plausible candidate for being a preposition, *e-* has the properties of an Aug, since it can drop in the scope of negation (unlike *ku-*).

Caha (2017) develops an account involving phrasal lexicalization positing lexical entries similar to (15), where A represents the head inducing the locational semantics:

(25)   inherently locative noun ⟵⟶ [A [N]]

By the Superset Principle, this entry allows inherently locative nouns to spell out the locative feature A in addition to just the N-features going into the bare noun:[14]

(26)   The Superset Principle
         A morpheme A with the entry A ⟷ T can lexicalize a syntactic structure S if and only if S is identical to a subtree of T.

Caha also points out that this approach correctly predicts that even inherently locative nouns in languages like Tsez must have the locative suffix when they are modified. The reason is that the presence of the modifier XP in (27) prevents the A and the N from forming a constituent matching a subtree of (25), and therefore, A must be lexicalized in isolation from N:

(27)   [A [**XP** [N]]]

The fact that locative affix-drop is blocked by modifiers in Tsez is obviously reminiscent of the contrast between *e-khaya* 'at home' and (15) (repeated as (28)):

(28)   e-khaye-ni lethu
         E-home-INI our
         'in our home'

This suggests that *ini*-drop too is a product of phrasal lexicalization. Then, every noun licensing *ini*-drop has an entry like (29) which allows it to also lexicalize N_{Loc}:

(29)   khaya ⟵⟶ [$_{NP2}$ N_{Loc} [$_{NP1}$ N]]

If so, we have:

(30)   [$_{NP2}$ N_{Loc} [$_{NP1}$ N]] = [$_{NP2}$ khaya]

This may lead to an account for the fact that the possessor phrase prevents *-ini* from dropping in (28). In section 3.2.2., we suggested that a possessor phrase modifies the host N of *e- ... ini*, and therefore *e-khaye-ni lethu* 'in our home' has the structure in (22) (repeated as (31)):

(31)   [$_{NP2}$ N_{Loc} [[$_{NP1}$ N] [**lethu**]]]

But in (31), N and N_{Loc} don't form a constituent matching a subtree of (29). So, *khaya* only lexicalizes N, and N_{Loc} is lexicalized by *-ini*.

---

[14] The role of the Superset Principle in the nanosynactic approach to lexicalization is discussed in Starke (2009), Caha (2009) and much subsequent work.

As mentioned in section 3.2.2., this account of why *ini*-drop is blocked by possessives forces an analysis of postnominal demonstratives, adnominal adjectives and relative clauses that places these outside [$_{NP2}$ N$_{Loc}$ [$_{NP1}$ N]] , since these modifiers do not block *ini*-drop:

(32)   e-khaya eli
         E-home 5-this

Notice that parsing only possessor phrases as forming a constituent with the modified N is consistent with the fact that possessor phrases generally precede all other postnominal modifiers.

4. Further prospects

In this section, I first take stock of where we are, and then, look at some reasons for developing the analysis further.

4.1 What we have so far

The main virtue of the approach sketched here is that it explains a number of properties of *e- .. -ini* locatives that strictly morphological accounts like Van der Spuy's cannot easily accommodate except by stipulation:

(33)   a.   *e-* is an Aug, but not the Aug of the host-N
         b.   *e-* is invariant across N-classes
         c.   the relation between *e-* and *-ini*
         d.   the locative interpretation in the absence of a preposition
         e.   the syntactic conditioning of *ini*-drop

The following is an intriguing issue I still haven't addressed:

(34)   The analysis offered in section 3 says that *e-* is the Aug of a locative noun, N$_{Loc}$. But *e-* is not the Aug of any other noun. So, N$_{Loc}$ must be the only member of its noun class.

I will now suggest a way of developing the analysis so that this awkward conclusion no longer follows.

4.2 e- as a relative concord

The direction this will take, is suggested by another observation:

(35)   The locative *e-* is not a cardinal vowel like other augments (*a, u, i*), but looks like the coalescence product of *a* and *i*.

"Coalescence" is the phonological process mentioned in section 1.4. An *e-* produced by *a* coalescing with a following *i* occurs elsewhere, e.g. inside demonstratives as in (23)b and in possessive constructions when *a* 'of' precedes a possessor noun whose Aug is *i* (see section 1.4.). Likewise, as mentioned in section 1.4., the so-called relative concords (RCs) which generally

agree with the subject of a relative clause can be seen as the outcome of coalescence applying to an *a* followed by a vowel corresponding to the Aug of the same class as the SC:[15]

(36) a.   i-n-yoka [**a**-ba-yi-bon-ile-yo **a**-ba-ntwana]   =   … [[*a* [***a***]] [*ba* …
             9-9-snake RC2-SC2-OC9-see-RP-REL 2-2-child   Aug2
             'the snake that the children saw'

      b.   u-m-ntwana [**o**-bon-e-i-n-yoka]   =   … [[*a* [***u***]] […
             1-1-child RC1-see-RP 9-9-snake   Aug1
             'the child who saw the snake'

      c.   i-n-yoka [**e**-yi-bon-ile-yo **i**-n-doda]   =   … [[*a* [***i***]] […
             9-9-snake RC9-OC9-see-RP-REL 9-9-man   Aug9
             'the snake that the man saw'

In particular, the RC is *e-* whenever the subject of the relative clause belongs to a class whose Aug is *i*, i.e. one of the classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10. So, if the locative *e-* really is a RC agreeing with N_{Loc}, N_{Loc} can belong to one of these classes rather than to a singleton class of its own.

This line of analysis is consistent with the fact that the locative *e-* drops in the scope of negation as we saw in (7) (repeated as (37)):

(37)   A-ndi-fundisi si-kolwe-ni
        not-I-teach   6-school-INI
        'I'm not teaching at any school.'

This is because RCs, just like Augs, can drop in the scope of negation (for Xhosa, see Visser 2008):[16]

(38)   A-ku-kho m-ntu **u**-bon-e i-n-yoka
        not-SC15-there 1-person SC1-see-RP 9-9-snake
        'There is no one who saw a snake'

Thus, we are led towards an analysis in which a locative expression like *e-si-kolwe-ni* 'at the/a school' is really a verb-less relative construction with a silent head noun meaning something like 'the place where the school is' or perhaps rather 'the place which is the place of the school' since a RC generally (but not always; see (42) below) is in the same class as the subject of the relative clause.

However, a number of details need to be worked out. For example, while a RC is normally directly followed by a SC, a subject agreement marker, there is no SC in the locative *e-* … *-ini* construction. This cannot be concluded directly from the cases where the *e-* does not drop, since N_{Loc} might be in class 9, and would therefore come with the SC9 *i*, which presumably coalesces with *a* (along with the corresponding Aug *i*) even in regular relatives like (39):

---

[15] In (36), *a* and the Aug with which it coalesces, are represented as a constituent because under RC-drop as in (38) below, the *a* and the Aug drop as a unit. It is as yet unclear exactly how the agreement relation between this Aug and the subject/SC is established.

[16] If there are varieties of Xhosa or Zulu in which RC-drop is impossible or highly constrained, the proposal in this section predicts that *e*-drop should also be impossible or highly constrained in these varieties, possibly in contrast with regular Aug-drop.

(39)   i-n-tombi **e**-thetha i-si-ngesi = … [e [**i** [thetha … = [RC9 [**SC9** [thetha …
        9-9-girl RC9-speak 7-7-English
'the girl who speaks English'

But when the RC drops, as in (40), the SC9 *i* becomes visible in regular relatives, but not so in *e-* … *-ini* locatives:

(40)   A-nd-azi n-tombi **i**-thetha i-si-ngesi
        not-I-know 9-girl SC9-speak 7-7-English
        'I don't know any girl who speaks English.'

(41)   a.   U-hlala e-n-dlwi-ni
                SC1-live E-9-house-INI
                'She lives in a house.'
        b.   A-ka-hlali n-dlwi-ni
                not-SC1-live 9-house-INI
                'She doesn't live in any house.'

We can account for the contrast between (40) and (41)b by maintaining that *e-* … *-ni* locatives do not contain a verbal element, hence no element that can host a SC.

The absence of a SC in *e-* … *-ni* locatives would be worrisome if the Aug coalescing with *a* in a RC need to agree with a SC, but relatives like (42) show that this is not actually the case:

(42)   I-n-tle i-n-to **e**-ku-funeka ndi-**y**-enze
        9-9-nice 9-9-thing RC9-SC15-must I-OC9-do
        'It is beautiful, the thing I have to do.'

The Aug connected with SC15 *ku-* is *u*, and the RC in (42) would have been *o*, if the Aug going into the RC must agree with a SC.[17] (42) also shows that the RC doesn't always match a subject.

On the view that *e-* … *-ni* locatives are relative constructions with a silent head noun, they are similar to head-less relatives like the one in (43):

(43)   a-ba-sebenza-yo
        RC2-SC2-work-REL
        'the ones that work'

In these too, there is a silent relativized noun (assuming a "head-raising" analysis of relative constructions).

---

[17] Notice also that attributive adjectives have RCs, although the RC is followed by an adjectival agreement marker (AC) rather than a SC in this case: *u-m-ntwana o-**m**-hle* – 1-1-child RC1-**AC1**-beautiful – 'a beautiful child'.

4.3 -ini = i-ni = Aug-class prefix?

In section 3.2.1., -*ini* was taken to be the spell-out of N$_{Loc}$. In section 3.2.3., I suggested that *ini*-drop should be seen as the outcome of phrasal spell-out, i.e. nouns like *khaya* 'home' lexicalize the whole phrase containing N$_{Loc}$. A version of this analysis is still available even if *e-khaya* 'at home' has a structure corresponding to the meaning 'the place that is the place of the home' with two occurrences of N$_{Loc}$, one as a relativized subject and another one connected with the host noun in a kind of possessive construction, i.e. [$_{NP2}$ N$_{Loc}$[$_{NP1}$ N]] with the possessum preceding the possessor phrase, as in the regular possessive constructions mentioned in 1.4., but without the linker *a* 'of'. But if N$_{Loc}$, as we have suggested, is a class 9 noun, a slightly different version of the proposal suggests itself.

If -*ini* corresponds to N$_{Loc}$, it should have an Aug and a class prefix like other nouns suggesting parsing *i-ni* with *i* as an Aug, in fact the class 9 augment. Then, *ni* might correspond to the usual class 9 prefix -*n*- rather than to N$_{Loc}$ itself. This is consistent with a generalization about the relationship between the Aug and the following class prefix: In all classes with a CV$_{x}$-shaped prefix, the Aug is spelled out by V$_{x}$. This should not be seen as phonological copying, but rather as a reflex of the prefix containing two distinct syntactic constituents, one spelled out by a C and the second by V$_{x}$, and Aug is a higher occurrence of the same syntactic element as V$_{x}$ and therefore is spelled out the same way (see Taraldsen 2020). This analysis extends to the cases where the class prefix is reduced to C (classes 1 and 3) or is absent on polysyllabic nouns (classes 5 and 11), since phonological processes are irrelevant, and the relation between the class 9 Aug *i* and the class 9 prefix *n* falls into the general pattern, if the prefix is really *ni* reduced to *n* when followed by an overt noun.

If -*ini* is really just Aug followed by the class 9 prefix of N$_{Loc}$, no overt element actually lexicalizes the second occurrence of N$_{Loc}$ in *e*- … -*ini* locatives, and something must be added to explain why it is silent.[18]

Three possibilities come to mind. First, if the structure of *e*-N-*ini* contains two occurrences of N$_{Loc}$ as in 'the place that is the school's place', we might say that the identity between the higher occurrence and the lower one warrants ellipsis of the lower N$_{Loc}$ stranding its Aug and prefix.

Regardless of whether the structure contains two occurrences of N$_{Loc}$ or just a single one as in 'the place that the school is at', we might also adopt Kayne (2006) and say that (the lower) N$_{Loc}$ moves to a Specifier-position associated with its Aug *i* and therefore remains silent because the Specifier of the Aug is a phase edge position.

Finally, if there is just a single N$_{Loc}$ as in 'the place that the school is at', we might claim that this N$_{Loc}$ gets relativized stranding its Aug and class prefix, i.e. *i-ni*. Then, the question why the N$_{Loc}$ connected with *i-ni*- is silent, reduces to the question how the relativized N$_{Loc}$ can be silent – a question we already have to answer anyway, since free relatives like (43) have a silent relativized noun.

For the sake of concreteness, let us assume that an *e*-N-*ini* locative should be construed as "the place that is the N's place" corresponding to an initial structure with two occurrences of N$_{Loc}$ where the first is the subject and the second a possessee with respect to N:

(44)   [i-ni-N$_{Loc}$ [i-ni-N$_{Loc}$ [N]]]

---

[18] Also, the lexical entry for nouns like *khaya* in (29) must be changed so as to take in *i-ni*- on top of N$_{Loc}$

Normally, a possessee is linked to the possessor phrase by the *a*. The absence of the "linker" *a* in (44) may be due to subsequent movement of the possessor phrase across the possessee giving (45):[19]

(45)   [i-ni-N_{Loc} [[N][i-ni-N_{Loc}]]]

At this point, the lower occurrence of N_{Loc} undergoes ellipsis under identity with the subject unless the host N is a noun like *khaya* 'home':

(46)   [i-ni-N_{Loc} [[N][i-ni-$\cancel{N}_{\cancel{Loc}}$]]]

If N is a noun like *khaya* it has a lexical entry like (47), and the entire possessee *i-ni-N_{Loc}* is lexicalized together with the possessor:

(47)   khaya ⟵⟶ [[N][i-ni-N_{Loc}]]

In (48), however, there is no constituent matching the structure in (43):

(48)   [*i-ni*-N_{Loc} [[N lethu [*i-ni*-N_{Loc}]]]

Finally, the subject *i-ni*-N_{Loc} is relativized leading to the appearance of the RC *e-*. Notice that the selection of *e-* now falls in line with the fact that the RC generally agrees with the subject of the relative clause.

5. Conclusion

What I have primarily tried to do, is provide arguments for a specific type of syntactic analysis of the locative *e- … -ini* locatives in Xhosa. Even if many loose ends remain as to what the optimal implementation should be, I think the facts discussed in this paper clearly point towards an account of the sort I have proposed.

References

Bresnan, Joan, and S.A. Mchombo. 1995. "The Lexical Integrity Principle: Evidence from Bantu." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13: 181-254.
Caha, Pavel. 2009. *The nanosyntax of case*. Doctoral dissertation. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.
Caha, Pavel. 2017. "How (not) to derive a *ABA: The case of Blansitt's generalisation." *Glossa* 2 (1), 84: 1-32.
Carstens, Vicki. 1997. "Empty nouns in Bantu locatives." *The Linguistic Review* 14: 361- 410.
Halpert, Clare. 2016. *Argument licensing and agreement*. New York: OUP.
Kaye, Jonathan, Jean Lowenstamm, and Jean-Roger Vergnaud. 1985. "The internal structure of phono-logical elements: A theory of charm and government." *Phonology Yearbook* 2: 305-328.
Kayne, R.S. 1994. The Antisymmetry of Syntax. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Kayne, R.S. 2006. "On parameters and on principles of pronunciation." In *Organizing grammar: linguistic studies in honor of Henk van Riemsdijk*, ed. by Hans Broekhuis, Norbert Corver, Riny Huybregts, *et al.*, 289-299. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

---

[19] Possibly, the fact that the host N is Aug-less, is also related to this.

Maho, J.F. 1999. *A Comparative Study of Bantu Noun Classes*. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Myers, Scott. 1987. *Tone and the Structure of words in Shona*. Doctoral dissertation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

Starke, Michal. 2009. "Nanosyntax. A Short Primer to a New Approach to Language." In *Nordlyd 36: Special Issue on Nanosyntax*, ed. by Peter Svenonius, Gillian Ramchand, Michael Starke, *et al.*, 1-6. Tromsø: University of Tromsø. <www. ub.uit.no/munin/nordlyd/> (06/2020).

Taraldsen, K.T. 2017. "Places". In *Order and Structure in Syntax II: Subjecthood and Argument Structure*, ed. by Michelle Sheehan, L.R. Bailey, 95-113. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Taraldsen, K.T. 2020. "The Internal Structure of Nguni Nominal Class Prefixes". In *Linguistic Variation: Structure and Interpretation*, ed. by Ludovico Franco, Paolo Lorusso, 633-660. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Taylor, J.R. 1996. "The Syntax and Semantics of Locativised Nouns in Zulu." In *The Construal of Space in Language and Thought*, ed. by Martin Pütz, René Dirven, 287-306. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Van der Spuy, Andrew. 2014. "The Morphology of the Zulu Locative." *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 112, 1: 61-79.

Visser, Marianna. 2008. "Definiteness and Specificity in the isiXhosa Determiner Phrase." *South African Journal of African Languages* 1: 11-29.

Zeller, Jochen. 2019. "Locatives". In *The Oxford Guide to the Bantu Languages*, ed. by. Lutz Marten, Nancy Kula, Ellen Hurst, *et al.*, 1-2. Oxford: OUP.

Fonologia

Phonology

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

Divergent phonological behaviour in heritage speakers of Sardinian[*]

Rosangela Lai
Università di Pisa (<rosangela.lai@unipi.it>)

Abstract:

In the literature on heritage speakers, phonology is often described as a comparatively well-preserved component of language competence. It does seem to be the case that heritage speakers, even when not fully proficient in some areas of grammar, sound superficially native-like as far as phonology is concerned. But does this picture hold up under closer scrutiny? This contribution deals with Sardinian, a language with an especially complex interplay of a stratified phonological lexicon and various phonological rules at word-boundaries. We will consider younger speakers of this minority language, who have experienced a break in the parental transmission in favour of the dominant language (Italian) and see whether they are able to master the finer aspects of Sardinian phonology. Fieldwork results will be presented showing that a drastic simplification of the system is under way, probably under the influence of Italian itself.

Keywords: *heritage speakers, language change, phonological competence, phonological lexicon*

1. Introduction

In the literature on heritage speakers, phonology is usually described as the best-preserved component of linguistic compe-

tence (cf. Au *et al.* 2002: 240; Benmamoun *et al.* 2010: 19ff.; Montrul 2010: 5-6; Polinsky and Kagan 2007: 378). Studies on heritage phonology, however, are a tiny minority of the heritage language literature, which focuses almost exclusively on morphological and syntactic aspects. Furthermore, the few studies that exist generally compare heritage speakers to the phonological performance of second language learners (Au *et al.* 2002: 240). While interesting in itself, this might obfuscate the issue of whether heritage speakers are comparable to fully proficient native speakers in their phonological competence. This contribution aims at beginning to fill that gap, by looking into the phonological competence of heritage speakers. Specifically, I will test some finer phonological aspects of Sardinian, such as phonological rules at word-boundaries. Sardinian has a stratified phonological lexicon, with different phonological rules for different layers. These rules implement a form of weakening that in an intervocalic position weakens a segment to the point of deletion (Lai 2009, 2011, in press). Some rules give rise to crosslinguistically marked segment-zero alternation that might conceivably prove problematic for less than proficient speakers.[1]

This article is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces the current situation of historical minority languages in Europe, and of Sardinian in particular. Section 3 details a phonological process of Sardinian, lenition of voiced stops, which has the peculiarity of not applying to loanwords. Section 4 describes the results of a production test that I designed and administered to teenage speakers from the village of Tertenia (Northern Campidanese), in order to assess their command of the process described in section 3. The results show that their performance is not native-like, in that these speakers have a tendency to omit to apply the lenition rule. Section 5 discusses the results and evaluates their significance for the development of the Sardinian phonological system as a whole. Section 6 summarises and concludes.

2. Historical minority languages and language decay: A focus on Sardinian

For decades now, most minority languages of Europe have been regarded as endangered (Salminen 2007: 224-227). The main reason is that historical minority communities have long been affected by a progressive language shift to a dominant language. National or official languages are eroding all the linguistic domains formerly occupied by minority languages (family domain included), with a break in the intergenerational transmission. As a result, in these communities, fluent speakers are mostly limited to the older age group, while younger generations have a reduced, at times exclusively passive, competence. Young speakers of historical minority languages with such limited competence can for all intents and purposes be regarded as heritage speakers (Montrul 2016: 15).[2] As in the general case of heritage speakers (children of migrant

---

[1] Interestingly, while the phonology of heritage speakers is comparatively understudied, the mastery of lenition rules was the object of Dorian (1977) for all intents and purposes a precursor to heritage language studies as a whole. The article focused on the phonological competence of what the author dubbed 'semi-speakers'. The population studied by Dorian also bore a strong resemblance to ours. Unlike most heritage language research, which focuses on the competence of second and third generation migrants, Dorian's study and mine consider the competence of younger speakers of a historical minority language (Scottish Gaelic and Sardinian, respectively) that have a partial competence in their minority language and have an official, national language as their dominant language (English and Italian, respectively). I thank Andrei A. Avram (University of Bucharest) for bringing this article to my attention.

[2] The definition of heritage language (and consequently of heritage speaker) is to some extent controversial. In this contribution, I will adopt the definition in Montrul (2016: 15), which includes not only immigrant languages but also "national minority languages" that "may have official status". Among Montrul's examples are "Basque in Spain and France, Catalan in Catalonia, Irish in Ireland, Welsh in Wales, Walloon in France, Greek and Aromanian

families), these speakers (usually, at school age) suffer a shift from the family language to the dominant language of the society they live in (Montrul 2016: 15-23). This pattern is so widespread in historical minority communities that the linguistic competence of whole age groups is now significantly compromised.

This is especially true of Sardinian (cf. Salminen 2007: 239, 257). Sardinian is an officially recognized minority language spoken on the island of Sardinia, besides Italian.[3] It is traditionally regarded as the most conservative among the Romance languages (Wagner 1997 [1950]: 120; Elcock 1960: 474-8; Tagliavini 1982: 388; Blasco Ferrer 1984: 24-41).[4] Sardinian in its varieties is spoken in the wider part of the island of Sardinia.[5] Two main groups exist: Logudorese in the central-northern areas and Campidanese in the south. In the middle, a transitional area can also be identified (Virdis 1988; Floricic and Molinu 2017; Lai in press). Within the main Sardinian groups a remarkable degree of variation can also be observed, both at the phonetic and morphosyntactic levels.

Sardinian was among the very first Romance languages to be adopted for official written purposes. The earliest legal documents in Sardinian date back to the 11th Century, a time when the island was divided into four independent kingdoms, namely, Kálaris, Torres, Arborea, and Gallura (Ortu 2017: 228-251). These kingdoms adopted their respective Sardinian dialects as official languages. In the 13th Century, however, the Sardinian kingdoms lost their independence. Ever since, Sardinian has co-existed with the languages of their foreign overlords: first with Old Pisan and Old Genoese,[6] then with Catalan and Spanish, and finally with Modern Italian (Blasco Ferrer 1984; Pisano 2015; Barbato 2017; Dettori 2017; Toso 2017; Virdis 2017; Putzu 2019). For centuries, Sardinian was confined to unofficial use. Urban élites mostly used the dominant languages, while the working class preserved the local varieties of Sardinian. But things dramatically changed in the third quarter of the 20th Century. Factors such as compulsory schooling, industrialization, migration, and mass media contributed to the spread of Italian to all social classes (Ginsborg 2003: 227; Rindler Schjerve 1993: 278-279, 2003: 237; 2017: 35-36). For decades, one observed a situation of Sardinian-Italian diglossia. Bilingual speakers used Sardinian in private domains (family, friends etc.), while Italian was the language of literacy and administration. Later, diglossia became unstable as Italian spread to other domains until then reserved for Sardinian (Rindler Schjerve 2003: 237, 239). Among those domains, the foremost is surely the family. The

---

in Albania, and Frisian in the Netherlands and Germany", i.e., historical minority languages of Europe that coexist with majority languages in their respective territories.

[3] It is important to bring to the reader's attention the fact that the Italian legislation on minority languages (Law 482/199) is restricted to the two classes of varieties. (a) Varieties that can be identified with or are strictly related to officially recognised foreign languages (Albanian, Catalan, Slovenian, German, Greek). (b) Varieties that are, for intrinsic linguistic reasons or historical tradition, regarded as 'distant enough' from Italian, in some sense (Ladin, Friulian, Sardinian). One consequence is that the rich ensemble of Italo-Romance varieties is denied any form of official recognition. As for this sharp dichotomy, Toso (2019) offers an in-depth discussion of its implications for linguistic rights and cultural heritage. On Law 482/199, see also Savoia (2001), Orioles (2003) and Dell'Aquila and Iannàccaro (2004: 51–58). On Italo-Romance varieties as unrecognized minority languages, I refer the non-Italian readers to Coluzzi (2009).

[4] For dissenting opinions, see the essays by Lőrinczi (1982); Bolognesi (2001) and Mensching (2004).

[5] Apart from Sardinian and Italian, other languages are spoken on the island. In the extreme North, one finds Sassarese and Gallurese two Italo-Romance varieties. Other minority languages are Catalan, spoken in the city of Alghero, and Tabarchin, a Ligurian variety of two communities in the South-West of the island. See Toso (2012).

[6] In the Late Middle Ages, Sardinian was strongly affected by contact with two Italo-Romance varieties, which resulted in a remarkable number of loanwords. The varieties were, first and foremost, Old Pisan, and, to a lesser extent, Old Genoese. It was only in the 19th century that Italian came to substantially influence Sardinian again. These two waves of strong language contact are often referred to as first and second Italianization, respectively (Loi Corvetto 1992; 1993; Blasco Ferrer 2002: 255-271).

break of intergenerational transmission began in the 1960s in cities and larger towns, but by the 1970s it was already spreading to rural areas (Rindler Schjerve 2000: 230, 2003: 239, 2017: 38). In Rindler Schjerve's words, "with primary socialization now conducted mostly in Italian, young speakers' acquisition of Sardinian remains incomplete" (Rindler Schjerve 1993: 280).

As made clearer by Rindler Schjerve (2003: 241) "[…] at present many young speakers, who have frequently been brought up in Italian, have a restricted active or even a merely passive command of their ethnic language. This lack of active command is generally reflected in deficient or restricted use of Sardinian […]". The same author lists a number of critical issues in the language of these speakers that shows a notable overlap with the issues commonly reported in the literature on heritage speakers (Rindler Schjerve 1993: 280-281). The lexicon is the most affected component (relexification under the influence of Italian), followed by morpho-syntax. Rindler Schjerve points out that the phonology of these speakers has never been investigated, just as it is comparatively understudied in heritage languages more generally (see Polinsky 2018, ch. 4, for a recent assessment). She nonetheless points out some phonological behaviours in younger speakers that diverged from a proficient native speaker's (Rindler Schjerve 1993: 281). One is the lack of the (geminate) voiced retroflex stop, a sound attested in all Sardinian dialects as the outcome of Latin LL, e.g., VILLA> [ˈbiɖɖa] 'village'. Some younger speakers replace the voiced retroflex stop with a voiced alveolar stop, a more familiar sound for them since the dominant language (Italian) includes the latter but not the former. She also reports changes in various phonological rules in Southwestern Logudorese (Rindler Schjerve 1993: 281).

Twenty years after Rindler Schjerve's major contributions on language shift, Sardinian is in sharp decline (see Rindler Schjerve 2017). As she would write in her posthumous work on the topic, "[…] the gradual Italianisation promoted by the school, the administration and the media, as well as the interruption in the intergenerational transmission means that the vitality of Sardinian currently appears to be compromised", (Rindler Schjerve 2017: 37, tr. mine). In a survey ordered by the Autonomous Region of Sardinia in 2007, the results on primary socialization language in the household left little doubt about it (Oppo 2007: 34, Table 4.2).[7] As can be seen in Table 1, in the age group 15-24 (now in their thirties), only 5.8% declared to have been spoken the local language first, and 5.2% both the local language and Italian at the same time. An overwhelming 89% declared to have had exclusively Italian as their language of primary socialization at home.

	15-24 years	25-44 years	45-64 years	65 years and more
Italian	89.0	66.9	33.9	16.8
Local language	5.8	19.9	51.7	73.7
Both	5.2	13.2	14.4	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	*191*	*532*	*555*	380

Table 1. Language learned first, by age group

Table 1 displays a progressive decrease in the exclusive use of the local language and a parallel increase of the use of Italian as primary socialization languages. The conjoined use of both Italian and the local language first sees an increase in the '45-64' age group, then declines

---

[7] Oppo (2007) has 'local languages' because it also accounts for local minority languages other than Sardinian (see footnote 5).

as well. Thus, the number of monolingual Italian speakers on the island is by now higher than the number of minority language-Italian bilinguals. Most relevantly, as the number of fluent speakers of Sardinian decreases, heritage speakers can be expected to become the majority of Sardinian speakers in the near future.

3. A peculiar phonological process: The case of voiced stop lenition

Sardinian is well-known for having several phonological processes that apply at word-boundaries. Both strengthening and weakening processes are observed, and so are several assimilation processes, albeit with considerable dialectal variation (Molinu 2017; Lai *in press*, a.o.). The most intensively studied phonological rules of Sardinian, though, are the weakening processes. The most widespread is the lenition of voiceless stops, that changes them into voiced fricatives in intervocalic position e.g. /ssa kanna/ [sa ˈɣanna] 'the reed'. In some areas of Campidanese Sardinian, lenition also affects intervocalic voiced obstruents (Virdis 1978: 78; Bolognesi 1998: 30-33; Lai *in press*). Such is the case in the variety under consideration, i.e., the Northern Campidanese of Tertenia. This kind of lenition results in the elision of the obstruent, as in /ssa buka/ [sa ˈuka] 'the mouth'. To complicate matters even further, this rule only applies to word-initial voiced obstruents in words of the native lexicon: voiced obstruents in loanwords are not affected by the rule.[8] This situation reflects a stratification of the lexicon (cf. Itô and Mester 1999), which resulted from the contact of Sardinian varieties and the dominant languages that have succeeded one another ever since the High Middle Ages (Wagner 1928; Putzu 2019). The stratification, which involves different treatments of the native and foreign lexicon, has effects not only on voiced obstruents but on various other classes of segments as well (Bolognesi 1998: 462-464; Lai 2015). Nowadays, the lenition rule for native voiced obstruents can be regarded as a conservative trait, which is attested only in Northern Campidanese.

In Table 2, I report the behaviour of voiced obstruents in Northern Campidanese. The table summarises, with data from Tertenia (Lai 2009), a pattern that is well established in the literature on Sardinian. Wagner ([1941] 1984: 138-141, 168, 424) made it clear that the pattern was universal in Common Campidanese (*campidanese volgare*), and it contrasted with an innovative pattern that at the time of writing was spreading from Cagliari to the neighbouring areas (on which see section 5 below). The pattern described here is also presented in Virdis (1978: 50-51, 78-79).[9]

a. Native vocabulary		
	Word-initial position	*Intervocalic position*
/b/	[ˈbuka] 'mouth'	[sa ˈuka] 'the mouth'
/d/	[ˈdomu] 'house'	[sa ˈomu] 'the house'
/g/	[ˈgaŋga] 'throat'	[sa ˈaŋga] 'the throat'

---

[8] By "native lexicon", I refer to the outcomes of the indigenous evolution from Latin, plus a small number of very ancient Italian loanwords, whose treatment in all contexts is indistinguishable from Sardinian indigenous items. An example reported also in Table 4 is [ˈbeʧu] 'old, elderly' from Old Italian (see Wagner [1950] 1997: 287). This item – like the indigenous words and unlike Catalan, Spanish and Modern Italian loans – shows intervocalic lenition at word-boundary.
[9] On Virdis (1978), consider the caveat by Bolognesi (1998: 35-39).

b. Foreign vocabulary		
/b/	[buˈʤaka] 'pocket' (Cat.)	[sa buˈʤaka] 'the pocket'
/d/	[diˈziʎʎu] 'desire' (Cat.)	[su diˈziʎʎu] 'the desire'
/g/	[ˈɡana] 'will, wish' (Cat., Sp.)	[sa ˈɡana] 'the will, the wish'

Table 2. Voiced stops in intervocalic position

As seen in the second column, in both groups, in initial position (a strong position), a voiced obstruent is present, while in intervocalic position (a weak position), the behaviour of the two groups diverges. Obstruents of the foreign vocabulary (loanwords from Catalan and Spanish, in the examples at hand) do not present any form of intervocalic weakening. By contrast, obstruents of the native vocabulary are subjected to elision. The groups also diverge in other respects. For instance, voiced obstruents in loanwords are insensitive to the application of any phonological rule (see Wagner ([1941] 1984: 168).

Table 3 presents the behaviour of the two groups in post-consonant position. It is apparent that the native vocabulary group displays a voiced fricative, while loanwords retain the voiced stop in every position. Table 3 lists the same lexical items as Table 2, but in the plural. The items are preceded by the plural article /is/ in order to put the voiced stops in a post-consonant position. The presence of a rhotic instead of [s] in the phonetic form is due to one further rule that changes /s/ into [r] whenever followed by a [+ voiced] segment: thus, in our table, /is/ appears as [ir] due to the presence of a [+ voiced] fricative or stop. This rule applies equally to both groups and is not of importance in our discussion (cf. Lai *in press*).

a. Native vocabulary		
	Word-initial position	*Post-consonant position*
/b/	[ˈbukaza] 'mouths'	[ir ˈβukaza] 'the mouths'
/d/	[ˈdomuzu] 'houses'	[ir ˈðɔmuzu] 'the houses'
/g/	[ˈɡaŋɡaza] 'throats'	[ir ˈɣaŋɡaza] 'the throats'
b. Foreign vocabulary		
/b/	[buˈʤakaza] 'pockets'	[ir buˈʤakaza] 'the pockets'
/d/	[diˈziʎʎuzu] 'desires'	[ir diˈziʎʎuzu] 'the desires'
/g/	[ˈɡanaza] 'will, wishes'	[ir ˈɡanaza] 'the will, the wishes'

Table 3. Voiced stops in post-consonant position

We are thus dealing with a phonological pattern that is complex enough to be a fine testing ground for the claim that the phonological system of heritage speakers is (roughly) indistinguishable from the system of fluent speakers. Fluent speakers give each vocabulary set the respective treatment, and apply the lenition rule only to the relevant set. As we will show below, this is much harder for heritage speakers: young speakers (who suffered from interruptions in the intergenerational transmission) are unable to apply the lenition rule correctly to the native vocabulary and tend to extend the treatment that is traditional of loanwords to the native lexicon.

4. Methodology and results

In what follows, I will present the results of a small-scale study designed to ascertain young speakers' mastery of the phonological pattern described in Section 3. My subjects were 18 middle-school students (11 male, 7 female), all aged 12. They all had Sardinian parents and were raised in Sardinia. They belong to the bilingual community of Tertenia, whose variety is regarded as one of the most conservative ones in the Campidanese domain. As a matter of fact, one promising feature of this area is that the decline of Sardinian is less advanced than the overall picture given in Section 2. Nevertheless, in the 1980s and 1990s in most families Sardinian was replaced by Italian as the household language. Most community members in their twenties and thirties experienced a defective intergenerational transmission of Sardinian, and younger members even more so. Today, in the whole village (population approx. 3,800) very few children can be considered fluent speakers of Sardinian. Their parents are typically unbalanced bilinguals, that speak predominantly or exclusively Italian to their children. Older speakers (aged 70-80) do not usually speak Sardinian to their grandchildren either, even though they often speak the language with one another. This provides a source of passive exposure to Sardinian for younger speakers, which explains the limited, mainly aural proficiency displayed by many children. Some basic information on the family background of these speakers has been obtained by asking the speakers which language or languages were spoken at home. Thus, I was able to divide the subjects into two groups: one group of speakers, depending on whether they were stemming from a Sardinian or an Italian speaking household. For the purposes of this study, comparatively liberal standards have been adopted to define a 'Sardinian-speaking household': since it could be taken for granted that no household was Sardinian monolingual or even Sardinian dominant, a speaker was classified as hailing from a Sardinian-speaking household if Sardinian was spoken frequently at home (besides the dominant Italian). Households where Sardinian was reported to be rarely or never spoken were labelled 'Italian-speaking households': this would not, in any case, prevent the children from acquiring a basic competence of Sardinian in other communicative contexts (playmates, neighbourhood, relatives outside their nuclear family etc.). Children of both categories were sometimes able to produce simple sentences in Sardinian on familiar topics. They were usually unable to interact with their interlocutor in Sardinian, let alone hold a conversation in Sardinian. Whenever talked to in Sardinian, they reply in Italian. Their limited production in Sardinian, though, sounds to fluent Sardinian speakers as native-like, which at first sight suggests that phonological competence is preserved. At a closer look, however, their phonological system proves different than a fluent speaker's.

The experimental design consisted in an elicited production task. The presentation was oral and conducted in their Sardinian variety of Tertenia by the author. Written presentation was avoided, since the vast majority of Sardinian people has no literacy in Sardinian. The test was administered in person.

The task was designed as follows. As a cue, a plural noun was presented, preceded by a definite article:

(1) [ir ˈβukaza] 'the mouths'

The task was producing its singular counterpart:

(2) [sa ˈuka] 'the mouth'

For example: 'Give me the singular of [ir ˈβukaza]', i.e. [sa ˈuka]

The experimental items were in a single list of 26 lexical items, which were intermixed with 26 fillers with the same format. The experimental list is presented in Table 4 below.[10] The presentation was pseudo-randomized for each of the 18 subjects. The total data points gathered are 468.

	Phonological Form	Phonetic Form	Translation
1	/is bidd̪igus/	ir ˈβidd̪iɣuzu	'the navels'
2	/is birðias/	ir ˈβirðiaza	'the stepmothers'
3	/is bizus/	ir ˈβizuzu	'the dreams'
4	/is bazidus/	ir ˈβaziðuzu	'the kisses'
5	/is barβas/	ir ˈβarβaza	'the beards'
6	/is binus/	ir ˈβinuzu	'the wines'
7	/is bɛranus/	ir βɛˈranuzu	'the spring times'
8	/is bɛrmis/	ir ˈβɛrmizi	'the worms'
9	/is bukas/	ir ˈβukaza	'the mouths'
10	/is bakas/	ir ˈβakaza	'the cows'
11	/is bidd̪as/	ir ˈβidd̪aza	'the villages'
12	/is bɔdʒis/	ir ˈβɔdʒizi	'the voices'
13	/is bɛntus/	ir ˈβɛntuzu	'the winds'
14	/is brunkus/	ir ˈβruŋkuzu	'the muzzles'
15	/is bidʒinaus/	ir βidʒiˈnauzu	'the neighbourhoods'
16	/is bindʒas/	ir ˈβindʒaza	'the vineyards'
17	/is binnɛnnas/	ir βinˈnɛnnaza	'the grape harvests'
18	/is bɔis/	ir ˈβɔizi	'the bulls'
19	/is bɛrβɛis/	ir βɛrˈβɛizi	'the sheep' (plur.)
20	/is dɔmus/	ir ˈðɔmuzu	'the houses'
21	/is dɔminigus/	ir ðɔˈminiɣuzu	'the Sundays'
22	/is didus/	ir ˈðiðuzu	'the fingers'
23	/is dɛntis/	ir ˈðɛntizi	'the teeth'
24	/is gangas/	ir ˈɣaŋgaza	'the throats'
25	/is gunnedd̪as/	ir ɣunˈnɛdd̪aza	'the skirts'
26	/is bɛʧus/	ir ˈβɛʧuzu	'the elderly'

Table 4. Experimental items

---

[10] The list includes indigenous items (items that come directly from Latin) as well as some fully assimilated loanwords (very ancient loanwords that behave analogously), namely items number 25 and 26. [gunˈnɛdd̪a] 'skirt' is from It. *gonnella*, while [ˈβɛʧu] 'old man' is from It. *vecchio*. On this aspect, see footnote 8.

One important point to make clear is that the subjects' performance did not exclusively rely on their internal lexicon correctly classifying a word as native or foreign: the cues (the items in the plural) submitted to the subjects contained initial fricatives, which makes it clear to proficient speakers that they are dealing with native lexicon, and they should apply the rule to the singular form, regardless of whether they knew the word already or it was new to them (see Table 3, post-consonant position in the native lexicon).

The results of the test are given in full in Table 5. The application of the rule will be expressed in terms of "lenition ratio", the ratio of application of the rule over the number of experimental items (26).

Subject	Lenition ratio (x/26)	Gender	Household
S1	7	F	I
S2	4	M	I
S3	23	M	S
S4	2	M	S
S5	17	M	S
S6	20	M	S
S7	14	M	S
S8	15	F	S
S9	16	M	S
S10	11	F	I
S11	16	F	S
S12	13	M	S
S13	13	M	S
S14	16	M	S
S15	7	M	I
S16	14	F	I
S17	15	F	S
S18	9	F	S

Table 5. Results

As can be seen at first sight, the ratio of lenition ranges from very high (23/26 for S3) to extremely low (2/26 for S4). As detailed in section 3 above, the Tertenia phonological system involves lenition of all the experimental items, so the expected ratio is 26/26. For concreteness, let us focus on speakers labelled as hailing from Sardinian-speaking households. The data show high variation (SD=±5.05; CV = 34.8%) and are not normally distributed (skewness = –0.804; kurtosis = 0.724). Let us now consider whether the performance of these speakers is significantly different from what is expected of fully proficient native speakers. In a one sample Wilcoxon signed rank test, the ratio of lenition in the speakers from Sardinian-speaking households (mean

= 14.5; median = 15) resulted to be highly significantly lower than the native target of 26/26 (*p*-value < .001).[11]

5. *Heritage phonology and language change*

The results just shown reveal a clear difficulty with the voiced stops paradigm illustrated in section 3 above. To summarise it briefly, as far as lenition goes, Sardinian native words behave in a fundamentally different way from loanwords. In the former, intervocalic voiced stops are subjected to a lenition rule in external sandhi; in the latter, no such rule applies. As a matter of fact, our heritage speakers, in failing to apply the lenition rule in (on average) 40% of the relevant instances, are processing native words as they would process loanwords. The lenition rule for voiced stops is being eroded, and in the future might be abandoned altogether. There are at least two (not mutually exclusive) hypotheses as to why this is happening. First, treating native words and loanwords alike might be regarded as a simplification of the system, and this would be motive enough to struggling heritage speakers of the language. Second, heritage speakers might be influenced by Italian (their dominant language), which does not include weakening of obstruents across word-boundaries.[12]

Regardless of its cause, this innovation is laying the groundwork for a complete reorganization of the phonological system of Sardinian, which might affect other external sandhi processes. The phonology of external sandhi in Sardinian displays a delicate balance between strong and weak positions. In intervocalic (i.e., weak) position, a segment weakens, while in post-consonant position or a phonosyntactic doubling context (i.e., strong positions), the same segment is insensitive to lenition or even strengthened.[13] At the same time, weakening acts on a scale: voiceless stops weaken into voiced fricatives, voiced stops weaken even further and are deleted altogether. This is a well-known feature of Sardinian lenition. Once the rule affecting voiced stops is lost, the traditional balance will fail: in a weak position, voiced obstruents will be realized as stronger than voiceless obstruents.

	Voiceless obstruents	Voiced obstruents
a. Fluent speaker	[sa ˈβala] 'the shoulder'	[sa ˈuka] 'the mouth'
b. Heritage speaker	[sa ˈβala] 'the shoulder'	[sa ˈbuka] 'the mouth'

Table 6. Voiceless and voiced obstruents in intervocalic position

In addition, as far as voiced obstruents are concerned, the loss of the above-mentioned rule will also change the balance between weak and strong positions: paradoxically enough, intervocalic (weak) positions will yield stronger realizations than strong positions. This can be exemplified in Table 7. Compare the phonology of fluent speakers in (a) with that of heritage speakers in (b):

---

[11] This test was preferred over a t-test because the normality assumption of the latter test is not met by my data. Cf. Gries (2013: 209).

[12] Regional varieties of Italian spoken, for instance, in Tuscany or Lazio have forms of weakening: respectively, the so-called *gorgia toscana* (Giannelli and Savoia 1978, 1979-1980; Bafile 1997; Marotta 2008), and the lenition attested in much of Central Italy (Marotta 2005; D'Achille and Stefinlongo 2008). However, such phenomena are entirely absent from the regional Italian spoken in Sardinia and from standard varieties of Italian.

[13] Phonosyntactic doubling is a sandhi strengthening process widespread in some Italo-Romance varieties, as well as in Sardinian and Corsican (cf. Fanciullo 1997; Loporcaro 1997; Passino 2013).

	Intervocalic position	Post-consonant position
a. Fluent speaker	[sa ˈuka] 'the mouth'	[ir ˈβukaza] 'the mouths'
b. Heritage speaker	[sa ˈbuka] 'the mouth'	[ir ˈβukaza] 'the mouths'

Table 7. Voiced obstruents in intervocalic and post-consonant position

In 7(a), (the grammar of a fluent speaker), the voiced obstruent in intervocalic position is deleted but surfaces as a fricative in post-consonant position while in 7(b), (the grammar of a heritage speaker) the same voiced obstruent has a stop in intervocalic (weak) position and a fricative in strong position (the post-consonant position). Regardless of the foreseeable future of Sardinian itself, which is my main concern here, this development is intriguing in itself. It lends support to the view that phonology, understood as the knowledge of the lexical elements and their phonetic alternations, prevails over substantive phonetic generalizations (here, *ceteris paribus*, a segment that underwent a process of weakening is realized as stronger than a similar segment that did not).

From the perspective of language change, there is one more issue that is worth considering. The behaviour of our speakers is consistent with the situation in another area of the Sardinian language domain (the far south) approximately one century ago. The south of the island originally had the same lenition system described above for Northern Campidanese. In particular, a rule was present that weakened voiced obstruents to the point of deletion (Wagner [1941] 1984: 139-141, 424; [1950] 1997: 285). According to Wagner ([1950] 1997: 285), in the island's capital (Cagliari), the influence of Italian was very strong at the time.[14] This, Wagner surmises, would have encouraged some speakers to innovate on the model of Italian. He states, though, that in the first decades of the century the innovation was already spreading in the south of the island, having been adopted by the upper-middle class and being increasingly imitated by the working class.

Wagner does not identify the class of speakers responsible for the innovation, and refers generically to the "city pronunciation" (tr. mine), (Wagner [1941] 1984: 139, 168-170). Some examples, listed in Wagner ([1950] 1997: 285), are *sa ddènti, su ggáttu* instead of *sa ènti, su áttu*.[15] However, further evidence to the fact that Cagliari originally had the same pronunciation as Common Campidanese lies in words such as [piˈzurʧi] 'pea', that comes from [ˈpizu] 'bean' plus [ˈdurʧi] 'sweet', with the deletion of intervocalic -d-, now lexicalized (Wagner [1941] 1984: 139).

Wagner also makes a remark highly relevant to our purposes. At the time of Wagner's fieldwork, in the communities already affected by the innovation, both pronunciations (with and without the stop) were attested (Wagner [1941] 1984: 168-170). Three quarters of a century later, in the late twentieth century, in the south the pronunciation with the stop was attested as almost exclusive. Namely, Bolognesi (1998: 37), when discussing the dialect of Sestu (10 km from Cagliari) argues that the intervocalic "[…] deletion is not obligatory, but in many cases also prohibited. Many words that begin with a voiced stop never alternate and the form which exhibit the deletion is considered ungrammatical". This can probably be regarded as the last stage before the loss of the rule.

---

[14] Cagliari Sardinian is today an endangered language. I refer the reader to Rattu (2017) and Mereu (2020) for the sociolinguistic situation of the city.

[15] In describing the innovation (i.e., the maintenance of voiced stops in intervocalic position), Wagner ([1941] 1984: 424) speaks of "doubling of b, d, g", (tr. mine). As a matter of fact, the segments are often phonetically realized as long. Phonologically, on the other hand, there is evidence that they should be regarded as simple. For a discussion of the phonological status of geminates in Sardinian, see Bolognesi (1998) and Lai (2015).

6. Conclusions

The evidence of an identical innovation at a century's distance raises more general issues about the way minority languages are affected by contact with a dominant language. It is especially interesting to consider the identity of the leaders of change, i.e., the linguistic innovators and/or early adopters (Milroy and Milroy 1985). In our case, it is clear that the innovation is being spread by heritage speakers, dominant in Italian and with an imperfect, mostly passive competence in Sardinian. I am unable to assess the similarities with the early 1900s situation witnessed by Wagner (Wagner [1941] 1984: 139-141; [1950] 1997: 285). While the sophisticated middle-class of Cagliari should perhaps not be regarded as heritage speakers at that point, we know that they were Italian-Sardinian bilinguals, and many could well have been Italian-dominant. It is then easy to hypothesize that a context of strong language contact and diglossia could have encouraged a simplification of a phonological system that involved highly marked consonant-zero alternations. Prestige might have played a role too, as an Italian-influenced pronunciation would have helped these bilinguals to distinguish themselves from Sardinian-dominant lower classes.

So far, I have implicitly favoured an explanation in terms of language shift or obsolescence: it has often been claimed that the phonological and grammatical system of an endangered language can experience changes due to either interference with a dominant language or to a general drive for simplification (Dorian 1978, a.o.). However, other lines of explanation cannot be excluded. Milroy and Milroy (1985) hypothesise that language innovations spread faster as a function of a loosening of social networks. To the extent that one can venture into broad sociological statements, it is reasonably clear that in the last decades rural Sardinia has experienced wide-ranged social changes that affected economic activities, migration patterns, tourism, and the city-countryside relations (Gentileschi 1995; Brigaglia, Mastino and Ortu 2006: 134-151, 162-175). These changes might have favoured a shallower pattern of weak social links over former close-knit community networks. This dynamic would help to explain the diffusion of the innovation, regardless of its source: one can either think of a Southern Campidanese influence, or of an innovation introduced from scratch.

References

Au, T.K., L.M. Knightly, Sun-Ah Jun *et al*. 2002. "Overhearing a Language during Childhood." *Psychological Science* 13, 3: 238-243.

Bafile, Laura. 1997. "La spirantizzazione toscana nell'ambito della teoria degli elementi." *Studi linguistici offerti a Gabriella Giacomelli dagli amici e dagli allievi. Quaderni del dipartimento di linguistica – studi* 4: 27-38.

Barbato, Marcello. 2017. "Superstrato catalano." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 150-167. Berlin-New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Benmamoun, Elabbas, Silvina Montrul and Maria Polinsky. 2010. "White Paper: Prolegomena to Heritage Linguistics." Ms. Harvard University, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/mpolinsky/files/hl_white_paper_june_12.pdf>. (06/2020)

Blasco Ferrer, Eduardo. 1984. *Storia linguistica della Sardegna*. Tubinga: Niemeyer.

Blasco Ferrer, Eduardo. 2002. *Linguistica sarda: storia, metodi, problemi*. Cagliari: Condaghes.

Bolognesi, Roberto. 1998. *The phonology of Campidanian Sardinian: a unitary account of a self-organizing structure*. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.

Bolognesi, Roberto. 2001. "Il sardo tra isolamento e contatto. Una rianalisi di alcuni stereotipi." *Ianua* 2: 1-47.

Brigaglia, Manlio, Attilio Mastino and G.G. Ortu (eds). 2006. *Storia della Sardegna 2. Dal Settecento a oggi*. Bari: Laterza.

Coluzzi, Paolo. 2009. "Endangered minority and regional languages ('dialects') in Italy." *Modern Italy*, 14, 1: 39-54, DOI: 10.1080/13532940802278546.

D'Achille, Paolo, and Antonella Stefinlongo. 2008. "La lenizione delle sorde a Roma tra diacronia e sincronia." In *L'Italia dei dialetti. Atti del Convegno. Sappada/Plodn (Belluno)*, ed. by Gianna Marcato, 28 giugno – 2 luglio 2007, 183-196. Padua: Unipress.

Dell'Aquila, Vittorio, and Gabriele Iannàccaro. 2004. *La pianificazione linguistica. Lingue, società e istituzioni*. Roma: Carocci.

Dettori, Antonietta. 2017. "Superstrato piemontese." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 184-199. Berlin-New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Dorian, N.C. 1977. "A Hierarchy of Morphophonemic Decay in Scottish Gaelic Language Death: The Differential Failure of Lenition." *Word* 28: 96-109.

Dorian, N.C. 1978. "The Fate of Morphological Complexity in Language Death: Evidence from East Sutherland Gaelic." *Language* 54, 3: 590-609.

Dressler, Wolfgang. 1981. "Language shift and language death — a Protean challenge for the linguist." *Folia Linguistica* 15(1-2): 5-28.

Elcock, William D. 1960. *The Romance Languages*. New York: Macmillan.

Fanciullo, Franco. 1997. *Raddoppiamento sintattico e ricostruzione linguistica nel sud italiano*. Pisa: ETS.

Floricic, Frank, and Lucia Molinu. 2017. "Storia delle indagini e classificazioni." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 15-30. Berlin-New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Gentileschi, M.L. 1995. *Sardegna emigrazione*. Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre.

Giannelli, Luciano, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 1978. "L'indebolimento consonantico in Toscana." Part I. *Rivista italiana di dialettologia* 2: 23-58.

Giannelli, Luciano, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 1979-1980. "L'indebolimento consonantico in Toscana." Part II. *Rivista italiana di dialettologia* 3-4: 39-101.

Ginsborg, Paul. 2003. *A history of contemporary Italy: Society and politics, 1943-1988*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gries, Stefan T. 2013. *Statistics for Linguistics with R: A Practical Introduction*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Itô, Junko, and Armin Mester. 1999. "The Structure of the Phonological Lexicon." In *The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*, ed. by Natsuko Tsujimura, 62-100. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lai, Rosangela. 2009. "Gradi di forza nelle occlusive di una sotto-varietà campidanese dell'Ogliastra." *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 33: 85-100.

Lai, Rosangela. 2011. "Peculiarità fonologiche dei prestiti in Sardo Campidanese." In *Le nuove forme del dialetto*, ed. by Gianna Marcato, 117-122. Padua: CLUEP.

Lai, Rosangela. 2015. "Word-initial geminates in Sardinian." *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 1: 37-60, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-16515.

Lai, Rosangela. (In press). "Sardinian." In *Manual of Romance phonetics and phonology*, ed. by Christoph Gabriel, Randall Gess, and Trudel Meisenburg. Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Loi Corvetto, Ines. 1992. "Sardegna." In *L'italiano nelle regioni* I: *Lingua nazionale e identità regionali*, ed. by Francesco Bruni, 875-917. Torino: UTET.

Loi Corvetto, Ines, and Annalisa Nesi. 1993. *La Sardegna e la Corsica*. Turin: UTET.

Loporcaro, Michele. 1997. "Lengthening and raddoppiamento fonosintattico." In *The dialects of Italy*, ed. by Martin Maiden and Mair Parry, 41-51. London: Routledge.

Lőrinczi, Marinella. 1982. "Dell'esotico dietro l'angolo: ovvero che cosa è il sardo per i linguisti." *La Ricerca Folklorica* 6: 115-125.

Marotta, Giovanna. 2005. "Il consonantismo romano. Processi fonologici e aspetti acustici." In *Italiano parlato. Analisi di un dialogo*, ed. by Federico Albano Leoni, and Rosa Giordano, 1-24. Naples: Liguori Editore.

Marotta, Giovanna. 2008. "Lenition in Tuscan Italian (Gorgia Toscana)." In *Lenition and Fortition*, ed. by Joaquim Brandao de Carvalho, Tobias Scheer, and Philippe Ségéral, 235-272. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mensching, Guido. 2004. "Su sardu – limba arcàica o limba moderna?" In *Su sardu. Limba de Sardigna e limba de Europa*, ed. by Lucia Grimaldi, and Guido Mensching, 27-53. Cagliari: CUEC.

Mereu, Daniela. 2020. *Il sardo parlato a Cagliari. Una ricerca sociofonetica*, Milano: Franco Angeli.

Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy. 1985. "Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation." *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 339-384.

Molinu, Lucia. 2017. "Fonetica, fonologia, prosodia: sincronia." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 339-358. Berlin.New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Montrul, Silvina. 2008. *Incomplete Acquisition in Bilingualism. Re-examining the Age Factor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Montrul, Silvina. 2010. "Current issues in heritage language acquisition." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30: 3-23.

Montrul, Silvina. 2016. *The Acquisition of Heritage Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Oppo, Anna, (ed.). 2007. *Le lingue dei sardi. Una ricerca sociolinguistica*. Cagliari: Regione Autonoma della Sardegna.

Orioles, Vincenzo 2003. *Le minoranze linguistiche. Profili sociolinguistici e quadro dei documenti di tutela*. Roma: Il Calamo.

Ortu, G.G. 2017. "Establishing Power and Law in Medieval and Modern Sardinia." In *A Companion to Sardinian History, 500-1500*, ed. by Michelle Hobart, 228-251. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Passino, Diana. 2013. "A unified account of consonant gemination in external sandhi in Italian. Raddoppiamento sintattico and related phenomena." *Linguistic Review* 30: 313-346.

Pisano, Simone. 2015. "Importanza del superstrato catalano, castigliano e italiano in alcune varietà sarde moderne: aspetti lessicali, fonetici e morfosintattici." In *Le lingue d'Italia e le altre. Contatti, sostrati e superstrati nella storia linguistica della Penisola*, ed. by Lorenzo Filipponio, and Christian Seidl, 149-165. Milan: Franco Angeli.

Polinsky, Maria. 2018. *Heritage Languages and their Speakers* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics), Cambridge: Cambridge UP, DOI: 10.1017/9781107252349.005.

Polinsky, Maria, and Olga Kagan. 2007. "Heritage Languages: In the 'Wild' and in the Classroom." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1/5: 368-395, DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-818x.2007.00022.

Putzu, Ignazio. 2019. "History of the Sardinian Lexicon." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, <https://oxfordre.com/linguistics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-469>, (06/2020).

Rattu, Roberto. 2017. *Repertorio plurilingue e variazione linguistica a Cagliari: i quartieri di Castello, Marina, Villanova, Stampace, Bonaria e Monte Urpinu*. Ph.D. dissertation, Università di Cagliari.

Rindler Schjerve, Rosita. 1993. "Sardinian: Italian." In *Bilingualism and Linguistic Conflict in Romance*, ed. by Rebecca Posner, and J.N. Green, 271-294. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.

Rindler Schjerve, Rosita. 1998. "Codeswitching as an indicator for language shift? Evidence from Sardinian-Italian bilingualism." In *Code switching worldwide*, ed. by Rodolfo Jacobson, 221-247. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Rindler Schjerve, Rosita. 2000. "Inventario analitico delle attuali trasformazioni del sardo." *Revista de Filología Románica* 17: 229-246.

Rindler Schjerve, Rosita. 2003. "Sardinian between maintenance and change." In *Aspects of multilingualism in European language history*, ed. by Kurt Braunmüller, and Gisella Ferraresi, 235-260. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rindler Schjerve, Rosita. 2017. "Sociolinguistica e vitalità del sardo." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 31-44. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

Salminen, Tapani. 2007. "Endangered Languages in Europe." In *Language Diversity Endangered*, (Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs, 181), ed. by Matthias Brenzinger, 205-232. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Savoia, Leonardo M. 2001. "La legge 482 sulle minoranze linguistiche storiche. Le lingue di minoranza e le varietà non standard in Italia." *Rivista italiana di dialettologia* 25: 7-50.

Tagliavini, Carlo. 1982. *Le origini delle lingue neolatine*. Bologna: Pàtron.

Toso, Fiorenzo. 2012. *La Sardegna che non parla sardo: profilo storico e linguistico delle varietà alloglotte gallurese, sassarese, maddalenino, algherese, tabarchino*. Cagliari: CUEC.

Toso, Fiorenzo. 2017. "Superstrato toscano e ligure." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 137-149. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.

Toso, Fiorenzo. 2019. "Alloglossie e minoranze linguistiche in Italia. Problemi terminologici e forme della tutela." *Estudis romànics* 41: 401-422, DOI: 10.2436/20.2500.01.276.

Virdis, Maurizio. 1978. *Fonetica del dialetto sardo campidanese*. Cagliari: Ed. Della Torre.

Virdis, Maurizio. 1988. "Sardisch: Areallinguistik." In *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik. IV. Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch*, ed. by Günter Holtus, Michel Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt, 897-913. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Virdis, Maurizio. 2017. "Superstrato spagnolo." In *Manuale di Linguistica Sarda*, ed. by Eduardo Blasco Ferrer, Peter Koch, and Daniela Marzo, 168-183. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.

Wagner, M.L. 1928. "La stratificazione del lessico sardo." *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 13/14: 1-61.

Wagner, M.L. 1984. *Fonetica storica del Sardo*, ed. by Giulio Paulis. Cagliari: Trois. (Or. 1941. *Historische Lautlehre des Sardischen*. Halle: Niemeyer).

Wagner, M.L. 1997. *La lingua sarda. Storia spirito e forma*, ed. by Giulio Paulis. Nuoro: Ilisso. (Or. 1950. *La lingua sarda. Storia spirito e forma*. Bern: Francke).

Il consonantismo dell'italiano regionale di Ancona: prime indagini sperimentali[*]

Ottavia Tordini
Università di Pisa (<ottavia.tordini@fileli.unipi.it>)

Abstract:

Due to its peculiar geopolitical layout, Ancona is connoted by a manifold linguistic profile – particularly for what concerns the consonantal system. However, this area has been so far scarcely investigated from a phonetic perspective. In this work, we propose the first acoustic description of selected consonants, as spoken in the local Italian variety: /p, t, k, s/. Literature unanimously reports that the local dialect is characterized by: a) the consonantal weakening of northern origin, which provokes voicing of /p, t, k, s/ in intervocalic position and degemination; b) the affrication of /s/ after /l, n, r/ – typical of other areas in central Italy. The aim is to verify whether these phenomena are attested also in the Italian variety spoken in Ancona. For this purpose, we conducted an acoustic analysis on spontaneous productions of 12 adult subjects (6 males and 6 females). While the sonorization of intervocalic /s/, which occurs in both northern and standard Italian pronunciations with all the well-known exceptions, is regular, the sonorization/lenition of voiceless plosives and degemination do not surface systematically. Presumably, these traits are perceived – more or less consciously – as socio-phonetic markers, thus mostly avoided in the pronunciation of Italian. At phonetic level, the dialectal interference is however statistically more pervasive in the male sample.

Keywords: *Ancona, consonants, experimental phonetics, Italian varieties*

Premessa

Situata all'interno dell'area perimediana, al crocevia tra più isoglosse (cfr. Rohlfs 1966; Pellegrini 1977; Devoto e Giacomelli 1991; Loporcaro 2009), l'area di Ancona presenta un profilo linguistico multiforme, in particolare per quanto riguarda il sistema consonantico, in cui coesistono elementi esogeni, di varia provenienza. Tale profilo, tuttavia, è stato finora scarsamente indagato

da un punto di vista fonetico. Il nostro studio si propone di descrivere acusticamente alcuni aspetti del consonantismo dell'italiano regionale parlato in quest'area. La scelta è motivata da più ragioni: in primis, precedenti lavori si sono concentrati sulla descrizione morfo-fonologica e lessicale del dialetto locale, mentre l'italiano regionale ha scarsamente attirato l'attenzione della letteratura (con l'eccezione di Balducci 2001); in secondo luogo, mancano studi che descrivano a livello sperimentale le caratteristiche fonetiche del parlato di quest'area.

In questa sede si presentano i primi risultati di un'analisi condotta sulle occlusive sorde /p, t, k/ e sulla fricativa alveolare sorda /s/. Secondo la letteratura dialettologica, l'area perimediana nord-orientale sarebbe contraddistinta da fenomeni di indebolimento consonantico di matrice settentrionale (Rohlfs 1966; Balducci 2000, 2001, 2002; Loporcaro e Paciaroni 2016). Tra questi fenomeni rientrano: la lenizione delle occlusive sorde in posizione intervocalica, in particolare di /k/ (Loporcaro 2009), che conduce talvolta ad esiti pienamente sonorizzati; la sonorizzazione completa di /s/ in contesto VCV, e fenomeni di degeminazione. Parallelamente, l'area è caratterizzata anche da altri fenomeni tipici delle aree centrali (Turchi e Gili Fivela, 2004; Marotta 2005, 2008; Calamai 2016; Paciaroni 2017), tra cui l'affricazione di /s/ post-sonorante alveolare.

L'ipotesi di ricerca è che, mentre la sonorizzazione della fricativa alveolare in contesto VCV – quale carattere tipico e della pronuncia settentrionale e dell'italiano standard – avviene senza eccezioni, l'indebolimento delle occlusive sorde e la degeminazione siano generalmente percepiti, a livello sociolinguistico, come tratti stigmatizzati, tipici del dialetto e di contesti/registri comunicativi bassi. Dall'altro lato, per quanto riguarda l'affricazione di /s/, si ritiene che la comunità linguistica non abbia una consapevolezza generalizzata della sua attivazione a livello sincronico. Come già osservato da Balducci (2000), la mancata percezione dell'affricazione può infatti manifestarsi in errori ortografici. Alla luce di queste osservazioni, si suppone che questi processi non si presentino in maniera sistematica. Per validare empiricamente queste considerazioni è stata condotta un'analisi segmentale sulle produzioni spontanee di 12 soggetti di Ancona (6 maschi e 6 femmine). Verrà quindi illustrato il comportamento acustico di /p, t, k, s/ nei contesti *target* e si proporranno osservazioni generali sia di tipo morfo-fonetico che sociolinguistico.

1. Ancona e l'area perimediana

Ai fini del presente lavoro, è opportuno chiarire le diverse posizioni presenti in letteratura riguardo alla definizione di "area mediana". In generale, l'ampia documentazione sui dialetti italo-romanzi classifica – pressoché unanimemente – come appartenenti all'area mediana i dialetti italiani centrali esclusa la Toscana (eccetto una piccola striscia meridionale: cfr. *infra*). Negli ultimi decenni sono state fornite diverse interpretazioni riguardo l'utilizzo di questa terminologia. Secondo Pellegrini (1977), il confine settentrionale dell'area mediana comprenderebbe il Monte Argentario e la zona sud-orientale della provincia di Grosseto, tutta l'Umbria e la provincia Ancona – fino a Senigallia. Diversamente, secondo Vignuzzi e Avolio (1994) il Tevere rappresenterebbe il confine nord-occidentale dell'area: le varietà mediane sarebbero quindi parlate a sud-est di Roma, nella parte sud-orientale dell'Umbria, e, nelle Marche, nella zona del Maceratese-Fermano, ma non nel territorio di Ancona. In linea con Vignuzzi e Avolio (1994), Loporcaro (2009: 140-141) e Loporcaro e Paciaroni (2016: 228) hanno recentemente suggerito di distinguere l'area "mediana" dall'area "perimediana", confinante con la Toscana a nord e a ovest della linea Roma-Ancona, che comprende il Grossetano sud-orientale, Lazio nord-occidentale, nord-ovest dell'Umbria e la provincia di Ancona. In questa sede si impiegherà l'aggettivo "perimediana" per definire l'area di interesse, coerentemente con quest'ultima interpretazione.

Ancona presenta una situazione linguistica particolare, sia per quanto riguarda la varietà dialettale che l'italiano regionale parlati nella zona urbana e sub-urbana. Innanzitutto, la grande densità di isoglosse, concentrate soprattutto entro i confini geo-politici della provincia (Figura 1), delinea un quadro linguistico estremamente frammentato rispetto alle modeste proporzioni del territorio (cfr. Rohlfs 1966; Pellegrini 1977; Vignuzzi 1988, 1997; Devoto e Giacomelli 1991; Loporcaro 2009). Le radici di questa frammentazione sono principalmente da ricercarsi – in diacronia e in sincronia – nell'assenza sia di unità territoriale dal punto di vista politico-amministrativo, sia di un centro egemonico anche a livello culturale e linguistico (Anselmi 1987; Romagnoli 2014). Come osserva infatti Balducci (2002), il capoluogo non è mai riuscito ad acquisire una forza centripeta tale da attrarre i centri urbani e sub-urbani dell'intera regione. In generale, l'incongruenza tra l'ambito amministrativo/geopolitico e la particolare geo-morfologia, che favorisce la dispersione linguistica (Anselmi 1987), inducono a concepire il territorio come un'identità territoriale multipla e composita sotto vari punti di vista. Ciò che accomuna ciascuna identità/sotto-sistema è proprio la coesistenza di elementi linguistici eterogenei ed esogeni (cfr. De Blasi 2014: 83). Sottolinea Balducci (2002: 14-15):

È indubbio che le Marche rappresentano un concentrato di caratteristiche culturali e linguistiche non esclusive del proprio territorio ma parzialmente comuni a tutte le regioni contermini […] senza dimenticare l'influsso di Venezia su tutta la fascia costiera e i porti marchigiani […] molte isoglosse tagliano trasversalmente le Marche dal mare alla montagna, segno evidente che le innovazioni sono giunte dal Norditalia lungo la costa.

Una visione precisa dell'andamento e della concentrazione di isoglosse in area perimediana e mediana è data in Figura 1:
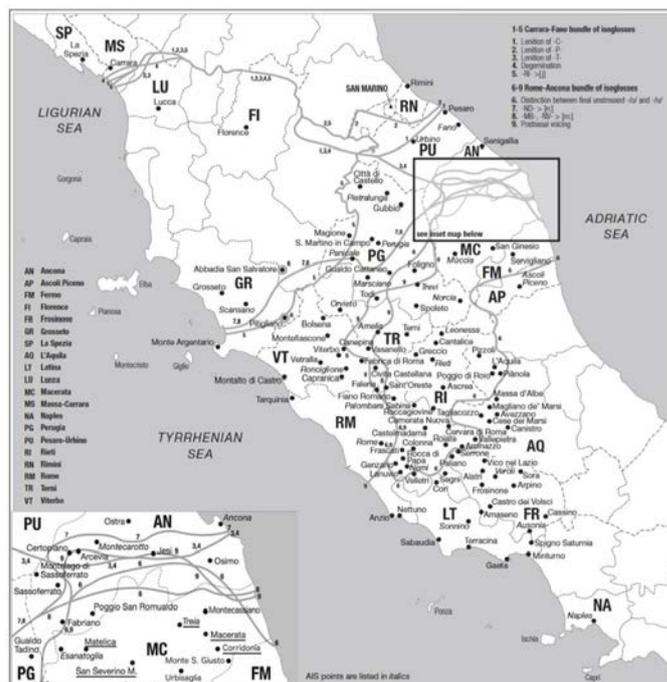
Figura 1. Isoglosse in area mediana e perimediana (tratto da Paciaroni 2017: 29)

I problemi di classificazione sopra evidenziati riflettono una situazione estremamente complessa, "ribelle ad ogni inquadramento dialettale" (Cortelazzo 1978: 187). All'interno della regione stessa, vari autori hanno individuato quattro macro-sistemi linguistici: area settentrionale pesarese; area centrale anconetana; area centrale maceratese-fermana; area ascolana (cfr. Parrino 1967; Vignuzzi 1988; Balducci 2002). Tra le prime due aree Canepari (1999: 425) individua un'importante similarità: entrambe "costituiscono una zona di transizione tra il Centro e il Nord, nel senso che hanno elementi tipici d'entrambe queste macrocoinè. Anche se ci sono notevoli oscillazioni tra est-ovest e nord-sud di questa zona, si potrebbe quasi dire che si tratta del sistema fonico centrale realizzato coi foni settentrionali". Osserva inoltre Balducci (2001: 215) che i confini naturali più che quelli amministrativi giocano un ruolo non trascurabile nel determinare queste frammentazioni. In particolare: "Il confine dell'Esino rimane ancora un punto di riferimento imprescindibile nello studio dei dialetti marchigiani […] la parte a nord dell'Esino (che grosso modo potremmo indicare come la provincia di Pesaro e Urbino, compreso il territorio di Senigallia) rientra nelle pronunce dell'area romagnola."

Prendendo come riferimento un piano cartesiano, nella porzione di Marche compresa nell'area perimediana le differenze sono facilmente osservabili lungo entrambe le direzioni. Lungo l'asse nord-sud si individua l'influsso decrescente delle varietà settentrionali, la cui manifestazione più caratteristica, dal punto di vista fonetico, è il *continuum* di fenomeni di indebolimento consonantico (§ 1.2) identificabili nelle isoglosse 1, 2, 3, 4 (Figura 1). Per quanto riguarda la variazione lungo l'asse est-ovest dell'area centrale anconetana – ovvero dall'Adriatico all'Appennino – si notano invece crescenti influssi toscani e tosco-umbri, che possono mani-festarsi sotto forma di fortizione/rafforzamento.[1] Sulla base di queste assunzioni, la letteratura ripartisce l'area centrale anconetana in quattro sub-sistemi: anconetano[2], osimano-loretano, jesino, fabrianese (Balducci 2000, 2002).

1.1 Il rapporto tra dialetto e italiano regionale ad Ancona: considerazioni sociolinguistiche

Da un punto di vista sociolinguistico, non è sempre possibile tracciare un confine netto tra il dialetto e l'italiano regionale parlati nella zona di Ancona – nonostante vi siano alcune indubbie discrepanze a livello morfofonologico, morfosintattico e lessicale (cfr. Balducci 2000, 2002). Nel parlato di tutti i giorni sono infatti osservabili alcune oscillazioni da un codice all'altro – spesso senza soluzione di continuità. Il dialetto è sostanzialmente collocabile nel polo basso del *continuum* perché percepito come "rustico": proprio per via di un certo suo grado di marcatezza, subisce non di rado stigmatizzazioni a livello sociale.[3] Questo codice, infatti,

---

[1] Si vedano ad esempio le riflessioni di Balducci (2000) sul Raddoppiamento Sintattico nelle Marche.

[2] All'interno del quale sono presenti anche varietà di tipo gallo-italico (o gallo-piceno), parlate nei centri più settentrionali della provincia (Senigallia, Montemarciano) e nella zona del Conero (Poggio, Sirolo, Numana, Camerano) (Romagnoli, 2014).

[3] Il quadro è sotto certi aspetti simile a quello osservato da Marotta (2005) per il romanesco. In entrambi i casi, i tratti bandiera del dialetto sono riscontrabili maggiormente nel consonantismo; tra questi troviamo sia l'indebolimento delle occlusive intervocaliche, sia la degeminazione, sia l'affricazione della sibilante dopo sonorante alveolare. Le indagini di Marotta suggeriscono che, seppure siano tendenzialmente stigmatizzati a livello sociale, questi tratti emergono anche nell'italiano dei giovani studenti universitari (in particolar modo nel soggetto maschile), segno che risulta ancora oggi difficile "separare" i due codici linguistici – similmente a quanto accade nelle varietà di Ancona. Tuttavia, come eviden-ziato nel § 1.2, la letteratura attribuisce ai fenomeni di indebolimento di area anconetana (in primis alla sonorizzazione tipica del dialetto) un'origine settentrionale; inoltre, la struttura del *continuum* dialetto-italiano a Roma detiene uno status particolare rispetto all'intero panorama italiano, per motivazioni storiche, letterarie e socio-culturali. Alla luce di queste differenze, non si ritiene quindi possibile porre i due sistemi sullo stesso piano di indagine.

è impiegato con una frequenza sensibilmente maggiore in contesti comunicativi colloquiali, particolarmente informali e non controllati[4], o anche da anziani e soggetti con basso grado di istruzione (in particolar modo tra le classi sociali basse). Allo stesso tempo, come osservano Sorianello, Bertinetto e Agonigi (2005: 328)[5] sulla base di Giannelli e Savoia (1978, 1979-80): "[A]lcuni parametri sociolinguistici, tra cui il registro stilistico impiegato […], l'estrazione sociale del locutore, il livello di scolarità, il quartiere di appartenenza, possono incidere sulla frequenza di realizzazione, oltre che sulla fonetica, del fenomeno". Data la concorrenza di più fattori di variabilità, non può essere esclusa a priori un'interferenza del dialetto anche nei contesti comunicativi più "alti". A livello (morfo)fonetico, tale interferenza può apparire sotto diversi aspetti, ad esempio: la sonorizzazione delle occlusive sorde intervocaliche – in particolare di /k/ e /t/ (cfr. § 1.2); lo scempiamento delle doppie; l'affricazione della fricativa alveolare sorda dopo /l, n, r/, che viene resa come [ts] (Balducci 2000) e che conduce non di rado a problemi nella resa grafematica.[6] Per i motivi già elencati questi fenomeni meritano analisi specifiche che mirino a descriverne la natura non solo dal punto di vista fonetico, ma anche a livello sociolinguistico.

1.2 Caratteristiche del sistema consonantico in area anconetana

L'inventario fonologico del sub-sistema anconetano è sostanzialmente coincidente con quello dell'italiano standard (Balducci 2000, 2001, 2002); fa eccezione l'assenza di opposizione fonologica /s/-/z/ (cfr. *infra*). A livello fonetico, invece, sono riscontrabili gli effetti di spinte esogene – da nord e da (sud)ovest – che possono manifestarsi come variazioni allofoniche perlopiù dipendenti da fattori sociolinguistici e socioculturali e dal tipo di registro (cfr. *supra*). Ad esempio, tra i tratti linguistici esogeni che da settentrione si propagano lungo l'Adriatico e raggiungono Ancona, la letteratura (cfr. Rohlfs 1966; Vignuzzi 1988; Balducci 2000, 2001, 2002) individua fenomeni di indebolimento consonantico che riguardano specifici segmenti – in primis la /k/ intervocalica. A tal proposito Rohlfs (1966: 269) afferma: "[v]erso sud la sonorizzazione raggiunge attraverso gli Appennini i territori settentrionali di confine della Toscana, verso sud-est la zona di Ancona: cfr. l'anconitano *figo, fogo, stòmigo, buga, giugà*". Alcuni di questi esiti sono riscontrabili nelle mappe dell'Atlante Italo Svizzero 1289, 354 e 741 (Jaberg e Jud 1928-1940).[7] A distanza di cinquant'anni dall'indagine di Rohlfs, la situazione sembrerebbe immutata: "[a]s for stops, Ancona shows systematic /k/-voicing ([ˈpɔːɡu] 'few', [ˈɡrɛːɡu] 'Greek.MSG')" (Loporcaro e Paciaroni, 2016: 241). Tuttavia, troviamo una discrepanza rispetto a quanto individuato in Figura 1, in cui l'isoglossa 1, corrispondente alla lenizione dell'occlusiva velare, si arresterebbe all'altezza di Pesaro-Fano. Al contrario, la sonorizzazione come esito estremo dell'indebolimento è percepito e impiegato quale tratto bandiera del dialetto del capoluogo. Processi di indebolimento possono interessare anche la /t/ intervocalica: "Nell'Italia settentrionale la *t* in posizione intervocalica è diventata sonora nell'intero territorio dal Piemonte al Friuli. Tale sviluppo si estende attraverso gli Appennini fino alle estreme zone di confine della Toscana Settentrionale e nord-occidentale e verso sud-est fino alle Marche settentrionali (*roda, lavada*)" (Rohlfs 1966: 273). Se prendiamo come riferimento le

---

[4] I dati dell'ultima indagine ISTAT (2015) rivelano infatti che: "Al Centro soltanto nelle Marche si registra un uso del dialetto in famiglia (esclusivo o alternato all'italiano) superiore alla media nazionale (56,3%)" (https://www.istat.it/it/files/2017/12/Report_Uso-italiano_dialetti_altrelingue_2015.pdf) (06/2020).

[5] In riferimento alla variabilità degli esiti della gorgia toscana.

[6] Il problema è già stato osservato da Marotta (2014: 150) e Guazzelli (2015) anche in alcune varietà toscane.

[7] Per la consultazione delle mappe AIS è stato utilizzato lo strumento digitale NavigAIS a cura di G. Tisato (http://www3.pd.istc.cnr.it/navigais-web/) (06/2020).

carte AIS ai punti di rilievo di Ancona (539) e Montemarciano (538), si nota un esito univoco sonorizzato per l'occlusiva velare (es. [forˈmiːka] > [forˈmiːga] (AIS 464) e (urˈtiːga) (AIS 622), parallelamente a casi in cui abbiamo invece il mantenimento del tratto [-sonoro] (es. [aˈmiːko] in AIS 1108). Per l'occlusiva dentale sorda le carte AIS rivelano un andamento oscillatorio, per cui si hanno, ad esempio, sia esiti sonorizzati come [ˈpraːdo] "prato" (AIS 1415) e [ˈflaudo] "flauto" (AIS 756), che sordi [ˈrɔːta] "ruota" (AIS 1227) e [fraˈtɛːlo] "fratello" (AIS 13).[8] Il comportamento di questi segmenti, pertanto, non sembra essere sempre coerente; riteniamo, quindi, che non sia possibile trascurare l'influsso dell'italiano (cfr. § 1.1).

La sonorizzazione colpisce sistematicamente anche /s/ in posizione intervocalica: "il dialetto di Ancona presenta già i caratteri della pronuncia tipica dell'Italia settentrionale ([ˈkaːza], [ˈfuːzo], [ˈpeːza])" (Rohlfs, 1966: 284). Le poche eccezioni sono motivate a livello morfonologico, essendo il risultato della prefissazione in "ri-" di verbi come "ri-siedere", "ri-salire", "ri-sentire", etc. e, più in generale, della /s/ in giuntura: "di-segno", "pre-side" (Balducci 1978: 134; Cortelazzo 1990: 2-3). L'ineccepibilità della sonorizzazione di /s/ in contesto VCV riflette l'assenza di coppie minime con /s/-/z/ (Balducci 1978); questo processo avviene indipendentemente dall'utilizzo dell'italiano o del dialetto.

Mentre le geminate – sia di derivazione antica che recente – sono conservate in larga parte della Toscana, in quasi tutta l'Italia centrale e nel Meridione, la degeminazione settentrionale si estende attraverso gli Appennini alle zone periferiche della Toscana (Garfagnana e Lunigiana superiori, Versilia), alla fascia adriatica che va da Ancona ad Ascoli Piceno, e, attraverso la valle del Metauro (provincia di PU), anche all'Umbria settentrionale (Rohlfs 1966: 321-322). Secondo quando rappresentato in Figura 1, il fenomeno è diffuso lungo l'isoglossa 4, che parte da Carrara, taglia la provincia più settentrionale delle Marche e attraversa trasversalmente tutta la provincia centrale, arrivando fino ad Ancona. L'AIS fornisce numerosi esempi che confermano la distribuzione areale della degeminazione nella zona di Ancona, tra cui: [kaˈvaːli] "cavalli" (AIS 823); [ˈboːka] "bocca" (AIS 104); [gaˈliːna] "gallina" (AIS 1122). Il fenomeno può interessare anche le affricate dentali: [fatsoˈleːto] "fazzoletto" (AIS 1553); [medzaˈnɔːte] "mezzanotte" (AIS 344), e post-alveolari: [ˈluːtʃola] "lucciola" (AIS 469); [forˈmaːdʒo] "formaggio" (AIS 1217).

Oltre all'indebolimento di provenienza settentrionale, il consonantismo dell'area di Ancona è interessato anche da un particolare fenomeno tipico della macroarea mediana, ovvero l'affricazione di /s/ post-sonorante alveolare (Balducci 2000). Cenni alla presenza di affricazione dopo sonorante alveolare sono presenti già in Rohlfs (1966: 225): "Dove l'articolo maschile è costituito da *il* o da *el*, *s* può essere diventata *z* dopo *l*: per esempio in toscano *il sinale < il zinale* […]; in marchigiano *el zole*, *el zíghero* […]. Nelle suddette zone *s* passa con facilità a *z* anche dopo *n* […]". Sia nel dialetto che nell'Italiano regionale di Ancona le affricate sorde si ritrovano frequentemente anche a inizio assoluto di parola, o dopo un articolo o sostantivo terminante per vocale – anche qui sulla base del modello toscano. Ne abbiamo evidenza dalle carte AIS, ad esempio: (la) [ˈtsiːa] (AIS 20) "zia"; (la) [ˈtsukːa] "zucca" (AIS 1372); (la) [ˈtsampa] "zampa" (AIS 1119: punto di rilievo 538); (lo) [ˈtsɔːpu] "zoppo" (AIS 191); (staˈ) [ˈtsitːo] "zitto" (AIS 1644). Fanno eccezione alcuni termini, tra cui ad esempio: [ˈdzolfo] "zolfo" (AIS 413), di contro al toscano centro-occidentale [ˈtsolfo] e al toscano orientale [ˈsolfo]; [ˈdzaino] "zaino"; [dzanˈdzaːra] "zanzara"; [dzɔː] "zoo"; [ˈzanːa] "zanna".

---

[8] Nella rassegna di Rohlfs (1966) sui fenomeni di indebolimento in area centrale, non troviamo tuttavia cenni al passaggio /d/ > [ð], che pure è riscontrabile lungo l'asse est-ovest, e che conduce alla cancellazione dell'interdentale nelle zone più interne (all'intersezione tra le isoglosse 3, 4, 7, 8, 9) dell'area perimediana e mediana (cfr. Paciaroni 2017: 99-100). Man mano che ci si avvicina all'interno, ad esempio nei sistemi osimano-loretano, jesino e fabrianese, troviamo infatti diversi gradi di lenizione, con distribuzione variabile, ad es. [dʒeˈlaːto] > [dʒeˈlaːdo], [dʒeˈlaːðo] o [dʒeˈlaːð̥o]), fino alla cancellazione (Balducci 2000: 26; Cintioli 2016).

2. Scopo della ricerca

Dallo stato dell'arte possiamo constatare la sostanziale carenza di analisi sperimentali che descrivano a livello segmentale il consonantismo della nostra area d'interesse. D'altra parte, oltre alle carte AIS ai punti di rilievo 538 e 539, per la zona qui considerata abbiamo ancora pochissimi dati di parlato locale (Cintioli 2016; Sbacco 2019). Il presente contributo si propone quindi di indagare acusticamente alcune caratteristiche del consonantismo di Ancona, che risulta essere interessato da spinte esogene: da un lato, manifestazioni dell'indebolimento di origine settentrionale, tra cui rientra anche la sonorizzazione di /s/; dall'altro, il fenomeno di fortizione, tipico di altre zone dell'Italia centrale, per il quale /s/ > [ts] dopo sonorante.[9] Lo scopo è quello di verificare se – ed eventualmente con quali caratteristiche – questi fenomeni siano presenti nell'italiano regionale del sistema anconetano. Si osserverà che, mentre la sonorizzazione della fricativa alveolare in contesto VCV – quale carattere tipico e della pronuncia settentrionale e dell'italiano standard – avviene senza eccezioni, l'indebolimento delle occlusive sorde e la degeminazione occorrono in maniera non organica. L'ipotesi di fondo è che anche nel parlato spontaneo questi tratti siano percepiti (in maniera più o meno consapevole) come marcatori sociofonetici, perlopiù evitati nella pronuncia dell'italiano. Parallelamente, si suppone che anche il processo sincronico di affricazione della /s/ non sia sistematico; se riconosciuto dal parlante, viene anch'esso ritenuto tratto marcato.[10]

2.1 Materiale

Al fine di validare le ipotesi di ricerca, sono state condotte analisi fonetiche sperimentali su produzioni spontanee di 12 soggetti (6 maschi e 6 femmine) distribuiti in 3 diverse fasce d'età (1 = 20-30 anni; 2 = 35-50 anni; 3 = 65-70 anni), come indicato in Tabella 1:

Soggetti	Genere	Età	Gruppo	Occupazione
AB	M	28	1	impiegato
FB	M	26	1	commesso
GG	F	23	1	studentessa
RC	F	23	1	studentessa
DD	M	26	1	tirocinante
ST	F	30	1	impiegata
FG	M	35	2	impiegato
EC	F	44	2	impiegata
GB	M	47	2	ingegnere
CC	F	44	2	impiegata
GC	M	69	3	pensionato
MAB	F	64	3	pensionata

Tabella 1. Dati relativi ai soggetti analizzati

[9] È opportuno osservare che, lungo la scala di forza consonantica, i fenomeni di fortizione procedono in direzione opposta rispetto ai fenomeni di indebolimento. Le recenti indagini di Bybee e Easterday (2019) condotte su un esteso campione di lingue rivelano una maggiore occorrenza dei fenomeni di indebolimento rispetto ai fenomeni di fortizione. Secondo questa interpretazione, pertanto, le due manifestazioni possono co-occorrere all'interno della stessa varietà, ma non possono dirsi del tutto speculari o complementari.

[10] Queste osservazioni sono state confermate, una volta terminato l'esperimento, da tutti i soggetti intervistati.

Le registrazioni sono state effettuate nelle abitazioni private dei soggetti mediante il software Praat (Boersma e Weenink 2019), utilizzando il microfono Samson Meteor Mic, fornito dal Laboratorio di Fonetica dell'Università di Pisa (campionamento a 48 kHz, 16 bit). Ai soggetti è stato in primo luogo chiesto di parlare di sé e della propria famiglia, dello studio/impiego e degli hobbies, nel modo più spontaneo possibile; la conversazione è stata successivamente guidata dall'intervistatore su temi fissi quali: la descrizione della ricetta della pasta al pomodoro; la descrizione del territorio; le vacanze estive. Tale produzione spontanea (per una durata totale di circa 1h) è stata quindi campionata, segmentata ed analizzata su Praat. Sono stati creati diversi *tiers* di analisi, contenenti rispettivamente: livello di frase, livello di parola, trascrizione IPA, *Voice Onset Time* (VOT), ove presente. L'estrazione dei valori è stata effettuata in maniera automatica in Praat, mediante *scripts*: un primo *script* (Di Canio 2013) è stato utilizzato per identificare ciascun segmento *target* nei vari contesti e misurarne la durata in ms. Un secondo *script* (Lennes 2017) ha permesso di estrarre la durata del VOT in corrispondenza del segmento *target*.[11] Tutta la procedura automatica è stato supervisionata a posteriori dall'autore; i dati sono stati infine processati sul software *R* (versione 1.1.456). Al fine di limitare il più possibile la variabilità legata al contesto prosodico, sono stati considerati unicamente i *tokens* in posizione interna di parola e di enunciato, in attacco sia di sillaba tonica che di sillaba atona.

3. Occlusive sorde intervocaliche

Per quanto riguarda le consonanti *target*, sono stati individuati rispettivamente: parola; contesto; tipo di sillaba; durata in ms; durata in ms del *Voice Onset Time* (VOT), se presente. Essendo i valori alti di VOT inversamente correlati al grado di indebolimento consonantico (Lewis 2001), si presume che sia assente o debole nei casi interessati da questo fenomeno. La presenza di *burst* è stata considerata come ulteriore indice acustico di forza consonantica (Marotta 2008). In Tabella 2 sono riportate le occorrenze nel contesto *target* di /p/, /k/ e /t/ distinte per genere dei soggetti.

	/p/	/t/	/k/
Maschi	93	134	91
Femmine	68	130	88
TOT	161	264	179

Tabella 2. Occorrenze in posizione intervocalica di /p/, /k/ e /t/, distinte per genere dei soggetti

Per ciascuna consonante sono state individuate delle varianti lungo un *continuum* che va dal mantenimento della fase di occlusione, dello scoppio di energia e del *Voice Onset Time* alla completa sonorizzazione. Le varianti sono state quindi raggruppate in base al loro comportamento a livello acustico – in particolare alla costrizione articolatoria. Abbiamo identificato rispettivamente:
- varianti che presentano una distinta fase di silenzio, seguita da uno scoppio di energia (*burst*) e dal rilascio corrispondente ad un VOT positivo;

---

[11] Le versioni originali di entrambi gli *scripts* sono state riviste e adattate dall'autore agli scopi del presente lavoro.

- varianti che presentano una distinta fase di silenzio e una fase di rilascio (VOT positivo), caratterizzate dall'assenza di *burst,* ovvero con soluzione inesplosa (Sorianello et al. 2005: 332);
- varianti che presentano una fase di rumore a bassa intensità, corrispondente alla chiusura, seguita da una frizione debole e diffusa, corrispondente ad una fase di rilascio sensibilmente più lunga rispetto a quella delle occlusive prototipiche (cfr. § 3.3);
- varianti lenite, ovvero casi prodotti senza rumore e fase di rilascio, in cui sono state individuate vibrazioni a bassa frequenza (Marotta 2005: 7);
- esiti pienamente sonorizzati.

3.1 Bilabiale sorda

In generale, /p/ presenta meno variabilità nel suo comportamento acustico rispetto a /t/ e /k/, sia all'interno del campione maschile che in quello femminile:

/p/	MASCHI (TOT = 93)	FEMMINE (TOT = 68)
Attacco di sillaba atona	43	33
[p] con *burst*+VOT	37	31
[p] con soluzione inesplosa	4	1
[p̬]	2	1
Attacco di sillaba tonica	50	35
[p] con *burst*+VOT	44	34
[p] con soluzione inesplosa	4	1
[p̬]	2	/

Tabella 3. Distribuzione allofonica di /p/ secondo il genere dei soggetti e il tipo di sillaba

I valori medi di durata e VOT riportati in Tabella 4 sono leggermente inferiori tra gli uomini.[12]

/p/	Media ms	Dev. Stand.	Media VOT	Dev. St. VOT
Maschi	92	19	22	7
Femmine	97	20	20	10

Tabella 4. Valori medi e deviazione standard per la durata di /p/ e del relativo VOT, distinti per genere

---

[12] Sono stati esclusi dal computo i *tokens* aventi una barra di sonorità.

Avendo i dati una distribuzione non normale, verificata tramite la funzione *shapiro.test()*[13] in R (versione 1.1.456), sono stati condotti test non parametrici sia sulla durata dell'intera consonante che sul VOT, per valutare possibili differenze nella distribuzione dei valori legate al fattore "genere". È stato quindi effettuato un *2-group Mann-Whitney U Test*[14] tramite la funzione *wilcox.test()* per entrambe le variabili dipendenti; i risultati sono significativi per la durata (p = 0.04), ma non per il VOT (p = 0.7). Ne deduciamo che la distribuzione dei valori di durata consonantica è differente tra i due gruppi; seppur i valori medi e la deviazione standard possano suggerire una notevole similarità nella distribuzione, la mediana è visibilmente più alta per il campione femminile rispetto a quello maschile (rispettivamente 94 ms e 88,5 ms). Per quanto riguarda il tipo di sillaba, non ci sono differenze significative nella distribuzione del VOT tra le [p] in attacco di sillaba atona e di sillaba tonica. Al contrario, le mediane della durata consonantica sono maggiori nelle sillabe toniche (93,5 ms *vs* 86,5 ms). In generale, per la /p/ come per le altre consonanti target, l'alta variabilità dei valori di durata è presumibilmente da attribuire alla velocità d'eloquio dei singoli parlanti, la quale varia sensibilmente da soggetto a soggetto nelle produzioni spontanee. Analisi future includeranno i valori di durata normalizzati sulla base dei singoli *speechrates*; a tal fine si impiegherà la metodologia proposta da De Jong e Wempe (2009).

3.2 Dentale sorda

Il *continuum* di variazione allofonica dell'occlusiva dentale è illustrato in Tabella 5. È facilmente constatabile che in entrambi i gruppi, indipendentemente dal tipo di sillaba, gli esiti occlusivi – con VOT positivo – sono i più frequenti:

---

[13] Lo *Shapiro-Wilk normality test* è uno dei test più utilizzati in statistica per verificare la natura della distribuzione dei dati – soprattutto in campioni limitati. L'ipotesi nulla su cui si basa il test è che i dati abbiano una distribuzione normale (gaussiana). Se, come nel nostro caso, il *p-value* è sotto la soglia di significatività comunemente utilizzata (0.05), l'ipotesi nulla viene rigettata: i dati avranno quindi una distribuzione non normale.

[14] Data la distribuzione non normale dei dati, si è ritenuto opportuno condurre un test non parametrico in luogo di un'analisi della varianza (che tradizionalmente prevede una distribuzione gaussiana). È stato quindi utilizzato il *2-group Mann-Whitney U Test*, in quanto esso permette di comparare le differenze tra due gruppi indipendenti, aventi un numero *n* di osservazioni, quando la variabile dipendente è continua (come nel nostro caso, la durata o il VOT), ma non normalmente distribuita, e la variabile indipendente è categorica e binaria (genere o tipo di sillaba). Nello specifico, "[…] it stipulates that the two independent groups are homogeneous and have the same distribution" (Nachar 2008: 14). Se il *p-value* è inferiore alla soglia di significatività di 0.05, è possibile rifiutare l'ipotesi nulla; in tal caso si può concludere che le popolazioni sono distinte.

/t/	MASCHI (TOT= 134)	FEMMINE (TOT = 130)
Attacco di sillaba atona	97	91
[t] con *burst*+VOT	75	87
[t] con soluzione inesplosa	2	/
[θ]	13	/
[t̬]	7	4
Attacco di sillaba tonica	37	39
[t] con *burst*+VOT	27	36
[t] con soluzione inesplosa	2	/
[θ]	4	/
[t̬]	4	3

Tabella 5. Distribuzione allofonica di /t/ secondo il genere dei soggetti e il tipo di sillaba

In ogni caso, le /t/ prodotte dai soggetti maschili presentano più variabilità lungo il *continuum* di indebolimento rispetto alla controparte femminile – sia in attacco di sillaba atona che di sillaba tonica. 17 occorrenze sono state rese con l'allofono [θ] dal soggetto GC (maschio, 69 anni). La ragione di questo comportamento è da ricercarsi nel fatto che il parlante è nato e cresciuto fino ai 20 anni ad Osimo, centro distante circa 20 km dal capoluogo di provincia. L'inventario consonantico della sua zona d'origine, appartenente al sub-sistema osimano-loretano (§ 1), è infatti caratterizzato dalla presenza sistematica dell'allofono dentale (spesso sonorizzato) in contesti deboli.[15] Tuttavia, essendo questo un comportamento prettamente idiosincratico, non possiamo considerarlo particolarmente rilevante ai fini di questo studio. Di seguito riportiamo i valori di durata e VOT per le occlusive dentali sorde considerate[16]:

/t/	Media ms	Dev. Stand.	Media VOT	Dev. St. VOT
Maschi	88	16	24	7
Femmine	94	21	23	8

Tabella 6. Valori medi e deviazione standard per la durata di /t/ e del relativo VOT, distinti per genere

---

[15] Cfr. Cintioli (2016) per una discussione più dettagliata.
[16] Sono stati esclusi i *tokens* caratterizzati da occlusione + frizione diffusa, nonché gli esiti fricativizzati e quelli che avessero una barra di sonorità.

È stato condotto il *2-group Mann-Whitney U Test*, al fine di verificare la distribuzione di ciascuna delle due variabili dipendenti in base al genere.[17] I risultati sono significativi per la durata totale della consonante (p = 0.01) e non significativi per il VOT (p = 0.3). Possiamo inferire che, come per l'occlusiva bilabiale, il campione femminile presenta valori di durata consonantica più alti, distribuiti diversamente rispetto al campione maschile; le mediane sono infatti attestate rispettivamente a 92 ms e 87 ms.

3.3 Velare sorda

Come si osserva dalla Tabella 7, la particolare variazione allofonica di /k/ lungo la scala di sonorità suggerisce un grado di indebolimento articolatorio maggiore rispetto a quello osservato per /p/ e /t/:

/k/	MASCHI (tot = 91)	FEMMINE (tot = 88)
Attacco di sillaba atona	53	58
[k] con *burst*+VOT	28	42
[k] con VOT	1	2
[kˣ]	6	11
[x]	11	/
[k̬]	5	3
[ɣ]	2	/
Attacco di sillaba tonica	38	30
[k] con *burst*+VOT	15	24
[k] con VOT	2	/
[kˣ]	8	3
[x]	9	1
[k̬]	4	2
[ɣ]	/	/

Tabella 7. Distribuzione allofonica di /k/ secondo il genere dei soggetti e il tipo di sillaba

All'interno di entrambi i gruppi le varianti occlusive con *burst*+VOT positivo costituiscono la maggioranza degli esiti di /k/ – sia in sillaba atona che in sillaba tonica. Per verificare se la frequenza del mantenimento di questi parametri fosse statisticamente differente tra i due campioni e tra le due tipologie di sillabe, sono stati condotti *2-sample tests for equality of proportions*

---

[17] L'incomparabilità tra il numero di occorrenze di /t/ in sillaba atona (164) e in sillaba tonica (65) non ci permette, per il momento, di effettuare analisi statistiche.

with continuity correction, mediante la funzione *prop.test()* su R. Per quanto riguarda il genere, il confronto tra le proporzioni rivela che il mantenimento degli indici di forza consonantica è maggiore nel campione femminile (p < 0.0005). Per quanto riguarda il tipo di sillaba, non ci sono differenze significative nel tipo di distribuzione.

Dal processo di estrazione dei dati (validato da un accurato controllo *post hoc*) risulta inoltre che 28 occorrenze sulle 179 totali (corrispondenti al 15,6%) presentano una fase di occlusione a bassa intensità, seguita da una frizione debole e diffusa. Il passaggio tra le due fasi non è contraddistinto da uno scoppio di energia (cfr. Figura 2). Alla luce di queste osservazioni, ci è sembrato opportuno considerare questi segmenti come semifricative (o affricate omorganiche)[18]; gli output sono stati pertanto trascritti foneticamente come [k^x]. Il loro comportamento sembra essere infatti in linea con la descrizione data da Marotta (2008: 247) in riferimento alla varietà pisana.

In Pisan Italian, besides plosives and fricatives we found a special class of segments which shares some features with plosives, others with fricatives. Indeed, these segments contain two distinct periods: first one with very low amplitude (if any) in the spectrum, corresponding to the articulatory closure, and a second with diffused noise, associated with a long phase of Voice Onset Time; usually, no burst occurs between the two periods. We therefore consider these segments as affricates, or better as semifricatives. Their phonetic transcription could consequently be [p^h], [t$^\theta$], [k^x].

Procedendo lungo il *continuum* di lenizione suggerito nel § 3, si osservano inoltre alcuni esiti caratterizzati da una debole sonorità (cfr. Figura 3) o da una completa sonorizzazione (cfr. Figura 4). In Tabella 8 riportiamo i valori di durata e VOT per le occlusive velari sorde considerate[19]:

/k/	Media ms	Dev. Stand.	Media VOT	Dev. St. VOT
Maschi	91	20	34	11
Femmine	97	18	36	10

Tabella 8. Valori medi e deviazione standard per la durata di /k/ e del relativo VOT, distinti per genere

I risultati (sia per la durata che per il VOT) ottenuti con il *2-group Mann-Whitney U Test* sono non significativi. I valori mediani di durata sono attestati a 96,5 ms per le femmine e a 92 ms per i maschi, mentre per il VOT, abbiamo rispettivamente 34 ms e 33 ms. Anche per quanto riguarda il tipo di sillaba, le differenze non sono significative per nessuno dei due indici acustici.

I nostri dati suggeriscono che il fenomeno dell'indebolimento consonantico nelle sue molteplici manifestazioni non si applica sistematicamente nelle produzioni spontanee dei soggetti. Nondimeno, non possiamo non osservare una certa variabilità degli esiti delle occlusive *target* – in particolare per /k/ – nel nostro corpus. Per mostrare il *continuum* di indebolimento dell'occlusiva velare sorda, forniamo nelle Figure 3, 4, 5 alcune rappresentazioni grafiche di oscillogramma e spettrogramma in alcune produzioni del soggetto GB (maschio, 47 anni) e del soggetto RC (femmina, 23 anni).

---

[18] Riguardo alla collocazione delle semifricative lungo la scala di forza, Marotta (2008: 260) osserva che: "[…] the possible affrication of stops into semifricatives, i.e. weak affricates, may be considered as a *nova facies* of consonant lenition".

[19] Sono stati esclusi i *tokens* semifricativi, fricativi e leniti/sonorizzati.

In Figura 2 è dato un esempio di semifricativa [kˣ] prodotta da GB nella parola "turistico". Notiamo da un lato l'assenza dello scoppio di energia caratteristico delle occlusive sorde; allo stesso tempo, non essendo presente una barra di sonorità, non è possibile collocare questa variante tra le lenite. Il segmento è infatti composto da una prima fase di silenzio della durata di 30 ms, a cui segue un rilascio (codificato nel TextGrid con "ril"), lungo 51 ms, che presenta rumore diffuso a bassa intensità.
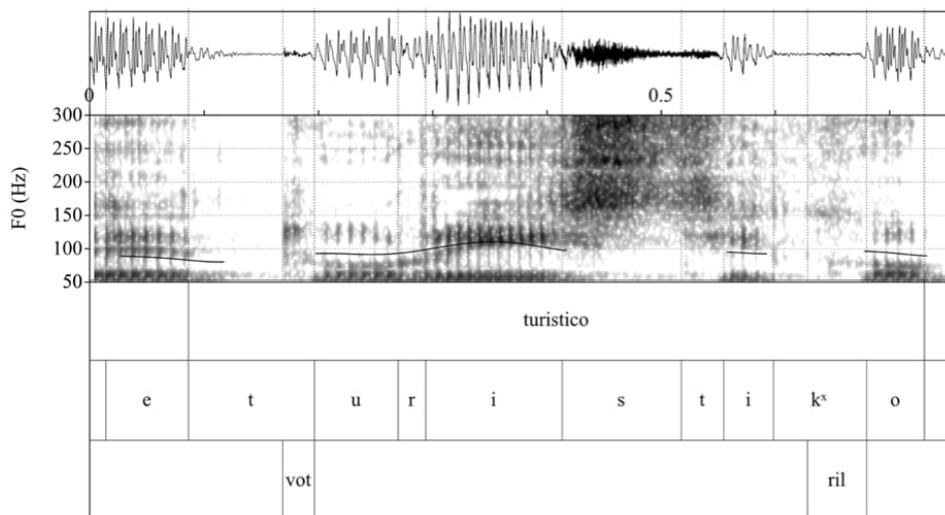
Figura 2. Forma d'onda e spettrogramma della parola [tuˈristikˣo] pronunciata dal parlante GB

La Figura 3 mostra la presenza di una barra di sonorità in corrispondenza della velare nella produzione di RC della parola "basilico". Il grado ridotto di costrizione articolatoria e il tratto di sonorità sono visibili sia nella parte inferiore dello spettrogramma che nella forma d'onda; l'andamento è confermato dalla presenza di una f0 ininterrotta.
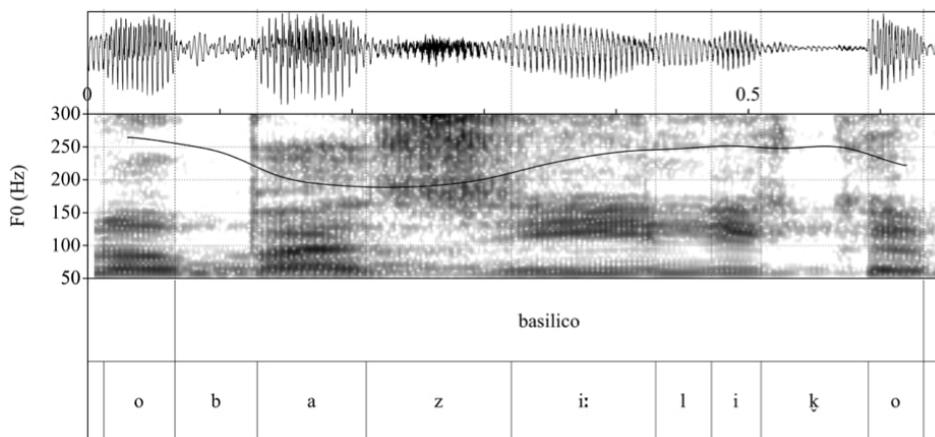
Figura 3. Forma d'onda e spettrogramma della parola [baˈziːliɠo] pronunciata dal parlante RC

Il *pattern* evidenziato finora è reso più complesso dalla presenza – sporadica, ma indicativa – di segmenti completamente sonorizzati, come quello presentato in Figura 4 per il soggetto GB, per cui /k/ > [ɣ] nel medesimo contesto fonologico. Questo esito è del tutto coerente con le valutazioni impressionistiche condotte dalla letteratura dialettologica:
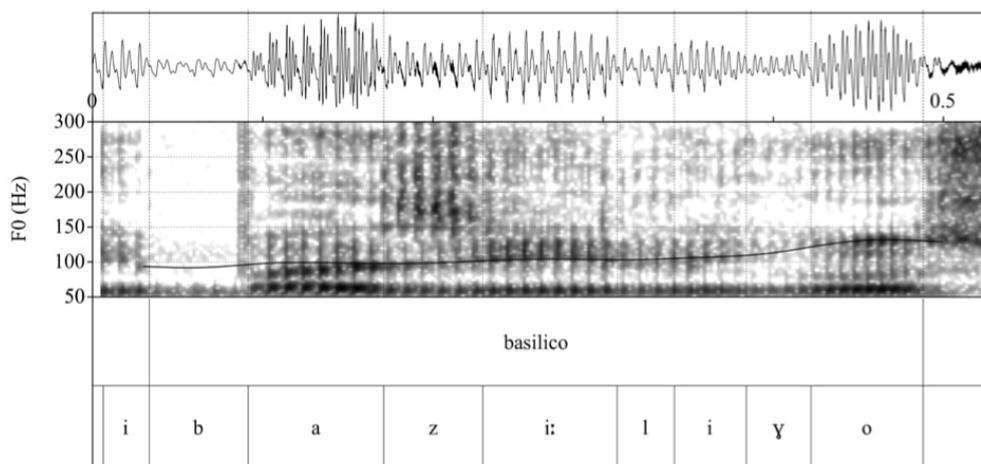
Figura 4. Forma d'onda e spettrogramma della parola [baˈzi:liɣo] pronunciata dal parlante GB

Alla luce delle precedenti osservazioni, possiamo affermare che le varianti dei segmenti *target* si collocano lungo un *continuum* di lenizione, che spazia, seguendo la scala di sonorità, dal completo mantenimento dell'occlusiva sorda intervocalica alla piena sonorizzazione. Nel mezzo del *continuum* sono attestate sia varianti in cui i principali indici acustici di forza (*burst* + VOT positivo) appaiono deboli, sia segmenti semifricativi. Nonostante l'interferenza del dialetto sia percepibile e visibile in alcuni casi, abbiamo una netta preponderanza di *tokens* prototipicamente occlusivi; l'indebolimento non può dirsi quindi sistematico, presumibilmente per le ragioni sociolinguistiche già discusse nel § 1.1.

In ogni caso – e in linea con quanto sostenuto da Loporcaro (2009) e Loporcaro e Paciaroni (2016) –/k/ è la consonante che ne subisce più frequentemente gli effetti – seppur in misura contenuta nell'italiano locale. Ciò è coerente con i risultati già presenti in letteratura per altre varietà dell'Italia centrale.[20] Come osserva infatti Paciaroni (2017: 121) per il maceratese: "[t] ra le occlusive sorde intervocaliche, -C- è quella che mostra la lenizione più frequente, specie se protonica".

4. Degeminazione

L'analisi svolta rivela la presenza di 52 casi totali di degeminazione; 32 di questi (ovvero il 61,5%) sono distribuiti tra i soggetti maschili. L'osservazione di tali casi rivela che il fenomeno ricorre indifferentemente sia in protonia che in postonia – come in altre varietà centro-setten-

---

[20] Si vedano ad esempio gli studi condotti sulla gorgia toscana da Giannelli e Savoia (1978, 1979-1980), Sorianello *et. al* (2005), Marotta (2008).

trionali delle Marche (Balducci 1982: 53); inoltre, occorre più frequentemente per le dentali (ad es.: "tutto" > [ˈtuːto]; "etichette" > [etiˈkeːte]; "città" > [tʃiˈta]; "dialettale" [dialeˈtaːle]; "bollitura" > [boliˈtuːra]) e per le liquide. In particolare, è interessante notare che nelle produzioni di tutti i soggetti vi sia un ricorrente scempiamento di /l/ nelle preposizioni articolate e nei dimostrativi (corrispondenti al 40,4% dei 52 esiti degeminati nel corpus). Simili comportamenti in produzioni spontanee sono stati rilevati e descritti da Bonucci (1994) e da Marotta (2005), rispettivamente nell'italiano regionale di Perugia nell'italiano di Roma.[21]

La degeminazione settentrionale tipica del dialetto si manifesta quindi in una certa misura anche in italiano – specificamente nel parlato spontaneo e poco controllato. Anche in questo caso l'interpretazione del fenomeno non può prescindere da fattori sociolinguistici; in generale, i maschi sembrano mettere in atto più regolarmente questo processo, indipendentemente dall'età. Il panorama descritto finora appare coerente: a livello fonetico, l'interferenza del codice "basso", che conduce a fenomeni di indebolimento consonantico, non emerge regolarmente nel nostro corpus, anche se è più frequente nel campione maschile.

5. Sonorizzazione e affricazione di /s/

Il comportamento della fricativa alveolare sorda, sia nel dialetto che nell'italiano regionale di Ancona, è strettamente legato al contesto fonologico. Come previsto, il passaggio all'omorganica sonora in posizione intervocalica non presenta eccezioni. Sono state infatti individuate 85 occorrenze di /s/ in contesto VCV, la cui resa allofonica è [z] nel 100% dei casi; tale comportamento, inequivocabile a livello percettivo, è stato comprovato dalla presenza di una sonorità continua nello spettrogramma per tutti i *target*.[22] In linea con quanto sostenuto da Balducci (1978), il quadro appare assimilabile a quello delle varietà settentrionali descritto in Bertinetto e Loporcaro (2005: 133), e distante da quello di altre varietà della macroarea mediana, che invece mantengono il tratto [-sonoro] nel medesimo contesto (Vignuzzi 1988: 615; Paciaroni 2017). Dall'altro lato, similmente ad altre varietà centro-meridionali (cfr. Celata e Kaeppeli 2003) è attestabile l'affricazione di /s/ quando sia preceduta da /n, l, r/, sia all'interno di parola che in fonotassi.[23] Come argomentato da Marotta (2008: 260), Szigetvári (2008: 117) Bybee e Easterday (2019: 269, 272, 282), l'affricazione delle fricative può essere considerata come un fenomeno di fortizione; nel nostro caso, il passaggio /s/ > [ts] è di tipo omorganico. Gli studi sperimentali condotti sull'italiano di Pisa da Turchi e Gili Fivela (2004) rivelano che il fenomeno può manifestarsi con l'inserzione di una fase – seppur breve – di occlusione, caratterizzata dal tratto [-continuo], o di una fase di frizione (apicale) non omogenea.[24]

---

[21] Rimandiamo inoltre allo studio dialettologico di Agostiniani (1980) per una discussione dettagliata sulla presenza di /l/ scempia nelle preposizioni articolate in area toscana.

[22] Cfr. gli esempi riportati nelle Figure 3 e 4 per la parola "basilico", in cui l'andamento della f0 è ininterrotto in corrispondenza della /s/ nel contesto VCV.

[23] Osserva Paciaroni (2017: 2014) per il maceratese, in cui il processo è parimenti attivo: "[l]a restrizione del fenomeno al contesto 'dopo sonorante dentale' è dovuta al fatto che /s/ nel lessico ereditario conosce solo questa posizione postconsonantica […] Che si tratti di un fenomeno attivo in sincronia lo provano due fatti: che trovi applicazione anche a livello post-lessicale e che passi nella pronuncia dell'italiano regionale".

[24] Come riportano le autrici, l'inserzione di una consonante epentetica tra sonorante e fricativa alveolare è un fenomeno ampiamente attestato in letteratura – soprattutto in ambito anglosassone – sia in sincronia che in diacronia (Warner e Weber 2001). Ohala (1995) ne fornisce una motivazione sul piano articolatorio: nel caso in cui la sonorante sia nasale, l'epentesi è spiegabile con la chiusura totale dell'apparato vocale dovuta all'anticipazione dell'innalzamento del velo palatino; nel caso di un nesso laterale-sibilante, è da attribuirsi alla posizione complementare che la lingua deve assumere rispetto al palato nel passaggio da un contoide all'altro (Turchi e Gili Fivela 2004: 2).

In Figura 5 è rappresentata la produzione del sintagma "il sugo" da parte del soggetto FB (maschio, 26 anni); il passaggio dalla breve fase di occlusione (seppure con un lieve rumore di frizione) è caratterizzato da uno scoppio di energia evidente a livello di spettrogramma:
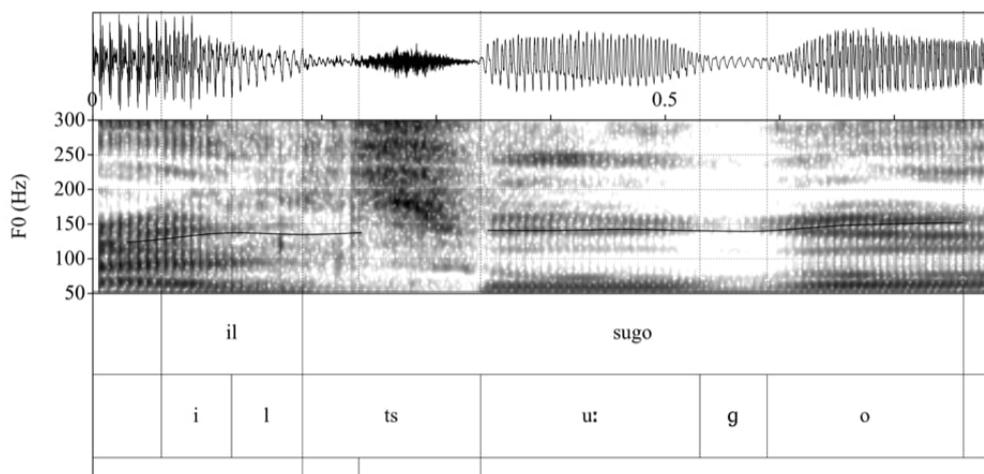
Figura 5. Forma d'onda e spettrogramma del sintagma [ilˈtsuːgo] pronunciato dal parlante FB

Dai nostri dati osserviamo che l'affricazione non è sistematica; se presente, il processo avviene indipendentemente dal tipo di sonorante che la precede e dalla sua posizione nel sintagma. La Tabella 9 mostra le occorrenze assolute degli esiti fricativi e affricati nei contesti post-sonorante presenti nel corpus, rispettivamente 52 contesti per il campione maschile e 30 per il campione femminile (TOT = 82).

	[s]	[ts]	TOT
Maschi	6	46	52
Femmine	15	15	30

Tabella 9. Distribuzione degli esiti [s] e [ts] dopo sonorante alveolare, distinti per genere

Per quanto riguarda le donne, nella metà dei casi (15 su 30) la /s/ non subisce fortizione. Al contrario, all'interno del campione maschile l'esito non affricato rappresenta solamente l'11,5% degli output totali (6 su 52). Quasi la totalità delle occorrenze presenta una concentrazione di energia più o meno evidente nello spettrogramma in corrispondenza dell'*onset* della fase fricativa. Tra gli 82 esiti affricati, 53 casi (corrispondenti al 64,6%) presentano anche una traccia di sonorità nella fase di occlusione (cfr. Figura 5).

Nel nostro caso, sebbene il totale dei contesti identificati sia differente tra i due gruppi, la diversità (in proporzione) in termini di realizzazione rende il quadro complesso. Ci chiediamo infatti: se il fenomeno sia percepito in misura maggiore in alcuni soggetti piuttosto che in altri;[25] e,

---

[25] Secondo quanto riportato in letteratura riguardo all'affricazione di area mediana e toscana – si vedano ad

nel caso in cui l'attivazione del fenomeno venga riconosciuta, se ciò induca a evitare l'affricazione quale tratto non standard. Il notevole sbilanciamento tra le realizzazioni non affricate e affricate nelle produzioni del campione femminile potrebbe suggerire quest'ultimo scenario; il comportamento sarebbe in questo caso coerente con quello già descritto riguardo alla minore occorrenza dell'indebolimento nelle occlusive (§ 3) e della degeminazione (§ 4) rispetto alla popolazione maschile.

I risultati di questa analisi sono tuttavia preliminari e meritano di essere approfonditi in studi futuri. A livello acustico, ci si propone di misurare sia il *rise time* (cfr. Turchi e Gili Fivela 2004), ovvero il tempo necessario per raggiungere il picco di energia dall'*onset* della frizione, che i momenti spettrali di entrambe le fasi del segmento. Sono inoltre opportune indagini percettive e sociolinguistiche mirate, al fine di ottenere una più ampia comprensione del fenomeno circa il grado di consapevolezza e l'atteggiamento della comunità linguistica rispetto al fenomeno indagato.

6. Discussione

In questo contributo sono state analizzate – per la prima volta sul piano acustico – alcune caratteristiche del consonantismo dell'italiano di Ancona. Lo studio sperimentale è stato effettuato sul parlato spontaneo di 12 soggetti, distribuiti equamente tra maschi e femmine. Sono state analizzate le occlusive sorde /p, t, k/ in posizione intervocalica, fenomeni di degeminazione, e la fricativa alveolare sorda /s/ sia in posizione intervocalica che dopo sonorante alveolare. Lo scopo era verificare se nell'italiano regionale dell'area fossero compresenti – ed eventualmente con quale aspetto acustico – i fenomeni di indebolimento (di origine settentrionale)[26] e di fortizione (di area centrale) già individuati dalla letteratura per il dialetto locale (§ 1). Le analisi condotte sulle occlusive sorde rivelano l'occorrenza variabile di fenomeni di l'indebolimento consonantico. Sia nei maschi che nelle femmine, le produzioni di /p/ sono caratterizzate, nella quasi totalità dei *tokens*, da una fase di occlusione, di scoppio e di VOT positivo evidenti; la presenza sistematica di questi parametri acustici – indici di assenza di indebolimento – ci permette di collocare questi segmenti al massimo grado di forza consonantica. Con l'eccezione delle produzioni di GC, anche la dentale sorda mantiene in maniera significativa di questi indici. Seppure contenuta e irregolare, l'interferenza del dialetto è più visibile nelle velari sorde. Abbiamo infatti alcuni casi che mostrano debole sonorità o completa sonorizzazione. L'analisi ha rivelato anche la presenza di *tokens* semifricativi (il 15,6% delle 179 occorrenze totali), che presentano una fase di occlusione a bassa intensità, seguita da una fase di frizione debole e diffusa; questi segmenti non presentano né uno scoppio d'energia, né barra di sonorità. In generale, nel campione maschile si riscontra una variazione allofonica maggiore lungo la scala che va dal mantenimento di occlusione+*burst*+VOT positivo a una piena sonorizzazione. Nel nostro corpus sono stati inoltre riscontrati 52 esiti degeminati, in maggioranza per le dentali e le liquide laterali, in percentuale sensibilmente maggiore nella popolazione maschile. Un andamento simile emerge dalle analisi sull'affricazione di /s/ post-sonorante alveolare. Nei contesti favorevoli all'affricazione, le donne mantengono la [s] in 15 casi su 30, di contro ai 6 casi su 52 degli uomini. Al contrario, la sonorizzazione di /s/ intervocalica, tratto tipico sia delle varietà settentrionali che dello standard, si presenta in tutti i soggetti senza eccezioni.

---

esempio Bonucci (1994: 17) per il perugino e Guazzelli (2015: 454-455) per il garfagnino – il fenomeno può infatti risultare opaco a livello percettivo.

[26] Si vedano ad esempio i lavori di Anselmi (1987), Vignuzzi (1988) e Romagnoli (2014-2015) sulle motivazioni storiche, economiche e socioculturali legate all'influsso linguistico del Settentrione (in particolare Venezia) su Ancona.

Alla luce dei risultati, possiamo affermare che le osservazioni presenti letteratura sono confermate. I nostri dati di parlato spontaneo rivelano infatti la presenza di tutti i tratti bandiera della zona già descritti per il dialetto. Tuttavia, la loro occorrenza nell'italiano non può dirsi né frequente né regolare: il fenomeno dell'indebolimento (nelle sue varie manifestazioni) e l'affricazione di /s/ post-sonorante non si applicano sistematicamente nelle produzioni dei nostri soggetti. Non essendo sempre possibile operare una separazione discreta tra l'italiano e il dialetto del sub-sistema anconetano, abbiamo postulato l'esistenza di un *continuum* tra polo basso (dialetto), caratterizzato da tratti segmentali percepiti come "rustici" e sociolinguisticamente marcati, e polo alto (italiano standard). Nel nostro caso, a determinare l'andamento della variazione lungo il *continuum* contribuiscono variabili oggettive, ad esempio il sesso, e, verosimilmente, anche variabili soggettive, legate alla percezione del parlante. Rispetto al campione femminile, infatti, il campione maschile presenta sia un grado significativamente maggiore di variazione allofonica per la velare /k/ (fino alla sonorizzazione), sia una frequenza più alta di esiti degeminati e di esiti affricati per la /s/ post-sonorante. Se si considerano i fenomeni nel loro insieme, le differenze nella distribuzione tra i due gruppi non possono quindi dirsi casuali. Al contrario, il fatto che essi occorrano visibilmente con minore frequenza nelle donne potrebbe essere spia di un certo grado di stigmatizzazione all'interno di questo campione; considerandoli come tratti diatopicamente e sociolinguisticamente marcati, le informatrici tenderebbero ad evitarli nell'uso dell'italiano – anche in produzioni spontanee. L'atteggiamento più normativo assunto dalle donne in situazioni stabili – nel caso in cui la variante non standard sia apertamente stigmatizzata – è d'altronde ampiamente documentato nella letteratura sociolinguistica degli ultimi decenni, a partire da Labov (1990). Tuttavia, per valutare l'atteggiamento dei parlanti rispetto all'impiego di ciascuno dei tratti qui considerati, sono necessarie indagini percettive e sociolinguistiche mirate. In particolar modo, sarebbe opportuno verificare se, alla luce delle problematicità evidenziate dalla letteratura circa la sua interpretazione, il processo di affricazione di /s/ dopo /n, l, r/ sia effettivamente radicato nella coscienza del parlante e, se presente, sia evitato nella pronuncia dell'italiano. Infine, si ritiene necessario aumentare il numero di informanti per poter inserire altri fattori all'interno di un'analisi predittiva, tra cui l'età del soggetto e il grado di istruzione; l'interferenza dei tratti tipici del dialetto potrebbe essere infatti correlata anche a questi indici.

Riferimenti bibliografici

Agostiniani, Luciano. 1980. "Sull'articolo determinativo prevocalico e le preposizioni articolate nelle varietà toscane." *Archivio glottologico italiano* 65, 74-100.

Anselmi, Sergio (ed.). 1987. *La Provincia di Ancona. Storia di un territorio*. Bari: Laterza.

Balducci, Sanzio. 1978. "Romanzo e romanico in contatto: la esse intervocalica nelle Marche settentrionali." In *Folklore e dialetto nella cultura italiana contemporanea: Atti del Convegno*, 129-145. Ancona: Istituto marchigiano Accademia di scienze Lettere e arti.

Balducci, Sanzio. 1982. "Annotazioni sui dialetti della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino." In *Lingua e dialetto. La situazione dialettale nell'area pesarese. Atti del Convegno,* ed. by Leonardo M. Savoia, 45-69. Università di Urbino: Istituto di Linguistica.

Balducci, Sanzio. 2000. *Marche*. Pisa: Pacini.

Balducci, Sanzio. 2001. "Alcune caratteristiche dell'italiano delle Marche." In *L'italiano e le regioni. Atti del Convegno di Studi*, ed. by Fabiana Fusco, Carla Marcato, 213-224. Udine: Centro internazionale sul Plurilinguismo.

Balducci, Sanzio. 2002. "Le Marche." In *I dialetti italiani: storia, struttura, uso*, ed. by Manlio Cortelazzo, Carla Marcato, Nicola De Blasi, Gi.P. Clivio, 452-484. Torino: UTET.

Boersma, Paul, and David Weenink. 2019. *Praat: Doing Phonetics by Computer (version 6.1.06)*, <http://www.praat.org/> (06/2020).

Bonucci, Paola. 1994. "L'italiano regionale perugino: aspetti fonologici e morfo-fonologici." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Glottologia dell'Università degli Studi «G. D'Annunzio» di Chieti* 6: 21-40.

Bybee, Joan, and Shelece Easterday. 2019. "Consonant Strengthening: A Cross-linguistic Survey and Articulatory Proposal." *Linguistic Typology* 23, 2: 263-302.

Canepari, Luciano. 1999. *Manuale di pronuncia italiana.* Bologna: Zanichelli.

Calamai, Silvia. 2016. "Tuscan Between Standard and Vernacular: A Sociophonetic Perspective." In *Towards a New Standard*, ed. by Massimo Cerruti, Claudia Crocco, and Stefania Marzo, 213-241. Boston-Berlin: De Gruyter.

Celata, Chiara, and Barbara Kaeppeli. 2003. "Affricazione e rafforzamento in italiano. Alcuni dati sperimentali." *Quaderni del Laboratorio di Linguistica della Scuola Normale Superiore* 4: 43-59.

Cintioli, Edoardo. 2016. *Il dialetto di Osimo. Un'indagine sul campo*. Master Thesis, Università di Macerata.

Cortelazzo, Manlio. 1978. "Dialetto, in Italia, negli anni ottanta." In *Folklore e dialetto nella cultura italiana contemporanea. Atti del Convegno*, 51-66, 187-191. Ancona: Istituto marchigiano Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti.

Cortelazzo, Manlio. 1990. "Progresso della ʃ sonora intervocalica." In *L'Umbria nel quadro linguistico dell'Italia mediana*, ed. by Luciano Agostiniani, 1-4. Perugia: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

De Blasi, Nicola. 2014. *Geografia e storia dell'italiano regionale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

de Jong, Nivja, and Ton Wempe. 2009. "Praat Script to Detect Syllable Nuclei and Measure Speech Rate Automatically." *Behavior Research Methods* 41, 2: 385-390.

Devoto, Giacomo, and Gabriella Giacomelli. 1991. *I dialetti delle regioni d'Italia*. Firenze: Sansoni Editore.

Di Canio, Christian. 2013. *Vowel Acoustic Script for Corpus Data Analysis*. <https://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~cdicanio/scripts/Vowel_Acoustics_for_corpus_data.praat> (06/2020).

Giannelli, Luciano, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 1978. "L'indebolimento consonantico in Toscana I." *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 2: 25-58.

Giannelli, Luciano, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 1979-1980. "L'indebolimento consonantico in Toscana II." *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 3-4: 39-101.

Jaberg, Karl, and Jakob Jud. 1928-1940. *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*. Zofingen: Ringier, digital version by Graziano Tisato. <http://www3.pd.istc.cnr.it/navigais-web> (06/2020).

Labov, William. 1990. "The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change." *Language Variation and Change* 2: 205-254.

Lennes, Mietta. 2017. *SpeCT – The Speech Corpus Toolkit for Praat (v1.0.0).* <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.375923> (06/2020).

Lewis, A.M. 2001. *Weakening of Intervocalic /p, t, k/ in Two Spanish Dialects: Toward the Quantification of Lenition Processes*. PhD Thesis, Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois.

Loporcaro. Michele. 2009. *Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani.* Bari: Laterza.

Loporcaro, Michele, and P.M. Bertinetto. 2005. "The Sound Pattern of Standard Italian, as Compared with the Varieties Spoken in Florence." *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 35, 2: 131-151.

Loporcaro, Michele, and Tania Paciaroni. 2016. "The Dialects of Central Italy." In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by Adam Ledgeway, Martin Maiden, 228-245. Oxford: OUP.

Marotta, Giovanna. 2005. "Il consonantismo romano. Processi fonologici e aspetti acustici." In *Italiano parlato. Analisi di un dialogo*, ed. by F.A. Leoni, Rosa Giordano, 1-24. Napoli: Liguori.

Marotta, Giovanna. 2008. "Lenition in Tuscan Italian (Gorgia Toscana)." In *Lenition and Fortition*, ed. by Joaquim Brandão de Carvalho, Tobias Scheer, Philippe Ségéral, 235-270. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Marotta, Giovanna. 2014. "New Parameters for the Sociophonetic Indexes." In *Advances in Sociophonetics*, ed. by Chiara Celata, Silvia Calamai, 137-168. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Nachar, Nadim. 2008. "The Mann-Whitney U: A Test for Assessing Whether Two Independent Samples Come from the Same Distribution." *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology* 4, 1: 13-20.

Ohala, John. 1974. "Experimental Historical Phonology." In *Historical Linguistics II. Theory and Description in Phonology,* ed. by J.M. Anderson, and Charles Jones, 353-389. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Paciaroni, Tania. 2017. *Grammatica dei dialetti del Maceratese. Fonetica e morfologia*. Habilitationsschrift, Zürich: Universität Zürich.

Parrino, Flavio. 1967. "Per una carta dei dialetti delle Marche." *Bollettino della Carta dei Dialetti Italiani* 2: 7-37.

Pellegrini, G.B. 1977. *Carta dei Dialetti d'Italia*. Pisa: Pacini.

R Core Team. 2018. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing (version 1.1.456)*. <https://www.R-project.org/> (06/2020).

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1966. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti: fonetica*. Torino: Einaudi.

Romagnoli, Serena. 2014-2015. "Il volgare degli Statuti Anconetani del mare." *Contributi di Filologia dell'Italia Mediana*, Voll. XXVIII-XXIX, ed. by Ugo Vignuzzi, Enzo Mattesini, 79-118, 31-75. Foligno: Editoriale Umbra.

Sbacco, Lucia. 2019. *Affricate dentali e fricative nella varietà regionale d'Italiano delle Marche: uno studio sociofonetico*. Master Thesis, Pavia: Università di Pavia.

Szigetvári, Péter. 2008. "What and Where?." In *Lenition and Fortition*, ed. by Joaquim Brandão de Carvalho, Tobias Scheer, Philippe Ségéral, 93-130. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sorianello Patrizia, P.M. Bertinetto, and Maddalena Agonigi. 2005. "Alle sorgenti della variabilità della 'gorgia' fiorentina: un approccio analogico." In *Misura dei parametri. Aspetti tecnologici ed implicazioni nei modelli linguistici. Atti del 1° Convegno Nazionale dell'AISV - Associazione Italiana di Scienze della Voce*, ed. by Piero Cosi, 327-362. Padova: Istituto di Scienze e Tecnologie della Cognizione – CNR.

Turchi, Laura, and Barbara Gili Fivela. 2004. "L'affricazione di /s/ postconsonantico nella varietà pisana di italiano." In *Il parlato italiano*, ed. by F.A. Leoni, Renata Savy, 1-25. Napoli: D'Auria Editore.

Vignuzzi, Ugo. 1988. "Italienisch: Areallinguistik, VII Marche, Umbrien, Lazio." In *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik,* vol. IV, ed. by Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin, Christian Schmitt, 606-642. Boston-Berlin: De Gruyter.

Vignuzzi, Ugo. 1997. "Lazio, Umbria and the Marche." In *The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Martin Maiden, and Mair Parry, 311-320. London-New York: Routledge.

Vignuzzi, Ugo, and Francesco Avolio. 1994. "Per un profilo di storia linguistica «interna» dei dialetti del Mezzogiorno d'Italia." In *Storia del Mezzogiorno. Aspetti* e *problemi del Medioevo e dell'età moderna*, voI. IX, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso, Romeo Rosario, 631-699. Roma: Editalia.

Warner, Nadia, and Andrea Weber. 2001. "Perception of Epenthetic Stops." *Journal of Phonetics* 29: 53-87.

Glottodidattica

Language Teaching

Language learning through TV:
the RAI offer between past and present

Deborah Cappelli
Università di Firenze (<deborah.cappelli@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

In the past, RAI played a fundamental role for linguistic unification in Italy when dialects were still the only means by which Italians were able to express themselves. In fact, the advent of TV has contributed to the spread of Italian by becoming a real language school. However, over time due to a strong marketing of the offer, its commitment to education has gradually diminished to leave more space for information and entertainment programs. Due to the serious emergency that hit the whole world, with the schools closed, it became necessary for RAI to support teachers. TV brings students into contact with various communication contexts; provides them with many inputs, both linguistic and cultural, which can increase their motivation, their active participation in teaching practice and their knowledge. Language learning TV courses can have several functions and advantages, even if originally aimed at a general audience, they can be integrated into school and academic teaching and become part of the program. This does not detract from the role of teachers as it is their task to guide the teaching of the foreign language, taking advantage of television courses.

Keywords: *affective filter, language learning, language teaching, mass media, TV course*

1. Introduction

The development of digital technologies, and the consequent pervasive spread of the web together with new forms of communication, represented a challenge for humanistic studies as well, for research and teaching in the field of literature as much as in those of language and translation. The awareness of the loss of centrality of humanistic knowledge in the face of the prevalence of new technologies and the increasingly persistent developments of science, in fact, not only couldn't prevent a fruitful dialogue between the two worlds during the last twenty years, but has instead encouraged a reflection on the role that linguistic-literary disciplines may and must play in a rapidly changing world.

Unlike in the past, rather than on a theoretical level, the current comparison seems to be engaged on two fronts: the ethical one of individual and social liberties threatened by the omnipresence of technology and the power of science, and a second, more practical front, aimed at renewing research and teaching methods in light of new possibilities offered by technological and scientific progress – we may just think of the relationship between neuroscience and linguistics. Therefore, it seems appropriate to reflect on the current relationships between scientific and linguistic-literary fields, on innovations and differences compared to the past, on technological applications in the field of research and teaching. If on one hand the web has created new communication forms, accelerated and conditioned linguistic transformations, as well as offered tools for translation, it has also stretched its roots – like several scientific and technological discoveries in the past – into the process of literary creation, changing the forms of fruition; on the other hand, archiving processes, databases, linguistic corpora, bibliographic research and organizing tools, digital libraries, digital critical editions, quantitative analysis of the literary text, etc., represent tools and methods of investigation increasingly in use, which pose new challenges and new theoretical and methodological questions to be asked.

It is within this very framework that another instrument comes into play, one that might seem outdated, and instead proves to be both versatile and very up-to-date in the teaching-learning of foreign languages: television. Now more than ever, in a dire time of global emergency when schools are confronted with their own spatial limits, this device seems to be an excellent aid, as well as a useful support for distance learning, which cannot entirely replace in attendance learning. Italy is one of the countries which were most affected by the Covid-19 emergency, being one of the first to be struck and because of the sheer force with which the "pandemic" manifested on its territory. Thus, educational institutions found themselves suddenly facing previously inexperienced problems: schools closed abruptly, universities unable to host exams and dissertations as well as imminent high school and middle school exams. Despite the technological innovations made in recent years, educational institutions didn't seem to be ready yet to complete their entire didactic program through distance learning alone. Issues were many but efforts were made to respond to the emergency as quickly as possible and through all available means. Online lessons have replaced in attendance ones but more constant and, in a sense, more engaging intervention was needed. Until now, tv programs were seen as a simple collection of material that could be reused in the classroom, but why not combining them instead with the teaching program as an integral part of the latter? Naturally, it is no longer possible to distinguish the Web from satellite television nowadays, and this offers the chance of "not having any schedules" and watch programs when we prefer, according to our needs, thus turning into pleasure what may be otherwise experienced as a duty. As for language teaching, RAI television has launched numerous initiatives related to English language, trying to involve not just the individual student – with courses organized by level – but the whole family with offers related to culture and literature, aiming to make language learning more interactive. We shouldn't forget we are living in the age of Netflix, a platform for everyone, offering the chance to watch films in the original language with subtitles in the chosen idiom, which is having a huge success among the audience of every age. All of this seems to suggest an overcoming of traditional methods of language learning in favour of two key aspects: motivation and input.

Informal learning is a part of everyday life: it is not necessarily intentional and the person involved may not recognize it as functional to their knowledge and competences. At the end of 2007 the High Level Group on Multilingualism established by the European Commission produced a final report where it defined motivation as "the key to success" in language learning and stressed the necessity to integrate it with free time activities. Mass-media strongly motivate

people to learn languages through modalities which go beyond the official educational methods. Furthermore, if on the one hand, TV programs and series may arouse interest in other cultures and stimulate motivation to learn or revise languages, the internet provides a support for language learning through websites presenting teaching material, webquest, exercise-books and educational portals. TV programs with subtitles are also effective language learning tools as they favor functional literacy and passive multilingualism by presenting a given language as it is used by its native speakers (Borello *et al.* 2016). However, this is not the first time that tv proves to be of use in didactics and it is therefore useful to rediscover its importance and update it to the modern means available, namely the connection to the Web.

2. Learning Italian through TV

In the period from the moment of the unification of Italy to the First World War, a large portion of Italian population spoke and understood only one of the local dialects, whereas the Italian language, although not completely unknown, was used only by a limited high cultured-circle and on special occasions. Over time, however, the desire of people to understand and be understood began to grow. Through borrowed forms of popular culture, such as puppet theater, opera and serial publication, people realized that Italian was something different from the dialect they used every day: thus, the first impulses towards the will of knowledge began to show. However, they were fictional dramas spoken in a language different from the one that people used every day and even though they were useful sources for a large portion of the population for learning pieces, phrases, Italian language expressions, these bits alone weren't enough for the mastering of the language. Fascism and the monarchic state inherited two thirds of the population who couldn't speak Italian and 60% of the population with no elementary school certificate, the latter actually belonging only to an "élite" (De Mauro 1969). This condition lasts a whole century in Italy; the harsh reality of migration was what taught to Italians the importance of education in order to save their children from the same fate of exploitation. On the eve of the First World War, in the years when migration was more intense, the percentage of illiterate fell from 70% to 40% (De Mauro 1963). The numerous personal initiatives encouraged one of the largest and most spontaneous cultural processes in the history of Italy, which was further supported by industrialization.

The years from political unification (1861) to the birth of the republican democratic state (1946) were characterized by the social stratification of the country: if on one hand the exclusive use of dialect persists among the population and Italian is still little known, on the other hand the need for educating, knowing and mastering Italian language starts to develop through various experiences. The bourgeoisie, especially that from large cities, starts to use spoken Italian, a language unknown outside of Florence and Rome. An Italian which was focused on understandability in journalistic writing and literature, still too rich in archaising stylistic attitudes. During the Giolittian period, a number of measures allowed elementary school to work more efficiently, this combined with the push for education coming from the lower classes and from emigration, and eventually all children attended first grade to abandon school immediately afterwards, a trend which went on in the following decades. With the advent of republic and with the changes in social, economic and cultural life, Italian linguistic reality began to shift. The great internal migration that brought a large part of the population from rural areas to the large cities and from the south to the north of the country, gathered together populations of different dialects and encouraged them to try and understand each other. The level of school education began to rise among the new generations; by the 1950s,

almost 100% of the boys obtained primary school certificate and in the 1960s unified middle school became available (De Mauro 2018). Furthermore, a new unforeseen and unconsidered element came into play: the advent of television which, not without resistance from Italian society. Suddenly flooded the houses of a country which was still 66% dialect-speaking with a waterfall of spoken Italian, as if everyone already knew the language. That wasn't really the case, but through this the idiom began to spread. Even though in the early Twentieth Century, in Italy as in many other countries, radio had a considerable importance, especially due to the Fascist propaganda, it still remained an expensive item for a long time. The linguistic influence of collective listening moments through loudspeakers cannot be underestimated but the radio did not have the penetration and therefore the impact achieved by television broadcasts in the second half of the Century. When new production techniques made it possible to reduce the cost of devices increasing their spread "già la televisione trionfava e catturava l'attenzione con quella forza e capacità di seduzione fino all'ipnosi che Aldous Huxley aveva previsto e descritto fin dal 1932 in *Brave new world*" (De Mauro 2014: 92).

Much of television broadcasts were made while ignoring the overall linguistic and cultural reality of viewers to whom they were addressed. Thus, if on one hand reactions and rejections occurred, at the same time it is hard not to see the great effect it had on people, as they found themselves exposed to the advertising of articles they were not used to, thus giving birth to new needs. The Italy of dialects seemed outdated, even in the most remote towns films arrived that had premièred in Rome and Milan, television spoke to everyone through the same speeches. But such great optimism was not confirmed by the facts, as the social framework of mass civilization was more complex than previously believed: Italian reality was still 50 years behind from a cultural standpoint.

As for the construction of a uniform language favoured by the media, the discussion on unitary popular Italian must be reread in terms of more mature linguistic and sociolinguistic theories. Code variation is generally seen as a constitutive property of the speaker's linguistic knowledge. The linguistic variation linked to the different way of expressing oneself in relation to communicative situations, the relationship with the interlocutor and the purposes of the issuer, is inherent in normal interaction (Fishman 1975). Knowledge of the social norms that govern variation makes a linguistic expression understandable in a given context (Gumperz 1973). Furthermore, attention to new media reflects the need to guarantee the right of access to the greatest number of people, in addition to the fact that new media constitute an important channel of contact towards cultural diversity (Baldi and Savoia 2007). Education becomes the strategy to support the learning of emerging features in the context of a multicultural reality, seen as enhancing the autonomy of the individual.

Television broadcasts brought to light the existence of different ways of using language and made everyone aware of technical and special uses of the language – that were new if compared to their rural background – which workers suddenly had to master in their workplaces and beyond. As the terms became of common use they were imposed with little transparency (as happened more clearly in the 80s and 90s in several fields from mechanics to chemistry).

From the 1960s the school began to expand, young people started to attend elementary school, high school and even university, but the struggle to speak, read and write wasn't over yet and involved all Italian democratic forces. A century after the unification of Italy, television set out to teach Italian language to 26 million Italians who still in 1961 could only speak dialect. Starting from 1954, television entered homes with unprecedented power, to make Italy it was surely necessary Italian language, but to make Italian language it was necessary Manzoni and TV as well. That was the era of drama, the kind of TV show Italians could relate to and appreciate

the most, and through which they could learn a language that still wasn't common to them, thus Renzo and Lucia, Don Rodrigo's thugs and Don Abbondio came into play. The dialogues of the betrothed spread Alessandro Manzoni's Tuscan-influenced Italian as – according to the linguist Tullio De Mauro (1968) – the success of the tv serial lies in its accessibility or in the linear discourses of simple people. In other words, the conquest of language occurs together with the conquest of culture.

The first television quizzes began to pique spectators' curiosity and spark their need for knowledge, and as TV anchors used a comforting Italian filled with set phrases, the viewers ended up empathizing more with the clarity of the host than with the knowledge of the contestant. By then the die was cast, so many expressions were spread with great efficiency, by Mario Riva, by Walter Chiari, by Peppino de Filippo. The linguistic penetration of television medium vanquished all competitors: learning Italian even by watching "Canzonissima" show was the conscious aim of television audience. "Canzonissima" featured one of the most typical forms of television speech of the time, according to the linguist Sergio Raffaelli (1994) the motto of TV is to inform, entertain, educate, and television became the greatest and unmatched tool of language education.

This was made possible above all thanks to the relevant and innovative figure of Alberto Manzi, a pedagogist, who was the first to teach courses of reading and writing in Italian in the Sixties, through the famous TV show he hosted, "Non è mai troppo tardi" ('It's never too late'). It was a real Italian language teaching course for the illiterate, carried out through the installation of 2000 televisions in as many listening points scattered throughout Italy. The program was designed by Oreste Gasperini, Alberto Manzi and Carlo Piantoni and was aired by RAI from 1960 to 1968, first on Rai 1 then on Rai 2. The broadcast was created with the support of the Ministry of Education with the aim of teaching to Italians who couldn't read and write despite having surpassed school-age. These were real lessons, given by Manzi to classes made up of illiterate adults, where modern teaching techniques, now defined as multimedia, were used, such as videos, audio supports, object lessons, and above all the many sketches and drafts done by Maestro Manzi himself, with rapid strokes of charcoal pencil on a large sheet blackboard.

The broadcast was aired in pre-evening time, so that workers were also able to watch. 484 episodes were aired until May 10th, 1968, the year in which it could eventually be suspended thanks to the increase in attendance to compulsory school. A few years earlier, in 1958, a pilot project which would last until 1966 had already been created and titled as "Telescuola", a substitute program, i.e. aimed at allowing the completion of compulsory education cycle for youths residing in areas without secondary schools. A highly innovative project, with a daily audience of 4 million. In the period from 1965 to 1966 the teacher Ilio Guerranti took care of the broadcasts dedicated to 3rd, 4th and 5th classes. "Non è mai troppo tardi" had an important social and educational role, contributing to the cultural unification of the nation and significantly lowering the illiteracy rate. In fact, thanks to these distance lessons, almost one and a half million people could get an elementary school certificate, the project was also a great international success, as similar projects were carried out by as many as seventy-two countries. In the years 1990-1991 a remake of the transmission was aired on Rai 3, Gianni Ippoliti was chosen as the host and the elderly were the protagonists. In 2004, a Rai Educational show took up the title of the program modified in "Non è m@i troppo tardi" using the modern symbol of the snail to anticipate the subject of the program: digital literacy education.

The massmediologist Monteleone (2003) claimed that the great popular success of the series must be attributed to the teacher Alberto Manzi, who should get the credit for allowing thousands of illiterates to get an elementary school certificate. We could say that television truly

was a language school, in fact – according to Tullio De Mauro (1977a) – listening to television on a daily basis had the same effect as 5 years of elementary school and as such contributed to the creation of national identity. He highlights the fact that television, as well as radio, determined the diffusion of a common Italian, understood as a repertoire of stylistic varieties, different from that of the rhetorical and bookish tradition of the official and public Italian that goes up to the years of the Second War World. Furthermore, it identifies a direct relationship between the simplification of media language and the type of language used in schools, as we see in the *Dieci tesi* for democratic language education (2007). The *Dieci tesi* pursue an idea of linguistic education detached from the literary language of traditional teaching and attentive to the language spoken by millions of people. In particular, the traits of traditional linguistic education, seen as an obstacle to socio-cultural progress, include the lack of interest in linguistic uses motivated by the context or communication purposes and the orientation towards meta-grammatic teaching (Baldi and Savoia 2005). The Italian language written and spoken by few gave way to looser and more colloquial forms thanks to the contribution of television in trying to establish a direct relationship with the entirety of readers. Television offers a wide variety of uses representing a real school of language and communication for Italians (De Mauro 1973).

Unfortunately, the major role that RAI played in the 1950s and 1960s as a public service vanished in the following decades; for a long time now, RAI has no longer fulfilled the function of a great cultural agency and many accuse it of not having a mission anymore. It's a television which is no longer content with a mere representation of the world, but wants take part in its construction, and a decisive role is played by the advertisement market (Buonocore 2005:66). Baldi and Savoia clearly state that:

I numeri non lasciano dubbi a tale riguardo. Nel 1980 la Rai raccoglie 148 miliardi di pubblicità […] In Italia un momento cruciale è segnato, pertanto, dal passaggio ad un sistema finanziato dalla pubblicità. Questo cambiamento corrisponde alla diminuita importanza della natura pubblica del servizio, finanziato dal canone. Tuttavia, l'affermarsi della televisione commerciale caratterizza in generale le società occidentali, nelle quali emerge una televisione organica alle grandi multinazionali. (Baldi and Savoia 2005: 220)

The negative turning point occurred with early '90s laws and regulations on radio and television system (Mammì Law) which favored the development of national commercial networks and which, combined with the rules on advertising sales, also pushed RAI TV to follow the path of marketing leading to a progressive decrease in quality, in an attempt to win a wider audience and, consequently, a greater advertising revenue. In 1994 Chomsky reflects on the changes that have occurred in the Italian television system:

Quello che sta accadendo di questi tempi in Italia [...] è quasi una caricatura delle tendenze […] dell'evoluzione del potere in generale e dei media in particolare. Questi fenomeni hanno […] carattere globale […] da alcuni decenni l'internazionalizzazione dell'economia si è accelerata, e questo ha portato a una grande concentrazione del potere nei grandi agglomerati industriali transnazionali. (Chomsky 1994: 26)

If we leave aside some exceptions/staples, confined within the niches of Public Service which, both in entertainment broadcasts and in those of greater cultural content, still maintain a high level of quality, generally speaking there it is undoubtful that the race towards the search for audience has pushed quality down to the point of leading public networks to produce completely non-educational broadcasts, in the wake of private ones. After all, we may just look at what might seem like a small detail: the lack of respect of other's speech times, talking over each other, continuous interruptions, the shouting. Television from the '50s and '60s, despite having

known cases of sensationalism in conversation, showed a high respect for speaking times and opposing views, to the point that many were to argue that this really could educate Italians to dialogue and effective exchange. A detail that is not negligible in this case: respecting speech times means to have respect for the other and real interest in listening, which are both key qualities for many aspects of civil life. Today's television in general opposes those models with oppression, with "conversations" – if they can be still called like that – turning into actual fights, following scripts and guidelines that are in many cases specifically aimed to achieve this goal. In many TV political debates it is evident that speeches are especially aimed to the dismantling of other's arguments, to the point of not even letting the others speak, flooding them with interruptions, with the primary objective of preventing them from making a point that stands.

Talk shows are among the most popular genres of the moment, with a very high level of TV ratings and this is where the overturning of the educational perspective that characterized early television truly becomes evident. Eco, in 1983 made a distinction between paleotelevision and neotelevision, he identified the main features of the first as being a pedagogical contact with the spectator, a structural flow of the programming and a socializing training space, while those of the second were the dimension of daily life, togetherness and a continuous flow of the programming.

It appears that the degeneration is precisely due to the lack of any interest from television to develop a different format; brawls seem to "pay" off far more in catching the audience attention. The relationship between Public Service and school system in some countries, and especially in Great Britain with its BBC, has been much closer, as opposed to RAI, which didn't prove to be very responsive in the face of the flourishing of many projects aimed at schools by RAI Educational. This is a serious shortcoming, as the potential of the television medium used to be, and still is, enormous both in regard to teacher training as well as adult education. BBC still dedicates about a third of its production volumes to education and culture, with a wide use of the internet. RAI's absence from the educational scenario, as well as from the Web's platforms, has certainly played a decisive part in the overall drop of the country's cultural level. There seems to be no real awareness of the role played by television in the Italian context, which is very different from the British one or from that of other large European countries. A scenario in which the sources to draw on for both individual and collective cultural growth are far more numerous and better organized.

RAI maintains a scarce pedagogical and cultural production, almost exclusively confined to its thematic channels which, for various reasons, are watched by a small audience. In recent times, in addition to entertainment and fiction the offer has been increasingly focusing on information. Despite having had an all-news network for years, Rai has maintained several news formats on its mainstream networks, for a total of 'news time' which is three times the amount of time occupied by news in BBC's schedules. A reduction in this respect would free up resources and space in the Public Service for programs that could very well be focused on culture. In other words, RAI's offer is very skewed toward the information side; we would need more culture and less news; it would suffice to take a look at the schedules from the first decades of RAI to see what public TV could and should actually do (De Mauro 2015).

3. School at home: lessons on TV and online on RAI channels

Characterized by unidirectional transmission through the ether, distance teaching through the radio and television media is several years outdated by this time. Radio and television were first replaced by audio and video tapes (often sold as attachments to newspapers and maga-

zines), then by CDs and locally used software, and eventually by web-based technologies. Now that digital means and streaming are significantly changing radio and television language, it is probable that the foundations have been laid for the recovery of these two media from a didactic standpoint. Thus, it would be interesting to examine the new communication opportunities for radio and television broadcasters and, in anticipation of an experimentation, to hypothesize the possibilities of exploitation in regard to the development of receptive skills by L2 foreign language students.

In these years, the internet and DTT technologies have radically modernized the use of radio and television: users may stream TV channels from all over the world and can even create a customized web radio in just a few clicks. News information is changing accordingly, adapting its contents to the new technological means available to the audience. The potential positive educational effects of radio and television media remain to be investigated in the light of these innovations: to teachers and students of foreign languages, in fact, the net represents a huge – and free – repository for original content which was unimaginable up to a few year ago. The advent of the internet and the general availability of flat and broadband connections have radically changed the work of newsrooms and radio-television broadcasters, now also called to the task of updating the homepage of their website in real time and 24h. It really was a needed change: in fact, fewer and fewer people manage to find the time to read through an entire newspaper; in our country, it is mainly the elderly who still only read paper newspapers, while two out of three internet users declare to keep themselves informed also (or only) through the internet. TV broadcasters, such as radios, use the network to deliver customizable content to a global audience.

Recently, with the transition to digital, broadcasters have more frequencies available; many of them took advantage of this to extend their offer, adding other flow channels on the radio model alongside the generalist main channel. Digital allows for new features that undermine the static nature of television. For example, in Spain Antena 3 broadcasts the "The Simpsons" cartoons in Spanish and English, while TV3 viewers can watch "Dragon Ball" even in Japanese. It is not a function to be underestimated: many Romanian young adults born in the eighties attribute their good knowledge of English to the fact that cartoons until recent years were not dubbed, while there is no doubt that the Maltese understand Italian well not only for the presence of numerous elements of Latin origin in their language (especially from Sicilian dialect), but also because their televisions can pick up the Rai signal.

Only in this moment of serious global emergency, RAI has proved to be attentive to the educational needs of students of all ages, who stayed at home due to the closing of schools, reinforcing their programming and therefore connecting the Italian cultural world with television through the contribution of the most skilled teachers. A new show schedule with 100 lessons of 30 minutes and a special programming dedicated to students having to prepare for state certification exam: RAI, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, takes the field with #lascuolanonsiferma and makes content available for professors and students. "At school every day, despite everything else" this is the title of a collaboration project between the Ministry of Education and RAI to support all young (as well as older) students struggling with a dramatically different school year than usual. The coronavirus really did put a strain on the brand new skills required for teachers to teach and students to learn. We are talking about 10 million people who had to reinvent a whole new world of didactics which was never known before, as lessons were suspended and schools of all levels closed on March 4th. In this new world, the Web has a strong presence, but the same is also true for television, which, not surprisingly, has seen a significant increase in audience ratings.

The slogan "RAI #lascuolanonsiferma (school won't stop), a TV as great as a school" summarizes the ambition of the project and provides that Rai will make available to students and teachers alike a new schedule dedicated to school, with an offer aimed at all ages and with particular attention to those who will face a never-before-seen state certification exam. The Public Service offer will focus on RAI Cultura (including RAI Scuola and RAI Storia – RAI 3), RAI Ragazzi and RaiPlay with a vast repertoire of products and educational programs taken from Rai Teche. In particular, about 100 lectures will be held, lasting 30 minutes each, given by professors and teachers chosen by the Ministry of Education and preceded by a brief introduction, useful for identifying the education field as well as its setting within the program of study. Featured subjects are: Italian, Classical Languages and Civilizations, Philosophy, Human Sciences, History, Chemistry and Biology, Physics, Mathematics, Foreign Languages, Physical Education, Computer Science, Sciences, History of Art, Sculpture, Painting, Fashion, Graphics, Astronomy, Earth sciences.

Of particular interest is the proposal addressed to students having to face the final high school exam test. On April 27 "Scuola@Casa Maturità" (School@Home High School Diploma) started airing every day at 10 AM and 3 PM a series of 30-minute lectures given by university professors, lecturers from Crusca and from Lincei Academy to help students face the final test. The topics of these lessons are chosen by teachers of secondary schools with a long experience in the exam commissions: teachers will analyse the subject of the lesson, answering with their competence and using an approach that will be useful to final year students, also taking into account the characteristics that the exam will have.

Finally, a particular commitment should be noted in RAI 3's offer in regard to a 43 episodes-broadcast which began on April 27, airing from Monday to Friday at 3.20 PM, hosted by Edoardo Camurri with #Maestri. Each time, two cultural protagonists are interviewed, academics as well as communicators for a total of 86 lectures from as many teachers who will be identified and involved by the Ministry of Education. This is without a doubt a great commitment from the Public Broadcasting Service which today, more than ever, is called upon to perform one of its most crucial institutional tasks: supporting the social cohesion of a country having youth and the whole world of education and culture as one of its fundamental pillars. This is an obligation under the Service Contract stipulated in normal circumstances but, unfortunately, we are now in extraordinary circumstances that require interventions and resources of equal importance. There has been much debate in regard to this and the Parliamentary Supervisory Commission on RAI had to write to its managers reporting a disorganized, excessively fragmented and dispersed character referred to the educational and informative offer. Now, to some extent, this project made up for this. Perhaps it was a late effort, but what is important now is not wasting any more time and assign to the Public Service the role that it deserves. Once before, in the second postwar period, Rai contributed to Italian literacy and, all in all, it succeeded in its commitment, thus even in this occasion it mustn't be any different.

It is appropriate to say that classrooms never close on RAI Scuola channel, which is always improving its programming for students, teachers and families that can be seen on TV (channel 146 Dt, 133 of Tivusat and 806 of Sky Italia), or accessed from RAI Scuola website and RAI Cultura web portal, where the educational offer is divided into subjects and features hundreds of specific contents from various disciplines. As for TV, the space dedicated to scientific subjects has been increased. Among the offers: "Newton", the new program of in-depth analysis and scientific information, "Lezioni di Coding" (Coding lessons) for the learning of principles of computer science and computational thinking, "I Lincei per il Clima" (The Lincei for Climate), lectures on climate change given by professors from Lincei Academy. There's also

room for English-language programs aimed at learning and improving the language, in line with the CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning methodology, recently adopted also by Italian school.

Furthermore, from the large RAI Cultura archive, "Cronache con Cristoforo Gorno" (Chronicles with Cristoforo Gorno) and "Passato e Presente" (Past and present) with Paolo Mieli retrace the ancient, medieval, modern, nineteenth and twentieth century history. The TV program "I grandi della Letteratura Italiana" (Great personalities of Italian literature) features the verses and words from the greatest Italian authors narrated by Edoardo Amurri. Concerning philosophy, "Café Filosofico" (Philosophical café) hosts the most relevant Italian philosophers, gathered to explain the development of Western thought through the great themes and the great thinkers that characterized it. For art history, the best of "Italia, Viaggio nella Bellezza" (Italy, a journey into beauty) was put on schedule, a program created in collaboration with Mibact, together with "StrinArte", art history lessons by Claudio Strinati, and "I Segreti del Colore" (The secrets of color) the history of Italian art through the experience of institutes for restoration and art academies. As for the online programming, Rai Scuola offers every morning, through its websites and social channels, *Scuola@Casa News* (School@Home News), a newsletter featuring useful informations for schools, teachers, students and families to simplify distance education work. The project continues on the path started by Rai Scuola (www.raicultura.it/speciali/scuola2020) through the ten episodes of *Scuola@Casa*: an introduction to distance teaching methods and tools, available within the special *Scuola2020* on RAI's websites Cultura and Rai Scuola and also featured in Rai Play's offer. A specific offer of contents was also launched for the RAI - MIUR agreement #lascuolanonsiferma and for the preparation of the final high school exam.

As for the teaching of languages, the only linguistic programming featured in RAI's offer is focused on the English language. English language courses are part of Rai Scuola and are divided into three 30-minute time slots, dedicated to three different targets: children (primary school), teens (first grade secondary school) and young adults (high school and university), to which an additional space dedicated to the whole family is added on Saturdays and Sundays.

The programs dedicated to kids are now the following:
• "Tracy e Polpetta" (Tracy and Meatball) is a fun sitcom designed for the English learning of kids. The protagonists are a ten-year-old English girl, Tracy, her magical talking bin, Bill the Bin, and two characters who live with her and speak Italian: the mole Polpetta and Van Ruben, the ghost of a pirate who lived in the 17th century. Each episode deals with an important topic such as civil coexistence, diversity, environmental protection, education.
• Dedicated to primary school children, "Il Divertinglese" ('FunEnglish') is designed to encourage the learning of basic elements of English language through cartoons spoken in the original language, DIY, games, quizzes, songs and sitcoms.
• "Christmas Tales from America", a three-episode event featuring the staging of three classic short stories from American literature dedicated to Christmas: "The Thin Santa Clus, The Gift of the Magi, The Luckless Santa Claus", all spoken in English language.
• "Dixi's Simple Songs", a series of thirteen 2-minute episodes where Dixi's friends experience adventures based on well-known traditional song lyrics, much appreciated by kinds and families alike.
• "Fumbleland", an innovative program mixing animation with live footage to teach children elements of English language in a funny way. The fantastic island of Fumbleland is the place where spelling mistakes made by children in English live. The eccentric teacher Mrs. Spelling is assigned the task to set off and go teaching on Earth.

• "Peppa Pig", Peppa is a lovable and funny pig living with her little brother George, mom and dad. Peppa's is a traditional family that, presenting realistic dynamics and situations with simplicity and humour, manages to dispense precious teachings to children on values such as friendship, kindness, loyalty, and family bonds.
• "Small Potatoes", the protagonists of this series are a group of singing potatoes travelling around the world singing and making new friends. Each episode, following a different musical style, presents a song and two brief, simple dialogues in English between the colourful protagonists. Subtitles allow children who already know how to read to sing along with the music, making the show even more engaging.
• "Twirlywoods", the Twirlywoods are a family sailing through the universe of fantasy aboard a beautiful red ship, every day landing in a different place, who end up venturing into the real world and making surprising discoveries. Children will discover new objects and concepts together with their heroes, by learning their names in both English and Italian.

The current offer for older audiences is the following:
• "Perfect English", a program dedicated to teenagers, designed to improve the pronunciation and understanding of the basic structures of English language. By visiting the most significant and characteristic locations in Great Britain and taking a cue from real situations, youth can learn English phonetics and their distinctive sounds.
• "The Language of Business" is an upper-intermediate/advanced didactic series for learning English from the language of economics, business and finance, giving insights into corporate job through practical examples as well as analysing the specific terminology used in various production and commercial sectors. Through interviews, videos and the lead of a presenter, the program sheds light on terms and circumstances of use, so that the viewer can easily learn the lexicon of business. Subtitles and visual excerpts help understanding and memorization. For the topics covered and methodologies used, the series is suitable both as a refresher for professionals as well as for school use.
• "Edgar Allan Poe – The Last Four Days" is dedicated to the multifaceted American author with his complex personality, who made an essential contribution to the history of world literature, becoming the father of new literary genres, from horror to detective story. Edgar Allan Poe's work is analysed and studied thoroughly in its various aspects, literary, artistic, sociological, psychological and anthropological, through the contribution of experts and scholars. The powerful and evocative prose of the American author is proposed in the original English language through the reading of the most significant passages from his tales, inviting the audience to reflection. The analysis of prof. Fabio Vittorini, lecturer of Comparative Literature at the IULM University in Milan, develops through the six episodes touching on the most significant elements of Poe's life and work, also relating it to different art forms, from painting to comics, from cinema to television. More food for thought is provided by the psychologist Simona Abate, the sociologist Cecilia Costa, the medical historian Andrea Grignolio and the philosopher Benedetto Ippolito.
• "Shakespeare – Everlasting Sonnets", in six episodes of about 15 minutes, is part of RAI Scuola English project aimed at learning and spreading the English language and culture. A native-speaking actor interprets a selection of Shakespearean sonnets by reciting them in the original language, in a location of great impact such as the yard of the former mental hospital Santa Maria della Pietà in Rome, where contemporary artists have painted a series of artistic murals, with the aim of stripping the sonnets of all rhetoric and make them resonate in all their surprising current relevance. The choice of sonnets, twelve in all, was

made among the so called "sonnets of immortality", namely those focused on the transience of all things earthly and man's longing for eternity. Specifically, the sonnets proposed are those marked by the numbers 15, 18, 19, 24, 55, 60, 63, 64, 74, 81, 104 and 116. The sonnets are cleverly arranged according to the themes, two are presented in each episode. This journey into the world of Shakespearean sonnets is led by Maria Del Sapio Garbero, professor of English Literature at Roma Tre University. In every episode, Professor Del Sapio provides the audience with key elements for the understanding of Shakespearean work, and gives a critical comment on the sonnets recited in the episode.

Analyzing the programming, it is interesting to notice that among the many subjects covered, chances to further deepen the linguistic and didactic interests of both teachers and students are not lacking:
• "Dr Hill", a young English researcher who invented Mr. Speech, an electronic device capable of interacting with the brain allowing the user to speak foreign languages automatically. However, the device seems to have taken over Jack, leading him to dangerous and antisocial behavior. To prevent the worst from happening, Jack locks himself up in an improvised lab, looking for a solution. In order to do this, Jack analyses the functions of language and reflects on the complexity of communication.
• "Non è mai troppo presto. I bambini e la seconda lingua" ('It's never too early. Children and the second language'), a new program that aims to answer parents' main questions related to learning an L2 such as: What is the right time to let children approach a second language? Why is it important to learn a second language as a child? What are the most effective methods to encourage children to learn a second language? The program features the contribution of Lucilla Lopriore, associate professor of English Language and Translation at Roma Tre University, trainer of language teachers and author of numerous publications on applied linguistics.
• "Toolbox3", now at its third edition, has returned to the topic of coding: teachers and pupils start playing together with well-known coding tools and end up becoming familiar with the main elements of programming by applying them in class during routine educational activities. RAI Cultura talks about coding at school with Alessandro Bogliolo, coordinator of Europe Code Week, a literacy campaign promoted by the European Commission for the spread of computational thinking. This year's innovation was that of creating a Philosophy series with children, a project aiming to guide children in the development of transversal cognitive skills such as: language, expressive and creative abilities, the capacity of shaping concepts, attention, analysis and synthesis of thinking, problem solving, management of emotions, listening and reflection. All of this is achieved through play and iteration between peers. A philosophy free from the great classic themes, which leverages the imaginary world of children, made up of words, objects, events and stories that adults can describe and enrich. In addition, the program has dedicated ample space to the in-depth analysis of the concept of European citizenship through the eyes of young Italian and foreign students.
• "Memex Doc: Vita da Ricercatore" ('Memex Doc: researcher life'), hosted by Davide Coero Borga, the program ventures into the daily life of those who do research: stories of ordinary enthusiasm. Curious young people, bold experimenters, scholars, a joyful intrusion inside and outside the laboratories, the places they frequent and even into their homes. An expedition to the field since, as Feynman said: "the experiment is the sole judge of scientific truth".

• "Generazione digitale" ('Digital generation'), the protagonists of this talk show are a group of young people dealing with new technologies, teachers and experts from school 2.0, presented by Ivan Bacchi. Inside a loft, equipped with the latest education and communication tools, innovations in the pedagogical field will be discussed (such as the introduction of electronic school register, e-learning, learning objects, as well as the production of video content within the classroom) with their related social and anthropological effects: new tools implicate different cognitive impacts. The guests in the studio are Mario Morcellini, sociology professor at Sapienza University of Rome, the tutors from Indire and managers from several Italian schools.

From the data displayed so far, it is clear that, in addition to an ample and interesting space dedicated to educational interests, the only foreign language included in RAI's show schedule is English, thus underlining its evident predominance over the others. In fact, by searching for the other languages, using the appropriate entries, only a few Spanish and German lessons appear, but with no dedicated programs. The only other suggestion resulting from this kind of research on RAI Scuola website is the project "Language, literature and culture in a European dimension – Foreign languages area": thanks to a platform of contents available in four languages (English, French, Spanish, German), the project promotes a true innovation in didactics within a community dimension, ensuring the acquisition of linguistic skills in a multicultural perspective. The program, though being a few years old, is part of the teacher training and provides food for thought.

Furthermore, in the analysis of RAI's offer, most of the programs strike us as being built on a direct and concrete insertion into the reality of language; shows for kids very often feature cartoons where characters face daily challenges of more or less real lives while for grown people the choice lies among sectoral contexts (literary and economic), favouring the acquisition of specialized language. While all this is suitable for encouraging and motivating learning, purely grammar-based courses are scarce.

4. The effectiveness of television in linguistic competence

Generally, the use of satellite TV in the practice of didactics in Italian school teaching has not been very frequent, however, the growing interest in television programs and television series in the original language is clear. This enthusiasm brings out relevant questions including: why not taking advantage of this type of approach with foreign languages and turn it into normal activity, making the most of all the possibilities? After all, children learn a foreign language through listening, combined with TV images, without knowing its morphosyntactic structures from the beginning (Ciari 1984).

This method approaches language learners through the channels offered by satellite TV. This proposal is also fully consistent with what has already been outlined since the "e-europe 2002" Action Plan approved by the European Commission (COM (2001) 0140 of 13.03.2001) and by "e-europe 2005" Action Plan (Official Journal C48 of 28.02.2003) aimed to encourage actions in favour of technological innovation in schools – including online services in order to modernize schools and sensibly improve young people's learning. By using language programs, conventional teaching classes – where sometimes students are not at ease – are transformed into emotionally interesting and engaging experiences. This makes foreign language learning process much closer to that of natural and spontaneous acquisition, as happens to those who learn a foreign language living within the daily environment in which it is spoken, conveying

its proposed meanings without resorting to the use of mother tongue or at least limiting its usage in a natural way (Rampone and Calabrese 2008). Thus, the setting in which the learner is projected is a natural environment which makes acquisition easier (Pichiassi 1999). By stimulating his inclination towards the use of television, which is one of the most widespread free time activities for everyone, adults and children, the student will approach the second language naturally, almost as if teleported right into that reality. In this way, a tool of daily use connected to the pleasure and activity of relaxing, projects the learner into a familiar reality, encourages learning without excessive effort and helps memorization through contextualization of linguistic activity.

Sociolinguistics and pragmatics introduce a vision of language closely associated with communicative functions and their semantics. More generally, the speaker's intention is manifested in the way of using the language and in the way of relating it to the cultural context and the communicative situation (Labov, Hymes). According to Hymes (1972), for whom communication is an attribute of language, grammatical knowledge of a language is not sufficient to adequately characterize it. Communicative competence is therefore an individual's ability to use the second language appropriately according to the different communication situations in which she or he has to interact (Hymes 1972) therefore seeing its use directly in the appropriate communication context can promote correct learning. The innatist model has included and extended, in recent developments, the notion of language to the aspects and knowledge associated with methods of use, removing much of the difficulty of talking through pragmatic approaches. The application of this vision to teaching involves focusing on the communicative event, and specifically on the situation, the participants, the purposes of communication, the content of the message, the choice of the channel through which it is communicated and the register.

The linguistic needs of the learners take on great relevance as they can motivate them, both in relation to the immediate purpose (learning) and in relation to possible future uses. Desideri (2004) defines the correspondence between skills and teaching, in the sense that each element of communication can be the subject of didactic processes and reflection. The methods and practices based on communicative competence, while differing, are united by the goal of achieving mastery of communication tools; in this perspective, grammatical correctness does not represent the main purpose, but one of the accomplishments of effective learning. As remarked by Pichiassi (1999: 140) in linguistic didactics, attention shifts from teaching to learning: from the product (the second language) to the process, meaning how the language is learned. The needs of the learners become the center of the lesson; the educator turns from teacher to facilitator, promoter and organizer of linguistic activities, while the learner takes on the role of a true manager of the learning process. The teacher's guide lies mainly in providing the appropriate linguistic inputs according to the learner's communication needs; in regard to this, the same teacher / learner relationship represents a very specific communication situation, within a domain, associated with register and gender characteristics (Balboni 2012). Technological innovations allow to contextualize the linguistic-communicative inputs, favoring the activation of the processes of formulation of linguistic hypotheses in the learner (Ballarin 2007), and to highlight the socio-cultural context, favouring the meeting and comparison between cultures and different civilizations in order to educate to critical judgment.

It is within this framework that further methods of learning and didactic work arise, associated with the increase in motivation for the use of second language, where students collaborate using a foreign language, such as for instance cooperative learning. In this way, the foreign language becomes both a means of communication between students and an instrument for reflecting on language. In these practices, grammatical reflection connects to a real context of

use, and is achieved through a process of discovery and systematization of the code to which the both learners and teacher contribute, it is therefore a level of reflection which is different from grammar teaching (Chini and Bosisio 2015).

TV channels also allow the approach towards multiple language models, as well as the use and exercise of the language in different times and methods, without the rigid time restriction imposed by the traditional education system. At the same time, new possibilities are offered to language teachers: introducing linguistic models other than their own, using new tools to make lessons livelier and more compelling through the use of videos and original songs in foreign language. This aspect is again linked, partly, to the concept of CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning), which was not focused on the creation of language teaching programs, but on activities and didactic games for textual manipulation and meaning reconstruction starting from multimedia elements; and also to the renewed glottodidactic interest towards videogames programmed for language teaching (Lombardi 2013).

Furthermore, during an emergency such as this one due to the Covid-19, TV can provide continuity to school language teaching as distance lessons do not guarantee the interest of the learner throughout the whole lesson also since all active participation relying on physical presence is lacking. The pupils, who are somewhat scared of oral production, are put at ease by these shows providing them gradually and spontaneously with situations they have already experienced.

A substantially positive element lies in the language television programs being full of that liveliness and immediacy that recorded videos usually lack. The very way of approaching an audio content, recorded years before, is different from following a live television program, rich in spontaneity and immediacy. Furthermore, shows in schedule offer the possibility of adapting not just the level of the program to the learners in the audience, but also the kind of issue addressed at that moment: in fact, through digitalization, knowledge can assume different forms according to the needs of communication. The choice of TV programming thus offers an inexpensive and at the same time effective system to learn a foreign language keeping alive the initial enthusiasm for a long time, whatever the reason that pushed them to learn it. Furthermore, it allows to transform teaching into a pleasant and stimulating approach (Mezzadri 2004). Therefore, since satellite TV is an excellent technological tool available to teachers to do their job better, not exploiting it would be counterproductive. As we know, Tullio De Mauro (1963) was the first to form the hypothesis of language school television for Italians. Years later, his thesis was confirmed: in fact, it proved a valid means for the diffusion of standard spoken language in a spontaneous way, and for the integral adoption of Italian language as a model of culture and verbalization in every circumstance and in all social relationships (Coveri *et al.* 1998).

As we know, the early stages of approaching the language, when the memorization of hundreds of words and grammatical concepts is required, are especially difficult. Difficulties become ever greater in front of the listening activities, with all related exercises, aimed to the development of comprehension and production, both oral and written, of acts of communication in the language being studied. In fact, from a psychological standpoint, the learner is engaged in a great effort of concentration in order to mentally enter the context presented in the textbooks.

Still speaking of listening activity, in traditional methods it should be noticed that simultaneously with the acoustic activity the student must also produce exercises such as cloze tests, multiple choices, grids, transcoding, interlocking words, etc. (Maggini and Cassandro 2004). All this creates within the classroom the anxious mood of an exam session. In fact, the listening moment, traditionally experienced in the classroom, is considered more as a testing technique than a teaching method and represents a continuous test (Biotti 1994). As Krashen

(2020) stated in one of his last articles, it is much more useful to insist on the input instead of proposing exercises, this is one of the reasons why he supports the online study, as in this way it is not possible to correct mistakes. Krashen goes on highlighting the importance of input quality, which does not necessarily have to be captivating *per se*, since it is up to the teacher to make it so through didactic action. The motivation is provided by materials and not by the learner, since the drive based on the 'need' runs out rather quickly; it can be linked to numerous factors including for instance:

- duty, school curricula, but it is not very effective;
- pleasure of learning;
- curiosity of having a new communication tool available;
- interest in discovering other worlds.

The usual meaning of motivation for the teacher is probably the interest that something generates in the students; a particular exercise, a particular topic, a particular song, may interest the student in the class, to the teacher's delight. The choice of teaching materials and the information content of the lesson, for example, should correspond to the motivation of the students (Cook 2008).

Krashen (1982) is also famous for the interesting concept of affective filter, highlighting how the emotional component plays a role in learning processes. It is undoubtful that emotionality works as an 'accelerator' or a 'brake' in relation to learning processes, in fact, when pathos sets in and excitement ensues while reading a poem or a novel, information can be collected much faster and more efficiently. The American scholar hypothesizes the existence of an affective filter that would function as a defence that is lowered or raised from time to time. Thus, there would be differences in a child's learning depending on the different teachers. Because of this filter, it is not the child himself who is at the centre of the learning process, but rather the relationship established with the teacher. In this sense, as confirmed by general psychology, learning in the school environment is always a joint work, collaborative work carried out by two persons. If the relationship with a teacher, for instance, gets disturbed by relational factors (feeling too much apprehension, in difficulty, feeling no esteem), the emotional filter imagined by Krashen stops the transfer processes that would otherwise encourage learning. On the contrary, a relationship which is devoid of these elements fosters a much deeper and faster learning. Teachers interact daily with the individual differences of the students, who move along the learning path with different speeds and personal methods, which cannot be easily generalized. These dynamics do not occur when using the television medium as the learner does not feel pressured and does not have a direct relationship with the organizer of the course, and is therefore free to watch the program without the fear of sudden questions. All these aspects may be very helpful for those who approach the new language and its culture in developing linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence (Maggini and Cassandro 2004). It would be useful to employ a tool we all have at home and that can affect our way of thinking: satellite television, which is a formidable opportunity to watch TV programs in the original language.

Considering the particular features of television medium, whose message is mainly conveyed by images, we should always keep in mind the image-word connection and the advantage offered by this connection in helping to decode verbal language, namely as in this case the language gets contextualized, i.e. proposed in concrete situations, and its practical aspects are in plain sight. The problem therefore arises in the passage from the contextualized language of TV sequences to the decoding and organization of the language itself. This process can only be completed effectively if broken down into a series of tiny, logically organized steps (Vidoni 1982).

Furthermore, didactic tools helping the understanding of linguistic properties through visual means, are essential for this purpose. In this way, using a trivial example, in order to understand anaphoric grammatical mechanisms, one can visualize the operation on a magnetic panel by replacing certain parts of the sentences with the appropriate substitutive pronouns. The process underlying the use of pronouns, or rather substitutives, is thus easily explained, without the need for abstract metalinguistic explanations and technical-grammatical terminologies. The topic of teaching support is central to didactic TV programs, as otherwise they would just be the mere copy of a traditional classroom lesson. This is why in choosing the lesson plan it is not desirable to recreate the teacher-pupil relationship with the presence on video of students asking questions, making mistakes, etc., with ensuing passivity and, perhaps, consolidation of mistakes in the audience. It is preferable for visual aids to act as a mediator for the decoding and assimilation of linguistic materials presented. The choice of linguistic contents to be dealt with is crucial, thus, following the structuralist approach, it is always necessary to apply the rule of complexity degree, so the linguistic structures are introduced following a scale suggested by their intrinsic complexity. However, the complexity degree shouldn't be abstractly applied by taking only into account the language to be learned, since as we know, the effort of learning a language also depends on the similarity between the mother tongue and the foreign language system. The learning of a second language anyway implies the presence of linguistic attitudes already acquired, with possible interferences in the different levels of linguistic structure. The forecast of mistakes and their removal through appropriate exercises are considered of central importance in audio-oral method. In this framework, the error is seen as a bad imitation or memorization on which to intervene. Contrastive analysis is therefore a necessary didactic instrument, according to which teaching materials are prepared, differentiated by the type of interference determined by the learner's native language. On the contrary, no room was dedicated to metalanguage, that is to the linguistic comment related to the mentioned products, nor to the explicit explanation of its rules. Grammatical explanations are true inductive reflections on language based on the text and according to specific needs.

In fact, a foreign language course must be made for an audience that is consistent in regard to the mother tongue; so that an Italian course, made for Spanish speakers, would not be suited to English speakers etc. In fact, in introducing linguistic structures, one should keep in mind the elements that may interfere with the mother tongue. In the early dialogues, positive interference structures should be favoured, to encourage the decoding of messages, while later on dissimilar structures should be introduced, thus insisting on negative interference. It is also important to organize linguistic contents around aggregation cores, and for this reason each lesson of the course should revolve around one or more linguistic functions (approval, refusal, request for information, permission, etc.). One should start from a basic level, dealing with the most customary communicative use of the language, and linguistic functions that also concern psychological attitudes and emotional states should be introduced only in the following phase. From dialogues and scenes, opportunities arise for the introduction of linguistic functions, which in turn introduce the use of the various grammatical structures. For instance, situations of desire or possibility allow the introduction of the subjunctive, while purpose can introduce the use of conditional. Thus, the verbal conjugation is introduced in close connection with its use.

In addition to the linguistic functions, during the course we must also consider those ample background categories which are defined by Slagter in *Un nivel umbral* (1979) as *nociones generales* (concepts of time, space, place etc.). To develop these general notions within television courses, one can rely on the possibility of expressing them through different grammatical elements which share the same meaning. For example, concerning the concept of time, adverbs, locutions, com-

plements, propositions, verbal markers are introduced before worrying about their positioning within grammatical categories. This new linguistic approach, focused on the core mental categories and typical of the so-called *notional syllabuses* method (notional programs), overcomes the traditional and rather formalistic approach that would recommend to teach morphology first, then the syntax of complements, then that of propositions, and which would therefore dictate a sequence of linguistic elements restricted by the grammatical categories over the semantic ones.

Still, concerning the sequence in which linguistic elements are organized, there are some observations to be done. The first is that, once a structure has been introduced, it must not be considered as permanently acquired, but must be later reiterated both to fix it in the mind and to link it with others by logical means. In other words, the program must not be linear, that is, made up of self-contained didactic units lined up one next to the other, but should rather have a spiral pattern featuring cross references, expansions and insights; it is a typical aspect of communicative methods. In this way, a feedback process is achieved which is, as it's well known, essential to learning. We may also observe that a television program teaching foreign language shouldn't be limited to the detection of expressions proposed by the staged situations, but should reach stages of analogue construction of new messages and extension of knowledge to new linguistic structures. All this can happen through a series of transformations of sentences taken from the dialogues of TV scenes, according to the criteria of opposition, expansion, replacement etc. typical of structural exercises, not through the insisting reiteration of grammatical mechanisms, but rather by recontextualization through visual support or through micro-dialogues among teleinstructors. Furthermore, concerning the teaching of the lexicon, we suggest to try and gradually expand the number of terms by organizing them into semantic fields (Balboni 2008a). For instance, when attempting to characterize a character's attitudes, one may obtain a small set of psychological states: nervous / angry / happy / satisfied which will then be further expanded by matching the opposing terms: calm / peaceful / discontented / dissatisfied etc. and successively, through the processes of lexicon organization which were for instance illustrated by Coseriu (1971), it becomes possible to obtain *getting nervous* from *nervous*, *calming down* from *calm*, etc.

Leaving the more strictly linguistic field, I would now like to emphasize the need to connect linguistic materials with civilization or, namely, with the culture that lies behind the language to be learned, and by culture we mean the whole complex of knowledge, techniques and lifestyles of a people. Maintaining this cultural and social depth is essential to every course, also through the choice of subjects and the setting of the scenes, as well as through slides and videos especially related to aspects of physical and anthropological geography at an elementary level, while in the intermediate stage, elements from the world of entertainment can be introduced (classical theatre, musical comedies, operas, operettas, songs, popular festivals) offering a panoramic overview of local audience taste. All this material is to be used not only for the power of suggestion of images, for their spectacular nature, but above all based on its didactic use. Furthermore, in order to present images useful for introducing the people, and aware of the fact that knowledge of others' culture is also achieved through processes of comparison with one's own, opportunities should be offered for a comparison between Italian language culture and the culture related to the language that is being learnt.

As the situational method suggests, language happens in a context of communication and the interpretation of the enunciations and the speech can only be achieved by referring to that context (Borello and Luise 2009-2010), therefore the learning process and the selection of materials will take into account not only the morphological or syntactic features of target language or the language of origin, but also the aspects of the situation where the linguistic

interaction takes place. It is important not to separate the language to be learned from the one to be used so that the learner is called to be an active part of the learning path, favouring the achievement of ever greater autonomy. Grammar plays a crucial role in the learning process, although the mechanisms of communication are increasingly important. In the same way, cultural rules become relevant, so that the cultural error is considered as serious as the linguistic one and also in this case exercises of identification and comparison with the first language are useful (Chini and Bosisio 2015). The notion of culture is always open to change, Freddi (1970) considers language as the compound of a culture, therefore the link between the two is essential. Therefore, alongside the communicative competence, the cultural and intercultural competence necessary for understanding and using behavioural models of linguistic communities cannot miss. Intercultural competence has now become essential knowledge since it allows for the communication with a foreign interlocutor using language consistent with her or his world (Baldi and Savoia 2017-2018). Even for modern language didactics, language teaching cannot be separated from culture teaching since language is a culture's expression and vehicle. The teaching of the second language gives voice to new cultural contents; many didactic models connect guided teaching with the cultural elements that are features of the second language (Balboni 2006). The Common European Framework (2001) also expands the notion of communicative competence to cultural competences and adds to it the identification of cultural values that give meaning to what makes a linguistic act appropriate in a certain situation.

The language-culture or language-society relationship also implies the choice of which linguistic register to teach: colloquial, literary or technical-scientific. This is mainly conditioned by the course audience; as we have seen, in fact, RAI offers different types of TV programs based on the target audience. However, often times the aim is to address a mixed group of people both in terms of age and cultural level, therefore, it is advisable to utilize a mixed register ranging from colloquial to literary, trying to avoid linguistic expressions. This non-strict distinctness of the language register is typical of ready-made foreign language TV courses in general, which are necessarily made for a universal audience and as such cannot take into account all the cultural and psychological features of various kinds of learners. Despite the general nature, even these ready-made courses can be effective in the presence of certain conditions, especially if they feature an open structure. A course with an open structure is characterized by the offer of linguistic and cultural materials in such a way that they can encourage further observations and exercises. The slides or videos are selected for the specific purpose of developing a discussion that can continue beyond the audiovisuals; while the exercises proposed by teleinstructors, which are based as mentioned before on analogue processes and recontextualizations, have been designed to trigger strings of other possible exercises in any school department, and as such also in faculties.

Language learning TV courses can have several functions and advantages, even if originally aimed at a general audience, they can be integrated into school and academic teaching and become part of the program. As for teachers, it is their task to guide the teaching of the foreign language, making good use of the television course, to prepare materials for a useful comparison between the cultures of language 1 and language 2, to pick exercises for verifying the degree of acquisition of the various notions through tests, etc. Especially, he should focus on the feedback process, which is otherwise likely to be greatly reduced in a television course.

Essentially, we see this tool being used through a kind of exercises that can be done during the sequences seen on TV, with the purpose of transitioning from unidirectional to interactive communication: the initial approach must be unidirectional. For the beginner learner, in fact, audiovisual contact should be used without any commitment nor assimilation required from the student (De Mauro 2007). Later on, it may be requested to identify words similar to those

of the mother tongue, or coming from the cultural background as well as from other languages possibly learned (limited bilateral communication).

At a later time, complete bilateral communication will be introduced, a stage in which the teacher, at first, asks students to write the words that they gradually recognize as they are watching the program: this exercise helps the learner to 'enter' the pace of that culture with very little effort (Pichiassi 1999). Types of written exercises in this last learning phase can vary and range from the formation of groups of words related to a specific topic and the identification of the different communicative acts up to a wide array of written or oral activities, positively stimulated by what has been seen and heard, to be performed individually or in group work. It is even possible to perform engaging recreational activities and simulation of the input received, which is no longer represented only by the teacher.

In this context, it's the teacher's task to be informed on the daily programming offered (through teletext pages and through the internet) and make the best use of it, taking into account the possibilities offered by purely educational channels addressed to students (e.g. RAI Education 1, RAI Education 2). The broadcasts of these channels can be very useful, also as they are repeated several times throughout the day and week. Therefore, the task of the teacher is demanding: operating in a systematic way will be possible only through competence in various fields, from the essentially linguistic one, to the sociolinguistic, psychological, etc. His active role in front of ready-made TV courses requires a more complex preparation than that of the foreign language teacher who follows the translation grammar method. On the basis of the above, it is clear that a ready-made TV course, guided by a teacher in the audiovisual stage, can be adapted to the needs of various groups of learners. Specifically, in Universities, depending on the skill level of students it will be possible to develop both the exercises (in this case also introducing grammatical terminology) and the cultural reflections related to students' interests as well as to the distinctness of the preparation that is required to them (as in the case of Business Language).

Furthermore, it would be productive to identify further forms of university use of the television medium, as it offers the teacher the chance of creating a course on her or his own, starting from television materials not yet arranged for teaching purposes. In this case, the teacher, having established the objectives of the course based on the cultural prerequisites as well as the needs of the students, prepares a set of teaching units. The latter, in their internal structure and in the arrangement, must follow selection criteria of linguistic material similar to those explained above; they should also be linked through television contents with the foreign language's culture, and should contain feedbacks as well as chances to verify the notions acquired. It is easy to grasp the efficiency potential of such foreign language teaching method, featuring a program tailored for students. This type of methodology which uses the television medium essentially as a didactic support, instead of taking the teachers' place, actually entrusts them with a greater and more complex task, especially considering the power of the medium that they are, so to speak, in charge of steering; their role is therefore enhanced, as responsibility and need for preparation are evidently multiplied. An example of an ideal combination is described in the methods of blended learning, whose main feature is the mixed training course between attendance and distance teaching activities (Murphy *et al.* 2001; Thorne 2003) as well as in the flipped classrooms which see technologies as vectors of a teaching that takes place in an outside school context (Bergmann and Sams 2012) while the time spent in the classroom is dedicated to practice.

It is also worth mentioning the role of students in relation to a TV course, to highlight how an active attitude is best suited to them both in the moments dedicated to exercises, tests,

forms, and in the organization of the courses itself, when cultural contents can be agreed with the students themselves. Naturally, at this point the argument also involves the field of the relationship to be established between teacher and students, a relationship which is known to be crucial in defining the teaching method to rely on.

What has been illustrated on the teaching of foreign languages through television, is more than possible in a university setting too. For example, the University of Milan features a University Television Center with these same purposes. The Center provides teaching support, as well as the following services:

- it is available to teachers who intend to create audiovisuals for educational purposes, offering specialized facilities and technical assistance;
- organizes courses for professional training on audiovisual teaching for both teachers and students as well as for glottodidactic training of students enrolled in the foreign languages degree course and willing to specialize in technologies relevant to foreign language teaching;
- experiments on new didactic technologies, especially concerning the use of personal computer in the teaching of a foreign language.

The Center has formed strong partnerships with other universities, regardless of them having their own television centres or not, and promotes its own visions also through national conferences analysing the role of university audiovisual centres in didactics and life-long learning. It is to be hoped that means and initiatives of university television centres will be developed, and new courses will be offered for increasingly advanced and effective teaching.

5. Conclusions

There are different perspectives and angles to look at the television phenomenon in relation to school. It can be certainly used as an inexpensive, timely, complete and powerful teaching tool, supported and subsidized by the EU. Moreover, TV is considered a versatile communication system that is increasingly integrated with other mass media and is radically and profoundly changing the very essence of communication. It cannot replace teachers in any way but offers further operational opportunities to their didactic intention and represents a chance to venture beyond traditional didactic methods of language. Given its versatility, audiovisual material allows for selective comprehension (images only, speech only, images and soundtrack, certain words and narrative setting, images, speech and implicit cultural concepts, etc.) thus proving to be a successful instrument in classes where students' linguistic and cognitive skills are of different levels.

The channels offered by the satellite dish can open to the learners a perpetual window on the outside world with a simple press of a button on the remote control; casting them into a multidimensional reality otherwise difficult to experience within the classroom; bringing them in contact with various communication contexts; offering a large number of inputs, both linguistic and cultural, able to boost their motivation, their active participation in didactic practice and their knowledge. They bring out those potentials, those interests, those inclinations that will help to increase the vision of oneself in the future, providing the learner with tools for the enrichment of a knowledge that will be useful also and above all outside of the institutional framework, in a life-long learning perspective (Quercioli 2004).

An attempt was made to give some coordinates for experimenting on the effectiveness of television services for the conservation and consolidation of linguistic competence of foreign

languages. The examination of the language to be used and the specific features of the internet meta-medium lead to consider its relevance for two different targets of second language learners:
> • the informal learners (Conner 2009) and those who want to maintain and refine the knowledge of a language already known at least at a survival-level according to the typical features of immersive learning and the conveying use of the second language according to what Diadori (2007) wrote on the viewing of films and programs in the original language, giving it a much greater scope than the few hours per week of an average language course;
> • students following a guided learning path, who can benefit from these original materials while having, in addition, the teacher's support and thus receiving feedback on their understanding, as shown for instance by Cotroneo and Oddone (2011).

It is, however, important that the school system and the extra-curricular opportunities of language learning are not kept separate. Indeed, the quality of a good language education system is also determined by its network relationships with the outside world and by its capability of motivating students, by giving them the opportunity to experience language contact and learning outside the school environment.

References

Anderson, Benedict. 2000. *Comunità immaginate. Origini e fortuna dei nazionalismi*. Roma: Manifestolibri.

Balboni, Paolo. 2006. *Le sfide di Babele. Insegnare le lingue nelle società complesse*. Novara: De Agostini.

Balboni, Paolo. 2007. *La comunicazione interculturale*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Balboni, Paolo. 2008. *Fare educazione linguistica. Attività didattiche per l'italiano L1 e L2, lingue straniere e lingue classiche*. Torino: Utet.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. "Mezzi di comunicazione e scuola: conflitto d'interessi? Media, informazione e educazione linguistica in Italia." In *Lingua italiana d'oggi* II, ed. by Massimo Arcangeli, 215-268. Roma: Bulzoni Editore.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2007. "Prospettive di educazione linguistica." *In Educazione linguistica democratica. A trent'anni dalle Dieci Tes*i, ed. by GISCEL, 168-196. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017-2018. *Linguaggio & comunicazione*. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Ballarin, Elena. 2007. "Materiale audiovisivo e glottodidattica." In *Vedere per capire e parlare*, ed. by Mario Cardona, 7-25. Novara: Utet Università.

Bergamann, Jonathan, and Aaron Sams. 2012. *Flip Your Classroom. Reach Every Student in Every Class Every Day*. Alexandria: International Society for Technology in Education.

Borello, Enrico, and M.C. Luise. 2009-2010. *Dispensa integrativa del corso di Didattica delle lingue*. Genova: Clut.

Borello, Enrico, M.C. Luise, Laura Pederzoli, *et al.* 2016." Web 2.0, Language Learning and Intercultural Competence." *Open Access Library Journal*, 3: e2327, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1102327> (06/2020).

Biotti, Franco. 1994. "La verifica delle abilità di ascolto." In *Test d'ingresso di italiano per stranieri*, ed. by Paola Micheli, 19-26. Roma: Bonacci editore.

Buonocore, Mauro. 2005. "Media e democrazia, confronti europei." In *Giornali e tv negli anni di Berlusconi*, ed. by Giancarlo Bosetti, Mauro Buoncore, 33-73. Venezia: Marsilio.

Chomsky, Noam. 1994. *Il potere dei media*. Firenze: Vallecchi.

Ciari, Bruno. 1984. *Le nuove tecniche didattiche*, Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Chini, Marina, and Cristina Bosisio. 2015. *Fondamenti di glottodidattica, apprendere e insegnare le lingue oggi*. Roma: Carocci editore.

Conner, Marcia. 2009. "Informal Learning." <http://marciaconner.com/resources/informal- learning/> (06/2020).

Cook, Vivian. 2008. *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching*. London: Fourth Edition.

Coseriu, Eugenio. 1971. "Le stutture lessematiche." In *Teoria del Linguaggio e linguistica generale*, ed. by Eugenio Coseriu, 287-302. Bari: Laterza.

Coveri, Lorenzo, A.A. Benucci, e Pierangela Diadori. 1998. *Le varietà dell'italiano*. Roma: Bonnacci editore.

Cotroneo, Emanuela and Cristina Oddone. 2011. "Lo sfruttamento didattico del podcasting radiofonico per l'italiano e l'inglese come L2." In *Didamatica 2011, Atti del Convegno, Politecnico di Torino,* 4-6 maggio 2011, ed. by AA.VV. Torino: Politecnico di Torino. <https://358b81e8-a-62cb3a1a-s-sites. googlegroups.com/site/emanuelacotroneo/home/pubblicazioni/Full%2BPaper%2BODDONE.pd-f?attachauth=ANoY7cor_FBZuf34vnZ0ltasFVN-XqRvmqvLQuxHRNZE6IjP6ndNP1IH0MSnD-lY-ebaQL6Iwjk3ykID4F0rDal0w6T_ATrGSK4op7N5tLGq-JpiN-Is8X_IP6a9iOz7Su348-DkX-SSL-soC5AgpOUs0GmWBldMb8C5kFl9pRCgN5Rf6BtacwxgYwf4t63LK5V2ltikJgJVGBZQ8a-NfrvigXroawJixfky9eVKJTec8WE1Ez0uZKFeQfXT1i4njrE2qqSVQF22288&attredirects=0> (06/2020).

Diadori, Pierangela. 2007. "Le lingue in DVD: sottotitoli, doppiaggio e apprendimento della lingua straniera." In *Vedere per capire e parlare*, ed. by Mario Cardona, 85-105. Novara: Utet Università.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1963. *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1968. "Lingua parlata e tv." In *Televisione e vita italiana*, ed. by Francesco Alberoni, Mario Luzzato Fegiz, Giorgio Braga, Sergio Salaroli e Ferro Piludu, 247-294.Torino: ERI.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1969. *La lingua italiana e i dialetti*. Firenze: La nuova Italia.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1977. *Scuola e linguaggio. Questioni di educazione linguistica*, Roma: Editori riuniti.

De Mauro, Tullio. 2007. "Dieci tesi nel loro contesto storico: linguistica, pedagogia e politica tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta." In *Educazione linguistica democratica. A trent'anni dalle Dieci Tesi,* ed. by GISCEL. Milano: Franco Angeli.

De Mauro, Tullio. 2014. *Storia linguistica dell'Italia repubblicana dal 1946 ai nostri giorni*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

De Mauro, Tullio. 2015. *Rai, cultura e informazione*.< https://www.leurispes.it/focus-con-tullio-de-mau-ro-rai-cultura-e-informazione/> (06/2020).

De Mauro, Tullio. 2018. *L'educazione linguistica democratica*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Desideri, Paola. 2004. "Modulo 8, Competenza linguistica e competenza comunicativa; aspetti della pragmatica; atti linguistici." Università degli studi "G.D'Annunzio", <http://reteintegrazione. xoom.it/in_rete02/I%20materiali/mod_8_competenza_linguistica_comunicativa.pdf> (06/2020).

Eco, Umberto. 1983. *Sette anni di desiderio*. Roma: Officina.

EUR – Lex. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Al24226a> (06/2020).

Freddi, Giovanni. 1970. *Metodologia e didattica delle lingue straniere*. Bergamo: Minerva Italica.

GISCEL. 1975. *Dieci Tesi per l'educazione linguistica democratica*. <https://giscel.it/dieci-tesi-per-ledu-cazione-linguistica-democratica/> (06/2020).

Hymse, D.H. 1971. "On Communicative Competence." In *Sociolinguistics Selected Reading,* ed. by J.B. Pride, Janet Holmes, 269-293. Harmondswoth: Penguin.

Krashen, Stephen. 1982. *Principle and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Krashen, Stephen, and Beniko Mason. 2020. "The Optimal Input Hypothesis: Not All Comprehensi-ble Input is of Equal Value." *CATESOL* Newsletter, 1-2, <https://www.catesol.org/v_newsletters/ article_151329715.htm> (06/2020).

Maggini, Massimo, e Cassandro Martino. 2004. "Osservazione e valutazione di apprendenti stranieri in relazione ai livelli comuni di riferimento del Quadro comune europeo." In *Le tendenze innovative del Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue del portfolio – Atti del XII convegno nazionale ILSA* (Firenze, 18 ottobre 2003), ed. by Elisabetta Janfrancesco. Atene: Edilingua Formazione.

Mezzadri, Marco. 2004. "Utilizzo delle nuove tecnologie nella didattica dell'italiano L2: implicazioni metodologiche." In *Insegnamento e apprendimento dell'italiano L2 in età adulta*, ed. by Lucia Maddii, 153-161. Atene: Edilingua.

Monteleone, Franco. 2003. *Storia della radio e della televisione in Italia. Un secolo di costume, società e politica*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Murphy, David, Rob Walker and Graham Webb. 2001. *Online Learning and Teaching with Technology: Case Studies, Experience and Practice*. London: Kogan Page Ltd.

Pichiassi, Mauro. 1999. *Fondamenti di glottodidattica*. Perugia: Edizione Guerra.

Quercioli, Fiorenza. 2004. "La didattica modulare e per progetti nella prospettiva del Quadro comune europeo." In *Le tendenze innovative del Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue del portfolio – Atti del XII convegno nazionale ILSA* (Firenze, 18 ottobre 2003), ed. by Elisabetta Janfrancesco, 174-193. Atene: Edilingua Formazione.

Rai Cultura. <www.raicultura.it/speciali/scuola2020> (06/2020).

Raffaelli, Sergio. 1994. "Il parlato cinematografico e televisivo." In *Storia della lingua italiana. 2. Scritto e parlato,* ed. by Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone, 271-285. Torino: Einaudi.

Rampone, Silvana, e Calabrese Inmacolata, *L'uso della TV nella didattica*, <https://www.itcdantealighieri.edu.it/home25/phocadownload/Formazioneingresso/646.pdf> (06/2020).

Slagter, Peter. 1979. *Un nivel – umbral*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Thorne, Kaye. 2003. *Blended Learning: How to Integrate Online and Traditional Learning*. London: Kogan Page Ltd.

Vidoni Scaramuzza, Mariarosa. 1982. "L'uso della tv nell'insegnamento della lingua straniera." In *Didattica della lingua e lingue iberiche. Atti del convegno dell'Aquila 14-15 settembre 1981*, ed. by AISPI. Napoli: Tullio Pironti editore, <https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aispi/pdf/03/03_153.pdf 155-166> (06/2020).

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Il *blended learning* nella formazione per i dirigenti e gli insegnanti delle scuole secondarie in contesti multiculturali attuata dall'Università di Firenze

Maria Grazia Proli
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<mariagrazia.proli@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

This paper examines the implementation of e-learning and blended learning strategies in training programmes for teachers as an innovation in online learning. Indeed, blended learning is an approach to education that combines online educational materials with traditional place-based classroom methods. Referring to research literature, some of the characteristics of the above mentioned methods are here highlighted. Moreover, the training program for teachers and managers of secondary schools in multicultural contexts, financed by the FAMI National Program and implemented in blended learning mode at the University of Florence, is also presented.

Keywords: *blended learning, e-learning, FAMI, teachers, training*

1. Introduzione

La realtà attuale, definita dallo stato di emergenza sanitaria e dall'incertezza sul divenire delle società mondiali, richiama, ancora una volta, a una riflessione sulla complessità delle nuove sfide educative e sulle urgenze poste dalla contemporaneità. In questa prospettiva gli insegnanti rivestono un ruolo cruciale nel sostenere le esperienze d'apprendimento dei giovani e degli adulti, e sono attori chiave per lo sviluppo dei sistemi educativi in contesti scolastici eterogenei, e caratterizzati anche dagli intensi processi migratori e dalla crescente necessità di progettare nuove strategie di formazione a distanza. Masterman, nel 1985, aveva già evidenziato come i media possono essere considerati alternativamente strumenti per favorire gli apprendimenti (*educational technologies*) o l'oggetto stesso dell'apprendimento (*media education*). Con l'avvento del web 2.0 e delle comunità professionali, si è aggiunta una ulteriore dimensione media educativa, quella del formarsi "nei" media sostenuta dalle teorie sulla costruzione collaborativa e condivisa della conoscenza (Calvani, Biagioli, Maltinti, Menichetti e Micheletta 2013).

Il Consiglio dell'Unione Europea nelle *Conclusioni relative allo sviluppo della scuola e all'eccellenza nell'insegnamento*[1] (2017) sottolinea la necessità di rafforzare la professionalità docente tramite "il passaggio a una strategia globale per gli insegnanti che copra tutte le fasi della loro carriera professionale e tragga vantaggio dalla digitalizzazione nell'istruzione" nella prospettiva della crescita professionale permanente, anche attraverso un "rafforzamento della collaborazione mirata, di reti di apprendimento, di comunità online e di pratiche pedagogiche innovative tra insegnanti e dirigenti scolastici, coinvolgendo gli altri soggetti interessati" (3-4).

La professionalità docente svolge un ruolo centrale nel promuovere il potenziale umano dei soggetti in apprendimento e nel preparare le future generazioni alla cittadinanza attiva, in una cornice valoriale caratterizzata dall'inclusione e dall'interculturalità. In questa ottica, l'Unione Europea considera il ruolo dei docenti e la loro formazione iniziale e continua come elementi chiave per poter raggiungere il livello di eccellenza educativa auspicato. Lo sviluppo intensivo della società dell'informazione ha aumentato l'influenza delle Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) nei confronti del sistema di istruzione post-laurea, favorendo l'adattamento dell'intero sistema formativo ai cambiamenti in atto a livello globale. Quindi, l'introduzione delle nuove tecnologie nei processi educativi offre agli insegnanti la doppia opportunità di ripensare le pratiche di insegnamento/apprendimento e di continuare a formarsi in una dimensione che stimoli l'implementazione delle competenze, la riflessività e l'evoluzione professionale nella prospettiva dell'insegnante-ricercatore (Schön 1993 [1983]).

2. *L'*e-learning*: dalle FAD ai MOOCs*

L'*e-learning* non è un fenomeno univocamente definito e statico, bensì un insieme di metodologie e tecnologie in continua evoluzione (Ranieri 2005). Il costrutto della formazione a distanza mediata dalle tecnologie si è sviluppato seguendo le trasformazioni dei media avvenute, nel tempo, attraverso aggiustamenti e ridefinizioni lungo molteplici traiettorie, in un processo che Bolter e Grusin (2003) hanno definito come *re-mediation*. A questo proposito, Rivoltella (2017) parla di "mediamorfosi", un processo omogeneo all'interno del quale i media si susseguono rappresentando fasi diverse, senza discontinuità, in una progressiva e sempre maggior integrazione della tecnologia nella vita sociale e individuale dei soggetti, con il superamento dei luoghi e lo sganciamento della comunicazione dalla sua dipendenza dallo spazio. In altre parole, l'evoluzione storica e concettuale dell'*e-learning* evidenzia il ruolo del digitale nel passaggio dall'aula al Campus Virtuale.

La formazione a distanza di prima generazione (FAD) fu attuata prima per corrispondenza e attraverso il telefono, poi via cavo e satellite in un arco temporale esteso dai primi decenni dell'Ottocento fino agli anni Ottanta del Novecento, un lungo periodo in cui accanto all'innovazione tecnologica dei media crebbe costantemente la domanda di istruzione per l'intersecarsi di molteplici fattori storici e sociali, come l'evoluzione della società industriale o il diritto allo studio (Ferrari 2019).

La seconda generazione dell'*e-learning* si è sviluppata negli anni Novanta su modelli web based learning e online learning, sostenuti dall'avvento e dalla diffusione di Internet e dell'interattività con un cambiamento dello scenario formativo verso una educazione multimediale orientata ai soggetti in formazione e ai loro bisogni. Si ricordi anche che la Commissione Europea, nel *Libro bianco su istruzione e formazione*[2] (1995: 5), riconosceva fra i numerosi e

---

[1] <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/it/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX%3A52017XG1208%2801%29&qid=1521473411297&from=> (06/2020).

[2] <https://op.europa.eu/it/publication-detail/-/publication/d0a8aa7a-5311-4eee-904c-98fa541108d8> (06/2020).

complessi mutamenti che attraversavano la società europea in quel periodo, tre grandi tendenze e tre grandi fattori di cambiamento: "la mondializzazione degli scambi, la globalizzazione delle tecnologie e l'avvento della società dell'informazione". Nei primi anni Duemila con l'avvento del web 2.0 è possibile parlare anche di *e-learning* 2.0 (Bonaiuti 2006) e di CMC (*Computer Mediated Communication*) 2.0 con uno spostamento dell'attenzione "dalle tecnologie alle pratiche" in un contesto centrato sull'immediatezza dell'interazione, e la socialità in termini di produzione/condivisione di contenuti multimediali tra utenti (Ferrari e Rivoltella 2010).

La formazione online di terza generazione è quella attuale, ed è definita dal net learning che si configura come un sistema integrato di autoformazione, ricerca e consulenza, costruito da comunità di pratica che condividono passioni e risorse e offrono servizi di knowledge management, in cui l'obiettivo principale è quello di apprendere dal continuo scambio con l'ambiente reso possibile dall'evoluzione delle piattaforme digitali e dei processi CMC (Alessandrini 2014: 102).

C'è da aggiungere che gli ultimi decenni sono stati caratterizzati dalla ricerca di un complesso equilibrio tra apprendimento e tecnologia superando reciproche subalternità e giungendo ad una fase di rielaborazione e definizione di detto equilibrio.

Le nuove sfide poste dalla scuola multiculturale, maturate nello stesso periodo della vertiginosa evoluzione delle tecnologie digitali (la prima Circolare Ministeriale sull'inserimento degli alunni stranieri nelle classi italiane è del 1989),[3] esaltano l'agire formativo come processo volto alla trasformazione delle "informazioni/capacità" in "conoscenze/competenze", considerando le istituzioni preposte quali luoghi privilegiati che accolgono e promuovono tale processo anche attraverso un'innovazione dei modelli di progettazione, gestione e valutazione operata dalla tecnologia. La costruzione/rappresentazione di nuovi ambienti di apprendimento passa attraverso l'innovazione tecnologica dei linguaggi, dei mezzi e delle strategie (Baldassarre 1999).

Lo scenario attuale dell'*e-learning* è caratterizzato non solo dall'evoluzione delle tecnologie digitali, ma anche da un mutamento di prospettiva determinato dal *mobile learning* e dal *blended learning* (Ranieri e Pieri 2014), dove il soggetto in formazione diviene protagonista e autore di contenuti nella dimensione peer-to-peer. In questo orizzonte si possono collocare i MOOC (Massive Online Open Course), open course inseriti su piattaforme specifiche, aperti ad una fruizione libera priva di requisiti di accesso, senza limiti temporali, e non sottoposta a valutazione vincolante degli apprendimenti. I MOOC dal 2008 al 2014 sono cresciuti a ritmo esponenziale fino ad arrivare a 16-18 milioni di studenti e 400 università attive nella progettazione e nell'offerta dei corsi (Ferrari 2019: 105).

Una indagine sull'impiego delle ICT nella didattica universitaria commissionata nel 2013 dall'European University Association, mostrava un quadro della situazione europea dove l'80% degli Atenei coinvolti possedeva le infrastrutture tecnologiche, *Learning Management Systems* (LMS) e repository online, per offrire corsi in modalità *e-learning* e per fornire ai propri studenti

---

[3] Circolare Ministeriale 8 settembre 1989, n. 301, *Inserimento degli stranieri nella scuola dell'obbligo: promozione e coordinamento delle iniziative per l'esercizio del diritto allo studio.* <https://www.edscuola.it/archivio/norme/circolari/cm301_89.html> (06/2020). L'evoluzione della Rete, la diffusione delle nuove tecnologie e dei nuovi dispositivi mobili, hanno avuto, ed hanno tutt'ora, un ruolo fondamentale nelle modalità e nelle dimensioni dei flussi migratori che stano caratterizzando la realtà attuale a partire dagli ultimi decenni del XX secolo. La Circolare Ministeriale 24/2006, *Linee guida per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri,* sottolinea come il fenomeno dell'immigrazione sia considerato "un elemento costitutivo delle nostre società nelle quali sono sempre più numerosi gli individui appartenenti a diverse culture", e come l'integrazione degli immigrati nella società di accoglienza sia un processo dove il ruolo della scuola è primario. <https://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/normativa/2006/allegati/cm24_06all.pdf> (06/2020).

account di posta elettronica, accessi al Wi-Fi di Ateneo, laboratori informatici e librerie digitali. In relazione alle modalità di erogazione, il 91% degli atenei dichiarava di strutturare i corsi in modalità blended, mentre l'82% di essi prevedeva una modalità esclusivamente online. Le motivazioni fornite in merito a queste scelte sono state sia pedagogiche che economiche, e facevano riferimento a un crescente bisogno di flessibilità dei tempi e degli spazi della formazione, e ad un uso più efficace delle risorse nella logica di un apprendimento permanente volto a coinvolgere una sempre più variegata tipologia di studenti (Gaebel *et al.* 2014).

La modalità *blended learning*, a partire dai primi anni Duemila, rappresenta l'opportunità di integrare la modalità della didattica in presenza con quella online: ciò comporta l'introduzione delle ICT all'interno dei metodi di apprendimento tradizionali in combinazione con diverse modalità di insegnamento, fondendo le opportunità di socializzazione dell'aula "face to face" (F2F) con le possibilità di apprendimento assistito tecnologicamente dell'ambiente online. Tuttavia, *blended learning* non significa semplicemente inserire la tecnologia in un corso tradizionale, o utilizzare la tecnologia come add-on per insegnare un concetto difficile o fornire informazioni supplementari (Bonk and Graham 2006), ma rappresenta la possibilità di un "apprendimento ibridato" (Ferrari 2019, 107) che consente di superare le barriere spazio-temporali favorendo livelli più alti di interazione tra discente e formatore/insegnante, tra discente e contenuto, tra discente e interfaccia del corso. Il *blended learning*, inoltre, facilita lo sviluppo di diversi tipi di interazioni e di incontri tra i partecipanti (Graham, Allen and Ure 2005), offre alle comunità educative l'opportunità di personalizzare il proprio apprendimento utilizzando modalità di erogazione sincrona e asincrona per aumentare i livelli di interazione tra gli agenti coinvolti.

Lo sviluppo del web 2.0 in una dimensione crossmediale (Jenkins 2014 [2006]) ha modificato il modo di intendere l'*e-learning* considerando la Rete non come spazio tecnologico, ma come "spazio antropologico" (Lévy 2002, 220-221) dove è privilegiato l'apprendimento spontaneo e la possibilità di costruire connessioni che aprono l'accesso alle conoscenze (Siemens 2005). Il processo di costruzione e co-costruzione di saperi supera così il concetto di erogazione e distribuzione dei contenuti.

3. *La formazione* blended learning *nel Programma nazionale FAMI per gli insegnanti della scuola secondaria nei contesti multiculturali*

La formazione continua degli insegnanti della scuola secondaria è stata valorizzata dal Piano nazionale per la formazione in servizio dei docenti 2016/2019[4] attraverso un progetto formativo finanziato dall'Unione Europea con il "Fondo Asilo Migrazione Integrazione 2014-2020" (FAMI).[5] La formazione FAMI si è sviluppata in diverse fasi, ha coinvolto diversi attori istituzionali ed è stata rivolta alle istituzioni scolastiche che operano in contesti multiculturali e a forte complessità sociale sul territorio nazionale. Il Programma nazionale FAMI Obiettivo Specifico 2 (integrazione e migrazione legale) ha promosso attività formative specifiche nelle Università italiane nel periodo Marzo 2016/Marzo 2020. Nello specifico, il Progetto "Piano pluriennale di formazione per dirigenti, insegnanti e personale ATA nelle scuole ad alta incidenza di alunni stranieri"[6] ha avuto l'obiettivo di formare nell'intero territorio nazionale 1.000 dirigenti scolastici, 10.000 docenti e 2.000 unità di personale amministrativo, tecnico e ausiliario (ATA).

---

[4] <https://www.istruzione.it/piano_docenti/> (06/2020).
[5] <https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/fondi-europei/fondo-asilo-migrazione-e-integrazione-fami> (06/2020).
[6] <http://archivi.istruzioneer.it/emr/istruzioneer.it/2017/10/27/piano-pluriennale-di-formazione-per-dirigenti-i/index.html> (06/2020).

Una prima parte del Piano di Formazione, articolato in 4 assi, ha visto il Dipartimento FORLILPSI dell'Università di Firenze come istituzione erogatrice del Master in "Organizzazione e gestione delle Istituzioni scolastiche in contesti multiculturali" (a. a. 2016-2017) coordinato dalla prof.ssa R. Biagioli, al quale è seguita una seconda fase che ha riguardato l'attività di ricerca-azione a scuola attuata mediante l'offerta di un Corso di Aggiornamento professionale in "Organizzazione e gestione delle Istituzioni scolastiche in contesti multiculturali. Ricerca-azione Programma nazionale FAMI 2" (a. a. 2018-2019).

Il Programma nazionale FAMI ha voluto arricchire la professionalità dei dirigenti scolastici e degli insegnanti in servizio nelle scuole statali e paritarie di secondo grado, in relazione alla multiculturalità, e in questa prospettiva, sia il Master che il Corso di Aggiornamento professionale hanno focalizzato una serie di obiettivi specifici importanti per la professionalità docente nei contesti multiculturali:

a) favorire la formazione continua dei dirigenti scolastici e dei docenti rispetto alla gestione di contesti educativi multiculturali;

b) favorire lo sviluppo e il consolidamento delle competenze dei docenti nella gestione dei gruppi–classe e nell'utilizzo sempre più consapevole di una didattica multiculturale;

c) contribuire all'acquisizione di conoscenze e abilità specifiche nell'insegnamento dell'italiano come lingua seconda.

Tali obiettivi hanno permesso la diffusione di metodologie dialogiche e riflessive, utili alla comprensione e alla gestione del fenomeno migratorio nei contesti scolastici. In questa prospettiva i dirigenti scolastici e gli insegnanti in formazione sono stati riconosciuti quali figure chiave per la strutturazione di contesti educativi effettivamente inclusivi.

Il Master e il Corso di aggiornamento professionale sono stati erogati in modalità *blended learning* attraverso lezioni frontali in Università e attività *e-learning* inserite nella piattaforma Moodle e Lifelong Learning di Ateneo.

Il Master si è articolato in trentuno incontri in presenza (lezioni frontali, laboratori e tirocinio indiretto), centoquarantotto ore di attività *e-learning*, e due moduli di attività di ricerca-azione a scuola. La formazione *e-learning* prevedeva un ampio spazio dedicato alla distribuzione dei materiali di studio (*e-learning* erogativo) e un forum generale per la condivisione di indicazioni bibliografiche, sitografiche ed esperienze professionali dei docenti anche in riferimento alle attività di ricerca-azione e alle attività laboratoriali del Master.

Il forum ha favorito lo scambio e l'interazione tra i corsisti in merito alle diverse attività laboratoriali svolte in presenza; ha facilitato la condivisione di pratiche di didattica interculturale, di metodologie per la progettazione a carattere interdisciplinare e, inoltre, ha consentito la discussione di molti argomenti proposti che hanno riguardato il confronto sulle tematiche della multimedialità e sull'importanza delle ICT nella scuola contemporanea. Le ICT, infatti, possono facilitare le pratiche inclusive stimolando e motivando gli studenti ad approfondire il loro impegno nel processo di apprendimento di cui sono protagonisti, favorendo la consapevolezza dell'importanza di collaborare ad un progetto di crescita individuale e di gruppo orientato al divenire cittadini attivi. Le Raccomandazioni del Parlamento europeo del 2006, non a caso, fanno riferimento alla "competenza digitale" come a una delle competenze-chiave del nuovo millennio ed evidenziano, oltre alla dimensione tecnologica, l'importanza di acquisire una pratica del pensiero critico per cogliere autonomamente le istanze della realtà attuale, maturando capacità di autodeterminazione e competenza relazionale (Baldi 2018; Di Bari 2018).

Al termine del Master, è stato chiesto ai cento partecipanti, attraverso un questionario di gradimento, se l'attività di *e-learning* proposta risultava adeguata alle loro esigenze formative. Le risposte

sono state positive (82,22% soddisfatti e più che soddisfatti; 15,55% non pienamente soddisfatti; 2,22% insoddisfatti). Il potenziamento della modalità *blended learning* richiede, tuttavia, un potenziamento della classe virtuale per promuovere l'apprendimento collaborativo e la co-costruzione dei saperi. Un *blended learning* efficace deve promuovere connessioni e conversazioni, tracciare i percorsi di apprendimento, utilizzare le tecnologie in modo efficiente valorizzando il clima d'aula e prevedendo la possibilità di una riprogettazione in tempo reale (Ardizzone e Rivoltella 2003).

Il Corso di Aggiornamento professionale in "Organizzazione e gestione delle Istituzioni scolastiche in contesti multiculturali. Ricerca-azione Programma nazionale Fami 2" (a. a. 2018-2019) si è articolato attraverso una formazione in presenza incentrata sul tema della ricerca in educazione e sull'elaborazione del disegno di ricerca riferito ai contesti scolastici e una formazione *e-learning* inserita nella piattaforma d'Ateneo Lifelong Learning, con la finalità di costruire conoscenze condivise sui temi della ricerca educativa e delle emergenze derivate dai contesti, tramite una didattica inter-attiva. Inoltre, sono state effettuate 30 ore di attività di ricerca-azione all'interno delle scuole della rete di scopo, al termine delle quali gli insegnanti iscritti al Corso hanno redatto un Project work. La ricerca-azione ha favorito la prospettiva dell'insegnante-ricercatore che conosce in maniera approfondita e scientifica il contesto classe e lo trasforma progettando interventi migliorativi, controllando i processi e reiterandoli se necessario con revisioni e cambi di strategia.

Le attività *e-learning* si sono così articolate:
- un modulo dedicato alla distribuzione di contenuti (*e-learning* erogativo) con successivo test di verifica degli apprendimenti;
- la co-costruzione di un Glossario per il controllo della comprensione dei testi di riferimento;
- la realizzazione e la condivisione di un Database bibliografico e sitografico dedicato ad argomenti utili al progetto di ricerca-azione;
- l'animazione di un Forum per favorire la consultazione tra pari, lo scambio di pratiche, metodologie e strumenti.

Il risultato delle attività *e-learning* svolte è illustrato nella seguente tabella:

Glossario	Bibliografia condivisa	Forum
I Corsisti hanno creato un glossario dedicato ai termini propri della ricerca in educazione per verificare la loro comprensione dei testi di riferimento e per attivarsi nella ricerca bibliografica individuale.	I Corsisti hanno partecipato attivamente alla realizzazione di un database di indicazioni bibliografiche, link a siti e pagine web dedicate ad argomenti utili al progetto di ricerca-azione da svolgere nelle loro classi.	I Corsisti hanno animato il Forum del Corso confrontandosi su temi e argomenti relativi alla ricerca proposti sia dai Docenti universitari che dai Corsisti stessi.
N. partecipanti 50 Voci elaborate n. 232 Totale accessi al database 1.416	N. partecipanti 50 Record elaborati 232 Totale accessi al database 2.131	N. partecipanti 50 Totale discussioni 106 Post pubblicati 145 Totale visualizzazioni 2.765

Tabella 1. Risultati delle attività online

Dalla lettura dei post pubblicati dagli insegnanti nel forum generale del Corso, è emerso l'interesse diffuso a condividere pratiche, metodologie, strumenti conosciuti e sperimentati nell'agire educativo individuale che sono stati poi recepiti e trasferiti nella ricerca-azione effettuata in classe da ogni insegnante, ed inseriti nella "cassetta degli attrezzi" o tool-box personale. Gli

argomenti di discussione maggiormente affrontati nel forum hanno riguardato l'insegnamento dell'italiano L2 in relazione alle tematiche dell'inclusione, la cittadinanza attiva e l'empatia come modalità efficaci per costruire relazioni all'interno della classe, e la metodologia narrativa indicata dagli insegnanti come mezzo efficace per sviluppare negli studenti la consapevolezza di sé e l'inclusione nel gruppo classe. A questo proposito, si evidenzia il costante interesse che la "didattica scolastica" rivolge alle metodologie narrative e alla ricerca autobiografica, considerando il "pensiero narrativo" come un mezzo "per comprendere le modalità conoscitive dei soggetti e i diversi modi di rapportarsi al mondo dandogli un significato" (Biagioli 2015: 99-100).

4. Conclusioni

L'implementazione della strategia blended nella formazione degli insegnanti in servizio favorisce processi di apprendimento flessibili e orientati alla persona. Il *blended learning* non è il semplice accostamento della didattica in presenza e online, ma rappresenta la possibilità di formarsi in contesti caratterizzati da una forte sinergia tra media, strumenti, metodologie, relazioni e cooperazioni, in un ambiente definito dall'interazione tra aule reali e virtuali, e tra soggetti in formazione.

Il *blended learning* facilita l'uso di molteplici strumenti digitali e fonti online per produrre e distribuire contenuti, e per ottimizzare i tempi di apprendimento; offre, inoltre, la combinazione di vari modelli di interazione sociale in uno scenario sincrono/asincrono che soddisfa diverse esigenze e stili di apprendimento promuovendo il cooperative learning. Nella formazione degli insegnanti, il *blended learning* si misura con la necessità di progettare un modello didattico teoricamente valido, che preveda un'assistenza costante allo sviluppo del corso, e una seria riflessione sulla valutazione formativa e sommativa (Byrka 2017). Un altro aspetto importante da considerare è la personalizzazione dei materiali didattici in riferimento ai soggetti in formazione.

La strategia blended, ormai estesa a molti scenari formativi, richiede, tuttavia, maggiori competenze rispetto alla formazione in presenza: le sfide principali in questo caso riguardano il raggiungimento di un livello adeguato di competenze digitali, di autoformazione e autogestione, per cui è auspicabile, soprattutto per gli insegnanti in servizio, la partecipazione ad attività di potenziamento.

Riferimenti bibliografici

Alessandrini, Giuditta. 2014. *Comunità di pratica e società della conoscenza*. Roma: Carocci.
Ardizzone, Paolo, e P.C. Rivoltella. 2003. *Didattiche per l'e-learning. Metodi e strumenti per l'innovazione dell'insegnamento universitario*. Roma: Carocci.
Baldassarre, V.A. 1999. "Tecnologie e apprendimento." In *Tecnologie dell'istruzione,* a cura di V.A.Baldassarre, Onofrio Arpino, Beatrice Ligorio, *et al.*, 114-135. Brescia: Editrice La Scuola.
Baldi, Benedetta. 2018. *Opinione immediata. Opinione pubblica, post-verità e altre menzogne*. Ospedaletto-Pisa: Pacini Editore.
Biagioli, Raffaella. 2015. *I significati pedagogici della scrittura e del racconto di sé.* Napoli: Liguori.
Bonaiuti, Giovanni. 2006. *E-learning 2.0. Il futuro dell'apprendimento in rete, tra formale e informale.* Trento: Erickson.
Bolter, J.D., e Richard Grusin. 2003. *Remediation. Competizione e integrazione tra vecchi e nuovi media.* Milano: Guerini e Associati.
Bonk, C.J., and C.R. Graham. 2006. *The Handbook of Blended Learning Environments: Global Perspectives, Local Designs.* San Francisco: Pfeiffer Publishing.
Byrka, Marian. 2017. "Blended Learning Strategy in Teacher Training Programs." *Information Technologies and Learning Tools* 62, 6: 216-224.

Calvani, Antonio, Raffaella Biagioli, Carla Maltinti *et al.* 2013. "Formarsi nei media: nuovi scenari per la formazione dei maestri in una società digitale." *CQIA Rivista. Formazione-lavoro-persona* 8: 1-17.

Circolare Ministeriale 8 settembre 1989, n. 301. *Inserimento degli stranieri nella scuola dell'obbligo: promozione e coordinamento delle iniziative per l'esercizio del diritto allo studio*, <https://www.edscuola. it/archivio/norme/circolari/cm301_89.html> (06/2020).

Circolare Ministeriale. 2006. *Linee guida per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri*, 24, 1 marzo, <https://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/normativa/2006/allegati/cm24_06all.pdf> (06/2020).

Commissione Europea. 1995. *Libro Bianco sul futuro dell'Europa*, <https://op.europa.eu/it/publication-detail/-/publication/d0a8aa7a-5311-4eee-904c-98fa541108d8> (06/2020).

Consiglio dell'Unione Europea. 2017. *Conclusioni relative allo sviluppo della scuola e all'eccellenza nell'insegnamento*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/it/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX%3A5201 7XG1208%2801%29&qid=1521473411297&from=> (06/2020).

Di Bari, Cosimo. 2018. "Pedagogia dei media". In *Pedagogia generale. Identità, percorsi funzione*, a cura di Alessandro Mariani, Franco Cambi, Marco Gioiosi *et al.*, 197-201. Roma: Carocci.

Ferrari, Simona. 2019. "Mediamorfosi dell'e-learning." In *Tecnologie per l'educazione,* a cura di P.C. Rivoltella, Giuseppe Rossi, 94-109. Milano-Torino: Pearson Italia.

Ferrari, Simona, e P.C. Rivoltella. 2010. *Tecnologie, Formazione, professioni. Idee e tecniche per l'innovazione.* Milano: Unicopli.

Fondo Asilo Migrazione Integrazione (FAMI). 2014-2020. <https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/ immigrazione-e-asilo/fondi-europei/fondo-asilo-migrazione-e-integrazione-fami> (06/2020).

Gaebel, Michael, Veronika Kupriyanova, Rita Morais *et al.* 2014. *E-Learning in European Higher Education Institutions: Results of a Mapping Survey Conducted in October-December 2013.* Brussels: European University.

Graham, C.R., Stephanie Allen, and Donna Ure. 2005. "Benefits and Challenges of Blended Learning Environments." *Encyclopedia of Information Science and Technology*: 253-259. Hershey: IGI Global.

Jenkins, Henry. 2014 [2006]. *Cultura convergente*. Milano: Apogeo.

Lévy, Paul. 2002. *L'intelligenza collettiva. Per un'antropologia del cyberspazio*. Milano: Feltrinelli.

Masterman, Len. 1985. *Teaching the Media.* London: Comedia.

Piano nazionale per la formazione in servizio dei docenti 2016/2019. <https://www.istruzione.it/ piano_docenti/> (06/2020).

Piano pluriennale di formazione per dirigenti, insegnanti e personale ATA nelle scuole ad alta incidenza di alunni stranieri. 2017. <http://archivi.istruzioneer.it/emr/istruzioneer.it/2017/10/27/piano-pluriennale-di-formazione-per-dirigenti-i/index.html> (06/2020).

Ranieri, Maria. 2005. *E-learning: modelli e strategie didattiche*. Trento: Erickson.

Ranieri, Maria, e Michele Pieri. 2014. *Mobile Learning. Dimensioni teoriche, modelli didattici, scenari applicativi*. Milano: Unicopli.

Rivoltella, P.C. 2017. *Tecnologie di comunità*. Brescia: La Scuola.

Schön, D.A. 1993 [1983]. *Il professionista riflessivo. Per una nuova epistemologia della pratica professionale*. Bari: Dedalo.

Siemens, George. 2005. "Connectivism: A learning theory for the digital age." *International Journal of Instructional Technology & Distance Learning*, <http://www.itdl.org/Journal/Jan_05/article01.htm> (06/2020).

ELF pedagogy and awareness: an action research applied to Italian tertiary students in ELF *Skype* interactions

Antonio Taglialatela, Giulia Tardi*
Università degli Studi della Tuscia (<taglialatela@unitus.it>)
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<giulia.tardi@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

English today is the language of global communication and has gradually developed into a number of varieties shaped by speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds. This contribution discusses action research applied in an English language classroom of Italian and Spanish tertiary students with the purpose of exploring the open question of the legitimation of a less prescriptive, but more pragmatic, *pedagogical space*, where the teaching objective is constituted by the adoption of ELF-informed practices to foster learners' ELF-awareness and confidence as intercultural speakers. From a pedagogical perspective, this contribution also encourages teachers to challenge the traditional WE teaching paradigm through an ELF-aware approach.

Keywords: *action research, ELF awareness, ELF pedagogy, intercultural speaker, pedagogical space*

1. Introduction

This work deals with action research (AR) in a language classroom aiming to explore the open question of the legitimation of a pedagogical space for English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the English classroom. We draw on conceptualisations of ELF as a contact language and communication tool to help learners further develop and use "their own English" (Kohn 2011: 89) for communication purposes in ELF situations. Through ELF related activities based on *Skype* interactions, we have attempted

---

*This work is the result of a collaboration of the authors in all respects. However, Antonio Taglialatela is responsible for sections 2, 5 and 6; Giulia Tardi for sections 3 and 7. Sections in common: 1, 4 and 8.

to make students understand how ELF works, making them explorers of the diversity and plurality of ELF communication and helping them to strategically and consciously join the global practice of communication using English (Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey, *et al.* 2018).

The article is structured as follows:

- Section 2 reviews the area of focus, i.e. ELF, and the developments in English language teaching in response to the changing needs of learners that mark a "paradigm shift" from conventional English teaching as a foreign language (EFL) and learning models;
- Section 3 examines the concepts of intercultural communicative competence and plurilingualism and the overlapping features of the "intercultural speaker" and the "lingua franca speaker";
- Section 4 defines the type of students involved in the investigation, and the actions and methods adopted for the data collection;
- Section 5 analyses the data collected;
- Sections 6 specifies the evidence emerging from the AR;
- Section 7 illustrates how to work with and within ELF with a holistic, emically- and interactionally-oriented approach;
- Section 8 discusses the overall findings of the AR.

2. ELF and the teaching scenario

English today does not only belong to Inner Circle countries, where English functions mostly as a first language, but also to any individual who is a proficient user in this language regardless of their bilingual status (Graddol 2006). On this basis, it is necessary to re-think its function across the curriculum as it seems no longer to be a foreign language as it used to be within the traditional World Englishes (WE) paradigm elaborated by Kachru (1985). Within this paradigm, English language teaching and learning complied with a native-speaker model, which has been progressively reconceptualised (Bachmann 1990; Firth and Wagner [1997] 2007; Kramsch 1998a; Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001; Kiczkowiak and Lowe 2018).

This implies considerable changes to the reasons why English is learned, because the way English is taught and assessed is to necessarily take into account the needs and aspirations of a growing number of non-native speakers (NNS) who use it to communicate with other NNS, and whose language skills may not reflect those of a native speaker (NS). In fact, a recent study conducted by Kiczkowiak and Lowe (2018) revealed that more than 80% of language interactions in the world occur among different L1 speakers[1].

In this respect, Jenkins (2000, 2002, 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2004, 2011) paid attention to the intelligibility of English rather than accuracy in intercultural communication and, in so doing, they laid the theoretical foundations of the English Lingua Franca (ELF) learning paradigm (see Pakir 2009) which constitutes a goal which many teachers may start to look at. ELF is a language that all speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds utilise for cross-cultural communication purposes (see Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins [2003] 2010, 2012; Cogo 2016). Jenkins ([2003] 2010: 40), in particular, stresses that "to the extent that English is the "global lingua franca" it is neither to the advantage of its native speakers nor controlled by them". An ELF-informed approach, therefore, shifts from the assumption of English as

---

[1] Another survey reports that there are 378 million NS and 743 million NNS in the world <https://lemongrad.com/english-language-statistics/> (06/2020).

a foreign language to the awareness of English as a commodity for communication among different L1 speakers, that is, "a contact language" in Firth's words (1996: 240). From this viewpoint, English is no longer exclusive to NS (Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 2004; 2011), due to its role as "a lingua franca [that] has no native speakers" by definition (Seidlhofer 2004: 211). The majority of English teachers are NNS. A broader didactic perspective thus is now required in which also NNS can be considered legitimate owners of the language, and teaching and learning assessment should consider this point. Although many teachers believe that such a didactic approach is somewhat questionable (Seidlhofer 2011; Weber 2013), it is important to pinpoint that each teacher has the opportunity to adjust a lesson's content and their didactic approach to the real learning needs of the class. To this end, teachers should consider ELF as an integral and legitimate part of English language teaching (Hall, Wicaksono, Liu *et al.* 2013; Dewey 2012, 2014; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Sifakis 2014, 2019; Vettorel 2015), broadening their teaching to reflective practices which may guide students towards a conscious use of strategies and processes that encompass their entire linguistic repertoire (Sifakis 2014; 2019).

In her volume *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, Jenkins (2000) proposes the *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) which is a set of pronunciation features enabling ELF speakers to communicate successfully with other ELF speakers. She seeks to re-define and re-classify pronunciation errors and, in so doing, to embrace the sociolinguistic facts of regional variation. The proposal recognises the rights of NNS to their own legitimate regional accents rather than regarding deviation from NS pronunciation norms as an "error". As a matter of fact, in this contribution, we refer to ELF "deviations" from the norm rather than "errors" or "mistakes".[2] It is worth remembering that Jenkins's principles are also intended for the creation of programmes and assessment materials.

One criticism of the LFC is that it promotes and justifies any deviation from the norm in a non-native speaker, but in practice, it merely describes when a deviation is functional for communication. The LFC is proposed to respond to the need of intelligibility while facilitating the learning procedure. Therefore, it helps in understanding the view that ELF speakers develop their own skills to communicate internationally, such as the ability to adapt their language competences to their interlocutor.

Moving in the same direction, Seidlhofer (2001; 2005b) lists a series of lexico-grammatical features which are not problematic for intercultural communication, such as the lack of third-person singular present tense *-s* marking, the pluralisation of Standard English non-count nouns (*advices, informations, knowledges,* etc.), the omission of the auxiliary *do/did* in questions, the use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which* interchangeably in place of *who* for humans and *which* for non-humans (as in *things who* and *people which*), the uses of certain verbs with semantic generality to cover more meanings than in Standard English, especially *make*, but also *do, have, put, take*, the use of a uniform, invariable tag (usually *isn't it*, but also others, e.g. *no?*), etc. The tendency of ELF speakers is to exploit regularities that are in principle possible in the language system, but not recognised as correct in Standard English.

This complex scenario calls for a redefinition of the pedagogy of English and the exploration of a "pedagogical space" for ELF in the English classroom where deviation from the norm is generally accepted for communication purposes, as Kohn (2015) points out.

---

[2] For a detailed distinction between "error" and "mistake", see Iyere (2013).

3. Towards the intercultural speaker through ELF-awareness

Since Chomsky's generative linguistics, the concept of competence has been theorised by focusing on linguistic competence and claiming that any consideration of social factors is outside the domain of linguistics. It was considered as an innate biological endowment with a language acquisition device and knowledge characterising a native speaker-listener of a particular language (Chomsky 1957, 1965). Reactions to this purist theory began to flourish with Hymes (1967, 1972) drawing from anthropology to redefine the concept of competence. Hymes argued that, in addition to acquiring a grammatical system or linguistic competence, learners also need notions of sociolinguistic competence, "competence as to when to speak, when no, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (1972: 60), namely a communicative competence.

Since then, the concept of communicative competence has attracted significant attention and has been reconceptualised over the years (see Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983; Bachman 1990; Bachman and Palmer 1996; Celce-Murcia 1995; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurell 1995; Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000 for a historical perspective), shifting from the native speaker model and recognising the importance of the use of the language in social contexts, also referred to as pragmatics.

To ensure distance from "the native speaker" (NS) as a model for communicative competence, Byram and Zarate in the mid-1990s coined the phrase "intercultural speaker" (Byram 2008, 2009)[3] seen as "someone who has an ability to interact with others, to accept other perspectives and perceptions of the world, to mediate between different perspectives to be conscious of their evaluations of difference" (Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001: 5). In Byram's model (1997), which is grounded in foreign language teaching, the intercultural speaker, is defined as one who can appropriately and effectively mediate between world of origin and world of encountered difference. Such capability to establish, mediate and maintain relationships with individuals from a different culture – aka "intercultural communicative competence" (ICC) – is made up of communicative competence and intercultural competence. Communicative competence consists of linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competences. Intercultural competence consists of three components – knowledge, skills and attitudes – and is supplemented by five values: intercultural attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, and critical cultural awareness (Byram Gribkova, and Starkey 2002: 11-13).

The value of the concept of the "intercultural speaker" was noted by Kramsch (1998: 27b):

> In the increasingly grey zones of our multilingual, multicultural societies, the dichotomy between native versus non-native speakers has outlived its use. Both native speakers and non-native speakers potentially belong to several speech communities of which they are the more or less recognized, more or less unrecognized members. Instead of a pedagogy oriented toward the native speaker, then, we may want to devise a pedagogy oriented toward the intercultural speaker.

Byram's model of ICC is one of the most influential and it is endorsed by many important educational organisations around the world (CoE 2001; UNESCO 2009). Due to the spread of English as a commonly shared code of communication among people with different lingua-cultural backgrounds, the ICC has been integrated into English language teaching.

---

[3] The phrase "intercultural speaker" was coined in a working paper on the assessment of socio-cultural competence drafted for the group involved in the preparation of what later became the CEFR (2001).

The notion of "intercultural speaker" as someone mediating and negotiating between their own and other cultures is also particularly relevant for ELF users, who are by definition bi- or multilingual/cultural speakers, and the "intercultural speaker" and the "lingua franca speaker" have overlapping features.

Byram contemplates three possible scenarios of intercultural communication or interaction, between: 1. people of different languages and countries where one is a native speaker of the language used; 2. people of different languages and countries where the language used is a lingua franca; and 3. people from the same country but with different languages, one of whom is a native speaker of the language used (1997: 22). When communicating with speakers of other languages, foreign language learners require a competence that combines both linguistic and socio-cultural skills to suit the context of communication. When communication occurs in a lingua franca, at least three cultures are involved in the interaction: the culture of each interlocutor and the culture of the lingua franca (Willems 1996). Therefore, foreign language teaching must move from a communicative approach to an intercultural communicative approach where the goal is trying to mediate and connect the native language and culture with the new language and culture, creating, as House points out, "something new and autonomous in-between, hybrid, third way" (2007: 15).

According to Vettorel (2010: 13), two intertwining factors have increasing importance and impact in the scenario of language learning and teaching in Europe: on the one hand, the existence of multilingualism in the societies of European countries; on the other hand, the spread of English as a global language, and its role as lingua franca (ELF) among speakers of different mother tongues. European policy responses to multilingualism – intended as the presence of more than one "variety of language" – go not only towards the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of languages and cultures, postulating that multilingualism and multiculturalism do not only consist of merely placing different communities side by side (CoE 2007). The Council of Europe and its member states have taken the position that the promotion of linguistic diversity through plurilingualism as the principle and goal of citizenship, language and personal education, as a way of living together, as an educational value, is the basis for the positive acceptance of diversity (CoE 2007). In this sense, "plurilingualism" considers languages not as "objects" but from the point of view of those who speak them: the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use.[4]

Plurilingual and pluricultural competences, not seen as a "superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences" (CoE 2001: 168), do not imply a quantitative approach aiming at proficiency in "as many languages as possible", but they are complex and composite competences on which the user may draw, referring "to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures" (*ibidem*).

The concepts mentioned above take into account the emergent realistic goal of intercultural communicative competence achieved through plurilingualism:

---

[4] Although the CoE states a conceptual difference between multilingualism and plurilingualism, multilingualism is the most commonly used term in English, as it shares some characteristics with plurilingualism. In this paper, however, we will maintain the distinction between the two terms.

Inter, an indicator of relationship and not of simple juxtaposition, oscillates between the bi and / pluri modes: while the concept of interlanguage is governed by duality, the intercultural concept operates sometimes in the mode of "two" (relations between two cultures or existence of a mixed culture, or appearance of a stage in-between), and sometimes in the "more than two" mode (interception, inter-penetration, interference or inter-construction and inter-definition of several cultures). (Coste, Moore and Zarate 2009: 10)

The focus on plurilingualism has important implications for language teaching, showing that speakers and learners use their plurilingual resources across languages, and this opens up possibilities to learn languages in a more efficient way because some languages can act as "connected growers" (Cenoz and Gorter 2013, 2014). According to Cummins' "Interdependence Hypothesis" (1979, 2007), there are no separate competences between the development of L1 and L2 skills, instead, there is a "Common Underlying Proficiency". Consequently, provided that sufficient exposure and motivation are there, a transfer of proficiency across languages can occur.

Plurilingual teaching practices adopt a holistic plurilingual perspective and soften boundaries between languages (see, e.g., Coste and Simon 2009; Cenoz and Gorter 2011). Such a perspective involves all the languages and plurilingual discursive practices of speakers, drawing on learners' metalinguistic awareness and experiences.

An ELF-aware approach, which is inclusive in terms of the lingua-cultural heterogeneity of ELF speakers, implies the introduction into language education of reflective practices that guide learners towards the awareness of processes and strategies that involve the entire linguistic repertoire and, in particular, as stated by Sifakis (2019):

Awareness of language and language use relates to discourse and elements that differentiate ELF from native-speakers' English concerning syntactic, morphological, lexical, phonological, pragmatic and sociocultural features; the processes of languaging and translanguaging and one's own perceptions about normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English;

Awareness of instructional practice refers to teacher practice, what they do (and not to do) in the classroom, their theories about instruction, perceptions and attitudes about the notion of error and normativity and feedback. Other forms of this kind of awareness involve textbook and policy-related instructional practice;

Awareness of learning concerns the impact that ELF use has on learning. Learners attending typical EFL courses are users of ELF – in day-to-day, face-to-face, online or offline interactions – and these experiences play an important role in their learning. These experiences must be acknowledged by teachers, textbooks, testers and policy makers.

An ELF-aware approach highlights how learners relate the languages in their repertoire to each other when speaking or learning English as an additional language and when they use their languages in a social context. This represents an opportunity to accelerate a learning process by using plurilingualism as a resource to set realistic and attainable goals, employing learners' plurilingual repertoire as a resource (Cenoz and Gorter 2013).

4. The action research: subjects, actions, data-gathering methods

According to Mills (2000), action research (AR) is an inquiry made by teachers to gather information, and subsequently improve the ways their particular educational setting functions, how they teach, and to what extent their students learn. Despite there being many models, action research is fundamentally about taking an action and systematically observing what

follows in a cyclic process of *planning*, *action*, *observation* and *reflection* (Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon 2014).

The focus of our AR was to explore the question of the legitimation of a less prescriptive – and more pragmatic – pedagogical space for ELF, where the objectives are to adopt an ELF-informed approach and foster ELF-awareness with a view to encouraging learners' confidence as intercultural speakers.

Our AR involved a group of Italian post-graduate EFL learners in *Skype* interactions with a group of Spanish peers.

The main issues we dealt with were:

1) verifying which deviations occurred most frequently when the Italian learners interacted in ELF situations and determining whether these are in line with the literature on the subject (Jenkins 2000, 2002; Seidlhofer 2005b; Cogo and Dewey 2006) to detect which lexico-grammatical and pragmatic features are not problematic in terms of intercultural communication (Jenkins 2000, 2002; Seidlhofer 2001, 2004, 2005b, 2009b, 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2006);

2) through practical experiences of an ELF context, guiding learners towards language awareness, language use and learning (Sifakis 2019) with the purpose of encouraging an enthusiastic attitude towards plurilingualism and intercultural communicative competence.

Our methods of data-gathering were observing and "recording" what learners do, reviewing deviations from the norm, and asking students for their views and opinions.

Observation included other-observation (teacher's observations of participants), self-observation (students' own behaviour, actions, and interactions) and peer-observation (by and with teaching and research colleagues, e.g., an English teacher at the University of Valencia).

4.1 Subjects involved in the AR

This study focuses on two groups of tertiary students. The first group consisted of 46 Italian students – 31 BA graduates and 15 MA graduates from different fields of study – aged 21-30 with an average B1+ level of English following a post-graduate (PG) course in *Tourism and Hospitality Management* at Parthenope University of Naples in the second semester of academic years 2015-2016, 2016-2017 and 2017-2018. A grammar test (A1-C1) and an interview concerning their expectations from the course proved their level of proficiency. The second group included 43 Spanish BA graduates aged 21-25 enrolled on a similar PG course at a partner university, the University of Valencia. At both universities, each PG course included a 60-hour English module. The observations were conducted during their *Skype* interactions and concentrated on the Italian students' interactional production in an ELF situation, though a contrastive analysis with the Spanish students' replies was sometimes necessary.

The English lessons were integrated with the *Skype* activities to expose students to "real" ELF situations where the negotiation of meaning for mutual understanding becomes crucial in terms of students' intercultural awareness. This negotiation implies deviations from the norm that teachers should not regard as incorrect, but acknowledge as useful for the purpose of communication. Therefore, in-class language focus plus discussion followed the chat sessions. In fact, as these students were supposedly going to operate across international contexts as well as manage the competitive dynamics of tourism businesses and the differentiated needs of diverse clients, ELF-awareness is the key to communicating on a global scale.

4.2 Actions and data-gathering methods

The *Skype* interactions were arranged around written chats of couples of students (one Italian and one Spanish) via *Skype* for up to 30 minutes across 4 weeks. All chats were preceded by pre-task activities to give participants linguistic support for the interaction. Even considering the peculiarities of *Skype* when developing the tasks we are going to describe below, the reflections we made can be generalised and adjusted to different online environments. In our contribution, we use the term "task" to refer to the *Skype* sessions that were preceded by preparatory "pre-task" activities and followed by "post-task" reflective activities (Figure 1), such as in-class discussions with the English teacher and fellow students. This concept of task cycle stems from Leaver and Willis's (2004) study and was applied to all the tasks in the three stages at operational, intercultural and critical levels, which will be described in section 6.
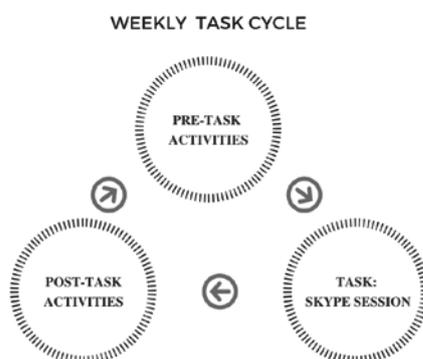
Figure 1. Weekly task cycle for the Italian-Spanish student *Skype* sessions

The tasks were basically aimed at student presentations of themselves, of their study paths and their past or expected work experience, and of their respective cultures, etc. Each student was asked to save and hand to the teacher the relevant transcripts at the end of their chat sessions.

We adopted a blended approach, i.e., a combination of online environment, which offered an experiential learning space at intercultural level, and face-to-face attendance, where the teacher provided constant scaffolding and guided learners towards critical reflection (see Guth and Helm 2012: 42). After initial familiarisation with the *Skype* tool and the virtual space, particularly useful for those who were not accustomed to it, the interactants were asked collectively to prepare questions for their first interview, so as to get to know their Spanish peers. This gave them some linguistic preparation for the task proper.

Following the interviews, students shared their initial impressions in the classroom and then reflected on their learning. For all of them, this virtual exchange was their very first. To prepare for synchronous discussion, they were asked to focus on a topic to deal with during their chat sessions, though occasional digressions occurred. In so doing, interactants could prepare themselves linguistically.

5. PaVa corpus: analysing and interpreting the data

The transcripts built a corpus, named PaVa, which consists of 368 texts (IT+SP students) with 292,137 running words extracted through *AntConc Concordancer*.[5] We adopted a *corpus-driven* approach, that is to say, we grounded our analysis in the wordlist obtained because, as Murphy (2012: 55) contends, "starting from wordlists is a typical technique in a bottom-up approach to language analysis, which may appear to be initially arid. However, it enables researchers to ground their observations in data, before making an interpretation". The features that emerged from the corpus were verified, qualitatively classified in context and selected for in-class discussion. Some of the most representative examples with reference to lexico-grammatical, syntactic, semantic (occasionally) and pragmatic communicative strategies are analysed in this contribution.

After introducing the two main corpora available today for the study of the multiple facets of ELF (see 5.1), the data we collected are analysed and interpreted (see 5.2). Deviations are analysed and discussed in the following sub-sections 5.3 and 5.4: the first one pertains to the most common deviations from the norm of the Italian students in terms of ELF lexico-grammatical and syntactic features, while the second one includes their pragmatic strategies in the co-construction of meaning. The lexico-grammatical issues, in particular, also include some expressions with L1 semantic interference with English. The latter, in fact, did not emerge from the corpus analysis as a problematic area of communication, and where issues with L1 interference occurred, these where immediately negotiated and resolved by the participants.

5.1 ELF and corpora

The study of ELF interactions is supported by the availability of two leading corpora: the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE) and the *Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings* (ELFA). The VOICE corpus was compiled at the Department of English at the University of Vienna and constitutes a reservoire of over one million words recorded during ELF interactions over a wide range of different domains and situations[6]. The ELFA corpus, on the other hand, is the result of a project led by the University of Helsinki with the partnership of other Finnish universities and includes one million words of spoken academic English as a lingua franca across a number of disciplinary domains (e.g. social sciences, technology, medicine, economics and finance, etc.) and undergoes regular updates[7].

The results reported in this contribution are in line with the deviations from the norm found in the VOICE corpus. We have not considered the ELFA corpus, as it deals solely with ELF features encountered within academic settings. In fact, while on the one hand, our investigation focuses on tertiary students attending a post-graduate course, on the other hand, their interactions cover different aspects of their daily life, these taking distance from a peculiar academic ELF. Nevertheless, some deviations from the norm occur in both corpora.

---

[5] AntConc Concordancer. <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/> (06/2020).

[6] VOICE, 2013. The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus. Director: Barbara Seidlhofer, <http://www.voice.univie.ac.at> (06/2020).

[7] ELFA, 2008. The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. Director: Anna Mauranen. <http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/> (06/2020).

5.2 Data analysis and interpretation

The Italian students demonstrated similar deviations when writing in English. Issues in communication arose mainly due to the students' inability to recognise their *L1 → ELF transfer* process in certain circumstances. Such a process is triggered when NNS unconsciously "transfer" their innate logical, lexical, semantic, textual and pragmatic structures from their native languages (L1) into their uses of English as a second or foreign language.

Many of the examples considered in this study have an issue mainly with grammar and syntax, and less frequently with semantics and pragmatics. Pragmatic competences served strategically for their co-construction of meaning. As for the lexico-grammatical features, some of the main problems encountered stem, in no particular order, from the lack of distinction between countable and uncountable nouns (e.g. *evidences*, *informations*, *moneys*, *news*), by the lack of the auxiliary *do/does/did* in questions, by the repetition of words with a high level of semantic generality (*do*, *get*, *make* and *put*), by the incorrect use of verbs like *make* and *take*, by the misuse of *for* in the present perfect tense, by the occurrence of zero marking in the present simple and by the misuse of the pronouns *who* and *which* (Table 1).

TYPES OF DEVIATION FROM THE NORM	IT	SP	TOT
1. Overall no. of verbs with semantic generality used incorrectly (*do, get, make* and *put*)	221	188	409
2. Overall no. of non-count nouns used as count-nouns	167	148	315
3. Lack of *do/does/did*	**125**	**166**	291
4. Use of *from* instead of *for* with present perfect	144	129	273
5. Zero marking with present simple	**119**	**151**	270
6. Issues with collocation (*make* and *take*)	**70**	**95**	165
7. Zero marking with *do*	75	71	146
8. Misuse of *who* and *which*	**56**	**69**	135
9. Other	29	28	57

Table 1. Main ELF lexico-grammatical deviations in PaVa corpus (no. of occurrences)

Table 1 indicates that deviations from the norm of the Italian graduates outnumbered those of their Spanish peers (figures in bold), except for the tendency to omit the auxiliary *do/does/did*[8] and the third person suffix *-s*, and to misuse *make* and *take* in sentence collocations[9] as well as *who* and *which*. However, no dramatic differences can be underlined. This seems to be substantiated by the EF English Proficiency Index 2019 which ranks Spain #35 and Italy #36 in terms of English language skills, with moderate proficiency.

---

[8] In Italian and Spanish no auxiliary is required for question forms.
[9] In Spanish, there is only one verb (*hacer*) to mean both *make* and *do*, with the result that Spanish speakers may confuse the two and use them interchangeably, for example, <I didn't *make* the homework>.

Our observations reveal some other occasional deviations which did not compromise mutual understanding, in line with the VOICE corpus. These have been extracted from PaVa and are listed below:

- Confusion in the use of (in)definite articles;
- Omission of the auxiliary *be* in present continuous;
- Misuse (or lack) of prepositions, for example, <I waited you 15 minutes>, or <we have to discuss *about*>;
- Replacement of infinitive constructions with explicit sentences, for example, <you want that I…>, <I hope that I…>.

In terms of number of occurrences, such deviations appeared occasionally both in Italian and Spanish writings and, for this reason, they are included under the tag 'Other' in Table 1.

Although the MA graduates demonstrated higher proficiency than the BA graduates, there were still several deviations, perhaps as these are strictly culture-bound, regardless of the level of proficiency. However, proficiency level becomes important when counting the number of deviations of the Italian students, as the MA students' writings displayed fewer deviations than the BA students' writings (Table 2).

TYPES OF GRADUATION	Italian	BA	MA
1. Overall no. of verbs with semantic generality used incorrectly (do, get, make and put)	221	139	82
2. Overall no. of non-count nouns used as count-nouns	167	124	43
3. Lack of do/does/did	125	66	59
4. Use of from instead of for with present perfect	144	103	41
5. Zero marking with present simple	119	101	18
6. Issues with collocation (make and take)	70	43	27
7. Lack of third-person singular present tense marking with do	75	51	24
8. Misuse of who and which	56	31	25

Table 2. Deviations of the Italian students by type of graduation (no. of occurrences)

5.3 Lexico-grammar and syntax

The Italian students (I) tended to use shorter sentences and phrases to make the interaction with their Spanish peers (S) more understandable and clearer, as most of them reported at the end of their experience; however, it is reasonable to assume that such brevity could be caused by limited vocabulary. Either way, they unconsciously embodied the principle of language economy (Martinet 1962) in their interactions, as the following examples concerned with greetings and daily engagements show:

Example #1 [italics is mine]
(S_1): <Hello Luisa, *how are u doing* today? It's been two weeks now since we started chatting. [...]>
(I_1): <Hi Ana, you fine today? *I'm doing the course at university.*>
(S_2): <But is everything ok?>
(I_2): <Oh yes sorry... Me super today! Thank you. And yes, it's [been] two weeks 😊>

Reply (I_1) lacks the auxiliary verb in the question form '*are* you fine today?', as well as the verb in the answer 'I *feel* super!'. Also, there is no distinction between the subject pronoun 'I' and the object pronoun 'me', and 'super' replaces *very well* (word count 1:2). This reply displays the lack of understanding of the Italian student, so his Spanish peer rephrases his previous question (S_1). In this case, the negotiation of meaning takes place with the question clarified (S_2) and the adversative conjunction makes (I) aware of his own misinterpretation. This can be inferred from his apologies in reply (I_2) 'Oh yes *sorry*'. Though the expression 'Yes, it's two weeks' is fine in its own right, it stands for the full expression 'Yes, *it's been* two weeks' in the same sentence (word count 3:5), and the smiling emoji denotes the student's joy and satisfaction.

Example #2 [italics is mine]
(S_1): <You liked the lecture you talked [to] me last time?>
(I_1): <Yes! The *informative* lecture on "How to market your business" *impressed* all of my class-mates here.>
(S_2): <You took some *informations*?>
(I_2): <Sorry, what *informations*?>
(S_3): <*I want to say* some informative material on the course.>
(I_3): <Oh, yes, sure! 😊 A lot of material! [...]>

Reply (I_1) is short for "The lecture on 'How to market your business' *gave us a lot of information and made a deep impression on* all of my classmates here" with a word count of 16:26 words. The initial part of the sentence (I_1) emphasises the subject of such information exchange by remarking on the type of lecture attended, i.e. "the informative lecture on 'How to market your business'" in place of the possible straightforward expression *Yes, it impressed all of my class-mates here*, where the initial repetition is avoided. The Italian student noticed that his Spanish peer did not use the auxiliary *did* in his question but, at the same time, that the meaning was clear. The teacher clarified that the omission of the auxiliary is common even among NS of English but stressed that communication proves effective in any case.

A typical deviation is found in sentence (S_2) regarding the use of the non-existent plural form of *information*, which is a non-count noun. On the other hand, (S_3) shows that (S) resorts to the pragmatic expression 'I want to say' for negotiation of meaning, which is confirmed by reply (I_3). Even if the latter may result in a forthright statement, the context determines the right balance of directness between the two interactants and no communication issues arise.

Example #3 [italics is mine]
(S_1): <In what part of Naples is your university?>
(I_1): <Our central teaching building is *seaward*.>
(S_2): <*What do you mean?*>
(I_2): <In front of the sea.>
(S_3): <Ah, okay! [...]>

In reply (I$_1$), the adjective 'seaward' substitutes a longer expression such as *facing the sea*, and it is shorter, this being 1 word instead of 3. As to achieving mutual understanding, a pragmatic request for clarification is required with the question (S$_2$), implying that the Spanish student does understand the meaning of that word, but it was used in error, as can be seen with the interjection of (S$_3$). The Italian student clarifies the meaning with his reply (I$_2$), so that a shared communicative solution is achieved.

On other occasions, the Italian students employed some parts of speech redundantly, hoping to further clarify the message, as they confirmed, and the following replies #4(I$_1$) and #5(I$_1$) regarding students' work experience are representative in this sense:

Example #4 [italics is mine]
(S$_1$): <Why did you choose that company?>
(I$_1$): <I wanted to apply for the position of Assistant in the import/export office advertised *with reference to their advertisement* in the "Local Business Journal", *for an Assistant in the import/export office, I wanted to apply for the position.*>
(S$_2$): <Was it difficult for you to join the company?>
(I$_2$): <The woman *which did* the interview said [to] me that many people want *to work.*>
(S$_3$): <*Do you mean* work for that company or in general?>
(I$_3$): <For that company. […]>

Here the abundance of certain parts of speech makes the text irregular and redundant, but upon discussion, the student concerned answered that more details about his experience could be interesting to his Spanish peer. Of interest is the expression 'Local business journal' which highlights L1 semantic interference (*L1 → ELF transfer*). This was also an opportunity for the teacher to shed light on that interference and elucidate the difference in meaning among *journal*, *newspaper* and *magazine*. Despite such a deviation, the Spanish peer experienced no misunderstanding of the message, as he sought no further clarification (S$_2$).

Also of interest is the misuse of 'which' (for non-humans) instead of 'who' (for humans) in (I$_2$), but also the use of the verb 'did', a verb with high semantic generality – correct in this context – which is used in place of the full verb 'interview' (e.g. *the woman who interviewed me*). The student explained to the teacher that using 'did an interview' recalled the corresponding Italian expression *fare un colloquio* and was more straightforward. The Spanish student though asked for further clarification through the pragmatic 'Do you mean' in (S$_3$), shifting his focus to a different piece of information in the sentence and preempting communication disruption.

#5 [italics is mine]
(S$_1$): <Have you ever *done* a work experience?>
(I$_1$): <I have already *done* some years of experience in the [field of] insurance with Generali Group (before the *amalgamation* [with] Ina Assitalia) in areas of *high liability* as personal injury and car insurance. I am specialised in insurance relating to *immovables* (especially houses) but I also gave advice to lawyers and professionals in other fields (especially engineers and architects). I have also worked with companies and businesses (especially for car insurance).>
(S$_2$): <Very interesting. I am *going* only to university. Are you still working now?>
(I$_2$): <Yes, I work *from* 1 year *in one* insurance company here in Naples, but sometimes I always do the same things, and I don't like. And you?>
(S$_3$): <you want to know if I like university?>
(I$_3$): <No, I want to say […]>

Although the general meaning of the extract can be inferred, the overuse of details (see parts in brackets) and some deviations from the norm make the text a little problematic, but stimulating for in-class discussion. In particular, (S₁) employs a verb with high semantic generality ('do'), not complying with the standard collocation *have/make an experience*, may be influenced by the same verb used in the question. The lack of 'field of' in (I₁) implies informal L1 interference, as well as the resort to 'amalgamation', whereas *merger* would be more common in such a context. Also, 'amalgamation' requires the preposition *with*, which is missed in the phrase. Upon discussion, the student confirmed he didn't know the term *merger*. The entire phrase in brackets, i.e. 'before the *amalgamation* Ina Assitalia', appears anyway superfluous, as this would imply that the Spanish peer were informed about such a peculiar national fact. The phrase 'high liability' is probably used inappropriately in place of 'responsibility' due to inaccurate vocabulary check. The same issue occurs with the cognate 'immovables' (made plural incorrectly), which resembles the Italian *immobili*, as suggested by the additional detail in its following brackets. The student was informed and appreciated that the final phrase in brackets could be avoided as it reiterates previous information. Nevertheless, in this instance no misunderstanding arose between the two interactants.

Some remarks are necessary for sentences (S₂), (I₂) and (S₃). In (S₂) 'go' is used in the sense of *attend*, showing L1 semantic interference (*L1 → ELF transfer*). A common ELF deviation is evident in (I₂) where the wrong tense is used and the preposition 'from' is employed in place of *for*. In addition, the combination of the two adverbs of frequency 'sometimes' and 'always' causes a communication issue, as the Spanish student, using a pragmatic strategy, asks his peer for further information. Such inaccuracies were highlighted and commented on by the teacher, fostering students' ELF-awareness and confidence.

5.4 Pragmatics

As mentioned, our observations highlight the key role of interactional negotiation and co-operation for successful ELF communication, therefore supporting the argument of ELF interaction being "cooperative and mutually supportive" (Seidlhofer 2001: 143). The collaborative productions show the active involvement of participants and a desire to get the conversation going. In other words, all these pragmatic strategies reveal a degree of cooperation between participants who are collaboratively engaged with the purpose of facilitating ultimate comprehension (De Bartolo 2014: 458). Let us look into the following examples:

#6 [italics is mine]
(S₁): <I'll *do* a party for my graduation next month, *would you like to* come? That would be great, you're nice and funny!>
(I₁): <*No, sorry.*>
(S₂): <*Ah!... I see… well…*>
(I₂): <I think I will *go* to England.>

Something doesn't work in this dialogue. The key to a possible answer is that the two students speak different languages and belong to different cultures. Behind verbal and non-verbal behaviours, there are often different habits, values, communicative styles and cultural dimensions which can break down communication or even make it impossible (Mariani 2015). In this example, (S₂) appears surprised and maybe disappointed, and this can be explained not only by the type of relationship they have built up (even if based in two different countries), but also

by the straight rejection of the invitation from (I₁). In Spanish culture, in fact, an invitation should be initially accepted, albeit reluctantly and without a real intention to join.

#7 [italics is mine]
(S): <[…] So, you have a new job now. *What's your monthly salary?*>
(I): <*Well... you know… more or less like in the old job*. I hope that working for them will not be stressful.>
(S): <Right.>

In this example, (S) assumes that, like in Spanish culture, it is acceptable to ask someone about their salary, but the Italian's bewilderment (I) proves otherwise, as was stressed by the teacher upon discussion.

It is important that individual linguistic and sociocultural competences are transferred into personal "know-how" which may assist the speaker in promptly managing the appropriate language tools and using them in tune with the sociocultural characteristics of a specific context, as the following example highlights:

#8 [italics is mine]
(I): <[On] Tuesday I will not come to university because I have to see the doctor. *Is it okay for you* if we chat from home [on] that day?>
(S): <Yes, cool, after 5 pm it's ok for me! *And for you?*>
(I): <Yes, it's perfect.>

(I) uses the expression 'Is it okay for you if…?', allowing his peer to make an independent and personal choice, and (S) writes 'And for you?' in return, which serves the same purpose. Understanding is achieved in spite of a few deviations from the BrE norm in the first sentence, i.e. 'on' in combination with the days of the week, 'will' instead of the present continuous for future, and 'on' in combination with 'that day' – even if in this last expression the 'on' is not really necessary. All these points were made by the teacher and appreciated by the students.

By taking into account the three examples above, the way a student employs their language competences, especially in a foreign language, is intimately bound to their proficiency in that language (Manili 2007; Mariani 2015), and this can impact the effectiveness and adequacy of their interactions. For this reason, the proficiency of a student is crucial in terms of the quality of their pragmatic performance (see examples #6 and #7). The teacher explained that, as for example #6, the Italian student's reply (I₁) could have been more polite, reading, for example, *Unfortunately, I cannot because I will still be busy with university…*, while in example #7, (S)'s question could have been more diplomatic, reading, for instance, *I would be curious to know…*, this being less direct.

In theory, we may decide whether to speak or to stay silent, we may choose the topics of our conversations and make requests, offer invitations and pay compliments, or accept or reject something, but in practice, culture significantly influences such apparent freedom of expression. Social and intercultural, verbal and non-verbal interactions are laced with patterns which become particularly evident when violated, as our examples have suggested.

6. Outcome discussion

The results of our investigation confirm that the objective of both the Italian and Spanish students was the negotiation of meaning with full exploitation of their English language competences for the sake of possible "repair strategies" (Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2011). Such repair strategies are often used in ELF interactions to preempt the chance of disruption in communication. They show the mutually supportive nature of negotiation strategies and, as we have seen, ELF is generally oriented primarily to meaning-making rather than accuracy in form, and in most cases non-conventional language forms do not hamper effective communication, which is jointly negotiated and constructed. What is apparent from these features is that ELF means are employed to use English "exolingually" (Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer 2008), i.e. to appropriate the language according to communicative needs, which often means that traditional norms are not adhered to.

The outcomes highlight that the Italian learners were inclined to unconsciously embody the principle of language economy in their interactions as well as employ some parts of speech redundantly. In this light, many of the examples considered in the AR had issues mainly with grammar and syntax, and more occasionally with semantics and pragmatics. In particular, L1 semantic interference with English was not significant in terms of occurrence, although these data are relevant for our findings. Indeed, occurrences of L1 semantic interference did not appear problematic for communication, and where issues occurred, these where immediately negotiated and resolved by the participants. As for pragmatics, the learners' pragmatic competences served strategically for their co-construction of meaning.

None of these issues prevented mutual understanding in interaction (Seidlhofer 2004, 2011). We can therefore take on Seidlhofer's assumption according to which deviations from the norm represent innovation in how ELF speakers exploit language and make it clearer and more understandable to other NNS.

On the operational level, the students found that using *Skype* conferencing can really differ from face-to-face interactions, making it necessary for speakers to negotiate turn-taking rules. On a cultural level, this helped them develop the intercultural competence required to mediate between their own conversational approach and that of their foreign peers (e.g., waiting for their turn to reply, being polite and respectful, co-constructing meaningful conversations through their pragmatic competences, etc.). The engagement with their new peers highlighted that the students felt they had established a "real" relationship with them. On a critical level, learners were encouraged to concentrate on the "language" they used and to determine, based on the teacher's input, where their deviations from the norm occurred. Where these occurred, the teacher discussed them with the student with the purpose of raising their ELF awareness.

We should bear in mind that, while the traditional view of English as a foreign language pursues the objective of the language proficiency of a native speaker of the "standard" varieties of English,[10] speakers with a different lingua-culture do not necessarily aim at the native-speaker model, as through language they can also express their own identity and sense of belonging to a specific culture. ELF speakers, therefore, can sometimes – consciously or unconsciously – neglect those NS features of language characterising their productions for the sake of mutual understanding.

---

[10] For the sake of clarity, Kachru (1992: 356) refers to the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as custodians of "the traditional culture and linguistic bases of English".

Undoubtedly, this AR has for each academic year some limitations; there were few participants and the investigation was brief, just 4 weeks, which affected the size of the PaVa corpus. This could have been larger for more extensive research, "though the size of a corpus depends very much on the type of questions that are going to be asked of it" (Evans n.a.). However, the size of PaVa as such allowed us to make some generalisations.[11]

A further limitation is that the analysis concerned only written interactions, whereas ELF is mainly focused on spoken interaction integrating both speaking and listening. However, through authentic written interactions, the students demonstrated features which they often transpose into in-class speaking, revealing their typical deviations from the norm. Notwithstanding, the AR approaches these limits from an emic perspective and, in so doing, can contribute to enhancing learners' ELF awareness and confidence in interaction.

7. Working with and within ELF with a holistic, emically- and interactionally-oriented approach

One of the main assumptions of ELF research is that interactions involve a dimension of negotiation and linguistic accommodation – such as repetition, rephrasing, and code-switching – with the aim of facilitating mutual understanding (Cogo 2009; Firth 1996, 2009). The willingness and attitude of the interlocutors to understand each other translates into a series of pragmatic strategies aimed at reducing ambiguity, improving intelligibility, at meaning negotiation, prevention and repair of misunderstandings (Bayyurt and Akcan 2015), and reaching a high level of cooperation. According to Seidlhofer, ELF users are "fully involved in the interactions, absorbed in the ad hoc, situated negotiation of meaning, focused on the purpose, exploiting the potential of the language" (2009a: 242). Jenkins points out that ELF is not a question of deviation from the norm of a particular group of English speakers, but it is a question of mutual negotiation involving adjustments and efforts from all parties (2009: 201). These linguistic behaviours are certainly not limited to ELF situations, as most human communication involves, to some extent, the use of a "lingua franca": in the world context, most people are bi- or multilingual, use different registers and linguistic varieties, combine languages and switch between them in order to suit the needs required of the situation (Saraceni 2010: 88). As pointed out by Saraceni, "lingua franca" merges with "language" and "it is not coincidental that the paradigm shift within ELF research is going precisely in this direction" (*Ibidem*).

We have previously stressed the importance of an ELF-aware approach (Sifakis 2019), however, adopting this perspective for teaching does not entail that standards and norms are no longer required, depending on a let it pass principle (Firth 1996), but it means that, as claimed by Sewell, "these are mutable concepts and that learners need to be introduced to language variation" (2013: 7).

In the terms indicated by Firth and Wagner (1997), what we tried to do with the students of the course was to promote awareness of "the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use" and "emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts" (1997: 758).

It was done, *in primis*, not considering the learners as defective communicators but keeping in mind the possibility that, in an ELF context, they avoided difficulty and preempted some communicative problems.

As recommended by Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey *et al.* (2018), we haven't replaced EFL practices with ELF practices, but we have integrated ELF issues into EFL.

---

[11] See Haan 1992; Biber 1993; Kennedy 1998 with reference to the small size of corpora.

Through practices – *e-tandem* interactions via *Skype* – we have attempted to make students understand how ELF works, making them language explorers and helping them to strategically and consciously join the global practice of communication using English (Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey *et al.* 2018). An emically-oriented perspective allowed both teachers and learners "to explicate the competencies through which the participants conjointly accomplish meaningful communication with the resources – however, seemingly imperfect – at their disposal" (Firth and Wagner 1997: 762). In other words, we used "a post-normative approach" (Dewey 2012), reconciling the normative conception of language with an acceptance of the fluidity and unboundedness of language.

8. Conclusions

The concept of "validity" in AR is highly dynamic and subject to variation, determined by the ongoing and changing aims of the research. Researchers tend to prefer terms such as "trustworthiness", "worthwhileness" or "credibility" (Burns 2015).

By its nature, AR does not aim to generalise the results of the research but it focuses on both the processes and the results obtained. The reiteration of the cycles of action, observation and reflection allowed us to compare and test each cycle against the previous ones, leading to a sort of triangulation of the data which, in our opinion, makes up for the partiality of the data collected. Furthermore, the results of the interventions cannot show immediate and clear improvements. The process of the reiteration of action, observation and reflection – repeated throughout the AR – has allowed us to verify the most frequent deviations in ELF situations, detect which lexico-grammatical and syntactic (and occasionally semantic) features are not problematic in terms of intercultural communication, and guide learners towards language awareness, language use and learning, bringing to the fore evidence that legitimises a pedagogical space for English as a lingua franca in the English classroom.

The students involved in our AR affirmed they had developed, through interaction and collaboration, their "ownership" of English, shaped, in Kohn's words (2011), by what they were exposed to, where they come from, and where they want to go.

Each EFL teacher has the opportunity to adjust a lesson's content and their didactic approach to the real learning needs of the class. To this purpose, teachers should consider ELF as an integral and legitimate part of English language teaching (Hall, Wicaksono, Liu *et al.* 2013; Dewey 2012, 2014; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Sifakis 2014, 2019; Vettorel 2015), broadening their teaching to reflective practices which may guide students towards a conscious use of strategies and processes that encompass their entire linguistic repertoire (Sifakis 2014, 2019). Thus, EFL teachers and learners should not be concerned about the "incorrect" forms of language occurring during NNS interaction.

Most of the students involved had a positive perception of the partnership in this exchange, especially in terms of their self-confidence in interaction, and reported they appreciated the real-life experience, as they felt stimulated during the tasks. In fact, the Spanish students had the opportunity to practise their English and they were engaged in a process of intercultural exchange; the Italian students felt they had slightly improved their English, particularly their writing skills, and complained about the brief duration of the experience.

This contribution has, of course, no presumption of completeness due to the limited amount of participants in the study, the short duration of the overall observation and, consequently, the limited number of the results analysed. In terms of data gathering, it would be desirable, for example, to extend the research to a larger group of interactants with different age range

and qualifications to further establish whether deviations from the norm occur similarly, and if not, to what extent. But further investigation can be carried out as regards both the development of students' social constructivist understanding of language learning and the ordinary creativity of ELF communication and learning in the light of students' own requirements of success (Kohn 2019).

It is our hope that the contribution can somehow support ELT professionals, particularly those who are new to ELF when they reflect on the subject they teach. In this light, it adds to the lively debate on ELF in English language teaching.

References

Bachman, L.F., and A.S. Palmer (eds). 1996. *Language Testing in Practice: Designing and Developing Useful Language Tests*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Bachman, L.F., 1990. *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Bayyurt, Yasemin, and Sumru Akcan (eds). 2015. *Current Perspectives on Pedagogy for English as a Lingua Franca*. Berlin: De Gruyter/Mouton.

Bayyurt, Yasemin, and N.C. Sifakis 2015. "Developing an ELF-aware Pedagogy: Insights from a Self-education Programme." In *New Frontiers in Teaching and Learning English*, ed. by Paola Vettorel, 55-76. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Biber, Douglas. 1993. "Representativeness in Corpus Design." *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 8, 4: 243-257.

Burns, Anne. 2015. "Action Research." In *The Cambridge Guide to Research in Language Teaching and Learning*, ed. by J.D. Brown, and Christine Coombe, 99-104. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Byram, Michael, Bella Gribkova, and Hugh Starkey (eds). 2002. *Developing the Intercultural Dimension in Language Teaching: A Practical Introduction for Teachers*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Byram, Michael, Adam Nichols, and David Stevens (eds). 2001. *Developing Intercultural Competence in Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, Michael. 1997. *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, Michael. 2008. *From Foreign Language Education to Education for Intercultural Citizenship*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, Michael. 2009. "Intercultural Competence in Foreign Languages." In *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence*, ed. by D.K. Deardoff, 321-332. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Canale, Michael, and Merrill Swain. 1980. "Theoretical Bases of Communicative Approaches to Second language Teaching and Testing." *Applied Linguistics* 1, 1: 1-48.

Canale, Michael. 1983. "From Communicative Competence to Communicative Language Pedagogy." In *Language and Communication*, ed. by J.C. Richards, and R.W. Schmidt, 2-27. London: Longman.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne, and Elite Olshtain (eds). 2000. *Discourse and Context in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne, Zoltan Dörnyei, and Sarah Thurrell. 1995. "A Pedagogical Framework for Communicative Competence: A Pedagogically Motivated Model with Content Specifications." *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 6, 2: 5-35.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne. 1995. "The Elaboration of Sociolinguistic Competence: Implications for Teacher Education." In *Linguistics and the Education of Language Teachers: Ethnolinguistic, Psycholinguistic, and Sociolinguistic Aspects*, ed. by J.E. Alatis, C.A. Straehle, and Maggie Ronkin, 699-710. Washington: Georgetown UP.

Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2011. "A Holistic Approach to Multilingual Education: Introduction." *Modern Language Journal* 95, 3: 339-343.

Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2013. "Towards a Plurilingual Approach in English Language Teaching: Softening the Boundaries Between Languages." *TESOL Quarterly* 47, 3: 591-599.

Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2014. "Focus on Multilingualism as an Approach in Educational Contexts." In *Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy*, ed. by Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese, 239-254. Dordrecht: Springer.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Cogo, Alessia. 2009. "Accommodating Difference in ELF Conversations: A Study of Pragmatic Strategies." In *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, ed. by Anna Mauranen, and Elina Ranta, 254-273. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Cogo, Alessia. 2016. "English as a Lingua Franca in Europe." In *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*, ed. by Andrew Lynn, 79-89. Berlin: De Gruyter/Mouton.

Coste, Daniel, and Diana-Lee Simon. 2009. "The Plurilingual Social Actor. Language, Citizenship and Education." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 6: 168-185.

Council of Europe (CoE). 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Council of Europe (CoE). 2007. *From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education: Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Cummins, James. 1979. "Linguistic Interdependence and the Educational Development of Bilingual Children." *Review of Educational Research* 49: 222-251.

Cummins, James. 2007. "Rethinking Monolingual Instructional Strategies in Multilingual Classrooms." *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 10, 2: 221-240.

De Bartolo, A.M. 2014. "Pragmatic Strategies and Negotiation of Meaning in ELF Talk." *EL.LE*, 3, 3: 453-464.

Dewey, Martin. 2012. "Towards a Post-normative Approach: Learning the Pedagogy of ELF." *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1, 1: 141-170.

Dewey, Martin. 2014. "Pedagogic Criticality and English as a Lingua Franca." *Atlantis – Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 36, 2: 11-30.

Firth, Alan, and Johannes Wagner. [1997] 2007. "On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental. Concepts in SLA Research." *The Modern Language Journal* 81, 3: 285-300. [Republished from the *Modern Language Journal* (supplement 1), 91: 757-772.]

Firth, Alan. 1996. "The Discursive Accomplishment of Normality. On 'lingua franca' English and Conversation Analysis." *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 237-259.

Firth, Alan. 2009. "The Lingua Franca Factor." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6, 2: 147-170.

Graddol, David. 2006. *English Next*. London: British Council.

Guth, Sarah, and Francesca Helm. 2012. "Developing Multiliteracies in ELT through Telecollaboration." *ELT Journal* 66, 1: 42-51.

Haan, Pieter de. 1992. "The Optimum Corpus Sample Size?" In *New Dimensions in English Language Corpora. Methodology, Results, Software Development*, ed. by Gerhard Leitner, 3-19. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter/Mouton.

Hall, C.J., Rachel Wicaksono, Shu Liu, *et al.* 2013. "English Reconceived: Raising Teachers' Awareness of English as a 'Plurilithic' Resource Through an Online Course." *ELT Research Papers* 13, 05: 1-20.

House, Juliane. 2007. "What Is an 'Intercultural Speaker'?" In *Intercultural Language Use and Language Learning*, ed. by Eva Alcón Soler, and M.P. Safont Jordà, 7-21. Dordrecht: Springer.

Hülmbauer, Cornelia, Heike Böhringer, and Barbara Seidlhofer. 2008. "Introducing English as a Lingua Franca (ELF): Precursor and Partner in Intercultural Communication." *Synergies Europe* 3: 25-36.

Hymes, Dell. 1967. "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Setting." *Journal of Social Issues* 23, 2: 8-38.

Hymes, Dell. 1972. "On Communicative Competence." In *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*, ed. by J.B. Pride, and Janet Holmes, 269-293. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Iyere, Theodore. 2013. "An Appraisal of Students' Errors in English Compositions: Implications for the Open and Distance Learning Classroom." *International Journal of English and Literature* 4, 10: 516-522.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2000. *The Phonology of English as an International Language: New Models, New Norms, New Goals*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2002. "A Sociolinguistically Based, Empirically Researched Pronunciation Syllabus for English as an International Language." *Applied Linguistics* 23: 83-103.

Jenkins, Jennifer. [2003] 2010. *World Englishes – A Resource Book for Students*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2007. *Attitude and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2009. "English as a Lingua Franca: interpretations and attitudes." *World Englishes* 28, 2: 200-207.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2012. "English as a Lingua Franca from the Classroom to the Classroom." *ELT Journal* 66, 4: 486-494.

Kachru, B.B. 1985. "Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle." In *English in the World*, ed. by Randolph Quirk, and Henry Widdowson, 11-30. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Kachru, B.B. 1992. "Teaching World Englishes." In *The Other Tongue. English across Cultures*, ed. by B.B. Kachru, 355-365. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kaur, Jagdish. 2011. "Doing Being a Language Expert': The Case of the ELF Speaker." In *Latest Trends in ELF Research*, ed. by Alasdair Archibald, Alessia Cogo, and Jennifer Jenkins, 53-75. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kemmis, Stephen, Robin McTaggart, and Rhonda Nixon (eds). 2014. *The Action Research Planner. Doing Critical Participatory Action Research*. Singapore: Springer.

Kennedy, Graeme. 1998. *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*. London-New York: Routledge.

Kiczkowiak, Marek, and R.J. Lowe (2018). *Teaching English as a Lingua Franca: The Journey from EFL to ELF.* Peaslake: Delta Publishing.

Kohn, Kurt. 2011. "English as a Lingua Franca and the Standard English Misunderstanding." In *English in Europe Today. Sociocultural and Educational Perspectives*, ed. by Annick De Houwer, and Antje Wilton, 1-94. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kohn, Kurt. 2015. "A Pedagogical Space for English as a Lingua Franca in the English Classroom." In *Current Perspectives on Pedagogy for ELF*, ed. by Yasemin Bayyurt, and Sumru Akcan, 51-67. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Kohn, Kurt. 2019. "Lingua Franca Pedagogy. Emancipating the Foreign Language Learner." *ASIA TEFL 2019*, Bangkok, 27-29 June.

Kramsch, Claire. 1998a. "The Privilege of the Intercultural Speaker." In *Language Learning in Intercultural Perspective: Approaches through Drama and Ethnography*, ed. by Michael Byram, and Michael Fleming, 16-31. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Kramsch, Claire. 1998b. *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Leaver, B.L., and J.R. Willis 2004 (eds). *Task-based Instruction in Foreign Language Education: Practices and Program*. Washington: Georgetown UP.

Manili, Patrizia. 2007. "L'insegnamento dell'italiano L2 tra grammatica e pragmatica." *Perusia* 2, 4: 51-81.

Mariani, Luciano. 2015. "Tra lingua e cultura: la competenza pragmatica interculturale." *Italiano Lingua Due* 7, 1: 111-130.

Martinet, André. 1962. *A Functional View of Language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Matsuda, Aya. 2017. *Preparing Teachers to Teach English as an International Language*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mauranen, Anna. 2006. "Signalling and Preventing Misunderstanding in ELF Communication." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177: 123-50.

Mills, G.E. 2000. *Action Research: A Guide for the Teacher Researcher*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Murphy, A.C. (ed). 2012. *Editing Specialised Texts in English. A Corpus-assisted Analysis.* 2nd Edition. Milano: LED.

Pakir, Anne. 2009. "English as a Lingua Franca: Analyzing Research Frameworks in International English, World Englishes, and ELF." *World Englishes* 28: 224-235.

Saraceni, Mario. 2010. *The Relocation of English: Shifting Paradigms in a Global Era*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Mcmillan.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2001. "Closing a Conceptual Gap: The Case for a Description of English as a Lingua Franca." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11, 2: 133-158.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2004. "Research Perspectives on Teaching English as a Lingua Franca." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24: 209-239.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2005a. "Language Variation and Change: The Case of English as a Lingua Franca." In *English Pronunciation Models: A Changing Scene*, ed. by Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk, and Joanna Przedlacka, 59-75. Bern: Peter Lang.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2005b. "English as a Lingua Franca." In *Oxford Avdanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 7th edition, ed. by A.S. Hornby, R92. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2009a. "Common Ground and Different Realities: World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca." *World Englishes* 28, 2: 236-245.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2009b. "Orientations in ELF Research: Form and Function." In *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, ed. by Anna Mauranen, and Elina Ranta, 37-59. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2011. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Sewell, Andrew. 2013. "English as a Lingua Franca: Ontology and Ideology." *ELT Journal* 67, 1: 3-10.

Sifakis, N.C. 2014. "ELF Awareness as an Opportunity for Change: A Transformative Perspective for ESOL Teacher Education." *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3, 2: 317-335.

Sifakis, N.C., Lucilla Lopriore, Martin Dewey, *et al.* 2018. "ELF-awareness in ELT: Bringing Together Theory and Practice." *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7, 1: 155-209.

Sifakis, N.C. 2019. "ELF Awareness in English Language Teaching: Principles and Processes." *Applied Linguistics* 40, 2: 288-306.

UNESCO. 2009. *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue: UNESCO World Report*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Vettorel, Paola. 2010. "Strategie comunicative, plurilinguismo e ELF." *LEND – Lingua e Nuova Didattica* 39, 3: 13-23.

Vettorel, Paola. 2015. *New Frontiers in Teaching and Learning English*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wang, S.H. 2013. "Global English as a Trend in English Teaching." *Intercultural Communication Studies* 23, 1: 26-32.

Weber, Elisabeth. 2013. "English as a Lingua Franca and Appropriate Teacher Competence." In *ELF 5 – Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca,* ed. by Yasemin Bayyurt, and Sumru Akcan, 7-13. Boğaziçi: Boğaziçi UP.

Widdowson, Henry. 1994. "The Ownership of English." *TESOL Quarterly* 28, 2: 377-389.

Willems, G.M. 1996. "Foreign Language Study for Intercultural Communication." *Multicultural Teaching* 14, 3: 36-40.

Online resources

AntConc Concordancer. <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/> (06/2020).

ELFA, The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. 2008. Director: Anna Mauranen, <http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/> (06/2020).

Evans, David. n.a. "Corpus Building and Investigation for the Humanities: An On-line Information Pack about Corpus Investigation Techniques for the Humanities", Unit 2, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/corpus/Intro/Unit2.pdf> (06/2020).

Lemon Grad, English Language Statistics. n.a. <https://lemongrad.com/english-language-statistics/> (06/2020).

VOICE, The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus. 2013. Director: Barbara Seidlhofer, <http://www.voice.univie.ac.at> (06/2020).

Comunicazione politica

Political Communication

Persuasion we live by: symbols, metaphors and linguistic strategies

Benedetta Baldi
Università di Firenze (<benedetta.baldi@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

Persuasive discourse, typically in political communication, implies arousing adherence. Persuasion aims to bring out a shared semantic territory in the audience, a common, often hidden or unconscious, worldview. Naturally, persuasion is the privilege of a person someway associated with signs denoting "power, commitment, fairness, and social attractiveness". Substantially, persuasion is a cognitive process triggered or implemented by messages capable to influencing the attitudes of persons and their representation of the world. Thus, language of persuasion involves linguistic and pragmatic tools effective in influencing the collective imaginary and the feelings and beliefs of the people. Argumentative and rhetorical devices, metaphors, the structure of the sentence, lexical selection, symbols and images contribute to achieving persuasive effects by evoking a common cognitive ground as the basic dimension of legitimization and identity. This theoretical framework is tested on the basis of the political communication of some leaders which played or currently play an important role in the past or current Italian politics, such as Mussolini, De Gasperi, Togliatti, Berlusconi, Salvini and others. Their rhetorical choices and the symbols they rely on will be analyzed with the purpose of investigating the concealed or implicated semantics of their messages.

Keywords: *argumentative procedures, linguistic devices in discourse, persuasive discourse, political communication, symbols and metaphors*

1. Persuasion

Defining persuasive communication, and specifically persuasive discourse, implies eliciting compliance. In this direction, Bülow-Møller (2005: 28) recalls that persuasion aims at creating a common ground, a sort of "shared territory" favoring possible "common visions and solutions". Together, persuasion is the privilege of a person connoted by "linguistic signals denoting power, commitment, fairness, and social attractiveness". So, persuasion is a cognitive process responding to the communication of a message whereby interlocutors or an audience change their "attitudes or be-

havior regarding an issue" (Perloff 2003: 34). According to Perloff (2003: 8) persuasion includes linguistic and non-verbal symbols and involves the deliberate intention to influence. Moreover:

> People persuade themselves to change attitudes or behavior. Communicators provide the arguments' and the influence is freely accepted by the receiver. Self-persuasion is the crucial mechanism. It is no accident if theoretical models foreground the crucial role of the audience, in other words they are concerned with 'how sender and receiver come together to create a shared reality. (Borchers 2013: 17)

Persuasion is, ultimately, the "coproduction of meaning", the issue that this contribution aims to investigate along the lines of analysis in Baldi (2017, 2019).

Is a very special use of language necessary for persuasion to take place? Virtanen and Halmari (2005: 5) note that an intrinsic property of language use is being persuasive, since any linguistic interaction entails some sort of change in the thought of interlocutors. However, persuasion strictu sensu is associated with "linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behaviour of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree". As underlined by Sperber and Wilson (1996: 57-58) the interpretation of a linguistic act combines the content of a proposition with the propositional attitude of the communicator and the implementation of implicatures and inferences:

> informative intention is better described as an intention to modify directly not the thoughts but the cognitive environment of the audience. The actual cognitive effects of a modification of the cognitive environment are only partly predictable.

This definition of the way in which language influences the informative contents of interlocutors seems to be suitable to characterize the basic effect of persuasive language in "strengthening" the beliefs and symbolic universe of the audience rather than changing their thinking and behavior. This to say that persuasion, however conceived, is a property inherent in the way of using language by humans, insofar as natural language semantics is based on and mediated by mental operations (Chomsky 1988, 2004, 2005) underlying the conceptualization of experience and the world.

Turning to political language, a longstanding question is how it is able to change or re-elaborate the worldview of persons, and affect their beliefs and values. Naturally, we know that linguistic expressions have the effect of transferring pieces of a semantic representation into the mind/brain of the recipient, insofar as speaker and hearer share the common language faculty and a common conceptual model of the world and the mind. The point, here, is how, through the ability to interpret a sentence, in the particular language known by the interlocutors, the ideas of one can (possibly) migrate into the worldview of the other. We move here at the interface between linguistic knowledge (I(nternal)-language) as establishing a specific lexical-syntactic level of meaning, and the use of language in discourse, where the intentions of the speaker shape a particular representation of reality. More to the point, the sharing of thoughts and beliefs is the result of the communicative process, whereas linguistic expressions, in themselves, do not imply the strict correspondence of meanings and sounds in the speaker and the recipient, as highlighted by Chomsky (2000: 30):

> Successful communication between Peter and Mary [two interlocutors] does not entail the existence of shared meanings or shared pronunciations in a public language (or a common treasure of thoughts or articulations of them), any more the physical resemblance between Peter and Mary entails the existence of a public form that they share.

As to the internal properties of language, mutual comprehension among speakers, i.e. the assumption that speakers know the same I-Language, corresponds to the condition that the interlocutors establish a relation of congruence between the sentences that they enounce. More precisely, each interlocutor, listening to the other, assumes identical basic properties underlying the structure of the linguistic expressions as formed by the same combinatory operation, substantially the coincidence of the language faculty:

The only (virtually) 'shared structure' among humans generally is the initial state of the language faculty. Beyond that we expect to find no more than approximations, as in the case of other natural objects that grow and develop. (*Ibidem*)

We must conclude that the semantic import of the linguistic forms relies on other interpretive means driven by our cognitive capabilities. In fact, the notion of conceptual common ground is very elusive, as suggested by Chomsky:

It may be that a kind of public (or interpersonal) character to thought and meaning results from uniformity of initial endowment, which permits only I-languages that are alike in significant respects, […] But […] the character of thought and meaning varies as interest and circumstance vary, with no clear way to establish further categories, […]. (*Ibidem*)

It is no accident if the theories on interpretation must not dispense with the connection to conversational mechanisms, contextual implicatures and belief systems. As claimed by Sperber and Wilson (1996), the basic requirement in the exchange of information is that it be compatible with human cognitive organization. The activation of implicatures not directly associated with the context and suggested by lexical and rhetorical choices intentionally made by the speaker, enhances the semantic potential of the message (Sperber and Wilson 1996). This result is surely also based on illocutionary force and other pragmatic tools. Nevertheless, more covert and sophisticated linguistic (lexical and syntactic ones), pragmatic and semantic properties are involved, that bridge the divide between language and symbolic representation of feelings, beliefs and often unconscious cognitive systems of values. The latter underlie the frames feeding the interpretation of the world, society and human relationships. The crucial role of the Principle of Relevance for the argumentative theory of reasoning, supports a Post-Gricean theory whereby pragmatic interpretation is necessary for a full comprehension of the message (Reboul 2017).

The process of interpretation, in turn, implies the distinction between 'persuade/convince' on the basis of a coherent argumentation, bringing to comprehension (cf. Zanacchi 2006), and 'persuade' by means of simple cues and unanalyzed information. This difference is evidenced in the classical psycho-social framework (Petty and Cacioppo 1986), and is frequently implied in the study of communications inducing attitude change in the audience. By the way, human minds encompass two systems of reasoning: the heuristic system, "fast and frugal, made of heuristics (or biases […]), which, while they may occasionally be wrong, deliver correct answers most of the time"; the analytic system, cognitively costly, used for detecting what appears wrong or doubtful in the conclusions reached by the heuristic system (Reboul 2017: 212). However, argumentation is frequently based not on logic but on biases and heuristics. So, only a social perspective of the role of reasoning is adequate to account for the fact that it is used not for proving the logical nature of an assertion but for adducing elements – argumentation – in favour of the validity of one's own point of view, substantially for persuading the recipient.

An aspect of persuasive discourse is manipulation, not necessarily occurring, although many of the linguistic or symbolic devices of persuasion are manipulative, as, for instance, the recourse

to religious symbols or to apodictically presented arguments, that are rhetorical means able to distort the argumentation. In manipulative discourse the cognitive process of information is "perturbed" by misuse of words, more generally, by the use of semantic vagueness and vacuity, so crucially betraying the Gricean maxims, mainly the one of quality. Interestingly, Saussure (2005: 119-121) observes that manipulative discourse is not "about using metaphors" and other syntactic or semantic solutions, but about how these devices play a particular pragmatic role. Manipulative discourse is a particular type of persuasive discourse based on propositions:

> truth-functionally defective (roughly, they are *wrong* in some way: false, unlikely, doubtful, inaccurate, inconsistent with the common ground; and therefore should be rejected by the hearer under normal circumstances.

The conclusion of Saussure is that this type of discourse has to do with moral statements concerning desirable states of affairs and not with actual states of affairs. We might wonder when political discourse reflects or expresses actual states of affairs, since it typically expresses ends and purposes, and tends to investigate and depict persons and society. So, manipulation is committed to figure a new or alternative world, a different moral culture. Escaping the evaluation of the hearer is obtained by fuzziness, and vagueness renders the rules of interpretation impossible or difficult to be applied, thus coercing reliance on the general values and beliefs shared by speaker and hearers. Methods for leading the audience to an 'irrational consent' include textual genres based on an excess of metaphors, recourse to mystical or religious language and images and vagueness activating strong presuppositions, i.e. self-evident assertions, possibly tautological, that cannot be negated.

A result of this model is that any expressive means helping one consolidate and improve argumentation is properly a part of argumentative discourse, including metaphors (Ervas *et al.* 2016). Their crucial property resides in opening a conceptual frame, thus leading to the cognitive multiplication of interpretive spaces. Chilton (2005) speaks of the blending effect, whereby a metaphor can trigger a cluster of properties derived from metaphoric meaning. Blending reveals the cognitive entrenchment whereby a particular metaphor generates mapping from the source of the metaphor to the relevant semantic domain and, as a consequence, leads people to unconsciously draw conclusions and decisions.[1]

Persuasive procedures are implemented by resorting to manipulation and argumentation, implying the interaction of many linguistic and discourse means. Besides, modern political discourse cannot dispense with non-linguistic ways of communication, based on visual symbols and images, crucial in a social reality governed by mass- and social-media, and technological networks. In what follows three faces of persuasion in political discourse will be discussed, i.e. argumentation, metaphors and symbols. In these domains, symbolic representations such as images and concrete signs, acquire a central role in conveying the stigma of a common belonging and moral categories. see that a sharp boundary between argumentation and manipulation

---

[1] The effects of metaphorical framing are investigated in relation to two main perspectives, the critical-discourse approach (CDA) and the response-elicitation approach (REA) (Boeynaems *et al.* 2017). CDA is focused on the "real world changes" in relation to metaphorical framing", while REA is interested in the responses of "participants exposed to language stimuli in a research situation". These analyses show that CDA frames engender negative interpretations more systematically than the ones occurring in REA experiments. Boeynaems *et al.* (2017: 130) note that this discrepancy could be due to the nature of the approach. In other words, CDA could be more oriented to discover the association between metaphorical frames and certain pre-defined aspects of society, whereby "Moreover, an interest in the role of discourse on social inequality and power dominance suggests a tendency to look for effects of metaphorical frames used by power elites that are in line with the frame".

is difficult to find and that symbols, figurative speech, appeals and systematic research for a common worldview create a single interpretive texture combining lexicon, syntax, prosody, images and gestures.

2. Political discourse

Political discourse contextualizes social practices (Leeuwen 2008); it narrates and expresses the contents underlying the shared symbolic universe. In political discourse, therefore, pragmatic procedures have a decisive role associated with the production of meanings, as they represent the system of beliefs and convictions of the recipients. Although these procedures do not necessarily aim to construe self-identification, they generally have the effect of introducing ideas, messages and content that enrich the shared cognitive space. The representation of the relationship of trust with the voter or, in general, with listeners has a central role in these shared values and a feeling of belonging to the same symbolic network produces persuasion, i.e. the acceptance of a particular representation of individuals, events or states of affairs by the audience. Mental states of receivers are involved inasmuch as the semantics, although concealed or ambiguously expressed, introduced by the message needs to be integrated in the "system of expectations of the receivers" (Eco 1968: 140). This, let us remember, is a property from the beginning associated with classical rhetoric, whereby:

Rhetoric proceeded to review these ways of thinking, these common and acquired opinions, and these arguments already assimilated by the social body, responding to pre-established systems of expectations. (Eco 1968: 140)

Desideri (1984: 19) identifies some of the typical features of political discourse: relation with the social ways of production and reception of messages, the relevancy of the ritual traits of the enunciation, the recognizability of this common ground of meaning by the addressee. Political communication is basically organized in order to construct or evidence the relationship of trust and agreement that the sender assumes there be with the addressees (Baldi 2007, 2012, 2018, Baldi and Savoia 2017). A crucial property of political discourse is the ability to replace the experience of reality with its representation by means of the semantics, the symbols and beliefs of the recipients. Edelman (1977: 26) reminds us that it is political language that creates the cognitive structures hosting the knowledge of events:

Only rarely can there be direct observations of events, and even then language forms shape the meaning of what the general public and government officials see. It is language that evokes most of the political "realities" people experience. The challenge is to learn how language and gestures are systematically transformed into complex cognitive structures.

So, mastering political discourse means having the capability of exercising control over people's thought or at least having the tools necessary for doing so. Linguistic expressions, therefore, are interpreted as they are able to introduce meaning structures and cognitive environments. The tie between language and political discourse is subtler than is generally assumed, insofar as language incorporates pre-political meanings and beliefs that influence explicit political rhetoric:

The *fundamental* influences upon political beliefs flow, however, from language that is not perceived as political at all but nonetheless structures perceptions of status, authority, merit, deviance, and the causes of social problems. (Edelman 1977: 35)

Although the pragmatic perspective concerning the construction of meanings helps us account for the way in which persons interact by means of utterances in communicative situ-

ations, it is still true that there are uses of language, including political discourse, that show a particular status. Not surprisingly, political discourse favours or, better, relies on sharing beliefs rather than understanding facts. The irrational nature of this type of discourse is outlined in a precise and acute way by Leibniz (1982: 255-258) in *Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain* (1765) in which he considers "the authority, the party, the custom" the cause of a "kind of madness" that distorts the reasoning processes and identifies in the "search for truth" the only possible solution. This property of political language is one of the characteristics studied by Critical Discourse Analysis, as noted by van Dijk (2001: 357):

> […] recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media.

However, there is a basic dimension in political discourse that calls into question both the "kind of madness" invoked by Leibniz and the issuer's authority, in the sense of van Dijk. Chilton (2005), examining a propaganda text such as Mein Kampf asks himself "How do the ideas get transferred from mind to mind?" and points out that the recipient has sufficient interpretive means to decide whether to believe or adhere to the assertions contained in a text:

> Of course, no-one *has* to accept as true any of the virtual worlds set up in discourse. But in so far as propositions come as social transactions claiming *prima facie* to be true, people are inclined to accept them as true, initially, […]. Still, because human language users are also good at detecting deception, speakers may want to take preemptive measures. This means that speakers often seek to build in guarantees, authorisations and assurances as to their veracity, seeking to appeal to whatever they believe their interlocutors believe to be veracious. (Chilton 2005: 22)

> In other words, cognitive components underlying the organization of human mind are involved:

> Some of the cognitive components that make up political ideologies are 'parasitic' on basic modular knowledge, […] The cognitive components in question are both representational in nature and procedural. The representational part belongs to different modules – e.g., intuitive physics, intuitive biology, intuitive physiology modules. (*Ibidem*: 18)

Hence, the recipient has interpretive means sufficient to decide whether to believe in or adhere to the assertions presented in the text. When we speak of manipulation of consciences by political propaganda, we have to take into account the fact that the recipient has intellectual and interpretive capabilities neither smaller than nor different from the ones of the sender.

Even if manipulative properties seem to characterize persuasive speech, the latter aims however to include argumentative properties as well. The evocation of feelings, fear, aversion, patriotism, i.e. the substance of manipulation, can be part of an argumentation. In keeping with Mercier and Sperber (2011) reasoning is argumentative and, in this, it is adaptive insofar as reasoning fulfils "the exceptional dependence of humans on communication and their vulnerability to misinformation". In their framework, the role of reasoning is primarily social, in the sense that it provides people with expressive means necessary to support and justify a conclusion or decision. In other words, it does not ensure the reliability of argumentation but aims at strengthening claims and opinions introduced by persons:

the function of reasoning is primarily social: In particular, it allows people to anticipate the need to justify their decisions to others. This predicts that the use of reasoning in decision making should

increase the more likely one is to have to justify oneself […] In all these cases, reasoning does not lead to more accurate beliefs about an object, to better estimates of the correctness of one's answer, or to superior moral judgments. Instead, by looking only for supporting arguments, reasoning strengthens people's opinions, distorts their estimates, and allows them to get away with violations of their own moral intuitions. In these cases, epistemic or moral goals are not well served by reasoning. By contrast, argumentative goals are: People are better able to support their positions or to justify their moral judgments. (Mercier, Sperber 2011: 10)

Therefore, in argumentation all means become useful as means for supporting one's claim, including confirmation bias, as available arguments or justification for the argumentation, regardless of their truth value and the poverty of the results they bring.

All in all, persuasion strategies rely on crucial discourse and linguistic properties embedding a covert link with a cognitive deep level, activating the unconscious sentiments and beliefs of the audience, "the value that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of goodness and badness" (Charteris-Black 2005: 13). In this, metaphors are the essential device, in discourse as well as in symbolic procedures (images, posters, behaviors), as far as they awaken our deep moral categories underlying the frames that give sense to our experience of the world and society. In keeping with Sebera and Lu (2018), it is this linking that triggers feelings of legitimization or de-legitimization with regard to the consenting groups or the opponents and objector and critical stands:

The essence of legitimization by political leaders is to identify a set of values regarding what is good and bad because these beliefs as to what is good and bad form the basis for political action. Communication style is essential to legitimization. (Charteris-Black 2005: 22)

An interesting point is that the reference to ideologies is apparently conscious, at least to the extent that they are sets of ideas:

that explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order. (Seliger 1976: 14)

On the other hand, ideologies give shape to imaginary worlds and moral roots otherwise generally unexpressed or only intuited. The semantic force of the discourse and symbols are able to convey concepts related to these values and moral obligations, i.e. 'ought', 'duty', 'good' and 'bad', 'right' and 'wrong'. Inglehart (1977, 2018) proposes the distinction between materialist and post-materialist values, where the symbolic system of materialism is concerned with securitarian matters, the rejection of modernization, suspicion of scientific knowledge and education, i.e. contrary to the symbolic post-materialist background, implying a critical vision of society and the world and free expression attitudes.

However, these categories are not univocal, in turn stemming from existential and elementary behavioural and conceptual primitives such as parental influence on personal identity construction (Lakoff 1996, 2008). Lakoff (1996, 2008, 2016) connects our models of society, morality and role of individuals with the styles of family, the Strict Father model and the Nurturant Parent, which give rise to two kinds of framing of social relations and worldviews. Specifically, these different models "provide" metaphors for morality: the conservative moral categories such as strength, authority, self- discipline and responsibility, reward and punishment, upholding moral order, protecting moral people from external evils contrast with progressive categories such as nurturance,

empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness, helping and protecting those who cannot help and protect themselves, promoting fulfilment in life. These oppositions are rooted in the profound moral content that everyone adheres to, consciously or not, and influence our moral worldviews "encapsulated in two very different common forms of family life: The Nurturant Parent family (progressive) and the Strict Father family (conservative)" (Lakoff 2016: 2).

The different forms of political discourse as well as of commercial advertising explore atavistic and profound emotional contents, such as the patriarchal/natural family, the fears triggered by diversity, and the inequality of civil rights and personal liberties. We are talking about the pre-conscious or basic perceptions that inspire many stereotypes concerning society and reality. Moreover, globalization phenomena have caused a crisis of the identity of persons and new apparently available freedom has made social and life conditions less defined and more uncertain (Bauman 2003, 2009). As a consequence, fear of the unknown seems to be an efficient feeling stirred up by political language in recent years. This contributes, for instance, to enhancing the particularistic and ethnic right-wing linguistic approach of Salvini, in Italy, or Le Pen in France, but, more usually, is a sort of subtext generally underlying much political discourse in Western society which is struggling, on the other hand, to foreshadow a clear perspective of progress. Fears strengthen persuasiveness as a powerful key of interpretation of the people.

Stereotyped imagines permeate all the dimensions of persuasive communication. Suffice it to think of commercial advertising, where covert or explicit use of the more easygoing and lenient representations of common feelings and imaginary substantiates the process of argumentation and persuasion. Institutional communication is no exception, insofar as it needs to affect or change the convictions and thoughts of the people. In this sad hour, where Italy (and the world) is hit by an epidemic, the Italian Prime Minister, in his messages concerning the measures to contain the epidemic, used the consoling slogan, then resumed and translated into the figurative scheme in (1) where the rainbow is above the lettering.

(1) *Tutto andrà bene*   'Everything will be all right'

Like any slogan, this is also based on a common framework implying the manner of facing the difficulties in terms of confidence in a "good father of a family", in Lakoff 's (2008, 2016) sense. It is reasonable to conclude that it is precisely because it intercepts a profound feeling of the people that it has great popularity and becomes a sort of series of keywords in the social media and in other forms of communication.

So, persuasiveness is, in itself, non-rational precisely because it cannot avoid evoking the unconscious basis of our worldviews, if it aims to be successful. This also explains why metaphors generally are so crucial in language and specifically in persuasive styles of discourse. Metaphors have the capacity to multiply and create conceptual and symbolic relations through the connection between the source, a concrete, generally sensorial or elementary experience, and the target, the world of social relations and expectations.

3. Argumentations and claims: emotive language

Starting from the Fregean distinction between meaning (Sinn) and denotation (Bedeutung) (Frege 1862), the truth value of an expression separates descriptive sentences associated with a verifiable state of affairs from sentences introducing possible worlds, not reducible to truth criteria. Nevertheless, although this distinction captures the two semantic faces of natural language, the reference to individuals or events/states of affairs is however filtered through interpretive processes of which linguistic expressions are only one of the components. What is more, the utterances implement illocutionary processes such as exhortation, persuasion, command etc.

Logical validity and truth-conditions of sentences are only a part of argumentative discourse (Mercier and Sperber 2001, Reboul 2017, D'Agostini 2010), that, in itself, is essentially pragmatic in nature. Arguing means justifying conclusions reached starting from the premises, i.e. the arguments introduced in order to define the cognoscitive background of interlocutors and the topics of the discourse. The effectiveness of an argumentation is, therefore, something different from its truthfulness as referentiality, i.e. the ability of an expression to be applied to individuals or a state of affairs. If we are on the right track, we expect that argumentative discourse should have an identifiable illocutionary force (Austin 1962), such as, for instance, persuasion, on a par with other types of act, e.g. request, order, promise. In political discourse a key role pertains to argumentative procedures insofar as they confirm and enrich the belief and conviction system of the recipients. However, the argumentative texture of political discourse is frequently elliptic, insofar as it exploits the hidden logic introduced by implicatures, i.e. the ability of utterances to enhance the information provided by linguistic expressions by means of the contents evoked and implicated by the communicative context (Grice 1993 [1975], Sperber and Wilson 1996).

Argumentative organization is able to define the premises and justifications in favor of the veracity and strength of the thesis, thus prompting the recipients to opt for a politician, an object or idea. Even if this is not always the case in ordinary discussion between persons or political oratory, nevertheless there are examples of language structured on the basis of arguments supporting the thesis and justifications of sorts. An emblematic case is the discourse announcing the decision of Silvio Berlusconi to participate in the political struggle in 1994, in (2):

(2)   a.   L'Italia è il Paese che amo. Qui ho le mie radici, le mie speranze, i miei orizzonti. Qui ho imparato, da mio padre e dalla vita, il mio mestiere di imprenditore.
'Italy is the country that I love. Here I have my roots my hopes, my horizons. Here I learnt, from my father and life, my profession as a businessman.'
    b.   Qui ho appreso la passione per la libertà. Ho scelto di scendere in campo e di occuparmi della cosa pubblica perché non voglio vivere in un Paese illiberale, governato da forze immature e da uomini legati a doppio filo a un passato politicamente ed economicamente fallimentare.
'Here I learnt the passion for freedom. I chose to take to the arena and enter public affairs because I do not want to live in an illiberal country, governed by immature forces and by men closely tied to a politically and economically unsuccessful past.'

c. Per poter compiere questa nuova scelta di vita, ho rassegnato oggi stesso le mie dimissioni da ogni carica sociale nel gruppo che ho fondato. Rinuncio dunque al mio ruolo di editore e di imprenditore per mettere la mia esperienza e tutto il mio impegno a disposizione di una battaglia in cui credo con assoluta convinzione e con la più grande fermezza.
'In order to make this new choice in life, I resigned this very day from every official position I held in the group of companies I set up. I am resigning my role as publisher and businessman to offer my experience and all my commitment in favor of a struggle in which I believe with total conviction and firmness.'

In (2), (a) is the premise circumscribing the symbolic universe of the politician and fixes the boundaries of agreement with the audience; what we see are statements entirely based on confidence in the sender: what is more important than a father, roots of one's own life, one's profession? Obviously these are apodictic *topoi* unfailingly common to and approved by all people. (b) sets the target, the thesis, i.e. 'to enter public affairs' as a historical necessity, in relation to the "passion for freedom" and other supporting arguments. (c) introduces further justifications and motivations in support. Each paragraph in turn takes on the form of an argumentation, where the main thesis, *Italy is the country that I love* in (a), *I chose to take to the arena and enter public affairs* in (b) and *a struggle in which I believe with total conviction and firmness* in (c), are supported by motivating or justifying propositions. For instance, (c) may be construed as in (2'), where (2'i) introduces the thesis, justified by other propositions:

(2') i. I make a new choice in life: political struggle
      ii. This requires total dedication and commitment
      iii. I resigned from every official position I held
      iv. The struggle is tackled with conviction and firmness

More to the point, not verbalized and someway hidden interpretive factors come into play, i.e. presuppositions and, more crucially, pragmatic implicatures (Sperber and Wilson 1996). These additive but not less important meanings, generally triggered in ordinary speech, become crucial in political discourse. So, in (2'), a lexical choice such as 'struggle', a rather conventional metaphor concerning political debate, introduces the presupposition that there are enemies taking part in the struggle, and that the nature of a struggle is such as to require 'total dedication'. The implicature is that the total dedication of his life is in the interest of the people. The appropriateness of (2'i) depends on the probability of realization. According to D'Agostini (2010) the effectiveness of an argumentation is determined by combining the two properties of validity and truth, that make it persuasive.

An interesting point is that argumentation, although someway implemented by premises, justifications and conclusion, is frequently undermined by rhetorical fallacies, so that the true means are almost totally implicit and carried out by what is implicated in the discourse. It is the symbolic and cognitive universe shared by the audience that provides the interpretation. For example, in (2), the arguments a. *Italy is the country that I love* and b. *Here I learnt the passion for freedom* do not justify the conclusion concerning the necessity of 'taking to the arena' on the part of Berlusconi. In the sense that there is no consequentiality between (2a)-(2b) and the decision of Berlusconi: what is important is the implicit content activated by implicatures (Lombardi Vallauri and Masia 2014), as for instance that this choice is the guarantee in order to prevent a possible success of the left-wing parties.

3.1 Words and worlds: expressive language for persuading

Much political discourse is based on partial or fallacious argumentations, i.e. argumentations starting from dogmatic or asserted premises involving adhesion on the part of the audience. Generally, this approach is strongly emotional and inclusive. A classical instance is the evocation of a conspiracy, a key for opening up an alternative world. A different type of power, different beliefs and values are dreamed of and pursued in crisis periods, when the rules of traditional power are negated or questioned. The political symbols and discourse are not particularly interested in the veridicality, evoking or envisaging different moral or social conditions, as highlighted by Saussure (2005: 124):

> […] economic recession, war, and post-war situations are factors that favor less stable moral judgement for individuals and open the way for a change in moral values. The fact is that when a society or system has not been able to provide appropriate quality of life and the possibility of human relations, individuals are likely to conclude that the values that ground that particular society or system are not appropriate. This plants the seed of doubt and the will to change societal conditions. Needless to say, such change is not trivial.

Conspiracy thinking is a powerful tool for attacking the social order. The phantom of a conspiracy aimed at annihilating European peoples (white? Aryan?) has been taken up with particular insistence by the Italian Lega*,* under the leadership of Matteo Salvini, who, during the gathering of the Italian public holiday of 15 August 2015, in Ponte di Legno (Valtellina, Northern Lombardy), denounced the *tentativo di genocidio* (attempt of genocide) of the populations who live in Italy, supplanting them with *decine di migliaia* (tens of thousands) of people coming from abroad. Similarly, in his live broadcast on Radio Padania on 15.5.2017, in (3), he describes the essential steps of the Kalergi plan,[2] which assumes that any incentive for immigration in Europe would have as its main purpose the replacement of its population:

(3) Vedremo di adottare ogni mezzo possibile, oltre a quelli che già abbiamo percorso, per fermare questa invasione. E quando dico ogni mezzo dico ogni mezzo, ovviamente legalmente permesso o quasi, perché siamo di fronte a un tentativo evidente di pulizia etnica, di sostituzione etnica ai danni di chi vive in Italia. (Matteo Salvini, Radio Padania 15.5.2017, Post 15.5.2017)
'We will try to deploy any possible means; besides those we have already used, in order to block this invasion. And when I say any means I say any means; obviously legally permitted or nearly so, since we face an evident attempt at ethnic cleansing, ethnic substitution harming those who live in Italy.'

If we explore the grammar of this text (Caiani and Della Porta 2011), we see that certain grammatical roles encode ideological and symbolic values. The plot is lexicalized by indefiniteness, whereby, for instance, the agentive argument of the eventive noun 'attempt' is omitted (Danler 2005). Who uses these expressions knows that their efficacy resides in evoking the innermost feelings, here the fears of the individual, and the completeness of the argumental structure is unnecessary in order to obtain this result. Indeed, a certain degree of vagueness increases the communicative power of these sentences. On the other hand, the impossibility of resorting to definite descriptions, endowed with referential content, betrays the artificiality of the semantic construction.

Not applying an overt argumentative structure, traditionally tied to the slogans and claims of politicians and parties, is now increasing as a general way to communicate ideas through social

---

[2] The Austrian-Japanese politician and philosopher Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi was one of the founders of European integration. Extreme right-wing forces and Lega attribute to him a plot for replacing the European populations with Asian and African immigrants (Quattrociocchi and Vicini 2016).

media such as Twitter and Facebook. The short-circuit between media and degree of truth is a consequence of the fact that the new social media are intrinsically available to the uncontrolled and unconditioned expression of ideas and opinions by the individual. Interestingly D'Agostini (2010) and Ferraris (2017) warn that a new type of absolutism is born, that is assertions devoid of falsifiability, new true dogmas. As to politicians, they know that proposing truths alternative to the established ones leads to the triggering of the innermost feelings and fears of individuals, and for this reason, it is very powerful. The symbolic world alternative to European politics, globalization, immigration processes, recognition of civil rights, is the final thesis shared with the audience. It is suggested in the attacks on the establishment, presented as inaccessible, a cluster of lobbies and interests extraneous to the citizens. In the extreme right, ethno-pluralism and securitarian, racist/xenophobic components are involved (Rydgren 2008), whereas in the case of left-wing ideologies, the economic powers of the multinationals and international finance have inspired political controversy for decades (cf. Ventrone 2005).

Let us begin with the strategy adopted in order to depict the imagined relation between a supra-national power and the individual in some tweets by Matteo Salvini (in (4); from the corpus in Giovinazzo 2020) in the years preceding the government of 2018:

(4) a. In Europa comandano banchieri, finanzieri e massoni, è presa d'atto. Io sto dall'altra parte (29.5.2016)
         'In Europe it is the bankers, the financiers and freemasons that are in charge. I am on the other side.'
     b. Ma dove siamo finiti in Italia? Libertà per i nostri simboli e la nostra cultura. No al pensiero unico! (23.9.2016)
         'But where have we ended up in Italy? Freedom for our symbols and our culture. No conventional wisdom.'
     c. Che Futuro abbiamo in testa? Partiamo dalla difesa delle nostre RADICI, dalla nostra tradizione e dalla nostra cultura (24.2.2018)
         'What Future do we have in our heads? Let us start from the defence of our Roots, our traditions and our culture.'

Two issues are recalled, encompassing crucial ideological contents: the real nature of Europe, otherwise kept hidden by the establishment, in (4a), and the notion of freedom, understood as an ethnocentric consideration of the cultural specificity of Italians, (in 4b,c). Freedom and culture introduce an alternative interpretation compared with the one generally advanced by the pro-Europe faction and at least by a part of liberal, progressive thought. In (4) they have a very precise reference to ethnic separation from the culture of migrants and the political design followed by the European Union, and to the alleged different ways of thinking of Italians. The Tweets in (4b,c) clarify this implicit level by detailing the fundamental points with recourse to key-words such as *Italy, symbols, conventional wisdom* (also known as *pensée unique*), *future, roots*, sufficient to evoke the deep fears, values and attachment of the audience.

Impoliteness is a rhetorical device frequently adopted in the recent political debate. It, together with the assertive and apodictic force of the type of messages, may be connected with the contrast between powerful and powerless speech, where generally powerful speech is devoid of the discursive forms of attenuation or uncertainty, as disclaimers and indefinite expressions. In this line, "emotionally charged words" (Perloff 2003: 202) increase the persuasive power of language, so that the argumentative weakness of the exclamatory expressions can turn out to function as a special form of intense language insofar as it activates subliminal meanings and other symbolic values. By way of example, the lexicon of Beppe Grillo, the head of the so-called Five Star Movement, is character-

ized by a mix of political technicalities, semantic changes - 'democracy' means 'direct democracy' - and metaphors, including a large use of profanities. Petrilli (2018) notes the high frequency of scurrilous, insulting and "bad" language , such as *fuck, ass, shit*, combined with or alternating with descriptive terms such as *previous offender, mouse, pig, bitch, dwarf, talk, army, Bocconi (i.e. from a privileged background) student, populism* (Ondelli, 2016). Resorting to an irrational categorization of politicians by means of scurrilous metaphors creates a debate which is only apparent, based on the identity of thought between the leader and his followers. These irrational properties occurring in Grillo's discourse are also manifested in the use of insulting terms applied to the opponents, no longer indicated by their name but designed with disqualifying and ethical metaphors, such as *psiconano* 'psycho-dwarf' (Berlusconi), *ebetino* 'little idiot' (Renzi), *Big Loden* (i.e. a reference to the smart conventional overcoat worn by ex-Premier Monti). Conceptual frames are triggered, and, for instance, Big Loden implicates the formal world of Bocconi the prestigious private university in Milan, the social and directive position of the élites, distance from the common people.

Even the public discourse of Salvini often includes forms of coercive impoliteness (Culpeper 2011) exploiting vulgar expressions, and offensive terms. As noted for Grillo's rhetoric, impolite and vulgar expressions can be a powerful instrument of rupture with the values of civil life, denying the current state of affairs and introducing a different social and moral view based on hidden or unconscious feelings. The few examples we will examine are provided by the messages written by Matteo Salvini, the Lega secretary, on Twitter and other social media (cf. Baldi, Franco and Savoia 2019). What is interesting is that they translate the same contents as the ones in (4) into a vulgar language intended to reach and directly affect the people's cultural and emotional space and implicit thought. These messages consist of claims introducing the tassels of an allusive and embracing symbolic system immediately reached by means of the communicative effectiveness of sexual or scatological expressions. The latter behave like other metaphors, i.e. they open a frame of connected semantic representations.

The excerpts in (5) (from Ondelli 2017, 2018) illustrate the assertive style in messages immediately introducing that deep cultural humus, including the patriarchal/natural style of life, (5a,b), the fears engendered by diversity, (5a,c), the connection of civil and personal liberties to personal responsibility and identity, (5b), and suspicion of conspiracies against the "pure" identity of a given nation (Caiani 2011) suggested by migratory and globalization processes, (5c).

(5)   a.   … la cultura unica, la scuola unica, la magistratura unica. Che palle. Piccolo è bello, diverso è bello!
                'A single culture, a single school, a single judiciary. Bollocks. Small is fine, different is fine!'

          b.   No, diritti a tutti un par de palle. Se tu non rispetti l'essere umano io non ti do mezzo diritto.
                'No, rights for everybody – my ass! If you don't respect human beings I won't even give you half a right.'

          c.   Stiamo subendo una sostituzione etnica programmata
                'We are undergoing programmed ethnic substitution.' (Twitter 3.12.2017)

          d.   Perché l'Europa è infame, perché la moneta unica è l'anticamera del pensiero unico…
                'Because Europe is infamous, because a single currency is the prelude to single thought (i.e. pensée unique)…

          e.   Vaffanculo Bruxelles e tutti i burocrati! Dalla Merkel all'euro, a questa gentaglia che vuole comprarci e ci vuole schiavi!
                'Fuck off Brussels and all bureaucrats! From Merkel to the Euro, to the mob who want to buy us and make us slaves!'

The 'single thought' attributed to Europe is rejected in the name of different national cultures. The recourse to coarse expressions replaces the motivations introducing a direct identity

recall for all people that share the same values. In other words, profanity is a figurative means endowed with several positive effects, substantially able to introduce a direct call to common feelings. The exclamatory structure excludes the predicative part of the clause, i.e. the argumentation supporting the thesis; similar to vocatives and allocution formulas, exclamatory sentences have a syntactic organization that lacks the representation of the event, as in 'Fuck off Brussels and all bureaucrats!'. The consequence is that only the symbolic and perlocutionary delegitimizing intentions and their expected effects support the lexical designation of the enemy. Nevertheless, what is the real conclusion? In (3a) the exclamatory status of the thesis "Small is fine, different is fine" suggests that what is presupposed by 'single', is the conventional wisdom favored by the economic and political establishment, contrasting with small, different values underlying "the search for identity". The use of coarse expressions thus becomes a link with all people that share the same values, by manifesting its disquiet.

"Ethno-pluralism" characterizes right-wing ideologies, according to which each community must remain separate in order to preserve their national identity (Rydgren 2008). Italian extreme right-wing discourse depicts the fear of globalization in documents such as Foglio di lotta (A Pamphlet on Struggle) of Forza Nuova, the Veneto Fronte Skinhead VFS network, and l'Inferocito (The Enraged) of Camerata Virtuale (i.e. the Fascist equivalent of Comrade) where external, mysterious and indefinite conspiratorial factors are involved intent on creating an "undifferentiated, atomized, consumerist society" (Caiani 2011: 140). In the plot in (6) below, Caiani shows the 12 most recurrent actors (among 200 in total) that represent the figures, entities and situations engaged in a global fight for power.

(6)

Table 1. The 12 most recurrent actors in a global fight for power (Caiani 2011:140)

It may be interesting to compare the rhetorical and semantic procedures of the right-wing with the conspiracy thinking of the left (Baldi, Franco and Savoia 2019). An electoral poster of 1976 by Democrazia Proletaria (Proletarian Democracy), an extreme left-wing party, equated Democrazia Cristiana and State violence inspired a long propagandistic constant of PCI the Italian Communist Party. The list of the responsibilities and the alleged plots and conspiracies attributed to DC also included the instrumentalization and manipulation of terrorist groups such as the Brigate Rosse and Nuclei Armati Proletari, as in (7) (Ventrone 2005: 242). The role of conspiratorial thinking is one of the dangerous drifts denounced in Pombeni (2018) as regards

the libertarian ideals of 1968, ultimately leading to the dogmatic tone of the communiqués of the Red Brigades. Crippled information and hate as political praxis shown in the anti-system formations (Lotta Continua, Brigate Rosse, Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari, etc.) today no longer needs underground presses or gathering places.

(7)
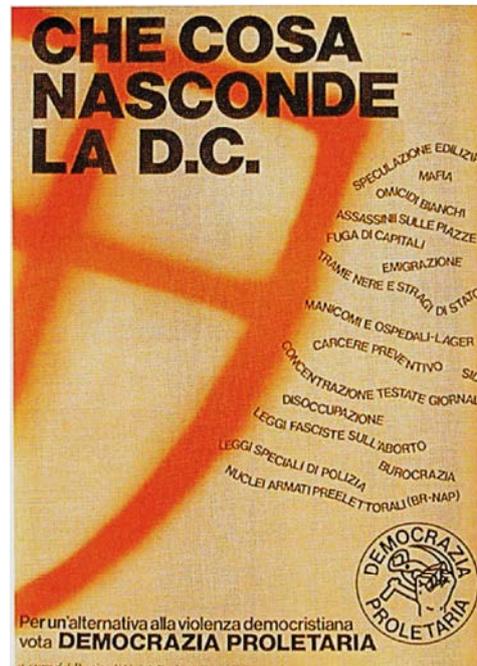
'What the D.C. conceals
building speculation - mafia – fatal accidents in workplaces - murders in the streets – illegal capital transfers - emigration - Fascist plots and State massacres - psychiatric hospitals and concentration camp-hospitals - preventive detention - SID (secret service) - newspapers' concentration - joblessness - Fascist laws on abortion - bureaucracy - police special laws - pre-electoral armed groups (Red Brigades, Proletarian armed nuclei) - For an alternative to DC violence
vote Proletarian Democracy'

As we note, some referential domains are similar in left- and right-wing positions however pointing out the role of obscure economic and external forces presented as a motivating mythology. Resorting to the rhetorical artifice of the conspiracy by occult powers and, in some cases, the same supranational entities, is a strategy shared by opposite extreme ideological positions (van Prooijen *et al.* 2015: 576):

One might speculate that the extreme 'left' particularly perceives conspiracies about issues concerning – for instance – capitalism (e.g., multinationals), and that the extreme 'right' particularly perceives conspiracies about topics such as science (e.g., evolution and climate change) or immigration. Research confirms that specific ideologies may drive specific conspiracy theories […] More important for the present purposes, however, is the observation that both extremes share a general proneness to conspiracy beliefs about societal events.

Coming back now to the new media, the latter make individual, uncontrolled and emotional forms of communications possible. Hate speech, fake news and other delegitimizing rhetorical tools occur within the messages in social media on the part of politicians, providing the pragmatics of delegitimization of the opponent with a formerly unknown strong power of expression and dissemination through which they contribute to re-shaping reality and introducing an alternative representation of facts. Indeed, the reduced argumentation enabled by social media favours contents entirely based on the immediate expression of opinions and feelings, easily interpreted by the recipients, thus proposing alternatives to the knowledge legitimized by the power of the educated élites and by the socially recognized interpretation of the world. An unstoppable swarm of unfalsifiable messages gives rise to representations of reality and society different from those consciously controlled by the institutions and instruments available in Democratic states.

All in all, lexical choices, as highlighted by content analysis, are able to circumscribe the symbolic world of the politician. This possibility is exploited by politicians insofar as the very act of using specific terms is an important value, a sort of password, creating a covert and negotiable relation with experiences and beliefs. Vocal passwords function, ultimately, like other visual or concrete devices, in this, leaving out the predicative reading of actions and events. Let us briefly consider the frequency of the lexical elements in a wide corpus of documents written by Matteo Renzi from 2012 to 2016 presented in Pratellesi (2016: 4).[3] The research dealt with the speeches by Renzi, starting from the initial phase, where he proposed himself as the *rottamatore* 'demolisher', reaching a period of Government and the next one, entirely devoted to the Constitutional Referendum concerning the setting up of a single chamber parliament and the electoral law. The semantic arrangement of Renzi's discourses is crucial insofar as the Referendum contents involve delicate and structural elements of Italian democratic organization. So, they are oriented to establish and manifest the symbolic components of the new foreshadowed system. The differences among the three phases are identified on the basis of the frequency of some terms, able to represent the evolution schematized in the plots (Wordle) in (8a), *demolisher (rottamatore)*, (8c), *government*, (8b), *referendum*:

(8)   a. Demolisher (Rottamatore)

b. Government

c. Referendum

In (8a) the stress is on 'public financing for parties', 'change', 'old' vs 'new', i.e. all values of a strongly critical and anti-politics movement. In (8b), when Renzi was the head of the government, the values are 'job', 'Europe', 'school', 'future and reform'. Finally, (8c) focuses on 'changing the country' and 'constructing the future' (Pratellesi 2016). These differences also influence the frequency distribution of the slogan-words used by Renzi, such as *owls* – the dehumanizing metaphor applied to the critics of his political action as the head of government (see section 5.1) – *reform, demolishing, left*, which, as shown in (9), have very different occurrences among the phases. Moreover, the referendum tends to eliminate all the polemical and identitarian references, such as *owls*, *reform* and *left*, abandoning the storytelling linked with overt ideological worldviews and favouring a more inclusive approach.

(9)   owls   reform   scrapping   left

The discussion in the present section has focused on the different non-argumentative modalities that political discourse puts in place as interpretive devices addressed to the audience. The quest for elementary and, together, strongly evoking linguistic tools and expressions is generally also reflected in the structure of sentences. So, the linguistic and expressive choices of Matteo Salvini are limited in comparison both with Italian political rhetoric and also with the rich and articulate speech of Berlusconi and Renzi (Ondelli 2018). This property can be due to the prevalent use of tweets and posts on Facebook, however like other 5S politicians such as Luigi Di Maio; in this context, his way of speaking is congenial to the pragmatic modalities of social networks. The point is that the measure of the readability of his speeches done with *Corrige! (Readability index and lexical filter)* reveals that Salvini's speeches are the easiest to understand even for the people who have a Middle school diploma: the *Gulpease* index is 62 for Salvini compared to 56 for Renzi (the value 100 indicates the highest readability and the value 0 the lowest readability; Lucisano and Piemontese 1988). A value lower than 80 is difficult to read for those with an elementary diploma. As we saw, Salvini's short messages on social media present facts as apodictic, obvious, and natural, like reality. This way of communicating gives rise to an emotional type of truth as a typical cognitive abbreviation that combines, at least, two properties: expressing judgments and conclusions without providing arguments, and suggesting common belonging.

4. Symbols

Symbols are one among the main filters through which we assign a meaning to the things around us and we are able to interpret reality. More precisely, the knowledge of the world is organized by means of symbols, including linguistic expressions, based on a genetically fixed human faculty, as well as other symbolic systems, just as gestures and other visual tools and the wide system of cultural symbols linked to the attitudes and imaginary of particular communities. Politics does not escape this human capability of translating and incorporating knowledge into symbolic forms: gestures, imagines, colors, pictures, designs, meaning-full objects, posturing, the manner of behaving and speaking. It is political discourse that creates an irreplaceable symbolic force. A crucial property of political discourse is the ability to replace the experience of reality with its representation by means of semantics, symbols and beliefs of the recipient.

Authors such as Edelman, Lasswell, and Kaplan, highlight the role played by the values sharing and "preexisting predispositions" (Cavazza 2002: 790), which symbols represent by disregarding rational or utilitarian considerations. One solution instead of another, one photo rather than others, act as symbolic devices insofar as they convey more general contents concerning society, its fears, its expectations and myths, and cause deep, not necessarily overt, adhesion. The spectacularization of politics which derives from this has meant the enhancement of the symbolic import of actions, behaviors and clothing. The body, posturing, gestures, dress has always played a role in human history, at least in the contrast between the natural and political body, where the first is fragile and perishable while the second is imagined and represented (Parotto 2007).

Emblematic cases are numerous, starting from Matteo Renzi, while still mayor of Florence, who in 2013 appeared in a popular television show dressed as Fonzie, (in (10)), the hero of the television series of the eighties, *Happy Days*, the rebel boy, loved by teenagers, who was self-confident but respectful of values: Renzi was one of them, with the same desires and expectations. Like Fonzie, he wanted to rebel against the distortion or the betrayal of the behaviors perceived as right and shared among people, in compliance with the fundamental principles of a traditional morality.

(10)

Here emerges the rhetoric of anti-politics, the search for symbols and meanings apparently as far as possible away from the traditional semantic spaces of politics. They are, ultimately, symbols evoking pre-political contents with which engaging in politics and politically communicating are imbued. After all, the representation of the body of the leader as the symbol of a particular worldview was already widely implemented by other political leaders. A well-known example is the bandana worn by Silvio Berlusconi in (11), in the meeting with Mr. and Mrs. Blair in his villa in Sardinia, in August, 2004.

(11)

The contradiction between one's own identity and the new, public, interpretation can refer to the analysis in Goffman (1959, 1967), whereby the self-representation of persons, the face shown, responds to social attributes acknowledged and understood by others:

> The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (Goffman 1967: 5)

Body, gestures and clothing of the political leader are typically connected with the ritual-istic manifestation of totalitarian or despotic organizations. On the contrary, these signs also provide a crucial source of interpretive tools in democratic states, besides, naturally, the level of ordinary interpersonal relations. As well as language, images and other physical signs give shape to the contents of knowledge, culture and society (Cassirer 1944). Meaning takes form in recognizing themselves in the same face, in sharing the value of determined social attributes. What is interesting is how physical symbols manifest the changes in the persons' way of feeling. So, the powerful head of the Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democracy) party Aldo Moro in (12), shows himself in suits and ties in any situation, including the beach, thus preserving the message of a substantial ideal remoteness of politicians from other citizens, and as a sign of respect for the common values of discretion and severity. The seriousness of behavior – official locations and dress representing social distinction – is an important symbolic system put in place by the economic, political and cultural establishment.

(12)

New symbols for new values are now dominant. The photos in (13a, b) illustrate the negation of the alterity or the professionalism of politicians that inspires the myth of politicians as common people. The semantic space goes from the immediate identification with common behaviour through the signs of the way of dressing and gesturing, to the abandonment of the more formal signs, such as the tie. So, in summer 2019 the then Minister of Internal Affairs and secretary of the Lega party, Matteo Salvini, in the beach resort Papeete at Milano Marittima, makes political statements while showing himself as a bather engaged in fun activities.

(13)

a.

b.

Analogously, even if the desecration is less explicit, taking off one's tie is a sign of closeness to the people. Renzi, in announcing the creation of the party Italia Viva in September 2019, in (14), presents himself without this distinctive sign, and Di Maio, in (15), the Foreign Ministry of Italy, takes off his tie in a meeting of his party, the Movimento 5 Stelle in February 2020, in order to signify his belonging to the common persons.

(14)   (15)

Clothing, gestures, bodies recall the common values and belief universe of the common people, the popular classes, a new undetermined crowd, a sort of "all we" only united by distrust of politicians.

A call to recondite but identity meanings deeply rooted in a particular tradition of thought is introduced in gesture and posture. The examples in (16) and (17) are telling. In the poster in (16) – 2010 communication campaign – the then secretary of the Democratic Party (PD), Luigi Bersani is photographed in a calm pose, without a jacket and with a tie and his sleeves rolled up. The caption says: 'For better days'. 'Roll up our sleeves'. Everything in this picture suggests calm and rationality, promising better times. The tie recalls the institutional role of the politician, suggesting reliability and self-consciousness. However, traditional and old meanings of the left-wing are introduced by the rolled up sleeves, a subtle but not insignificant and negligible reminder of Giovanni Pellizza da Volpedo's Quarto Stato painting, where the rolled up sleeves characterize the manner of dressing of proletarians, workmen and artisans. The secular creed of the left-wing is celebrated in this way.

(16)   (17)

On the other hand, in several electoral meetings the leader of the Lega Matteo Salvini holds a Rosary, in the photo in (17), as the symbol of fidelity to the Catholic tradition and vindication of a society preserving its identity against the danger of religious and ethnic replacement. The reference to basic values is triggered, this time in an overt and flaunted way, with the effect of multiplying implicatures such as the threat caused by the imagined number of migrants with a different culture, religion and language. The messages on Twitter accompany the gestures, spelling out this important

semantic nucleus of the persuasive strategy of Salvini, as illustrated in (18), connecting it with an ethnic approach to migration and, crucially, with the rejection of an intellectualistic attitude towards the obscuration of its own tradition.

(18) Secondo qualche radical chic indossare il crocifisso "fa impressione". Sì al velo, no alla croce. Siamoalla follia (19.06.2019) (from Giovinazzo 2020)
'According to some radical chic individuals to wear a crucifix is "disturbing". Yes to the veil, not to the cross. This is madness'

The synthetic contraposition between 'veil' and 'cross' evokes a strong emotional motivation justifying the conclusion, 'This is madness', associated with strong implicatures and experienced situations.

The incomplete and allusive way of arguing favoured by social media is however not substantially different from the traditional style of advertising and political posters in electoral campaigns. In other words, the recourse to what is already felt by persons and included in their symbolic universe is an essential mechanism of persuasion. Not by accident, Chilton (2005) speaks of "propagation" rather than "propaganda" in political communication, so that what is exhibited is somehow substantially present in the symbolic universe of the addressee and only needs to be aroused. So, posters are able to introduce and arouse the values of a party (or a brand) by having recourse to few words (mottos and watchwords) and images that trigger feelings and ideological affiliations.

Let us consider some political posters, all relative to the campaign for the regional elections in January 2020, in Emilia the important, rich, industrialized, populous region of Northern Italy. The focus is on the format and the claim in each poster. (19) is the poster of the Lega, where the image of Salvini and of the Emilia candidate Borgonzoni stand out surrounded by the assertion, 'Stop PD! Let us free Emilia-Romagna', 'Sunday 26 January vote Lega'. We compare this message with the ones conveyed in (21) of PD, 'Bonaccini President. Emilia Romagna. One step ahead'. and in (20) of Movimento 5S 'Your useful sentinels'.

(19)   (20)   (21)

The target is the symbolic and semantic world of the political subjects:

(19'):   'Stop PD! Let us free Emilia-Romagna' directly identifies the enemy from which the
           electors must be freed. The evocation of a sort of long term slavery is recalled and put
           at the centre of interest for the citizens. The politician head of the party, Salvini, ensures
           the crucial ideological points.

(20'):   The message of 5S is evoking the essential narration of this movement, i.e. the need for
           sentinels vigilant over distortion in political behavior and the administration of public
           welfare.

(21'):   The storytelling of PD is didactic, suggesting the opportunity of some social or economic
           progress.

Any overt argumentative procedure is missing; the main supporting arguments are extra-
linguistic implicatures, the reliability of PD, the ability of Lega in destroying traditional power,
the obsession of M5S about suspect politicians and accusing the establishment of dishonesty
in the handling of power. So Lega and M5S have in common self-representation as anti-sys-
tem and anti-caste forces, oriented to subverting the current state of affairs. Voters know that
behind the vote in Emilia-Romagna, the Lega party aims to cause a government crisis, while
PD is worried about preserving a sufficient degree of representativeness. An electoral fight is
the result of a chain of messages, events and narrations that accompany the life of persons. A
symbolic process that expresses emotions and humors of the (parts of) society. Crucial symbols
are mediated by the gestures and the body of politicians.

A successful argumentation includes validity, i.e. the logical connection between premises
and conclusion, truth, i.e. the correspondence between the sentences and the world, force, i.e.
its informational import, relevance of premises and fecundity, i.e. its informational potential
(D'Agostini 2010). Slogans, claims, and other types of political messages do not instantiate
these properties. So, in the messages in (16), (18), (19)-(21), validity as logical consequentiality
is not involved; the conclusion is immediately offered. Nevertheless, force seems to gain from
the weakness of validity, activating implicatures provided by the context. As far as they are
familiar to the interlocutors, the common ideological universe as the conclusion of implicit
argumentation is chosen (Sperber, Wilson 1996: 37). By way of an example, the ultimate thesis
of (19) is the imagined, dreamed world, suggested by the sentences in (22):

(22) Premise/presupposition: we need new values
     Supporting Arguments: citizens need to be liberated from the long term government of the left-
     wing parties/from the corruption and the exaggerated power of politicians/from uncertainty
     Conclusion/implicatures: vote for me because we feel the same way and pursue the same world

Relevance and illocutionary force properties leave out both validity devices, such as syntactic
connectors, and truth criteria; the latter are overridden by the implicit arguments introduced by
the reduced syntax of the imperative, immediately involving the speaker and his interlocutors
or a simple assertion, an exclamation, in turn inducing a direct implicature on the recipient.

5. Metaphors, narrative and lexicon. The interplay of rhetorical tools with images: A single imaginary

Any proposition pronounced in the course of a linguistic interaction puts into play some
type of persuasion, at least in the minimal sense that the recipient shares the meaning with
the speaker, and, therefore, her/his cognitive environment is enriched and modified. Thus,
Danler (2005: 62) highlights that discourse is a "form of power". The political speech is, in

this perspective, the "prototypical discourse as power", as far as it is aimed at changing or enhancing a certain worldview in the audience by means of discursive strategies oriented to manipulation and persuasion. These strategies include pragmatic, textual and strictly linguistic devices, such as morpho-syntactic, lexical and prosodic choices. Naturally, what is crucial is the semantics conveyed, the message as an assemblage of overt and hidden linguistic contents, presuppositions and implicatures (Lombardi Vallauri and Masia 2014).

We will focus on the strategies for obtaining generic and opaque messages, stimulating immediate adhesion to values and convictions and skipping over eventual evaluative procedures put in place by the recipient. For instance, Danler (2005) speaks of habituality, contrast and relevance for the present, emphasis of modifiers, avoidance of confrontation specifically by means of omission of complements, polarization/obviousness. These devices can be connected to the fuzziness effect observed by Saussure (2005), as a crucial tool of manipulation in political discourse. A special role is played by metaphors and other figures of speech by virtue of their ability to amplify the semantic import of an expression or a text giving rise to conceptual blending (Chilton 2005) and interpretive frames. Charteris-Black (2005: 13) compares ideology, metaphors and myth as sharing "the expressive potential for cognitive and emotional engagement". Sebera and Lu (2018: 66) note that:

> Metaphor within Critical Metaphor Analysis is understood as a linguistic device which can shape reality and frame it according to the persuader's goals, thus connecting their ideological agenda with the addressee's already deep-entrenched worldviews and beliefs on the basis of the pathos invoked by the culturally embedded meanings of the metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphorical representation is actually the way in which we conceptualize and categorize abstract experiences. The ability of lexical occurrences, in particular metaphoric uses, to project a system of semantic relations has the effect of creating a new semantics substituting the old meanings, or, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 1980) note, conceal new interpretations of the world and society. A direct correspondence between values and metaphorical concepts follows, and not surprisingly, metaphor is central to language and the ideology of politics, which can play an ambiguous role, implying opaque meanings or hidden systems. The neo-semantics of the sort introduced by figured uses or by even only subtle, not literal occurrences does not necessarily derive from the media. The media generally use it for adhering to a collective imagination associated with a political-cultural line or uncritically repeat it.

According to Gentner and Bowdle (2001), and Bowdle and Gentner (2005) metaphor is the result of a cognitive process that establishes correspondences between the partially isomorphic conceptual structures associated with two terms. In this sense, metaphor is a source of polysemy, as it generates an additional abstract meaning in addition to the literal meaning of a term. As they recall, metaphor gives rise to an abstract category that includes both terms, with the result that this new category can be conceptualized separately from the original ones of the two terms. Even the difference between conventional metaphors and new metaphors, considered important by some authors, seems to be devoid of real importance from the point of view of interpretation (Bowdle and Gentner 2005; Chilton 2005). The multiplicative effect of metaphor is pointed out by Sperber and Wilson (1996) whereby, like the poetic and stylistic effect, an expansion of the meaning is obtained by means of implicatures.

Charteris-Black (2005: 22) recalls that:

> However, because metaphor draws on two domains by relating abstract notions to our experience of concrete realities, it is an effective way of making an abstract ideology accessible because it is affective.

Political leaders are usually very effective at making the abstruse and abstract seem personal and responsive to real human emotions and it is this skill that enhances their legitimacy.

The communicative force of metaphors in political discourse is specifically associated with (de)legitimization of companions and partners vs opponents and the audience. In fact, metaphors are able to place, on the basis of our experience of the world, attitudes and values 'on a scale of goodness and badness' (Charteris-Black 2005: 13-4), thus providing political discourse with a semantic instrument able to immediately represent political actors, events, facts and beliefs in a positive or negative light. In what follows we will examine three crucial points, among others, i.e. the use of narrative texts, metaphors, specifically the ones aiming to dehumanize the opponent, and the interplay between discursive tools and images based on the same conceptualizations.

Derogatory metaphors linked with the animalistic representation of politicians is a usual shortcut, arguably more efficacious, insofar as it generates the stereotypical frame of connected properties. So, in (23), Luigi Di Maio ascribes to then-premier Matteo Renzi the attitude of *barking*.

(23) Mentre dall'Italia **#Renzi abbaia verso l'Europa**, negli stessi giorni vota un trattato sull'olio tunisino che massacra i nostri agricoltori" (Tweet, 22 February 2016)
'While from Italy #Renzi barks towards Europe, on the same day he votes for a treaty on Tunisian olive oil that massacres our farmers'.

This simple word is sufficient to open an articulated frame in which Renzi is a barking dog, implicitly annoying and innocuous, ready to be on the run in the face of difficulties, in this case to betray the citizens. What is more, the traditional wisdom expressed by the proverb "Barking dogs seldom bite" is implicated. If the strength of metaphors is to open frames, to activate a connected semantic framework of events and participants, animalistic figures in political polemic introduce a severe dehumanizing effect condensing the depreciative properties that traditional imaginary and narrative associate with particular animals.

At this point, the preceding discussion has made it clear that all the different types of political communication have a narrative import, introducing schemes of actions where the politicians are protagonists, the explicit or implicit deus ex machina. In posters as well as in the short tweets, events are narrated and the politician is the agent able to solve the problem, to overcome the obstacle. Narrative is essential to political discourse insofar as it is structured on the basis of some type of metaphorical frame (Skrynnikova *et al.* 2017) that drives reading of the text. What is more, we can think that a set of interpretive primitives are involved, in the manner of the Proppean treatment of the narrative functions in traditional fairy tales, as suggested by Lakoff (1972: 147), whereby:

[…], we can say with some certainty that people do construct some discourses in much the same way that they construct sentences. If people have in their minds a "discourse grammar," it is certain that large segments of that grammar will be shared by people speaking many different languages in many scattered lands.

Lakoff surmises that differences in discourse grammar could depend on different world views and cultural values, thus explaining the mutual comprehensibility of the popular tales semantic organization in the European tradition. Interestingly, Skrynnikova *et al.* (2017: 288) propose the application of the idea of Lakoff (1972) to current political speeches in order to

uncover the plot hidden in the narrative. In other words, it is possible to depict the narrated event and its participants in terms of an elementary roles, "A set of elementary narratives frequently makes up complex narratives", such as the protagonist, the antagonist, the helpers, etc., and the overcoming of obstacles, with the advantage of evoking traditional values and meanings. As an example:

> […] clusters of metaphors employed by the politicians form a specific type of a cultural narrative referred to as an extended metaphorical frame. […] a hero walks a long way with many obstacles to his destination, losing a minor race, learning his lesson, and going on until he wins. An alternative plot is with someone on a quest to overcome a succession of obstacles before getting a chance […]. (Skrynnikova *et al.* 2017: 285, 288)

Indeed, a direct reference to popular fables and their protagonists is not unknown in the political debate, insofar as traditional stories are able to typify the personality traits of a person in terms of moral and behavioral stereotypes. So, the ancient fable of the Scorpion and the Frog[4] is used by the Culture Minister Dario Franceschini, in a tweet of 19.2.2020, in (24), as a comment on doubts about the endurance of the government expressed by Matteo Renzi – the leader of Italia Viva, a small splinter party supporting the government majority – during a debate on the TV talk-show "Porta a Porta".

(24) Mentre stavano per morire, la rana chiese all'insano ospite il perché del suo folle gesto. Perché sono uno scorpione, rispose, è nella mia natura.
'While they were dying, the frog asked the insane guest the reason for his foolish act. Because I am a scorpion, he answered, it is my nature'.

By means of this fable Franceschini points out that the fall would damage Renzi and his party as well. An implicit characterization of the politician is suggested, the stereotype of the man who is willing to hurt himself to satisfy his own ambitions, like the scorpion that does not resist its nature and stings the frog causing death to both. So, cultural tradition provides us with a predetermined representational scheme of the moral behaviors of the persons, a collection of public and private masks structuring the conceptualization of society and the world. Political discourse exploits it as an efficacious tool with the merit of fitting in with the cognitive framework and the conceptualization of the world on the part of the audience.

The link with the moral values of the cultural tradition explains the crucial role played by the shared and traditional ways of representing the event and human actions. In what follows we examine longer texts in which the narrative structure and metaphorical frames are based on a fundamental scheme in which the protagonist (the politicians) solves problems represented by obstacles and unveils deceptions in order to achieve victory. Images and metaphors create a particularly deep plot of meanings that people are induced to interpret on the basis of traditional and cultural world views and beliefs.

---

[4] A scorpion, which cannot swim, asks a frog to carry it across a river on the frog's back. The frog hesitates, afraid of being stung by the scorpion, but the scorpion argues that if it did that, they would both drown. The frog considers this argument sensible and agrees to carry the scorpion. Midway across the river, the scorpion stings the frog anyway, dooming them both. The dying frog asks the scorpion why it stung the frog despite knowing the consequence, to which the scorpion replies: "I couldn't help it. It's in my nature".

5.1 De Gasperi vs communists in the 1948 electoral campaign

In the crucial moments of Italian history immediately after the end of the Second World War two ideological visions of democracy and civil rules were in contrast giving rise to an intense and violent political confrontation. The campaign for the Italian general election in 1948 was no holds barred: the Democrazia Cristiana Party, inspired by the ideal of a true western-type democracy, focused on the accusation of a plot and duplicity on the part of communists, linked with socialists in the Fronte Democratico Popolare (FDP) with Garibaldi as its symbol. The Communist Party was a political and socio-economic reality rooted in Italian society; it presented itself as the heir of the ideals of the Resistance and of anti-fascism. The election was lost by communists and won by the parties embodying democratic or conservative ideals, determined to establish a democratic and free regime, and averse to Bolshevism and Soviet influence. A sour confrontation also continued in the following years, thus characterizing important aspects of Italian politics.

A cipher of the speeches made by Alcide De Gasperi, the secretary of the Democarazia Cristiana Party and by Palmiro Togliatti, the secretary of the Italian Communist Party (cf. Baldi and Franco 2015) is the use of metaphors essentially aiming to disparage the adversary, occurring inside a prose clear and, at the same time, as Desideri (2011) notes, prescriptive, almost didactic. As we saw, metaphor and generally figurative language have important effects of sense as far as they are able to provide new meanings, different from both source and target, to the people's conceptual system. Specifically, a typical rhetorical instrument is the use of dehumanizing metaphors applying terms designing animals to humans, a procedure related to strong ideological motivations and contrasts. A well-known case are the metaphors of "parasites" and "noxious bacillus" chosen, in Mein Kampf, by Hitler for naming the Jews (Chilton 2005). The bestial metaphors used as referential expressions induce the person(s)-target of metaphor to be moved to a sort of no man's land, devoid of cultural values. This semantic tool in the political struggle has a long history in the European political arena, at least from the eighteenth century, as shown by Ventrone (2005). The recourse to non-human and beastly linguistic or visual representations experienced a resurgence during the terrible, conflictual decades of the first half of the twentieth century, albeit maintaining its effectiveness until today.

The use of (dead) metaphors is a classical method aimed at generating systems of meanings and evoking positive or negative emotions, as in the language of De Gasperi in the first electoral campaign of republican Italy (Cavazza 2002). He presents the political opponent (the Communist Party and FDP) as an "internal enemy" plotting against the national interest because of its being subject to the foreign power of the Soviet Union and Cominform. The internal enemy is an alternative to shared values in which the nation is grounded and, therefore, it is devoid of legitimacy. So, the delegitimizing strategies serve to frame disturbing and obscure semantics alternative to the basic values of the community, as illustrated in the following excerpts in (25a, b). This effect is also achieved by means of religious or ethical formulations (indicated in bold type), in turn able to bring deep basic feelings to the surface (Desideri 2011). This is the case of the metaphor of the "wolf dressed up as a lamb" which was widely used in the election campaign. This well-known image from the Gospels served to persuade the electorate of the opponent's treachery (Vinciguerra 2016), implementing a clear didactic function.

(25)   a.   **i lupi di ieri si presentano oggi in veste di agnello** e accusano noi di portare discordie [...]. E agli elettori diciamo: occhio alla cortina dei gas fumogeni: il Partito comunista per ora si appiatta dietro una certa cortina fumogena che si chiama Fronte popolare, [...] La vera forza che sta dietro e manovra è **il Partito comunista, il quale ha fatto il lupo fino a ieri e oggi bela di concordia e di pace; ma ormai abbiamo già visto le zanne. Certi discorsi da Mefisto sono inutili: sotto la toga vediamo spuntare lo zoccolo del caprone**. (Roma, 15 febbraio 1948; De Gasperi 2008, pp. 1150-1155)'

'Yesterday's wolves come dressed today as lambs and accuse us of breeding discord [...]. We tell the voters this: beware of smokescreens: the Communist Party is lying low for now behind a smokescreen called the Popular Front. [...] The real force lurking and manoeuvring from behind is the Communist Party which has played the wolf until yesterday and today bleats of harmony and peace; but by now we've seen its fangs. Mephisto can say what he pleases: under the toga we can see the goat's hoof peeping out.'

b.   mi viene rivolta l'accusa di usare un linguaggio troppo rude: questa accusa, indovinate un po', mi viene proprio dai comunisti i quali sono soliti misurare le parole e che se nelle aule parlamentari **parlano come agnelli**, davanti alle folle e quando pubblicano manifesti, **parlano come lupi rabbiosi**. (Torino, 7 marzo 1948; De Gasperi 2008, pp. 1180-1181) 'I am being accused of using excessively rough language: this accusation, [...], comes straight from communists who usually measure their words and if in the parliamentary chambers they speak like lambs, before the crowd and when designing posters, they speak like rabid wolves'.

References to the devil at the end of the first excerpt enhance the religious substratum, drawing upon people's deepest feelings and imaginary. Delegitimizing discourse is characterized by metaphors denoting sub-human characters, as in the preceding passages, where the term rabid wolf/wolves directly introduces the reference to political opponents. Dehumanizing and alienating metaphors is a procedure aiming to reshape the symbolic universe of persons and bring to light a concealed perception of things. In depicting the ambiguous nature of communists De Gasperi resorts to metaphors highlighting their elusive and threatening behaviour. He uses the language of military espionage: fifth column (a metaphor adopted since the Spanish Civil War in the sense of "traitor"), as in (26a, b, c). The communists are presented as an organization inside Italy covertly working and plotting in favour of a foreign invader:

(26) a.   non possiamo accettare il principio che da parte del bolscevismo venga organizzata e alimentata una quinta colonna entro la nostra nazione e che faccia una politica diversa da quella che è la politica nazionale (Roma, 15 febbraio; cit. da De Gasperi 2008: 1154).
'We cannot accept the principle that Bolshevism should organize and fuel a fifth column inside our nation or engage in politics different from what is national politics.'

b.   Ed è contro questa congiura che noi ci siamo levati e abbiamo detto in nome della indipendenza della nostra patria che non possiamo ammettere che si guidino delle quinte colonne da di fuori (Frosinone, 29 marzo; cit. da De Gasperi 2008: 1238).
'We have risen up against this plot, and proclaimed in the name of our homeland's independence that we cannot allow fifth columns being led from outside'.

c.   Questo pericolo è particolarmente grave perché tale tentativo non si compirebbe per la forza interna di un movimento nazionale italiano, ma sarebbe la quinta colonna di un movimento più grande (Genova, 11 aprile; cit. da De Gasperi 2008: 1292).
'This peril is serious indeed since such an attempt would not be the inside work of a national Italian movement, but the fifth column of a larger movement.'

Figurative language provides particular strength to fear and securitarian sentiments just by enlarging the semantic space driven by the original metaphor, here fifth column, the multiplicative effect noted by Chilton (2005).

An interesting point is that the semantic power of metaphors also comes from a certain degree of vagueness and indefiniteness. In other words, metaphors trigger alternative worlds stemming from the semantic domain of the source, but simultaneously introduce a particular kind of vagueness, left in the hands of the recipients and their cognitive and linguistic abilities. Indefiniteness is, we recall, an intrinsic property of communication, with and without language. In section 1 we have seen that the notion of "the same language" is in need of explanation. Sperber and Wilson (1996: 45, 57) observe:

> […] failures in communication are to be expected: what is mysterious and requires explanation is not failure but success. […] We see it as a major challenge for any account of human communication to give a precise description and explanation of its vaguer effects. Distinguishing meaning from communication, accepting that something can be communicated without being strictly speaking meant by the communicator or the communicator's behavior, is a first essential step.

The naive idea whereby the meaning of words is rigorously and univocally defined clashes with the fact that words and sentences of languages have by their very nature a meaning at least partially undetermined, with grey zones requiring the interpretation of the extra-linguistic context (Jackendoff 1993). So that language does not ensure conceptual tuning between interlocutors:

> Not only is our conceptualized world our own reality, we constantly check whether it converges with everyone else's. To the degree that we sense that it converges, we take the common view as flowing from the "objective character of the world." On the other hand, to the degree that we sense conflict, we are forced to acknowledge subjectivity, and the sense of what is "objective" becomes less stable. (Jackendoff 2002: 330)

Persuasive discourse, obviously, not only does not escape this property but exploits it, inasmuch as, according to Danler (2005), it includes forms of avoidance of confrontation and omission, making the real intention of the speaker obscure. Metaphoric expressions seem to be able to enhance this type of communication. This also holds for the military jargon used by De Gasperi against the communists: employing gas, a smokescreen, shock troops, camouflage, outflanking tactics, presenting the opponent as nursing obscure intentions threatening law and order, and Italian democracy.

Posters illustrate this threat in a suggestive metaphoric representation, where the true face of communism appears as a skull and unveils a disturbing and threatening semantic frame including oppression, army, war, death. The claim "Vote (DC) or (Bolshevism – bringer of death) will be your master" in (27) (from Ventrone 2005: 173) dissimulates a destiny of death and oppression: the deceit is uncovered:

(27)

From Ventrone 2005: 173

The reduced argumentation of posters is however telling (cf. Ventrone 2005), as in (26'):

(27')   Premise/implicature: there is the risk that the people will not go to vote
        Supporting Arguments: Bolshevik power is a blood-thirsty master, imperilling the
        liberty and life of the persons; if you don't vote Bolshevism can win
        Conclusion: vote against this risk (vote DC)

The vagueness of metaphoric and figurative expressions gives rise to a sort of disquiet, linked to the possible emergence of obscure meanings. As seen, in the campaign of the DC the rhetoric of the (Bolshevik) plot inspired and supported the delegitimizing discourse, partially by means of metaphors like "fifth column" and the storytelling focused on the wolf and the lamb. Like the skull in (27) (from Ventrone 2005: 171), the wolf under the skin of a lamb reveals the true nature of the Communist Party, as in the poster in (28a), where the ironic claim "The Democratic Front celebrates peace" shows the true value of the word 'peace' for communists, in so far as a fierce wolf is hidden under the skin of the lamb, and, again the deceit is uncovered.

(28)   a.   b.

From Ventrone 2005: 171

The famous poster in (28b) shows the Communist Party as a wolf that is about to snap a ewe, representing a person that does not vote "I do not vote". The caption is a proverb formulated in a dialect of the extreme South of Italy: "Who behaves like a ewe, the wolf eats him/her". The use of dialect reflects the sociolinguistic conditions of the countryside areas, especially in the Southern regions, where illiteracy was still very common, with the consequence that many persons could not interpret the different messages and be subject to deceptive propaganda, or, be induced not to vote. Addressing them in their common language intended to increase acknowledgement of the common identity and expectations with the DC, thus increasing the self-consciousness of the people.

The image of the wolf unveils the true nature of the communists: they are predators exploiting the lack of preparation of people in facing the crucial questions involved in the first free elections after the war. The messages conveyed by the posters translate into images and assertions the articulated discourses of the leader. The same imaginary is created based on the coincidence between metaphors and pictures. Again, dehumanizing images are prevailing in the symbolisms adopted by the DC, strongly inspired by two principal ends: to decode the messages of communists, by showing the real, true, denotation introduced by the words and symbols that they used, and to bring to light their ambiguous nature depriving them of their human essence, and their being acceptable adversaries.

The point is that Communists, in turn, aimed at evoking the interests of workers, although the relation with the Soviet Union, its regime and its imperialist politics were difficult to downplay. The posters of FDP put the spotlight on social values such as liberty, peace, work and family, on the basis of the common interests between workers and communists. The imaginary depicted is apparently inspired by traditional values, in some sense, similar to the ones of Catholic sensibility, as in the poster in (29a), "For peace, liberty and work. Vote Garibaldi"**,** and (29b), "For the defence of the family. Vote for the Italian Communist Party". where the image of a family nucleus, father, mother and child is the physical and ideal core of the poster.

(29)   a.   b.

In other words, they point to the same values the DC appealed to. The interpretive level is strongly involved, in the sense that the same words and symbols are associated with very different semantic universes and ideologies. In fact, we know that lexical elements can be used

in connection with different new semantics, implying new interpretations of the world and society (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2004: 57) semantic re-interpretation corresponds to a different way of categorizing society in the terms of opposite worldviews. The result is that the simple choice of lexical items gives rise to a sort of symbolic violence and of a coercive type of communication, from which persons could free themselves, only by exercising a conscious critical approach. Also apparently clear terms such as *liberty*, *peace* and *family* in the claim of the posters in (29a, b), introduce alternative and ambiguous meanings. Liberty and peace in the sense of the communist and socialist regimes in the Soviet sphere did not correspond to the semantics of liberty and peace in the states of the Western world. Naturally we know that playing on the indeterminacy and ambiguity of the same terms is a lexical strategy generally used in political discourse: the interpretation rests on the symbolic universe and the referential frames of the audience. The same for family, given that the secular conception of family is very different from the one of traditional Catholicism supported by the DC and conservative parties.

The FDP reminds people that the interests it supports are those of the workers, so that it suggests that whoever votes Garibaldi votes in his/her own interest (in these elections women were voting for the first time), as in (30): "Vote. If you vote for me you vote for you", Garibaldi says.

(30)

Indefiniteness is the cipher of this type of assertions, tentatively something like the structure in (29'):

(30')   Premise: vote
         supporting argument: vote for you
         implicatures: your interests are liberty and work, which the Communist Party supports
         conclusion: Vote for me (the Communist Party/FDP)

Interestingly, the identification between party and elector is a figure frequently used. For example, the Movimento 5S has recourse to this claim, "Vote (you) for you", in the Regional Election of 2013, as in (31).

(31)

The strong conceptual simplification catches the eye, any justification and argumentation is zeroed, only the assertion or the imperative is preserved.

5.2 Togliatti's rhetoric

Let us turn now to the rhetoric of Togliatti in the years after the 1948 election (Baldi and Franco 2015); Desideri (2011) underlines the polemical and scathing nature of the speeches of Togliatti. Indeed, in spite of the defeat, Togliatti is conscious of the fact that he is supporting a side and a well-rooted thought in society and he wants to challenge his political opponents in order to confirm the strength of the party in society. In his speech in Modena in 1950 (from which the excerpt in (32) comes), he aims to activate expectations and a semantic system that responds to a widespread identity representation. Thus, Togliatti may foreshadow a future goal, in terms generally valid in the presence of a strong and wide sharing of identity, whereby the promise of commitment establishes the borders of self-legitimation. The speaker knows that large parts of the working class and of intellectuals can be referred to as "the healthy forces of the Italian people", in opposition to the interests, often obscure, of liberal forces and of economic powers:

(32) Come partito dì avanguardia della classe operaia e del popolo italiano, coscienti della nostra forza che ci ha consentito di conchiudere vittoriosamente cento battaglie, **ci impegneremo ad una nuova, più vasta lotta**, in difesa della esistenza, della sicurezza, degli elementari diritti civili dei lavoratori. **Ci impegniamo a svolgere un'azione tale**, di propaganda, di agitazione, di organizzazione, che raccolga ed unisca in questa lotta **nuovi** milioni e milioni di lavoratori, tutte le forze sane del popolo italiano. Ci impegniamo a preparare e suscitare un movimento tale, un sussulto proveniente dal più profondo stato di cose che grida vendetta al cospetto di Dio. (9/1/1950; from Baldi and Franco 2015: 149)

'As a vanguard party of the working class and of the Italian people, aware of our strength that allowed us to successfully conclude a hundred battles, we are committed to a new, broader struggle in defence of life, safety, and basic civil rights of the workers. We will engage in such an action, propaganda, agitation, organization, gathering new millions and millions of workers in this fight, all the healthy forces of the Italian people. We are committed to preparing and launching a movement which rises from the deepest state of affairs, that cries out to heaven for vengeance.'

The linguistic process of delegitimization of the opponent is the other side of the legit-imizing narrative presenting oneself as the guarantor and defender of the values threatened by the adversary. The pragmatic and morphosyntactic organization reflects the polarization (Danler 2005), for example by using we, contrasting with the other forces. The topicalization and focusing processes distribute sentential /eventive content in order to associate them with the desired information flow, where "As a vanguard party of the working class and of the Italian people…" is the topic and the complement of the verb "we are committed to" is the focus. What is more, indefiniteness is strong, which who is the speaker that makes the promises, who is 'we'? And what are the 'action, propaganda, agitation, organization' promised?

Togliatti's speeches aim to "regain legitimacy after a political failure", i.e. the elections of 1948, although, actually, as noted by Smith (2000 [1997]), the Communists and So-cialists did not convince the population about their having really accepted the democratic rules. Baldi and Franco (2015) point out the systematic use of linguistic procedures that conceal practices of delegitimization of opponents by recourse to metaphors denoting them as sub-human entities, In (33a, b) the participants designed by 'spectrum' and 'chameleon', depicting the two referents in terms of non-human qualities, are initially treated as the subject /agent; then, the semantic structure is reversed, and the two metaphors are introduced as a predicate, in (33a), or a complement in (33b), restoring the true deep logical order (Baldi and Franco 2015: 147, 148).

(33) a. quando tra i presenti a un'assemblea si muove uno **spettro**, è inevitabile che quello **spettro** attiri l'attenzione e ad esso ci si rivolga. **Onorevole Tesauro**, lei qui è lo **spettro del regime fascista** […]. (8.12.1952)
'when among those who are present in the Assembly, there is a ghost it is inevitable that that ghost draws attention, so that we talk directly to it. Deputy Tesauro (Italian MPs are addressed as 'Onorevole'), here you are the ghost of the fascist regime'.

b. Lascerò da parte le volgarità, gli articoli come quelli che scriveva l'altro giorno un **illustre camaleonte**, il signor Mario Missiroli, domandandosi che cosa c'è sotto all'at teggiamento dei comunisti […] proprio lui che, per esaltare i Patti del Laterano, scrisse un intero volume che, si dice, ebbe il personale plauso di Mussolini! **È evidente che lezioni di etica da un camaleonte non le prendiamo**. (27.3.1947)
'I will leave aside vulgarity, such as the articles that were written the other day by an illustrious chameleon, Mr. Mario Missiroli, wondering what's underneath the attitude of the Communists [...] the same man who wrote a full volume to exalt the Lateran Pacts, a volume that, it is said, had the personal approval of Mussolini! It is clear that we do not take ethical lessons from a chameleon.

As we saw, metaphors change the cognitive space including the referent by increasing the symbolic universe of the individuals with new interpretive nuances that make deep sentiments and perceptions surface. So, the figurative term 'chameleon' referring to a human being is interpretively different both from the use referring to the animal and the generic terms such as 'opportunist', etc. Analogously, the term 'spectrum' implies a being devoid of the human essence. In both cases, the first occurrence introduces an effect of vagueness that the speaker eliminates by adding the proper name in the following sentence. The strong referential indefiniteness generally introduced by figurative expressions allow the speaker to omit the precise information, as typically in political discourse (Danler 2005). So, Bettino Craxi (Desideri 1987), in a speech given as Prime Minister, in (34), recalled the ambiguous politics of certain left-wing forces in the years of challenges to

authority (1968), using the image of "ride the tiger", a dead metaphor that captures the representation of obscure and hidden forces that drove and oriented the protests:

(34) […] Riandando con la memoria a quegli anni [i.e. 1968], ricordo che mentre io mi trovavo un po' spaesato da povero ma incallito riformista quale sono, parti importanti della sinistra non esitarono a **cavalcare la tigre**, a **lisciarle il pelo** e in qualche caso ad eccitarla. (Concluding talk at 43rd Congress of the PSI, Verona, 14.5.1984; from Desideri 1987: 7 e sgg.)
'Recallig those years, I remember that while I was a little disoriented being a modest but inveterate reformist, important parts of the left, did not hesitate to ride the tiger, to caress its hair and in some cases to excite it'.

Ventrone (2005) foregrounds the fact that a permanent feature of Italian electoral campaigns and generally in the political struggle is the resort to conspiracy theories, as noticed in section 3.1. Here Craxi hypothesizes and refers to obscure and covert forces underlying the student protests and the other protest rallies. The use of the metaphor renders the reference even vaguer and, at once, widens the denotational extension of the discourse.

5.3 A mythical reality

The narration of facts and experiences as a sort of mythical origin of a community is a tool frequently used in defining the content of a strong ideological shaping of society:

A very common way of communicating ideology is through myth. […] Myth engages the hearer by providing a narrative that embodies a set of *Persuasion, Legitimacy and Leadership* beliefs expressing aspects of the unconscious. It provides a narrative-based representation of intangible experiences that are evocative because they are unconsciously linked to emotions such as sadness, happiness and fear. Its function in discourse is to explain with a view either to entertainment or gaining power. (Charteris-Black 2005: 22)

The rhetoric of Mussolini allows us to investigate how political speech can foreshadow or, however, depict the birth of new values as a sort of a new sense of life and its basic sentiments and beliefs, by means of the narration of shared experiences and emotions. This particular storytelling is able to create and confirm belonging to a civil religion of the homeland and its history (Desideri 1984, 2011). Gentile (1990: 234, 236) characterizes this attitude of fascism as a heritage of the ideals of the Italian Risorgimento (the 19th century struggle for National unity), whereby:

What united fascists was not a doctrine but an attitude, an experience of faith, which was concretized with the myth of a new 'religion of the nation […] The initial elements necessary for the formation of a 'fascist religion' were already present in the first phase of the movement, which identified with the myths of war and participation it. [...] Mussolini's charismatic power was notably increased by the institutionalization of fascism as a religion.[…] His meetings with the masses were the highest points of fascist worship in which, with appropriate orchestration, one witnessed the emotional fusion of the leader with the crowds as a symbolic mystical dramatization of the nation's unity, achieved through its supreme act.

The speeches in (35a,b) (Desideri 1984: 54, 55; 91) belong to the beginning of Fascism (Gentile 2002). They are very interesting in showing the crucial role of the common cognitive and emotive background on which Mussolini builds the new national culture (cf. Desideri 1984, 2011). The politician represents himself with essential interpretative roles, as an agent

of events, an object of evaluation and a guarantee of common identity. The common ground is provided by participation in the war and ideals confirmed by this experience aiming at a new Italian society:

(35) a. È forse la prima volta nella storia italiana che il Capo del Governo può andare tra la folla tranquillamente senza le preoccupazioni che potevano affliggere certi individui in altri tempi. Sono della vostra razza, ho lo stesso vostro sangue, le stesse vostre virtù e naturalmente gli stessi vostri difetti. Appunto per questo si stabilisce tra noi la perfetta comunione degli spiriti: basta che io vi chiami, perché dalle città e dai casolari un coro unanime e formidabile risponda: "Presente!". (*Al popolo di Cremona*, 19 giugno 1923; vol. III: 171) 'Maybe, it is the first time in Italian history that the head of government can mix with the crowd peacefully without the preoccupation that could afflict certain individuals in other times. I am of your race, I have the same blood as you, the same virtues as you and naturally the same faults as you. Just owing to this, a perfect communion of souls is established between us: as long as I call you, a unanimous and formidable choir answers from the towns and farmhouses "Present!"

b. Sono venuto qui non soltanto come Capo del Governo, come Presidente del Consiglio: sono venuto qui soprattutto come vostro compagno di trincea e di sacrificio. Quando io sono dinanzi a voi mi riconosco in voi e rivivo quelle che sono certamente le pagine della mia vita alle quali tengo di più: le pagine della trincea, quando ho potuto vedere col mio occhio il travaglio sanguinoso della stirpe italiana, constatare lo spirito di devozione, vedere come sbocciava dai suoi sedimenti che parevano millenari e perduti, il fiore stupendo della nostra magnifica storia. Ci riconosciamo tutti. Ognuno di noi è certamente stato infangato da quella terribile terra rossa del Carso, ognuno di noi ha sofferto i geli ed i venti delle altitudini alpine, ognuno di noi ha vissuto in dime stichezza quotidiana colla vita e la morte. […] In quest'opera mi è sommo conforto il pensare che non mi manca la solidarietà dei miei compagni di pensiero.
(*Alla nuova sede dei mutilati*, 11 marzo 1923; vol. III: 83, 84) 'I came here not only as the head of government, as the President of the Council: I came here principally as your companion in the trenches and sacrifice. When I am before you I see myself in you and I relive those that are the pages of my life I really care about: the pages of the trench, when I had the opportunity to see with my own eyes the blood-soaked labor of the Italian lineage, the spirit of devotion, to see how the stupendous flower of our wonderful history sprang forth from its sediments which seemed millenary and lost. We all recognize ourselves. Each of us had surely been smeared by the terrible red earth of the Carso, each of us has suffered frosts and winds of the Alpine altitudes, each of us lived being daily familiar with life and death […] In this work I am comforted by thinking that I enjoy the solidarity of my companions with the same thoughts.

In (35) the memories and feelings of the war feed a new faith, to which the crowd is called to respond "Present!", in (35a). A new dial sprang from the millenary sediments of Italian

history. Sacrifice and the reference to the trenches and the blood-soaked labor are metaphors that intensify the referential capacity of these speeches. The common race, blood and virtue, sealed by sacrifice, are the signs that establish the civil religion of history and war. Again, what strikes one in these speeches is the absence of any realistic and concrete topic and the strong self-centeredness on the role and the body of the leader. Following Danler (2005) we note that the entire text is based on polarization, in the sense that it is obvious that the representation of the sacrifices of the war fought for the homeland, 'our wonderful history', is the good, and the other unmentioned positions are evil. Naturally no confrontation or reflection is developed and the rhetorical machinery for emotions is put into practice:

(35') genericity and omission: *certain individuals in other times; as long as I call you, a unanimous and formidable choir answers from the towns and farmhouses "Present!"* (what is the aim? who are the persons that say Present?) (35a)
repetitions, *When I am before you I see myself in you…, Each of us had surely been smeared by the terrible red earth of the Carso, each of us …, each of us…,* (cf. (35b))
the identification I/*you = we*

War is represented as something necessary and essential for the self-consciousness of the people, and it is part of the religious-like tone of Mussolini's speech. Saussure (2005: 128, in analyzing the talks of the French right-wing leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, observes that "religious-like discourse plays a very important part in ideological totalitarian manipulation". The millennialist attitude characterizes the foreshadowing of a promised future, that we saw in speeches of Togliatti in (32), as well as in celebrating 'the Italian lineage' forged by sacrifice by Mussolini in (35a). Moreover, in Mussolini's speeches the audience is depicted as a devoted people, the people made of humble soldiers, similar to the humble miners, the excluded to which Le Pen spoke (Saussure 2005).

Let us turn, finally, to the strategies of delegitimizing communication in speeches by political leaders (cf. Baldi and Franco 2014). The following speeches of Mussolini aim to delegitimize two actors: the League of Nations (a superordinate actor) and the Ethiopian leaders and population (broadly speaking, actors designated as subordinate). A noteworthy property of Mussolini's speeches is his use of polarization as a tool for (de)legitimization, whereby "the political speech must make it easy for the listener to identify with one group and to ostracize the other" (Danler 2005: 52). By way of polarization Mussolini uses modal verbs and epistemic adverbs. To this end, the Italians are associated with events or states of affairs that are taken as certain. One discursive strategy is to take an epistemic or deontic expression representing Italians and their history in an assertive formula, as in (36a), and (36b), automatically shared by the audience, that introduces the judgement on the present time

(36) a. Durante i trenta secoli della sua storia l'Italia ha vissuto molte ore memorabili, ma questa di oggi è **certamente** una delle più solenni
'During the thirty centuries of its history Italy has had many memorable hours, but this is **certainly** one of the most solemn'
b. La loro manifestazione **deve dimostrare** e **dimostra** al mondo che Italia e Fascismo costituiscono una identità perfetta, assoluta, inalterabile.
'Their demonstration **must and does show** the world that Italy and Fascism constitute a perfect, absolute, and unalterable identity'

On the contrary the enemy's actions are presented as facts, already occurred, supporting an evaluative and modal conclusion, as in (37).

(37) Il capo e i ras battuti e fuggiaschi **non contano più** e nessuna forza al mondo **potrà mai farli contare**.
'The leader and tribal chiefs beaten and fugitives **no longer count** and no power on earth **can ever make them count**.'

This use of language displays one of Mussolini's political speaking strategies: he gratifies the audience by proceeding from uncertainty to certainty, and discredits the enemy by minimizing the real effect of enemy action. Another interesting feature of Mussolini's speeches is their tendency to move a constituent leftwards (left dislocation), presenting it as topic, something known and a part of a shared value system. As noticed, this makes a person or an event obvious for the target audience, triggering implicatures of truth and reality, as illustrated in (38a,b,c). Left dislocation and the use of aboutness topics contribute to depicting the shared framework, the cognitive ground legitimizing the self-consciousness, and delegitimizes whom opposes.

(38) a. Con l'Etiopia$_{Topic}$ abbiamo pazientato 40 anni
'With Ethiopia$_{Topic}$ we had been patient for 40 years
   b. Durante i trenta secoli della sua storia$_{Topic}$ l'Italia ha vissuto molte ore memorabili…
'During the thirty centuries of its history$_{Topic}$ Italy lived many memorable hours…'
   c. Con le popolazioni dell'Etiopia$_{Topic}$ la pace è già un fatto compiuto
'With the Ethiopian populations$_{Topic}$ peace is already an accomplished fact'

Left dislocation, therefore, enhances the interpretation of a constituent as a part of the shared system of beliefs and values, of what is a sort of silent pact between the speaker and the audience. If these speeches, aiming at justifying a particular political and military action, are compared with the ones in (34), we realize that the true, deep semantic movement is reproducing and bringing to the consciousness level a general system of values and attitudes. This is the Italy of Fascism and its myths, its convictions and its racial biases, grounded in the imagined experience of the Roman inheritance (Gentile 2002).

6. Rhetoric and sentence type: illocutionary externalization

The correspondence between words and world, the typical statements (declaratives and assertions), are not the concern of the political way of representing events and the world. On the other hand, the rhetorical means give shape to a language evoking imageries and beliefs. Metaphors play a crucial role in creating new meanings, thus widening the possible interpretations associated with a term or a sentence. Actually, rhetoric has also to do with the way in which the sentence externalizes the event and its participants, the arguments of the verb. The syntactic organization of the meanings in the terms of the argumental structure of the verb gives rise to this interpretive level. The distribution of the grammatical functions and the thematic roles they correspond to provide a particular picture of the events and the world. Some special attention concerns the identification of the speaker with the agentive subject through the deictic of the first person. Analogously, the use of the pronoun of 1st plural 'we' contributes to establishing or to arousing the common background of beliefs and feelings between speaker and recipients. Devices such as topicalization, in turn, fall within the pragma-linguistic mechanisms addressing the audience towards what is assumed by the speaker to be this common semantic space.

All of these properties combine in shaping the illocutionary organization of a sentence. Some illocutionary properties of political discourse repeatedly occur, specifically hortative formulas and, especially, orders and emotional expressions. It may be banal to wonder why

this type of sentences are systematically used in political speeches, to the effect that they are pragmatic-oriented sentences linked with the intention of the speaker. Expressive and exclamative sentences externalize "the speaker's propositional attitude to the state of affairs represented by the propositional content" (Beijer 2003: 6). We will concentrate on the relation between interpretive properties and expressive devices in speech, i.e. as the outcome of illocutionary arrangement and morpho-syntactic organization interplay.

A clear similarity can be detected between exclamative sentences, independently of the syntactic form they have, and the other sentence types that exclude veridicality, characterizing instead assertions on states of affairs or individuals and events. So interrogatives and imperatives seem to provide some suggestions on the interpretive nature of exclamations insofar as an irrealistic temporal and eventive positioning is involved. More precisely, exclamatives are generally introduced by interrogative elements such as how and which (a), suggesting that the two types of sentence share the same wh- operator-variable structure (Zanuttini and Portner 2003: 40). That explains one of features of exclamatives, i.e. the fact of denoting a set of alternative propositions, as suggested by the definitions 'surprise', 'unexpectedness', 'extreme degree'. In other words, it is this effect of interpretive widening that characterizes exclamatives as a rhetorical means in some sense similar to the other expressive devices. Besides, in exclamatives their "propositional content" is presupposed. We can expect to find these properties not only in wh- exclamatives but in all types of exclamation, however introducing a scalar interpretation based on a deviation from the norm (Beijer 2003).

In political speech a recurrent modality of exclamative syntax is the rhetorical question, i.e. a question including its answer. It has the quality of excluding the introduction of a direct evaluation on the part of the speaker, but, at the same time, its content is presupposed and prompts the corresponding evaluation in the audience. So, it has properties similar to exclamatives, presuppositionality and interpretation of scalar alternants. Let us return to the example in (4b), repeated in (39).

(39)   a.   **Ma dove siamo finiti in Italia?** Libertà per i nostri simboli e la nostra cultura. **No al pensiero unico!** (23.9.2016)
            'But where did we end up in Italy? Freedom for our symbols and our culture. No to the single thought'

The text in (39) contains a rhetorical question introducing an exclamative content, as in (39'):

(39')   *But where did we end up in Italy?*
        i.   the wh-operator quantifies on a set of propositions, like a true interrogative
        ii.   nevertheless, this question does not expect an answer to the extent that the scalar propositional content 'Italy ends up in a bad situation' is presupposed and 'where' suggests an unspecified extreme degree,

A direct exclamation is "No to the single thought!". An extreme degree content is introduced as the rejection of the 'single thought!' (i.e. conventional wisdom). The proposition inferable content concerning 'the single thought' as a value of European policy is assumed as presupposed. Analogously, in the 1948 electoral campaign rhetorical questions are used by Alcide De Gasperi, the head of DC, in depicting the real nature of communist propaganda, as in (40):

(40) **E perché dunque l'atteggiamento comunista è così ostile?** Perché questo è *l'ordine di Mosca*: ne abbiamo le *prove inconfutabili*. (Pescara, 10 aprile; De Gasperi 2008, p. 1284; from Vinciguerra 2016: 282)

'And why then is the communist attitude so hostile? Because this is the order from Moscow: we have the irrefutable proof of this'

Again, in (40) the answer, explicitly given by the orator, is obvious and presupposes the veridicality of hostility by the communist attitude. The combination of the wh- and the quantifier so 'così' introduces the quantification on the degree of hostility: an extreme degree and an irrefutable danger.

The use of imperatives is typical in exhorting or inviting people to vote for a party or a candidate, as the posters discussed in section 5.1 illustrate. However, it shows up in many kinds of political messages. Imperatives are strictly linked to a specific illocutionary force, an act of command (Aikhenvald 2010), addressed to the recipient. The imperative form generally excludes tense distinctions, insofar as it is deictically anchored to the discourse universe. From a typological perspective, imperatives overturn the markedness hierarchy underlying assertion/declarative sentences. Indeed, while in the latter 1st person subjects are the less marked type of referents, in imperatives the most natural type of subject is the 2nd person, the recipient, eventually combined with the 1st person in 1st plural inclusive forms (Alcazar and Saltarelli 2014). According to Portner (2004) imperatives lexicalize a property 'which can only be true of the addressee' rather than an event. In other words, the imperative form externalizes the assignment of a property to a prominent argument, however including the addressee (Platzak and Rosengren 1998), and as such, from a semantic point of view, imperatives are not submitted to veridicality requirements. So, alternative interpretations can be activated by virtue of shared implicatures and presuppositions.

More to the point, a key use of imperatives in political discourse is in the 1st person plural, the inclusive 'we', as illustrated by the examples in the excerpts in (41a), from the Tweet of Salvini already discussed in (4c), and in (41b), from the speech of Togliatti examined in section 5.2.

(41)   a.   Che Futuro abbiamo in testa? **Partiamo dalla difesa delle nostre RADICI**, dalla nostra tradizione e dalla nostra cultura (24.2.2018)
'What Future do we have in our heads? Let us start from the defence of our Roots, from our tradition and our culture'

      b.   La nostra lotta è lotta per la **rinascita** del nostro Paese, per il suo **rinnovamento** politico, economico e sociale. In questa lotta noi vogliamo l'unità dei lavoratori, prima di tutto, e, attorno a essa, vogliamo si realizzi l'unità politica e morale di tutta la nazione. **Disperdiamo le ombre le quali impediscono la realizzazione di questa unità!** (27.3.47)
'Our struggle is a struggle for the rebirth of our country, for its political economic and social renewal. With this struggle, we want the unity of the workers, and around it, we will realize the political and moral unity of the whole nation. Let's remove the shadows which prevent the realization of this unity!'

In (41a) "Let us start from the defence of our Roots…" designs an attitude, and its implementation is left open. Differently from exclamations its propositional content is not totally presupposed, but it waits to be saturated. Thus, imperatives are entirely played on the adhesion of the audience, put to the test. This interpretive mechanism underlies the imperative in

Togliatti's speech in (41b). The imperative exhorts the audience to go beyond suspicions and overcome misunderstandings in order to realize the prefigured new unity among the working forces. "the shadows that prevent…" are given as recognized, and the propositional content of 'remove'… is prepared by the preceding sentences. The alternatives concern the 'how' and the 'when', the intensity of the engagement towards the announced alternative semantics of "rebirth" and "renewal". The use of the 1st person plural is not only a tool for highlighting the common interest between the speaker and the audience, but is the rhetorical way for introducing a presuppositional interpretation of the imperative.

6. Conclusions

It is the common conceptual constructs that allow the sender and the recipient to understand one another and to share ideas, symbols and behaviors. These representations are inscribed in interpretative schemes, namely the conceptual and emotional framework that gives them a more general meaning ("frames", Goffman 1974). Manipulation, i.e. to obtain the development of 'mental representations' desired by the issuer on the part of the recipient, takes place in a way only partially unconscious. When we speak of manipulation of consciences by political propaganda, we must take into account that the recipient has no less intellectual ability and the possibility to interpret than the issuer:

Texts are complex structures that prompt readers to construct conceptualisations. […] readers […] are not absolutely manipulable. The cognitive ingredients that readers assemble are a kind of *bricolage* guided by the linguistic input. The cognitive structures are not *in* the texts, they are in people's heads. They can be transferred by texts, but once in people's heads they can be elaborated in variable ways, depending on social and psychological factors. […] Possibly, the conceptual constructs themselves need to be already dormant in the social and psychological environment. (Chilton 2005: 39)

The preceding analysis has highlighted that politicians exploit a common symbolic universe with their audience, that may be understood as something similar to the "cognitive unconscious" of Lakoff and Johnson (1999). That is based on the world-representation formed during life starting from socialization in early childhood, through the internalization of ideas, metaphoric representations, beliefs, feelings, behaviours. The formation of a particular vision of the world is, as we have seen above, the fundamental mechanism of communication, and can also be pursued through argumentation as justification of beliefs and assumptions in order to motivate a conclusion. Argumentation is inherently oriented to persuade, and implies all discourse and textual devices normally used for this purpose. In this sense Glukhova and Sorokina (2018) conclude that persuasion is a part of argumentation, combining manipulative and argumentative strategies.

Our investigation has been focusing on persuasion, understood as the effect on persons achieved by argumentative and/or manipulative political discourse. We have considered the semantic effects achieved by means of rhetorical and pragmatic choices in political discourse. Metaphors, narrative, argumentative discourse, impolite discourse, claim-type expressions, hortative formulas go hand in hand in defining specific levels of interpretation generally implying new semantic spaces and alternative worldviews. Persuasion is the result as the shared thought between the speaker and the audience. In keeping with Mercier and Sperber (2011), we have taken it that argumentation in political discourse maximally exploits its capability of providing elements, whether they are veridical or not, supporting the discourse and its conclusions.

Indeed, persuasion, i.e. the change in the beliefs and attitudes of the audience caused by political discourse cannot be seen as a simple and direct result of the ability of the orator. Persuasion is the result of the elaboration of meanings and beliefs on the part of an active audience; it is the result of sharing a common worldview and common values. However, politicians are able to exploit and, possibly, to activate for power goals, the covert and deep symbolic universe of the people. This is their fundamental necessity in order to confirm their leadership and reliability. For such a purpose, symbol, metaphors and other rhetorical strategies are put into practice, including rhetorical tools which are especially insidious such as the strategies based on the delegitimization of the opponents and recourse to emotional adhesion. The systems of values that feed the beliefs and attitudes of persons and the cultural and historical framework in which they are immersed are the basis for the exchange of meanings in the political arena: persuasion is the sign used in this exchange.

<div align="center">***</div>

References

Alcázar, Asier, and Mario Saltarelli. 2004. *The Syntax of Imperatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to Do Things With Words*. Oxford-London: Oxford UP.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2007. *La politica lontana*. Roma: Bulzoni.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2012. *Pensieri e parole nel linguaggio politico*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2017. "Linguistic and Pragmatic Devices in Political Communication: Delegitimization of the Opponent." In *Praxis, Language and Theory of Political Delegitimization in ontemporary Europe*, ed. by Fulvio Cammarano, 121-141. Roma: Viella.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2018. *#Opinione Immediata*. Pisa: Pacini.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2019. "Linguistic and Pragmatic Procedures in the Political Discourse." In *Linguistic Variation: Structure and Interpretation*, ed. by Ludovico Franco and Paolo Lorusso, 29-46, Boston-Berlin: de Gruyter, Mouton

Baldi, Benedetta, and Ludovico Franco. 2014. "Sanctions, Fate and (de)legitimization: the Speeches of Benito Mussolini During the Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-1936)." *Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata*, XLIII, 3: 387-422.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Ludovico Franco. 2015. "(De)legitimization Strategies in the Austere Prose of Palmiro Togliatti." *QULSO* 1: 139-158.

Baldi, Benedetta, Ludovico Franco, and L.M. Savoia. 2019. "Alternative Truths and Delegitimization Pragmatic Strategies Around the 2018 Italian Elections." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 7, 2: 293-320.

Baldi, Benedetta, and L.M. Savoia. 2009. "Metafora e ideologia nel linguaggio politico." *Lingua italiana d'oggi* 6: 119-165.

Baldi, Benedetta, and L.M. Savoia. 2017. "L'identità come mezzo di (de)legittimazione: procedure linguistiche e pragmatiche nel discorso politico". In *La delegittimazione politica nell'età contemporanea 2. Parole nemiche: teorie, pratiche e linguaggi*, ed. by Benedetta Baldi, 287-338. Roma: Viella.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2003. *City of Fears, City of Hopes*. London: Goldsmiths College, University of London.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2009. *Paura liquida*. Roma-Bari, Laterza.

Beijer, Fabian. 2002. "The Syntax and Pragmatics of Exclamations and Other Expressive/Emotional Utterances." *The Department of English in Lund: Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1-21.

Boeynaems, Amber, Christian Burgers, E.A. Konijn, *et al.* 2017. "The Effects of Metaphorical Framing on Political Persuasion: A Systematic Literature Review." *Metaphor and Symbol*, 32, 2: 118-134.

Borchers, T.A. 2013, *Persuasion in the Media Age*. Long Grove: Waveland Pres.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loic Wacquant. 2004. "La nuova vulgata planetaria." In *Il pensiero unico al tempo della rete*, 57-60. Le Monde diplomatique, Roma: Il Manifesto.

Bowdle, B.F. and Dedre Gentner. 2005, "The Career of Metaphor." *Psychological Review*, 112, 1: 193-216.

Bülow-Møller A.M. 2005. "Persuasion in Business Negotiations." In *Persuasion Across Genres: A Linguistic Approach*, ed. by Helena Halmari and Tuija Virtanen, 27-58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Caiani, Manuela. 2011. "L'estrema destra in Italia fra passato e presente: il discorso sulla globalizzazione in Societa." *Mutamento e Politica* 2: 133-151.

Caiani, Manuela, and Donatella della Porta. 2011. "The Elitist Populism of the Extreme Right: a Frame Analysis of Extreme Right Wing Discourses in Italy and Germany." *Acta Politica*, 46, 2: 180-202.

Cassirer, Ernst. 1944. *An Essay on Man. An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture*. New York: Doubleday & Company.

Cavazza, Stefano. 2002. "Simboli e politica: una riflessione multidisciplinare." *Contemporanea* 5: 783-791, <https://www.academia.edu/8614997/Simboli_e_politica_una_riflessione_multidisciplinare> (06/2020).

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2005. *Politicians and Rhetoric. The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chilton, P.A. 2005. "Manipulation, Memes and Metaphors". In *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, 15-43. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chomsky, Noam. 1988. *Language and Problems of Knowledge: The Managua Lectures*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000, *New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Chomsky, Noam. 2004, "The Biolinguistic Perspective After 50 Years." *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica dell'Università di Firenze*, 14: 3-12.

Chomsky, Noam. 2005, "Three Factors in Language Design." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36, 1: 1-22.

Culpeper, Jonathan. 2011. *Impoliteness. Using Language to Cause Offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

D'Agostini, Franca. 2010. *Verità avvelenata. Buoni e cattivi argomenti nel dibattito pubblico.* Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Danler, Paul. 2005. "Morpho-Syntactic and Textual Realizations as Deliberate Pragmatic Argumentative Linguistic Tools." In *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, 45-60. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

De Gasperi, Alcide. 2008, *Scritti e discorsi politici, vol. III, Alcide De Gasperi e la fondazione della democrazia italiana (1943-1948)*, ed. by Vera Capperucci and Sara Lorenzini. Bologna: il Mulino.

Desideri, Paola. 1984, *Teoria e prassi del discorso politico. Strategie persuasive e percorsi comunicativi*, Roma: Bulzoni.

Desideri, Paola. 1987. *Il potere della parola. Il linguaggio politico di Bettino Craxi*, Venezia, Marsilio.

Desideri, Paola. 2011. "Il linguaggio della politica." In *Treccani - Enciclopedia dell'italiano online*, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/linguaggio-della-politica_(Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano)/> (06/2020).

Dijk Van, T.A. 2001. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Deborah Tannen, H.E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, 352-371. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eco, Umberto. 1968. *La struttura assente. La ricerca semiotica e il metodo strutturale*. Milano: Bompiani.

Edelman, Murray. 1977. *Political Language. Words That Succeed and Policies That Fail*. New York: Academic Press.

Ervas, Francesca, Elisabetta Gola and M.G. Rossi. 2016. "Argomenti metaforici: come integrare persuasione e argomentazione." *Rivista italiana di filosofia del linguaggio*: 116-128.

Ferraris, Maurizio. 2017. *Postverità e altri enigmi*, Il Mulino: Bologna.

Frege, Gottlob. 1892. "Über Sinn und Bedeutung." *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 100, 1: 25-50.

Gentile, Emilio. 1990. "Fascism as Political Religion." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25, 2-3: 229-251.

Gentile, Emilio. 2002. *Fascismo. Storia e interpretazione*. Laterza: Bari.

Gentner, Dedre, and B.F. Bowdle. 2001. "Convention, Form, and Figurative Language Processing." *Metaphor and Symbol* 16: 223-247.

Gentner, Dedre, and B.F. Bowdle. 2008. "Metaphor as Structure-mapping." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by R.W. Gibbs, 109-128. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Giovinazzo, Sara. 2020. *La lingua debole dei poteri forti*. Tesi di Laurea Magistrale. Firenze: Università di Firenze.

Glukhova, Irina, and Olga Sorokina. 2018. "Linguistic implementation of Persuasive Strategies and Tactics in Political Public Communication (a case study of V. Putin's election campaign speeches)." In *Proceedings of INTCESS2018- 5th International Conference on Education and Social Sciences, 5-7 February 2018- Istanbul, Turkey*, <http://www.ocerints.org/adved18_e-publication/> (06/2020).

Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction Ritual. Essays on Face-to-face Behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Goffman, Erving. 1969. *Strategic Interaction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, Erving, 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Grice H.P. 1993 [1975]. "Logica e conversazione." In *Logica e conversazione. Saggi su intenzione, significato e comunicazione*, ed. by Giorgio Moro, 55-76. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Inglehart, Ronald. 2018. *Cultural Evolution. People's Motivations Are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Jackendoff, Ray. 1993. *Patterns in the Mind. Language and Human Nature*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Weatsheaf.

Jackendoff, Ray. 2002, *Foundations of Language. Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Lakoff, George. 1972. "Structural Complexity in Fairy Tales." In *The Study of Man,* vol. I, Presented at the Summer Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, 128-150, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/06a7/2203a22aa75cb031e81c16dfa594214054c7.pdf> (06/2020).

Lakoff, George. 1996. *Moral Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George. 2008. *The Political Mind*, New York, Viking, Penguin.

Lakoff, George. 2016. *Understanding Trump*, online in *Political.*

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought.* New York: Basic Books.

Leeuwen, van, Theo. 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Leibniz, G.W. 1982. "Dell'associazione delle idee." In *Nuovi saggi sull'intelletto umano*, ed. by Massimo Mugnai, Libro II, Cap. XXXIII. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Lombardi Vallauri, Edoardo and Viviana Masia. 2014. "Implicitness Impact: Measuring Texts." *Journal of Pragmatics*, 61: 161-184.

Lucisano, Pietro and M.E. Piemontese. 1988. "Gulpease: una formula per la predizione della difficoltà dei testi in lingua italiana." *Scuola e Città* 34, 3: 110-124.

Mercier, Hugo and Dan Sperber. 2011. "Why Do Humans Reason? Arguments for an Argumentative Theory." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 34, 2: 57-74.

Ondelli, Stefano. 2016. "Esempi recenti della retorica populista in Italia: da Forza Italia al MoVimento 5 Stelle." In *L'italiano della politica e la politica per l'italiano*, ed. by Rita Librandi e Rosa Piro, 333-347. Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore.

Ondelli, Stefano. 2017. "Salvini contro tutti: «Preferisco i populisti ai fessi»." *Lingua Italiana. Treccani* <https://www.academia.edu/33400716/Salvini_contro_tutti_Preferisco_i_populisti_ai_fessi_in_Speciali_Treccani_TURPILOQUIO_MENZOGNA_MANIPOLAZIONE._LA_PAROLA_DEI_POLITICI_OGGI> (06/2020).

Ondelli, Stefano. 2018. "L'identificazione del nemico: un'analisi dei tweet di Matteo Salvini dal 2011 al 2018". *Lingua Italiana. Treccani online*, <http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/razzismo/Ondelli.html> (06/2020).

Perloff, R.M. 2003. *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Petrilli, Raffaella. 2018. "Grillo: senza possibilità di discussione." *Treccani online, Lingua italiana,* <http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/politici/Petrilli.html> (06/2020).

Petty, R.E. and J.T. Cacioppo. 1986. *Communication and Persuasion. Central and Peripheral Routes to Attitude Change*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Platzack, Christer, and Inger Rosengren. 1998. "On the Subject of Imperatives: A Minimalist Account of the Imperative Clause." *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1: 177-224**.**

Pombeni, Paolo. 2018. *Che cosa resta del '68*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Portner, Paul. 2004. "The Semantics of Imperatives Within a Theory of Clause Types." In *SALT XIV*, ed. by Robert Young, 235-252. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Pratellesi, Marco. 2016, "Come parla Renzi: 4 anni analizzati da un algoritmo." *Datajournalism*, <https://www.agi.it/data-journalism/come_parla_renzi_4_anni_analizzati_da_un_algoritmo-1286663/news/2016-12-01/> (06/2020).

Quattrociocchi, Walter, and Antonella Vicini. 2016. *Misinformation. Guida alla società dell'informazione e della credulità*, Milano: Franco Angeli.

Reboul, Anne. 2017. *Cognition and Communication in the Evolution of Language*. Oxford: OUP.

Rydgren, Jens. 2008. "Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-wing Voting in Six West European Countries". *European Journal of Political Research*, 47: 737-765.

Saussure, Louis de. 2005. "Manipulation and Cognitive Pragmatics. Preliminary Hypotheses." In *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, 113-145. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sebera, Jan and Wei-lun Lu. 2018. "Metaphor as a (de-)legitimizing Strategy in Leadership Discourse: The Language of Crisis in Winston Churchill's Cold War Speeches." In *Persuasion in Public Discourse*, ed. by Jana Pelclová and Wei-lun Lu, 65-83. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Seliger, Martin. 1976. *Ideology and Politics.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Skrynnikova, I.V., T.N. Astafurova, and N.A. Sytina. 2017. "Power of Metaphor: Cultural Narratives in Political persuasion." *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)*, 97: 285-290.

Smith, D.M. 2000 [1997]. *Storia d'Italia*. Bari: Laterza.

Sperber, Dan, and Deirdre Wilson.1996. *Relevance, Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

van Prooijen, J.W., Andre Krouwel, and Thomas Pollett. 2015. "Political Extremism Predicts Belief in Conspiracy Theories." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 6, 5: 570-578.

Ventrone, Angelo. 2005. *Il nemico interno*. Roma: Donzelli Editore.

Vinciguerra, Antonio. 2016. "La delegittimazione dell'avversario politico nei discorsi di Alcide De Gasperi per la campagna elettorale del 1948." *Lingue e Linguaggi*, 16: 277-296.

Virtanen, Tuija and Helena Halmari. 2005. "Persuasion Across Genres: Emerging Perspectives." In *Persuasion Across Genres: A linguistic approach*, ed. by Helena Halmari and Tuija Virtanen, 1-24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zanacchi, Adriano. 2006. *Opinione pubblica, mass media, propaganda*. Roma: LAS.

Zanuttini, Raffaella and Paul Portner. 2003. "Exclamative Clauses: At the Syntax-Semantics Interface." *Language*, 79, 1: 39-81.

Communication strategies in the infodemic era

Serena Camilla Crocchi
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<serenacamilla.crocchi@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

The disruptive revolution brought by internet and social media platforms in the last two decades have had major repercussion in the conceptualization of the world of information and many of its dynamics. In the last decade we have a conspicuous crescent amount of scientific literature focused on social media environments and, consequently, many new fields of application and research studies have spread. Social media platforms possess an accessible democratic nature that opens to everyone the territories once lead by the mass media, official sources of political parties, organizations, and governmental institutions. In this article we will explore some of these peculiar dynamics and phenomena examining how social media have been involved by and have contributed to constructing the frame of the current global pandemic caused by Coronavirus. We also try to demonstrate that structural changes in communication, made possible by the very nature of the digital dimension of social media, and the narrative-subjective approach to the facts have undermined the epistemological basis of truth.

Keywords: *Communication, COVID-19, fake news, infodemic, social media*

1. Introduction

The disruptive revolution brought by internet and social media platforms in the last two decades have had major repercussion in the conceptualization of the world of information and many of its dynamics. In the last decade we have a conspicuous crescent amount of scientific literature focused on social media environments and, consequently, many new fields of application and research studies have spread. Social media platforms possess an accessible democratic nature that opens to everyone the territories once lead by the mass media, official sources of political parties, organizations, and governmental institutions. In this article we will explore some of these peculiar dynamics and phenomena examining how social media have been involved by and have contributed to constructing the theoretical frame of

the current global pandemic caused by Coronavirus (COVID-19, from now on). In terms of Communication Crisis Theories and Communication Management, we will consider five main aspects of the nature of this event that have shaped the communicative dimension, considering two traditional approaches to formal validity – i.e., semantics/meaning, in terms of semantic clauses and truth preservation, and syntactic organization, in terms of rules of inference and the availability of proofs. The aspects that we will consider are the primary role of social media in the construction of meaning and topics about the virus, the changes in media consumption during the pandemic, the changes in crises communication management brought by social media, the spread of fake news and misinformation fostered by the new information environment and some of the communicative framing emerged during the pandemic. At the time of this writing, about six months have passed from the first cases inside Chinese territories and about three months have passed since the declaration of lockdown in many European countries including UK.

At the end of December 2019, Chinese authorities alerted the World Health Organization (WHO, from now on) of pneumonia cases in Wuhan City, located in the Hubei province. The cause was unknown, and the disease was first referred to as 2019-nCoV and then named COVID-19. Two days later, the Huanan market was closed because it was suspected to be the source of the disease, since some of the patient presenting with the illness worked there. The disease has spread quickly throughout China, and then to the rest of the world. The virus has so far spread throughout all the inhabited continents and affected millions of people, killing thousands of them. Many workers are now working from remote; schools have been shut down, kids are at home, locked down in their houses. They can leave only for reasons of primary necessity, such as shopping for groceries and going to medical appointments. With many countries implementing lock downs and promoting quarantines, suggesting, or forcing citizens to stay inside their homes to avoid spreading the virus, millions of people are experiencing a global pandemic for the first time in their lives and as mentioned before, some of the peculiarity of this event emerged in communicative responses COVID-19 is the official name for the coronavirus disease 2019 (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020). The disease is caused by the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus, which had not previously been identified in humans. More than eleven million cases have been confirmed globally, and the death toll has passed 525,000. Countries around the world have now started to relax lockdown restrictions but are being urged to continue widespread testing. The pandemic has put health systems under severe strain, and there have been shortages of critical supplies. There is currently no treatment for the disease, and research teams around the world have joined the race to develop a safe and effective vaccine. The spread of COVID-19 has severely impacted the global economy as well. These are incredibly uncertain times for the financial markets, with countries around the world suffering the destabilizing effects of the pandemic. No company is immune to the challenges, and the repercussions of the health crisis are expected to be felt for many more months. According to Wicke and Bolognesi:

> The social distancing enforced by various governments stimulated many internet users to use social media to communicate and express their own concerns, opinions, ideas, and feelings in relation to this new situation. On Twitter, for example, around 16K Tweets are posted by Twitter users every hour, containing a hashtag such as #coronavirus, #Covid-19 or #COVID. A variety of issues are debated daily on Twitter, in relation to the pandemic. These include the political and social consequences of various governmental decisions, the situations in the hospitals getting increasingly more crowded every day, the interpretation of the numbers associated with the spreading of the pandemic, the problems that families face with homeschooling their children while working from home, and so forth. Among these issues, the discussion around the treatment and containment of the virus is surely a central topic. (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020: 3)

1.1 A Global Disease in a Globalized World

Living in a globalized world where time and space are relative concepts, borders do not exist, interactions are very fast, and distances are canceled means having great power, but this power also hides a dangerous pitfall. Internet-based technologies have changed the way in which human beings live. The so called Fourth Industrial Revolution affected humans' everyday lives and dramatically changed their behaviors in real life and furthermore in communications. The internet has revolutionized the computer and communications world like nothing before. The invention of the telegraph, telephone, radio, and computer set the stage for this unprecedented integration of capabilities. The internet is at once a world-wide broadcasting medium, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for interaction and collaboration between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location. (Crocchi 2019) The astonishing success of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter led us to this discussion and to the aims of this paper.

The communication during the COVID-19 has been greatly affected by the socio-economic dynamics and social movements typical of a *liquid society* as intended by Zygmunt Bauman (2000). Starting from the postmodern, his philosophical and sociological speculation, opens – through the analysis of the phenomenon of globalization – to the meta-level of life, and then circumscribes the most recent thinking on political life, until reaching the liquid modernity: overcoming postmodernity itself. As a result individual, society, ethics, power, religion become those words impregnated with a liquidity capable of condensing in itself the most significant aspects of the present reality: a dimension in which the lasting gives way to the transient, the need to the desire, and the necessity to the utility. Zygmunt Bauman is one of the greatest interpreters of our present time, a time which turns into a shapeless mass tending to a constant and relentless change. This is not the modern era, nor the postmodern one, if anything, this period can be well identified as liquid modernity: a concept, able to focus on the transformations that affect human life concerning the general policy determinations of life. Moreover, Bauman's liquid modernity is a term that can overcome the concept of postmodernism, because basically leaning towards the contemporary world: the reality in which life considers highly what is transitory rather than permanent, the immediate rather than long term; and regards utility as prior to any other value. Consequently, it is fundamental to understand in advance and profoundly the concept of liquidity around which Bauman interweaves his most recent philosophical and sociological reflection. Solidity and liquidity are the distinctive features of two eras: modernity and postmodernity, which becomes liquid modernity as it relates to contemporary existence (Palese 2013).

In recent years, large-scale communication has undergone profound technological structural changes, with the emergence of what has been called 'mass-self communication', based on horizontal multi-directional and interactive communication networks. Thanks to wireless communication system, social platforms are prevalent today and almost everywhere. The Digital 2020 edition of the annual reports published in partnership with We Are Social and Hootsuite shows that digital, mobile, and social media have become an indispensable part of everyday life for people all over the world. More than 4.5 billion people are using the internet at the start of 2020, while social media users have passed the 3.8 billion mark. Nearly 60 percent of the world's population is already online, and the latest trends suggest that more than half of the world's total population will use social media by the middle of this year. Some important challenges remain, however, and there is still work to do to ensure that everyone around the world has fair and equal access to life-changing digital connectivity. Digital's role in our lives

has reached new heights, with an increasing number of people spending more time doing many things online than ever before: the number of people around the world using the internet has grown to 4.54 billion, an increase of 7 percent (298 million new users) compared to January 2019. Worldwide, there are 3.80 billion social media users in January 2020, with this number increasing by more than 9 percent (321 million new users) since this time last year. Globally, more than 5.19 billion people now use mobile phones, with user numbers up by 124 million (2.4 percent) over the past year. In addition to this global phenomenon, the number of internet users in Italy increased by 1.2 million (+2.4%) between 2019 and 2020 and there were 35.00 million social media users in January 2020. The internet is also playing an ever more important role in our lives. With the world's internet users spending an average of 6 hours and 43 minutes online each day, the typical user now spends more than 40 percent of their working life (Kemp 2020).

The pervasive presence of digital communication and the double public/personal dimension as interaction tool play a crucial role within current social network movements since communication technologies are now at the root of social movements. As largely demonstrated by the birth and spread of many social movements in the last fifteen years, such as the Arabic Spring in Egypt (2011), the Indignados in Spain (2011), Occupy Wall Street (2010),Gezi Park protests in Turkey (2013), Movimento Cinque Stelle in Italy (2009), Me Too (2017) and Black Lives Matter (2020), digital communication plays a primary role in the formation and practice of social movements. The point is that citizens can challenge rulers only by connecting with each other, sharing the indignation, feeling united, and building alternative projects for themselves and for the society in general (Castells 2014: 217). In a world clouded by the economic crisis, political cynicism, cultural void and individual discouragement, the internet and social media offer a limitless perspective. Many politicians were exposed as corrupt and liars. Financial gurus went from being the object of general envy to the target of universal contempt. Many governments were put under attack and mass-media were suspected. Trust in the institutions had disappeared and consequentially some individuals had found themselves together (on the internet) in search of new forms of identity, values, and symbols to believe in. Everything started from social networks, on the Internet the autonomy spaces are largely outside control of governments and corporations that historically had always held control and monopolized communication channels to assert their power. These movements spread by contagion in a networked world, centered on the wireless Internet, and marked by rapid and viral diffusion of images and ideas (Castells 2014). Another effect of globalization is the growth in the geographical extension, interconnection, and speed of information and communications technologies. Manuel Castells identifies globalization as "the rise of the network society", characterized by the binomial of connected versus not connected (Castells 1996). This new binomial redefines the meaning of the concepts of identity, belonging, inclusion, sovereignty, and citizenship. The increasing interdependence among global systems implies a dark side involving previously unimagined threats: environmental disasters with a global impact like the Chernobyl accident and the British Petroleum oil spill off the US coast in 2010; the rapid, global spread of diseases like SARS, avian influenza, mad cow disease, and COVID-19; and the growth of illegal networks engaged in drug dealing, money laundering, the weapons trade, and international terrorism (Maddalena, Gili 2020).

The fall of the giants (political parties, academics, and scientists) the crumbling of granite knowledge and trust in institutions entails a potentially dangerous paradigmatic change in which scientific and academic authority are depleted of their own value and even mocked because hopelessly misunderstood. In a liquid, interconnected and very fast society in which

'one is worth one' it is equally easy to get lost and lose the sense of reality with respect to important issues. The opinions of the common man have the same epistemological weight and communicative value of the scientist.

2. Infodemic and media consumption during COVID-19

2.1 Dealing with the infodemic

The term *infodemic* was coined in 2003 by journalist and political scientist David Rothkopf in a *Washington Post* column, when the world's attention was on the current crisis's less terrifying relation:

SARS is the story of not one epidemic but two, and the second epidemic, the one that has largely escaped the headlines, has implications that are far greater than the disease itself. That is because it is not the viral epidemic but rather an "information epidemic" that has transformed SARS, or severe acute respiratory syndrome, from a bungled Chinese regional health crisis into a global economic and social debacle. The information epidemic – or infodemic – has made the public health crisis harder to control and contain[1]. (Rothkopf 2003)

The term has seen renewed usage in the time of COVID-19. It is a blend of information and epidemic that typically refers to a rapid and far-reaching spread of both accurate and inaccurate information about something, such as a disease. As facts, rumors, and fears mix and disperse, it becomes difficult to learn essential information about an issue. Rothkopf goes on to clarify what he means by the word:

What exactly do I mean by the infodemic? A few facts, mixed with fear, speculation, and rumor, amplified, and relayed swiftly worldwide by modern information technologies, have affected national and international economies, politics and even security in ways that are utterly disproportionate with the root realities. It is a phenomenon we have seen with greater frequency in recent years – not only in our reaction to SARS, for example, but also in our response to terrorism and even to relatively minor occurrences such as shark sightings. (Rothkopf 2003)

In February 2020 WHO launched a platform aimed to combat misinformation around COVID-19. In fact, as stated by the WHO, the COVID-19 outbreak and response has been accompanied by a massive infodemic: an overabundance of information that makes it difficult for people to find trustworthy sources and reliable guidance when they need it[2]. Infodemic refers to a large increase in the volume of information associated with a specific topic and whose growth can occur exponentially in a short period of time due to a specific incident, such as the current pandemic. In this situation, misinformation and rumors appear on the scene, along with manipulation of information with doubtful intent. In the information age, this phenomenon is amplified through social networks, spreading farther and faster like a virus. Misinformation is false or inaccurate information deliberately intended to deceive. In the context of the cur-

---

[1] <washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/05/11/when-the-buzz-bites-back/bc8cd84f-cab6-4648-bf58-0277261af6cd/> (06/2020).

[2] "We're not just fighting an epidemic; we're fighting an infodemic", said WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus at the Munich Security Conference on Feb 15.

rent pandemic, it can greatly affect all aspects of life, specifically people's mental health, since searching for COVID-19 updates on the Internet has jumped 50%-70% across all generations[3]. Misinformation in a pandemic can negatively affect human health. Many false or misleading stories are fabricated and shared without any background or quality checking. Much of this misinformation is based on conspiracy theories, some introducing elements of these into seemingly mainstream discourse. Inaccurate and false information has been circulating about all aspects of the disease: how the virus originated, its cause, its treatment, and its mechanism of spread. Misinformation can circulate and be absorbed very quickly, changing people's behavior, and potentially leading them to take greater risks. These phenomena make the pandemic much more severe, harming more people and jeopardizing the reach and sustainability of the global health system. Increased global access to cell phones with an Internet connection, as well as social media, has led to the exponential production of information and the number of possible paths for getting it, creating an information epidemic.

Through social media an unprecedented amount of information is being produced and shared to every corner of the world, reaching billions of people, and contributing to misinformation which expands at the same pace as content production and distribution paths grow. Therefore, the very same infodemic accelerates and perpetuates misinformation creating a never-ending cycle. According to a study by the Center for Health Informatics at the University of Illinois, in the month of March around 550 million tweets included the terms coronavirus, corona virus, covid19, covid-19, covid_19 or pandemic. An exponential increase in the volume of tweets occurred around the start of the lockdown in Italy, reaching a plateau around the day the United States declared the pandemic had become a national emergency. Of the total tweets, 35% came from the United States, followed by the United Kingdom (7%), Brazil (6%), Spain (5%), and India (4%). The gender distribution was almost even, with men tweeting a little more (55%). The most-used pandemic-related hashtags were #Pandemic and #FlattenTheCurve.
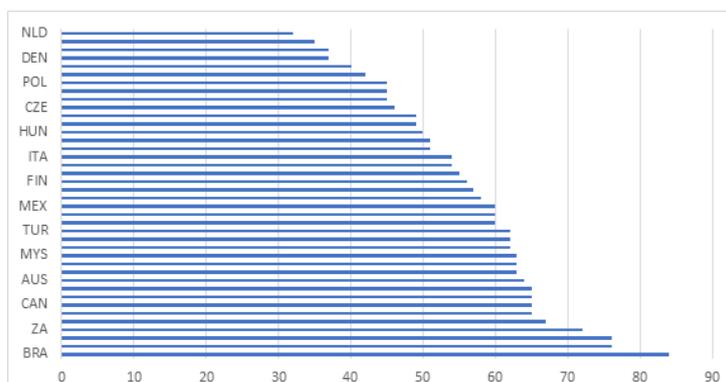
Table1. Proportion concerned about what is real and what is fake on the internet when it comes to news – all markets (Reuters Institute)[4]

More than half (55%) of the sample across 38 countries remains concerned about their ability to separate what is real and fake on the internet. Concern is highest in Brazil (85%), South Africa (70%), Mexico (68%), and France (67%), and lowest in the Netherlands (31%),

---

[3] Pan American Health Organization, 2020.

[4] The author has personally reworked the graphs using the data provided by the appropriately cited companies.

and Germany (38%), which tend to be less polarized politically. The biggest jump in concern came in the UK (70%) where the news media have taken a lead in breaking stories about misinformation on Facebook and YouTube and there has been a high-profile House of Commons inquiry into the issue (Reuters Institute 2019).

2.2 Changes in media consumption during COVID-19

A global survey conducted in March 2020 by Statista.com revealed that the coronavirus has had a direct impact on in-home media consumption around the world, with 35 percent of total respondents professing to have read more books or listened to more audiobooks at home and 18 percent having listened to more radio due to the COVID-19 pandemic, whilst more than 40 percent of consumers spent longer on messaging services and social media. Interestingly, although at least 50 percent of respondents in most countries said that they were watching more news coverage, figures for Australia and the United States were lower, amounting to just 42 and 43 percent, respectively. Australians were also the least likely to be reading more newspapers; just five percent of consumers said that they were doing so compared to the global total of 14 percent. Whilst 60 percent of Italians were spending longer on messaging services, in Japan the same was true for only eight percent of respondents, and survey participants from China and the Philippines were by far the most likely to be spending more time on music streaming services.

	World-wide	Italy	Spain	France	Germany	China	U.S.	U.K.	Singapore	Australia	Brazil	Japan	Philippines	South Africa	In %
Watching more news coverage	67	67	63	50	60	77	43	50	57	42	69	56	79	61	%
Watching more shows/films on streaming services	51	53	58	31	21	63	42	32	35	30	43	21	61	39	%
Watching more TV on broadcast channels	45	55	43	53	35	46	42	32	32	32	43	51	70	46	%
Spending longer on messaging services	45	60	61	24	22	59	17	24	35	19	48	8	55	45	%
Spending longer on social media	44	52	49	27	21	50	32	21	39	28	50	23	71	44	%
Spending more time on computer/video games	36	41	48	39	21	29	29	20	25	24	41	32	40	32	%

Reading more books/listening to more audiobooks	35	36	42	24	19	44	25	19	18	16	27	18	27	26	%
Listening to more streaming services	35	25	27	14	13	49	18	14	17	16	30	11	43	22	%
Listening to more radio	18	29	32	23	24	16	16	17	20	15	18	9	32	36	%
Reading more magazines	16	23	22	14	17	14	12	15	29	14	22	16	23	24	%
Reading more newspapers	14	18	14	14	10	17	12	9	9	5	12	7	12	11	%
Creating/ uploading videos	14	10	15	7	5	17	6	6	9	6	21	5	17	12	%
Listening to more p odcasts	12	8	10	6	6	13	10	11	9	11	15	4	17	13	%

Table 2. Consuming media at home due to the coronavirus worldwide 2020, by country (Statista.com)

During lockdown, not only media consumption increased greatly overall, but the main researches and discussions concerned the virus and the pandemic. According to a study conducted by Statista.com in March 2020, the most used sources of news and information regarding the coronavirus among news consumers worldwide were major news organizations, with 64 percent of respondents saying that they got most of their information about the virus from larger news companies. The study also showed that social media was a popular news source for COVID-19 updates in several countries around the world. Despite social networking sites being the least trusted media source worldwide, for many consumers social media was a more popular source of information for updates on the coronavirus pandemic than global health organizations like the WHO or National health authorities like the CDC, particularly in Japan, South Africa, and Brazil. Government sources also varied in popularity among consumers in different parts of the world. Whilst 63 percent of Italian respondents relied mostly on national government sources, just 22 percent of UK news consumers did the same, preferring to get their updates from larger organizations. Similarly, twice as many Italians used local government sources to keep up to date than adults in the United Kingdom, and U.S. consumers were also less likely to rely on news from the government.

	Total	Japan	South Korea	South Africa	United Kingdom	Canada	Germany	United States	Brazil	Italy	France	In %
Major news organizations	64	73	73	67	67	66	65	63	59	55	52	%
National government sources	40	41	50	36	34	31	32	25	40	63	45	%
Social media	38	44	35	72	22	33	26	26	64	32	21	%
Global health organizations like the WHO	34	22	18	43	36	45	30	27	46	46	36	%
National health authorities like the CDC	29	15	25	28	37	41	18	45	25	36	20	%
Friends and family	27	36	34	44	20	22	25	22	30	20	21	%
Local government sources	26	27	29	28	15	27	27	20	31	33	21	%

Table 3. Most used sources of reliable news and information for updates on the coronavirus worldwide as of March 2020, by country (Statista 2020)

3. Communication Crisis Management and Social Media

3.1 Communication Crisis

Over the past two decades, the spread of the internet and social media has changed human reality and perception in many ways. Communication was at the center of a paradigmatic revolution that disrupted previous knowledge, consumer habits, work habits and the way of doing politics. Here we would like to briefly recall how the consequences of these new socio-economic dynamics have had a great impact on communication theories and, in this case above all, on crisis communication management. The word *crisis* derived from the Greek word κρίσις, 'judgement', 'result of a trial', 'turning point', 'selection', 'decision' (according to Thucydides), but also 'contention' or 'quarrel' (according to Plato), a standard, from which to derive criterion, 'means for judging', but also 'ability to discern', and critical, 'suitable to judge', 'crucial', 'decisive' as well as pertaining to the art of judgement (Bauman and Bordoni 2014: 2).

According to Coombs (2009), it is possible to conceptualize the phenomenon of the crisis by drawing on various definitions that consider the possible predictive nature of this phenomenon and the importance of the perception by the public towards it. Among many definitions, we will consider Coombs's updated definition of crisis in communication as 'an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can seriously impact an organization's performance and generate negative outcomes' (Coombs 2015: 3). The definition emphasizes

stakeholders' role in co-creating the meaning of a crisis as meaning is socially constructed and crises are no exception. Thus, it was important to utilize a definition that reflects the perceptual nature of crises. Over the last couple of decades, much of the academic literature has addressed the crisis, disaster, and risk communication, among which crisis communication is organizational and public relations focused. As Coombs stated (2015), the many definitions of crisis communication can be categorized into two types: one is to define the crisis as an event; the other is to regard the crisis as part of a process. As mentioned previously in this paragraph, we will adopt Coomb's most recent definition which considers crisis as an event. As a result, by coding crises as events, it is possible to identify directly the name of a crisis and analyze variables such as types of crises and the time of crisis events, which serve as important dimensions to provide a holistic examination of the nature of a crisis (Pearson and Mitroff 1993). According to his definition, Coombs observed that we can segment and appropriately research and develop crisis planning in three phases: pre-crisis (signal detection, prevention and preparation), crisis event (recognition and containment) and post-crisis (evaluation, learning and follow-up communication). Pre-crisis involves efforts to prevent crises and to prepare for crisis management. Crisis is the response to an actual event. Post-crisis are efforts to learn from the crisis event (Coombs 2015). These three categories reflect the phases of crisis management. They are useful because they provide a mechanism for considering the breadth of crisis communication. As a matter of fact – more than any other communicative process – crisis communication is rhetorical, it requires advocacy both in process and in meaning. Crisis discourse is propositional therefore it entails the development of fact-based, evaluation-driven and policy conclusions. Indeed, facts do not actually count as much as how they are framed and interpreted.

3.2 How Social Media impact on Communication Crisis Theories

Defined as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0" (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010: 61), the types of social media such as Wikipedia, Twitter, Facebook and Pinterest are ushering in a new era of crisis communication between the organizations, political parties, institutions and their public. These new technologies offer pros and cons when it comes to crisis: organizations can efficiently utilize social media to interact with the massive and diverse stakeholders but – nevertheless – with the emergence and exchange of user-generated contents, social media create a breeding ground for crises or risks. In fact, Studies of 16 international companies (e.g., the United States, China, France, Germany,and Mexico) found that 36% of crises were caused by digital security failures or negative new media publicities (Chen 2016). By incorporating social media strategies into the traditional framework of crisis communication strategies, according to Chen three main questions might emerge:

With the increasing use of social media, what crisis communication strategies may be applied to manage social-mediated events? How would the organizations apply CCS in different phases of crises? Have new strategies ever emerged and substituted the traditional CCS spectrum? (Chen 2016: 4)

These questions have solicited numerous discussions among scholars. To explore the patterns of the use of crisis responses, Coombs started developing in 1995 the Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCT, from now on). Originated and developed from the Image Restoration Theory (IRT) which emphasized CCS as symbolic resources, SCCT included the attribution theory and developed situation-oriented CCS based on experimental studies. However, SCCT did not fully investigate the influence of media, especially the social media effects on the crisis

communication; it still focused on the perspective of organizations and used the general term 'stakeholders' to describe the other key parties. Many of the above-mentioned theories and models failed to consider the impact of social media, which was changing the field of crisis communication by creating risks or crises and meanwhile bringing the interactive, dialogic and fast communication between the organization and stakeholders. The large amount of SMCM literature was discussing some new strategies and contexts, the interactive crisis response form, the stakeholder desired strategies on the Internet and the social media strategies on the recipients' perceptions of reputation. Within the SMCM research, organizations, social media, and stakeholders, as three major research perspectives, were clearly identified. Among these, the stakeholders and their media use have become the most dominant research perspective in the crisis communication, according to Chen (2016).

Researchers showed increasing interests towards the stakeholders and widely discussed motivation of social media use, emotions, identification and generated online contents during crises (Fortunato 2011; Procopio 2007; Stephens 2009). Despite this common theoretical ground, in the last few years the SMCM literature provided two contradictory patterns in evaluating the effects of social media on the crisis communication. Some scholars were optimistic about the effective function of social media. For example, Kim and Liu (2012) found that social media was more frequently used than the traditional one in the organizational crisis management. Through experimental analysis of the effects of CCS (i.e., information, sympathy and apology) via social media in comparison with traditional media, Schultz and Utz (2011) also found that the strategy of information on social media resulted in fewer negative crisis reactions than via traditional newspapers: newspapers might be credible to present issues, while Twitter had positive effects on secondary crisis communication (e.g., sharing and posting newspaper messages) and reactions (e.g., willingness to boycott). Meanwhile Brown has realized the empowering function of social media (2013) advising that organizations could effectively utilize the interactivity of social media, by creating dialogues with stakeholders, paying more attention to citizen-generated contents, adopting stakeholder desired strategies, cultivating opinion leaders on social media and creating texts, pictures or videos online in the same way for organizational legitimacy.

On the other hand, it was found that in crisis communication management methodologies social media might bring new challenges such as the image management issues, and fragmented media channels. A differentiation in CCM is also required in CCM according to the characteristics of the social media involved. For example, Gilpin (2010) found that image construction was nonlinear on social media, as each channel could address different dimensions of an organization's projected image. The ICC model also identified the contents between the organization and stakeholders. Through a reciprocal loop between them (Table 4), types of media and stakeholder-generated contents (e.g., visual, text, voice messages or mix) on social media (e.g., Twitter, Pinterest, Facebook) were exchanged (Chen 2016). Meanwhile, the organization continuously sends positive media contents to the public and maintains a good relationship. It is expected that the more positive the dialogue that an organization holds with its stakeholder, the more likely a high level of CCS effectiveness can be achieved if the prior reputation, relational characteristics with the public and situational variables are controlled. In the SMCM research, it was also found that the new 'digital' time frame of online media landscape has greatly shortened the length of time during which organizations were expected to react (Gilpin 2010). Thus, controlling of the messages became more unpredictable on the social media than before. Social Media play a threefold role in crisis firstly they can be considered tools to manage communication crisis then they could amplify and increase the resonance of a crisis, and finally they could be the cause themselves of a crisis.

Types of organizations	Tones of contents Positive or neutral	Types of stakeholders
• Corporation • Non-profit organization • Government		• Aware stakeholders • Active stakeholders • Inactive stakeholders • Aroused stakeholders (Hallahan, 2000)
Organizational response form	Types of social media Twitter Pinterest Facebook Bookmark •••	**Stakeholders' response form**
• Dialogic • Consist • Precise • Timely		• Large in quantities • Chaos in leadership • Great in magnitude
Strategy toolkit	Types of media & stakeholder-generated contents Visual, text, voice, message or mix	**Stakeholders' strategy**
• Base • Denial • Evasion • Justification • Concession	Tone of contents negative, neutral or positive	• Emotion support • Information • Remediation • Rectification • Divert attention (Brown & Billings, 2012; Stephens & Malone, 2009)

Table 4. The interactive crisis communication model on social media (Chen 2018)

4. Living in a Post-Truth Era

4.1 Post truth and Fake News

In this paragraph we will discuss more in depth the process of constructing post-truths, understood as the rhetorical-persuasive strategies in which the subjective and emotional component prevails over the referential objective one (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). In this definition, it is underlined that the prefix 'post' is meant to indicate not exactly the idea of past in a temporal sense but in the sense that truth has been eclipsed, therefore it is irrelevant. Fake news is the principle manifestation of post-truth phenomenon. The Cambridge Dictionary defines fake news as "false stories that appear to be news, spread on the internet or using other media, usually created to influence political views or as a joke"; a similar definition of the term in the Collins Dictionary (which declared "fake news" its word of the year for 2017, a year later) holds that it is "false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting." Moreover, in this paragraph we analyze some of the most significant media phenomena that contribute to the strengthening and diffusion of post truth through social media, such as echo chambers, filter bubbles and the tendency towards political polarization within communicative exchanges through the activation of confirmatory bias on online platforms.

This phenomenon – strengthened by new media and their inherent viral cascading effect – no longer assuming the objectivity of information as a reference parameter, uses pragmatic discursive procedures, associated with the production of meanings, that represent alternative truths often used as a weapon of delegitimization in political discourse (Baldi 2018). The polysemic nature of the term post-truth inevitably widens the ground to analyze the phenomenon and the empirical data to be cataloged. Specifically, some significant meanings of post-truth are considered – being particularly functional for this research – such as the predominance of an emotional logic, the notion of post-truth as a pluralization from below of different versions of the facts that tend to undermine the credibility of the institutions intended as holders of official information and, above all, the concept of post-truth as rhetorical potential of communication also used for manipulative purposes. In today's era of instant information gratification, we have

ready and unlimited access to opinions, rationalizations, and superficial descriptions which cause an informative overload. As Baldi suggests:

> We can see in fake news a symptom of the crisis of the cognitive universe, of the beliefs and shared values of social groups. A new medium aimed at contrasting what is felt as the cultural, political, and scientific structure underlying power. In Italy, recent examples concern immigration or the issue of vaccines and now, of course, the situation related to Coronavirus. (Baldi 2020[5])

McIntyre (2017) argued that some may wonder whether the idea of post-truth is really a new one. He tries to clarify that post truth is not just synonymous with propaganda and that 'alternative facts' are not merely falsehoods. As the issue is still not that simple, he goes further:

> While there is some historical precedent for our current situation it would be wrong to try to reduce post-truth to something else. To say that facts are less important than feelings in shaping our beliefs about empirical matters seems new, at least in American politics. In the past we have faced serious challenges – even to the notion of truth itself – but never have such challenges been so openly embraced as a strategy for the political subordination of reality. Thus, what is striking about the idea of post-truth is not just that truth is being challenged, but that it is being challenged as a mechanism for asserting political dominance. (McIntyre 2017: 6)

The first step in fighting post-truth is to understand its genesis. The idea of post-truth does not simply emerge forcefully onto the scene in 2016 – as a result of Brexit and the US presidential election – but the phenomenon itself has deep roots that go back to the evolution of cognitive irrationalities that are shared by liberals and conservatives alike. McIntyre suggests that it also has roots in academic debates over the impossibility of objective truth that have been used to attack the authority of science. This formal attitude has been intensified by recent changes in the media landscape. Fueled by the rise of social media as a news source and a growing distrust of facts offered up by the establishment, post-truth as a concept has been finding its linguistic footing for some time. As a result, we assist daily to the explosion of science denial on trend topics like climate change, vaccines, evolution, Flat Earth, and the origin of COVID-19. The dramatically change of perspective of this very debate is that now everyone (who has a smartphone) can challenge the factual reality by telling her/his own truth. Fake news is frequently connected to politics and was famously thrust into the public eye in the run-up to the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, resulting in concerns about the influence of fake news on voters and elections in the United States. Furthermore, with the largely fact-free campaign over Brexit in Great Britain – where hundreds of buses advertised the bogus statistic that the UK was sending 350 million euros a week to the EU – and the growing use of disinformation campaigns by politicians against their own people in Hungary, Russia, and Turkey, many see post-truth as part of a growing international trend where some feel emboldened to try to bend reality to fit their opinions. Moreover, the infinite power of internet

> is amplified in a worrying way by the total availability of social networks, accessible to all, which act as a sounding board for any thought that, once published, rises in the collective imagination to the value of truth. We are living the progressive triumph of pseudo-intellectuals without qualification, unspecified or disqualified for their very structure. (Baldi 2018)

---

[5] <https://www.lanazione.it/cronaca/il-coronavirus-infetta-anche-comunicazione-e-informazi-one-le-fake-news-1.5155972> (06/2020).

Science denial in general is relevant to understand the phenomenon of post-truth. According to McIntyre (2018) it can start from either an economic or an ideological agenda. He deepens our understanding of this link between economic interests and post-truth politics, by considering how corporate-funded lobbying on a range of topics has influenced political positions on climate change, guns, immigration, health care, the national debt, voter reform, abortion, and gay marriage – in the U.S.

Global warming is perhaps the most egregious case of modern science denial. As noted, there are numerous book-length works on the charade of coordinated, manufactured skepticism to dispute the compelling scientific evidence for anthropogenic climate change. In a world where ideology trumps science, post-truth is the inevitable next step. (McIntyre 2018)

According to the results of the online survey – conducted by Edelman between 2012 and 2020 – about the trust in news on a global level, for general news and information, what emerges here is very interesting.
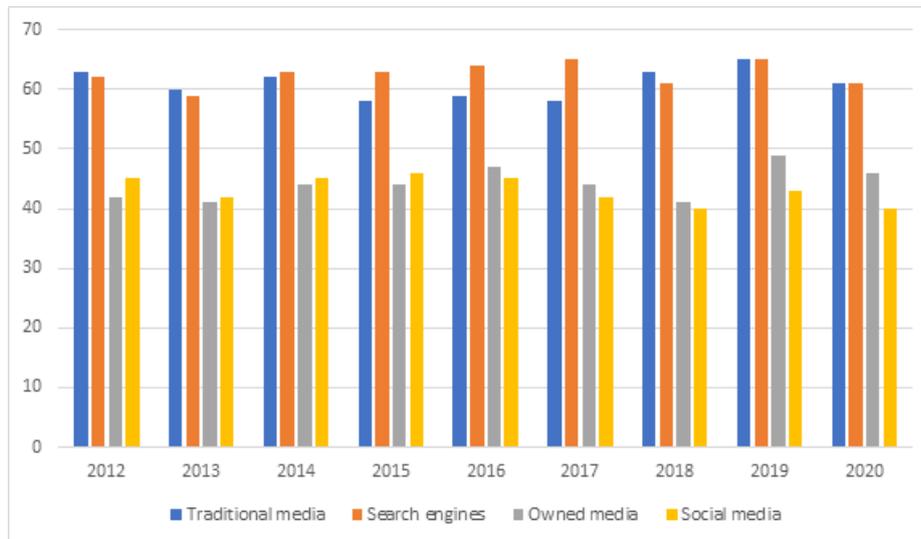
Table 5. Most trusted sources of general news and information worldwide from 2012 to 2020 (Statista 2020)

As of early 2020, 61 percent of adults who responded to a global survey stated that they trusted traditional media and search engines, making the two different but popular outlets the most trusted sources of news and information in the world. The source considered the least trustworthy was social media, not only on an overall global level but also in each world region. Social media was by far the least trusted news source in Europe and North America, and a survey held in the United States revealed that most U.S. adults considered most of the news seen on social media to be biased. The reasons for news consumers' growing suspicions about the trustworthiness of media are multifaceted, but the onslaught of fake news is a major contributing factor. Adults in several countries worldwide have wrongly believed a news story was real until later realizing it was fake, and one of the top reasons for avoiding news was the inability to rely on its truthfulness. Conspiracy theories, tweets by politicians and poorly written or inaccurate news content often fall under the heading of fake news, and the term is also frequently used to describe news an individual disagrees with. As previously stated, fake news is not a recent

phenomenon, and has historically been used to defame individuals, garner support for corrupt movements and portray minority groups in a negative way. This tactic of generating publicity by presenting false information as fact was utilized as a means of propaganda during the First and Second World Wars, and by the 21st century became a major problem.

4.2 Ideological Polarization and Echo Chambers, Filter Bubbles and Selective Exposure

Ideological polarization has dominated both popular and academic debates over the past two decades. The discussion around polarization has gained increased attention in the face of the 2016 Presidential Election in the US and the 2016 EU Referendum in the UK, as previously mentioned in this article. Gentzkow (2016) observed in a recent paper on polarization around the US Presidential Election that clearly:

> what divides them [Americans] politically is increasingly personal. We do not just disagree politely about what is the best way to reform the health care system. We believe that those on the other side are trying to destroy America.

It is important to note that while the examples of the US and recently the UK have been most vividly studied and discussed, similar patterns can be observed in Europe as well. Ideological polarization poses a threat to the healthy functioning of democratic societies. The most relevant consequence of polarization is a loss of diversity of opinions and arguments. Numerous studies have indicated that in polarized settings, "the benefit that ought to come with having a variety of opinions is lost to the righteousness that is the special entitlement of homogenous groups" (Bishop 2008: 14). The consequences of this process are communities that effectively function as feedback loops or echo chambers, where we are "hearing our own thoughts about what's right and wrong bounced back to us by the television shows we watch, the newspapers and books we read, the blogs we visit online [...] and the neighborhoods we live in" (Bishop 2008: 39).

The functioning of the current news market and economics further perpetuates the polarization of news, but the area of popular concern has recently focused on exposure to ideological difference in online media. Social networks and online communication have considerably transformed political communication and public discourse. Over the past two decades, changes in communication technologies have affected the very nature of how citizens relate to each other and to their governments, shaping a new public sphere. As Brundidge notes, "the empirical support for increased exposure to political difference because of Internet use is somewhat limited and indirect" (Brundidge 2010). The Internet and network platforms are especially likely to foster selective exposure behavior due to the inconceivably large amount of information that users are presented with all the time. Due to this information overload, platforms like Facebook are designed in a way that they facilitate consumers' ability to attend to the information selectively.

One of the two main arguments identifies the algorithms that curate online experiences as the source of the problem. Pariser (2011) has popularized the term *filter bubble* to illustrate this phenomenon of polarization on social media platforms like Facebook. He argues that algorithms which are intended to customize and personalize the user's online experience place the user in a bubble where he or she is only presented with information that matches with previous consumption behavior. The aim and function of these algorithms is to connect people with information they are likely to want to consume, by making some items easier to access than other items, resulting in a personalized stream of content that fails to offer users a set of alternatives to choose from (Rader and Gray 2015: 175). Algorithmic curation and filters on Google or the Facebook News Feed are prediction engines, constantly creating and refining a theory of the identity of the users.

These engines create a unique universe of information for each of us which fundamentally alters the way we encounter ideas and information. A recent study of the effects of algorithmic curation on social networking services found empirical evidence that customizability technology increased ideologically driven selective exposure and the likelihood of echo chambers and filter bubbles in the modern media landscape. The study concludes that

> due to its automatic and unobtrusive operation, customizability technology might be particularly effective at reducing cognitive dissonance associated with the avoidance of challenging information and, in contradiction with previous studies, showed that system-driven customizability (e.g. Facebook News Feed algorithm) had a stronger influence on selective exposure than user-driven customizability. (Dylko *et al.* 2017: 188)

According to Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2020, an increasing number of users tend to get their news on social media and use the platform for news consumption. As social media plays an increasing role in the consumption of news and information, the effects of ideological polarization in information consumption become arguably more apparent. In recent years, social networks have displayed symptoms of ideological polarization and the formation of the so-called filter bubbles.
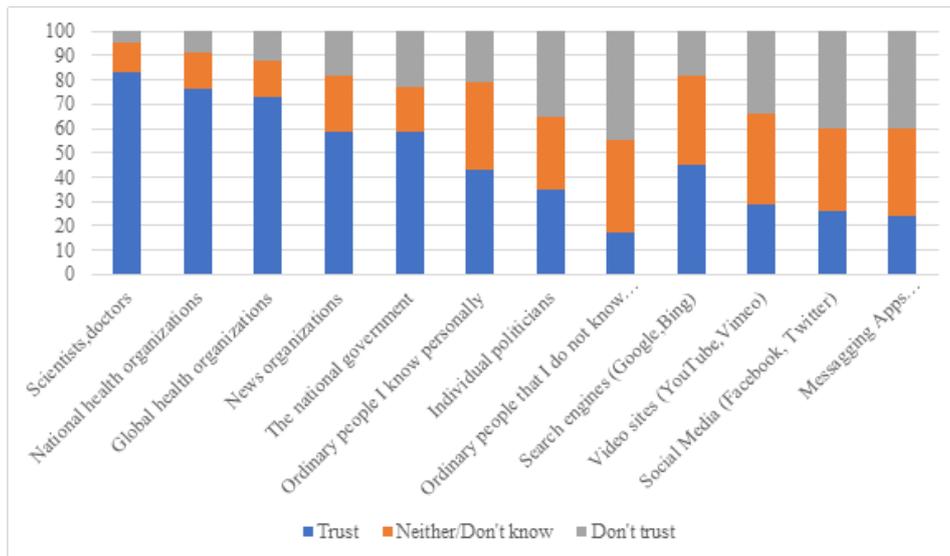
Table 6. Trust in different sources of news and information about Coronavirus, April 2020 (Reuters Institute)

At around the peak of the lockdowns, trust in news organizations around COVID-19 was running at more than twice that for social media, video sites, and messaging applications where around four in ten see information as untrustworthy. By contrast information found in search engines was more reliable. Of course, neither search nor social companies create content themselves, so trust in this context reflects the selection decisions they make. It is particularly striking that average levels of trust in the national government and news organizations are almost identical, perhaps reflecting the way that in the early stages of this crisis many media organizations focused on amplifying government messages about health and social distancing, including carrying extended government press conferences. As things return to normal, the media are likely to become more critical of government and this may in turn lead to a return of more partisan approaches to media trust (Reuters Institute 2020).

McIntyre suggests that there are two opposing arguments about the source of this growing ideological polarization in online media consumption. Some theorists claim that the algorithmic curation that filters our online experiences effectively places us in echo chambers of our own beliefs and is the strongest cause of polarization (Pariser 2011; Rader and Grey 2015) and a critical factor in the growing importance of fake news. The other source of polarization discussed has been around for much longer and has its roots in psychology and behavioral economics. By this argument, selective exposure behavior, confirmation bias and availability bias that make us more likely to interact with content which confirms our pre-existing views are assumably triggers of ideological polarization, both offline and online.

4.3 Psychological biases

The second hypothesis attempting to specify the source of ideological polarization online focuses on the psychological biases of the user. Specifically, the phenomena that individuals tend to consume media which aligns with their views and beliefs and avoid such content that is different in perspective or even challenging their position. This phenomenon is called selective exposure, or sometimes partisan selective exposure, and there is increasing evidence to support the argument that selective exposure has a significant influence in polarization and group homogeneity. One of the supporters of the concept argued early on that 'the tendency of people to expose themselves to mass communications in accord with their existing opinions and interests and to avoid unsympathetic material, has been widely demonstrated' (Klapper 1960: 19). The concept regains popularity today, as the present media landscape with its ever-growing variety of media outlets increases the potential for selective exposure. Recent research seems to support this argument. The psychological cause of selective exposure is a phenomenon which researchers call confirmation bias the 'seeking or interpreting of evidence in ways that are partial to existing beliefs, expectations, or a hypothesis in hand' (Nickerson 1998: 175). It is important to note that such psychological processes can, and often do, occur partially or entirely unaware. The human brain engages in the process of case-building as a result of its need for consistency and a desire to defend its beliefs, and this happens without a conscious intention of treating evidence from a biased perspective and individuals being somewhat unaware of this process (Nickerson 1998). Numerous studies support this statement by finding that individuals tend to recall more information that is in favor of their position and evidence that confirms their hypothesis, so that they require less hypothesis confirming evidence to accept an idea than they need hypothesis-inconsistent information to reject it. Furthermore, they also tend to have unfounded overconfidence in their knowledge and beliefs.

In a study of selective exposure to information, according to Frey (1986), individuals have the capability to increase the chances of getting information which confirms their existing beliefs. Consequentially the possibilities of encountering information that is inconsistent to what they believe decrease. This point needs to be stressed more than ever because the ability to filter information on a platform like Facebook is pervasively strong. People – influenced by selective exposure – tend to organize their surroundings in a way that ensures selectivity. Scholars agree on the fact that the ways in which we encounter and process information are "first and foremost pragmatic, survival mechanisms and only secondarily truth detection strategies" (Friedrich 1993: 298) and that confirmation bias and belief perseverance, from a psychological and mental health perspective, might actually be helpful in protecting the consistency of thought and reduce vulnerability to errors (Nickerson 1998: 208).

5. Conclusions

It is important at this point to give at least a minimal definition of truth. So far the most famous is Aristotle's definition, who said: "to say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, while to say of what is that it is, and of what is not that it is not, is true" (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*). The idea of a single objective truth has never been free from controversy. The concept of truth in philosophy traces its roots back to Plato, who warned through Socrates of the dangers of false claims to knowledge. Ignorance, Socrates felt, was remediable; if one is ignorant, one can be taught. Nevertheless, the greater threat comes from those who have the *hubris* to think that they already know the truth, for then one might be impetuous enough to act on a falsehood. Epistemologically speaking, this sort of correspondence is correct, whereby we judge the truth of a statement only by how well it fits reality. Other prominent conceptions of truth reflect a diversity of opinion among philosophers about the proper theory of truth, even while – as a value – there seems little dispute that truth is important. As previously mentioned, ignorance can be remediable because it is intended as an unintentional act but when we tell a falsehood with intent to deceive, we are lying. Every lie has an audience and when our intent is to manipulate someone into believing something that we know to be untrue, we have moved from the mere interpretation of facts into their falsification. McIntyre argues if that is what post-truth is about (McIntyre 2017: 21).

If we infer the intention to perpetrate falsification, the Gricean cooperative principles in pursuit of effective communication are deceived. Grice focuses his reflection on meaning starting from concrete conversational exchanges – which typically occur between two subjects, face to face, intent to communicate intentionally. Communication is conceived as an intentional production of effects and it can be understood only within a general theory of intentional and rational action: "what words mean is a matter of what people mean by them" (Grice 1989: 340).

The structural change of communication made possible by the very nature of the digital dimension of social media, and the narrative-subjective approach to the facts have undermined the epistemological basis of truth. The Coronavirus crisis has substantially increased news consumption for mainstream media before and after the pandemic had taken effect. Television news and online sources have seen significant upticks, and more people identify television as their main source of news, providing temporary respite from a picture of steady decline. Consumption of printed newspapers has fallen as lockdowns undermine physical distribution, almost certainly accelerating the shift to an all-digital future. At the same time, the use of online and social media substantially increased in most countries. Global concerns about misinformation remain high. Even before the coronavirus crisis hit, more than half of global sample said they were concerned about what is true or false on the internet when it comes to news (Reuters Institute). Domestic politicians are the most frequently named source of misinformation, though in some countries people who self-identify as right-wing are more likely to blame the media – part of a 'pick-your-side' dynamic. Facebook is seen as the main channel for spreading false information almost everywhere. Political polarization linked to rising uncertainty seems to have undermined trust in public broadcasters, which are losing support from political partisans from both the right and the left.

At the end of this discussion the main questions to focus on are: who is most exposed and vulnerable to its influence? Who is led or predisposed to believe in fake news? What are the possible defenses to the systemic alteration of truth? And, finally, is it still possible to talk about truth and reality? If so, how should we conceive of them? These questions summarize an extremely serious question raised by our analysis. It is worth noting that Grice's conversational maxims, which attempt to define the fundamental requirements for communicative coopera-

tion, include: "do not say what you believe to be false" and "do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (Grice 1993: 46). Grice knows as well as we do that there are infinite ways to contravene the teaching of these maxims and that their intentional or unintentional violation is the norm rather than the exception. They are nonetheless pointing of reference without which communication could not exist. Credibility, which depends on interlocutors 'telling the truth,' is the necessary condition of every communicative relationship. No relationship is possible unless we trust the other to speak sensibly and tell the truth. This applies not only to quotidian relationships; for example, the credibility of a politician is based largely on whether he or she tells the truth (Maddalena, Gili 2020). A significant portion of political rhetoric, both positive and negative, appeals to the trustworthiness of the speaker and to the related notion of 'sincerity,' which is the subjective dimension of credibility, the attitude others perceive in the person who 'wants' the truth. The credibility of journalism and of the media is also tied to their telling the truth and conducting the research necessary to do so. So, in this epoch of the weakening of the concepts of truth and reality that we have described, it is no wonder that counteroffensives have attempted to restore the idea of truth.

The paradox of the story we have told is that, after having progressively eviscerated the power of communication to refer to reality, we now want to eliminate the possibility of multiple meanings, a possibility that has been pursued for so long, only to return to diminished and impoverished references to a merely numerical reality. After almost a hundred years, Lippmann's positivist diagnosis may be prevailing again: a reliable representation of social reality is only that which translates it into statistics of births, deaths, weddings, accidents, elections, and economic systems, consistent with the most reliable and definitive methods of knowledge known to science (Maddalena, Gili 2020). When it comes to narrating and interpreting complex and controversial events, this diagnosis necessarily leads us to surrender to the fact that ideological prejudice, imperfections of language, and constraints in the information production process inexorably encase the real world in stereotypical visions which are to a greater or lesser extent deformed. This last example of negative consequences reverses the Nietzschean statement 'there are no more facts but only interpretations' to read: there are no interpretations, but only facts.

References

Baldi, Benedetta. 2018. *#Opinione immediata. Opinione pubblica, post-verità e altre menzogne*. Firenze: Pacini Editore.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2019. *Complotti e raggiri: Verità, non verità, verità nascoste*. Roma: Viella Libreria Editrice.

Baldi, Benedetta. 2020. "Il Coronavirus 'infetta' anche comunicazione e informazione: le fake news." *La Nazione*. <https://www.lanazione.it/cronaca/il-coronavirus-infetta-anche-comunicazione-e-informazione-le-fake-news-1.5155972> (06/2020).

Baldi, Benedetta and Ludovico Franco. 2015. "(De)legitimization Strategies in the Austere Prose of Palmiro Togliatti." *QULSO* 1: 139-158. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-16520.

Baldi, Benedetta, Ludovico Franco and L.M. Savoia. 2019. "Alternative Truths and Delegitimization Pragmatic Strategies Around the 2018 Italian Elections." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 7, 2: 293-320.

Baldi, Benedetta, and L.M. Savoia. 2009. "Metafora e ideologia nel linguaggio politico." *Lingua italiana d'oggi* 6: 119-165.

Baldi, Benedetta, and L.M. Savoia. 2017. "L'identità come mezzo di (de)legittimazione: procedure linguistiche e pragmatiche nel discorso politico." In *La delegittimazione politica nell'età contemporanea 2. Parole nemiche: teorie, pratiche e linguaggi*, ed. by Benedetta Baldi, 287-338. Roma: Viella Libreria Editrice.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2003. *City of Fears, City of Hopes*. London: Goldsmiths College.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2009. *Paura liquida*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt, and Carlo Bordoni. 2014. *Stato di crisi*. Bologna: Einaudi.

Bianchi, Claudia. 2009. *Pragmatica cognitiva. I meccanismi della comunicazione*. Bari: Laterza.

Brown, Anhony. 2013. "Sports Fans as Crisis Communicators on Social Media Websites." *Public Relations Review* 39, 1: 74-81.

Caiani, Manuela. 2011. "L'estrema destra in Italia fra passato e presente: il discorso sulla globalizzazione in Societa." *Mutamento e Politica* 2: 133-151.

Caiani, Manuela, and Donatella della Porta. 2011. "The Elitist Populism of the Extreme Right: a Frame Analysis of Extreme Right Wing Discourses in Italy and Germany." *Acta Politica* 46, 2: 180-202.

Calise, Mauro, and Fortunato Musella. 2019. *Il principe digitale*. Bari: Laterza.

Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publisher.

Castells, Manuel. 2012. *Reti di indignazione e di speranza. Movimenti sociali nell'era di Internet.* Milano: Università Bocconi Editore.

Castells, Manuel and Pekka Himanen. 2014. *Reconceptualizating Development in the Global Information Age.* Oxford: Oxford UP.

Chen, Yang. 2016. "How Social Media Is Changing Crisis Communication Strategies: Evidence from the Updated Literature." *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 26, 1: 58-68.

Collins Dictionary. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/it/dizionario/inglese/fake-news>.

Coombs, Timothy. 2007. "Protecting Organization Reputations During a Crisis: The Development and Application of Situational Crisis Communication Theory." *Corporate Reputation Review*, 10, 3: 163-176.

Coombs, Timothy. 2014a. "Applied Crisis Communication and Crisis Management: Cases and Exercises." In *Sage*, Thousand Oaks, CA. Ed.by Sage Publications, 104-146.

Coombs, Timothy. 2014b. "State of Crisis Communication: Evidence and the Bleeding Edge." *Research Journal of the Institute for Public Relations*, 1, 1: 1-12.

Coombs, Timothy. 2015. *Ongoing Crisis Communication: Planning, Managing and Responding*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Coombs, Timothy, and Sharon Holladay. 2009. "Further Explorations of Post-crisis Communication: Effects of Media and Response Strategies on Perceptions and Intentions." *Public Relations Review*, 35: 1-6.

Crocchi, S.C. 2019. "Corporate Storytelling as an Effective Communication Tool." *QULSO*, 5: 431-458. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-25976

Crocchi, S.C. 2020. "Corporate Storytelling." In *Comunicare ad arte per costruire contenuti e promuovere eventi,* ed. by Benedetta Baldi, 237-257. Firenze: Zanichelli.

Dylko Ivan, Igor Dolgovb, William Hoffmanc, *et al*. 2017. "The Dark Side of Technology: An Experimental Investigation of the Influence of Customizability Technology on Online Political Selective Exposure." *Computers in Human Behavior* 73: 181-190.

Fearn-Banks, Kathleen. 2011. *Crisis Communications: A Casebook Approach*. New York: Routledge.

Ferraris, Maurizio. 2017. *Postverità e altri enigmi*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Fortunato, John. (2011). "Dancing in the Dark: Ticketmaster's Response to its Bruce Springsteen Ticket Crisis." *Public Relations Review*, 37, 1: 77-79.

Freberg, Karen. 2012. "Intention to Comply with Crisis Messages Communicated via Social Media." *Public Relations Review*, 38, 3: 416-421.

Gilpin, Dawn. 2010. "Organizational Image Construction in a Fragmented Online Media Environment." *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 22, 3: 265-287.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.

Grice. H.P. 1993. "Logica e conversazione." In *Logica e conversazione. Saggi su intenzione, significato e comunicazione*, ed. by Giorgio Moro, 55-76. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Jackendoff, Ray. 2002. *Foundations of Language. Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Kaplan A.M., and Michael Haenlein. 2010. "Users of the world, unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media." *Bus Horiz* 53, 1: 59-68.

Klapper, J.T. 1960. *The Effects of Mass Communication*. New York: Free Press.

Kim, Sora, and Liu Brooke. 2012. "Are All Crises Opportunities? A Comparison of How Corporate and Government Organizations Responded to the 2009 Flu Pandemic." *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 24, 1: 69-85.

Lapper, Joseph. 1960. *The Effects of Mass Communication.* Glencoe: The Free Press.

Lakoff, George. 1972. "Structural Complexity in Fairy Tales." In *The Study of Man*, vol. I, Presented at the Summer Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, 128-150.

Lakoff, George. 1996. *Moral Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George. 2008. *The Political Mind*. New York: Viking Penguin.

Lakoff, George. 2016. *Understanding Trump*, online in *Political*. <https://georgelakoff.com/2016/07/23/understanding-trump-06/2020> (06/2020).

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought.* New York: Basic Books.

Lazarsfeld, Paul. 1948. *The People's Choice*. New York: Columbia UP.

Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Penguin Random House.

Lippman, Walter. 2004. *L'opinione pubblica*. Roma: Donzelli Editore.

Maddalena, Giovanni. 2015. *The Philosophy of Gesture*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP.

Maddalena, Giovanni and Guido Gili. 2020. *The History and Theory of Post-Truth Communication Springer International Publishing*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

McIntyre, Lee. 2015. *Respecting Truth: Willful Ignorance in the Internet Age.* New York: Routledge Publishers.

McIntyre, Lee. 2018. *Post-Truth.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mumford, Lewis. 1956. *The Transformations of Man.* New York: Harper.

Nickerson, Raymond. 1998. "Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises." *Review of General Psychology* 2, 2: 175-220.

Oxford Dictionary. 2016. <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/post-truth>.

Palese, Emma. 2013. "Zygmunt Bauman. Individual and society in the liquid modernity." *SpringerPlus*, 2, 191.

Pariser, Eli. 2011. *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You.* New York: Penguin Group.

Pearson, Christine and Ian Mitroff. 1993. "From Crisis Prone to Crisis Prepared: A Framework for Crisis Management." *Academy of Management Executive*, 7, 1: 48-59.

Petrosino, Silvano. 2008. *L'esperienza della parola. Testo, moralità e scrittura*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.

Procopio, Serena. 2007. "Do You Know What It Means to Miss New Orleans? Internet Communication, Geographic Community, and Social Capital in Crisis." *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 35, 1: 67-87.

Rader, Emily and Rebecca Gray. 2015. "Understanding User Believes about Algorithmic Curation in the Facebook News Feed." In *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, Begole Ben and Kim Jaegwon (eds), Seoul, Republic of Korea, 18-23 April 2015, 173-182. New York: ACM.

Reuters Institute. 2019. <http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2019/>.

Reuters Institute. 2020. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2020-06/DNR_2020_FINAL.pdf>.

Schulz, Friederiche, and Sonja Utz. 2011. "Is the Medium the Message? Perceptions of and Reactions to Crisis Communication via Twitter, Blogs and Traditional Media." *Public Relations Review*, 37, 1: 20-27.

Schultz, Majken, J.M. Hatch, and Holten Larsen. 2000. *The Expressive Organization: Linking Identity, Reputation and Corporate Brand*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Statista. 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1106498/home-media-consumption-coronavirus-worldwide-by-country/>.

Van Riel, Cees. 1995. *Principles of Corporate Communication*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Volli, Ugo. 2008. *Lezioni di filosofia della comunicazione*. Roma: Editori Laterza.

Wicke, Philip and Marianna Bolognesi. 2020. "Framing COVID-19: How we conceptualize and discuss the pandemic on Twitter." In *Computation and Language* (cs.CL), Social and Information Networks, <https://arxiv.org/abs/2004.06986> (06/2020).

Semantica dell'uso del linguaggio

Language Use Semantics

All'ascolto dei nativi digitali:
descrizione di un'esperienza di dialogo*

Vera Gheno
Università di Firenze (<v.gheno@gmail.com>)

Abstract:

This paper presents an experience of digital education carried out in 77 Florentine school classes, thanks to a project realized by the libraries of the Municipality of Florence. The 144 meetings are discussed to start a reflection generating from real, field-collected data about what is being done in schools in digital education today, about what could be done and what, perhaps, should be done. One of the most interesting facts emerged from the meetings concerns the discrepancy between the digital knowledge that students show (to their parents and teachers) and what they really know and, consequently, what they would need to learn. Possibly, it is necessary to rethink the kind of digital education carried out in schools in Italy, perhaps considering it less as a mere subject and more as a whole new mindset and cognitive approach.

Keywords: *didattica, educazione digitale, etnografia, scuola, sociolinguistica*

1. Introduzione

Frequento la rete, in particolare i social network, dal 1995 (all'epoca, la definizione *social network* nemmeno era in uso, almeno in Italia), e li studio praticamente da altrettanto tempo: il mio primo articolo scientifico sulla comunicazione mediata dal computer risale al 2003. Ma per quanto *geek* e *nerd* precoci, eravamo già adolescenti, o giovani adulti: la nostra istruzione primaria era comunque stata perlopiù analogica, e di certo non potevamo definirci pienamente *nativi digitali*. Piuttosto, eravamo immigrati digitali, colòni (o *cowboy*)[1] del *cyberspazio*, entusiasti

---

* Una versione breve e prodromica di questo articolo è apparsa sulla rivista elettronica *Scomodo* l'8 maggio 2020 con il titolo "Didattica nell'onlife e apartheid digitale": <www.leggiscomodo.org/didattica-onlife-digitale-online-dad-vera-ghe-no-voci/> (06/2020).

[1] Come li chiama lo scrittore cyberpunk William Gibson. Penso soprattutto alla *trilogia dello Sprawl* composta da *Neuromancer* (1984; *Neuromante)*, *Count Zero* (1986; *Giù nel cyberspazio*), *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988; *Monna Lisa Cyberpunk*).

della "frontiera digitale" da esplorare (Howard Rheingold definisce così la rete, sin dal titolo del suo acclamato volume del 1993).

Rispetto ad allora, quando il digitale era ancora una risorsa per pochi, la tecnologia si è diffusa a dismisura. I ragazzi di oggi hanno il loro primo contatto con gli strumenti digitali sempre più precocemente e l'età di acquisizione del primo cellulare si è abbassata di conseguenza. È quindi aumentata la richiesta di dare alle giovani generazioni un'educazione digitale e *al* digitale, con esiti sicuramente variabili, anche perché non è facile nemmeno capire quali siano le competenze da trasmettere. E poiché solo una parte dei docenti di oggi è cresciuta nell'iperconnessione, accade sovente che coloro che dovrebbero impartire insegnamenti in questo settore ne sappiano meno dei loro discenti (o perlomeno, che ne abbiano una conoscenza, nata sui testi più che dalla frequentazione della rete).

Da sociolinguista che si occupa prevalentemente di comunicazione mediata dal computer, ritengo che la base sulla quale occorre costruire le *digital skills* sia rappresentata non tanto da capacità tecniche, ma da competenze linguistiche, più precisamente sociolinguistiche e pragmatiche. Eppure, molti concordano nel dire che a scuola, al momento, si lavora troppo poco sulla mobilità di registro, quando invece ci sarebbe bisogno di affiancare, oltre alla consueta riflessione su testi e contesti "tradizionali", anche quella su situazioni comunicative differenti, come ad esempio sullo "stare in rete" nel senso più ampio del termine. Se don Lorenzo Milani (1967), e qualche anno più tardi Tullio De Mauro, in numerosi scritti, parlavano dell'importanza di leggere, scrivere e fare di conto, penso che oggi a quella terna di competenze vada aggiunta una quarta: vivere in un mondo digitale e iperconnesso, con tutto ciò che questo comporta.

Scriveva Tullio De Mauro già nel 1975:

La scuola tradizionale ha insegnato *come si deve* dire un cosa. La scuola democratica insegnerà *come si può* dire una cosa, in quale fantastico infinito universo di modi distinti di comunicare noi siamo proiettati nel momento in cui abbiamo da risolvere il problema di dire una cosa. (De Mauro 2018a: 84)

In un certo senso, quel "fantastico infinito universo di modi distinti di comunicare" oggi si è arricchito del mondo digitale: le competenze per muoversi in esso con sicurezza (e in sicurezza) dovrebbero, a mio avviso, rientrare in pianta stabile tra quelle trasmesse a scuola.

In questo testo verranno sviluppate alcune considerazioni derivanti da un'esperienza di interazione diretta con i ragazzi stessi, una specie di etnografia delle "tribù" di nativi digitali (uso questa definizione in senso quasi esclusivamente anagrafico). Troppo spesso, nei consessi di linguisti, sociologi, psicologi, si discute della relazione dei giovani(ssimi) con il digitale senza interpellarli direttamente, e non di rado per sentito dire, in assenza di un'esperienza diretta sia del digitale sia dei giovani (sia del digitale e dei giovani insieme, cfr. Gheno 2019b): ad esempio, ci si stupisce che i *nativi digitali* non sappiano scrivere con Word o non sappiano mandare una e-mail. Ma chi gliel o dovrebbe avere insegnato?

2. Il progetto VOCI

Nell'autunno del 2019, le biblioteche del Comune di Firenze hanno pensato di realizzare un progetto di riflessione sul digitale con gli studenti del territorio di Firenze. La proposta delle biblioteche faceva parte di un progetto più ampio, finanziato dalla Regione Toscana, intitolato *VOCI. Visioni e azioni intercOnnesse Contro le Intolleranze e il discorso d'odio*, che ha coinvolto tredici realtà del territorio toscano tra ONG, associazioni culturali, cooperative sociali e istituzioni locali e ha previsto corsi gratuiti, spettacoli ed eventi pubblici "per sensibilizzare e

promuovere una riflessione allargata sui pericoli della diffusione del discorso d'odio nelle sue varie sfaccettature e le possibili strategie di contrasto a livello giuridico, educativo e culturale".[2]

La parte che mi ha riguardato in qualità di formatrice è stata inserita nell'offerta delle attività extracurricolari gratuite e volontarie per le scuole, e ha trovato una buona risposta: 77 classi, nella fascia che va dalla seconda classe della scuola secondaria di primo grado alla seconda classe della scuola secondaria di secondo grado, hanno aderito al progetto. La matrice del progetto era quella del contrasto ai discorsi d'odio e al cyberbullismo – il punto di partenza è stato, anche in questo caso, il *Manifesto per la comunicazione non ostile* (2016) –, ma la riflessione si è poi allargata anche a molti altri contesti di quella che Luciano Floridi (2015) definisce, in maniera molto icastica, *onlife*, cioè una vita in cui l'online e l'offline non possono più essere tenuti distinti, ma andrebbero trattati come due contesti interconnessi, con tutto ciò che questa interconnessione porta in termini di ipercomplessificazione della realtà in cui viviamo (Dominici 2018).

Il progetto ha previsto due incontri di due ore l'una per classe, uno nella scuola e nella classe degli studenti, uno nella biblioteca di riferimento del quartiere in cui è situata la scuola. Gli incontri si sono svolti dal 15 ottobre 2019 alla fine di febbraio 2020.

Le scuole sono risultate sparse nei vari quartieri di Firenze, sia più agiati sia più 'popolari', se così possono essere definiti (Isolotto, Novoli, Rifredi, Statuto, Cure, Campo di Marte, Gavinana, Porta Romana, San Frediano e la frazione del Galluzzo, i cui istituti hanno dato un'adesione particolarmente numerosa grazie anche all'interessamento personale della responsabile della biblioteca locale). La maggior parte degli interventi ha avuto luogo in scuole pubbliche, anche se non è mancato un intervento in un istituto privato; per quanto riguarda le scuole superiori, tra le adesioni c'erano liceo classico, scientifico, artistico e anche alcuni istituti tecnici. Gli studenti, dunque, erano eterogenei sia come età (dai dodici ai diciassette anni), sia come provenienza sociale, economica e culturale. Mediamente, agli incontri hanno partecipato 20-22 studenti per classe.

Quasi in ogni gruppo era presente almeno uno studente con bisogni educativi speciali (BES); in alcuni casi questo particolare ha avuto delle ricadute dirette sia sulla qualità dell'intervento sia sulla risposta dei discenti: c'erano classi in cui i BES erano ben integrati nel tessuto sociale dei pari e apparivano adeguatamente seguiti, altre in cui casi particolarmente gravi erano completamente incapaci di partecipare in alcun modo alla vita della classe, e ciò a volte è diventato elemento di disturbo e distrazione per tutti gli altri studenti.

Come accennato in precedenza, era previsto che uno dei due incontri venisse svolto in biblioteca: tra gli scopi del Progetto c'era anche quello di favorire l'integrazione delle biblioteche con il territorio urbano e sociale circostante. Ricordo che l'adesione al progetto era libera e volontaria, il che dovrebbe aver favorito la partecipazione dei soli interessati.

3. Le iniziative di "educazione digitale"

Prima di continuare, è importante contestualizzare l'iniziativa: sono anni che a livello nazionale, regionale o locale, a scuola come in azienda, vengono proposti percorsi, seminari, incontri e lezioni sul tema del contrasto all'odio, soprattutto nella sua declinazione in rete (per una panoramica, cfr. Faloppa 2020b). Uno dei progetti apripista in questo settore è stato

---

[2] Cfr. <cultura.comune.fi.it/dalle-redazioni/voci-visioni-e-azioni-interconnesse-contro-le-intolleranze-e-il-discorso-dodio> (06/2020).

sicuramente il già citato Manifesto a cura dell'associazione *Parole O_Stili*, alla cui stesura ho partecipato, tra la fine del 2016 e i primi mesi del 2017, assieme a una compagine varia fatta di comunicatori, *influencer*, esperti di social media, politici, ONG, rappresentanti di vari settori della conoscenza. Presentato a febbraio 2017 durante un convegno a Trieste, durante il quale i molti principi raccolti in rete furono votati fino alla definizione del decalogo originario, il Manifesto è ancora adesso uno dei maggiori progetti in circolazione, nelle sue numerose declinazioni (per lo sport, per la politica, per le imprese…) e da pochi giorni nella sua versione aggiornata di *Manifesto della comunicazione non ostile e inclusiva*;[3] accanto a esso, nel corso degli anni si sono moltiplicate iniziative di educazione e di riflessione digitale, rivolte soprattutto, anche se non in via esclusiva, alle scuole.

L'abbondanza di iniziative degli ultimi anni è un segno incoraggiante, perché indica che l'esistenza di una "questione digitale" è stata pienamente recepita anche nella dimensione scolastica, per tradizione spesso renitente alle novità. Meno positivo è forse che ancora adesso la maggior parte dei progetti per le scuole si soffermi su ciò che non funziona, sulla "parte cattiva" del digitale, sul "deragliamento" della comunicazione e delle interazioni in rete: il sottotitolo di molte iniziative fa riferimento esplicitamente al contrasto al cyberbullismo più che all'educazione digitale in generale.

In generale l'online, almeno fino all'emergenza creatasi a causa della pandemia da COVID-19, è stato visto – in ambito scolastico e non solo – tendenzialmente come distrazione, fattore di rischio, possibile causa di dipendenze, "luogo" in cui si manifesta il cyberbullismo e così via. Questa narrazione e questo *framing* portano spesso ad affrontare il discorso digitale perlopiù in maniera difensiva, passivizzante: si parla dell'incidente, del caso estremo, ma non di come vivere in rete in circostanze normali. Si producono decaloghi di comportamenti pericolosi o da evitare, che vengono magari imparati a memoria per poi finire semplicemente appesi al muro, in classe, senza alcun seguito pratico, reale.

Nelle scuole, vengono svolte lezioni principalmente sul cyberbullismo, sulla pedopornografia, sui rischi alla privacy; i tipici ospiti esterni sono rappresentanti della polizia postale, avvocati e psicologi. Al contempo, l'uso del cellulare – lo strumento digitale più diffuso tra i ragazzi in età formativa – è quasi interamente scoraggiato in ambiente scolastico, con il *placet* di molti genitori: un sondaggio informale condotto nell'autunno 2019 durante una trasmissione di Radio Rai3 rivelava come la maggior parte dei genitori fosse assolutamente contraria all'uso dei cellulari a scuola, senza alcuna deroga, e che le scuole *mobile-free* fossero guardate come esempio positivo. Questo punto di vista, del resto, è supportato da numerosi testi estremamente popolari, come Turkle (2011), Cazzullo (2017) o Fea (2019). Nella maggior parte delle scuole, quindi, vietare il cellulare è il comportamento standard, e si incontrano esempi di tentativi di integrazione del *device* personale nella didattica perlopiù da parte di singoli insegnanti particolarmente motivati. L'avvento delle LIM nelle scuola è stato da molti salutato come l'esempio massimo di integrazione del digitale nella didattica, a volte, forse, senza cogliere i limiti insiti nella lavagna multimediale rispetto alla necessità di permette una fruizione del digitale a livello personale (Gheno 2019c).

Dopo una lunga esperienza di interventi nelle scuole assieme al filosofo Bruno Mastroianni, scaturita dalla presentazione delle nostre due monografie del 2017, basate rispettivamente sull'analisi sociolinguistica dei social media (cfr. Gheno 2017) e sul concetto di "disputa felice", ossia sulla possibilità di dissentire senza litigare (Mastroianni 2017), nel 2018 abbiamo scritto un volume dal titolo *Tienilo acceso: posta, commenta e condividi senza spegnere il cervello* (Gheno e Mastroian-

---

[3] Cfr. <paroleostili.it/inclusione/> (06/2020).

ni, 2018). In esso, in opposizione alla narrazione incentrata sulla comunicazione disfunzionale prevalente nella produzione manualistica dell'epoca, formulavamo in maniera più estesa l'idea che, in relazione al rapporto dei ragazzi con il digitale, non si potesse e non si dovesse continuare a parlare solamente della *pars destruens*, ma che ci fosse anche bisogno di una *pars construens*. Nel libro, viene descritta una proposta per vivere "felici e connessi" (cfr. anche Gheno 2019c) partendo dai tre principali ruoli della parola: parlare di sé, parlare con gli altri e parlare del mondo. Solo una piccola parte era dedicata alla trattazione dei pericoli insiti nell'uso della rete, dando volutamente molta importanza alla trattazione del "lessico dell'odio": conoscerne le parole, infatti, era a nostro avviso essenziale non solo per riconoscerle, ma anche per non usare determinate espressioni a cuor leggero. Per esempio, rilevavamo una tendenza ad abusare del termine *hater* definendo talora così ogni oppositore o contestatore (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 25).

La scelta di dedicare solo una minima parte del volume alla questione della comunicazione deragliata nasceva, appunto, dalla convinzione che appiattire la narrazione della rete – e la conseguente formazione sul digitale – sulla parte disfunzionale fosse limitante. Parlare del caso estremo, del resto, in molti casi è la soluzione più semplice da adottare, perché generalmente è più immediato dire che cosa *non* bisogna fare piuttosto che proporre strategie costruttive per vivere serenamente "in tempo di pace."

Nel corso degli anni, rispetto al testo del 2018, sempre più studiosi ed esperti sono confluiti sulla necessità di fare una solida formazione al digitale, cioè di rafforzare l'utente medio piuttosto che lavorare solamente sulla parte legislativa o di "big data": un parziale riconoscimento al fatto che la pista seguita all'epoca fosse valida si trova nel *Programma operativo di attività* emanato nel giugno 2020 dall'*Unità di monitoraggio per il contrasto della diffusione di fake news relative al covid-19 sul web e sui social network* creata dalla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri all'interno del Dipartimento per l'informazione e l'editoria (Unità 2020), che giunge a conclusioni simili, ossia alla necessità di operare un *empowerment* dei cittadini di fronte alle possibilità messe a loro disposizione dal digitale.

4. Oltre una didattica del pericolo

In questa ottica, il punto di partenza nell'impostare gli interventi per VOCI (in totale 144 incontri di due ore l'uno) è stato quindi la volontà di cercare una formula diversa dall'approccio tipicamente difensivo, provando a partire da un contatto diretto con gli studenti. Questo approccio, approvato dalla direzione del progetto, non ha sempre incontrato il favore dei docenti, che in diversi casi avrebbero preferito una lezione più tradizionale sui temi del cyberbullismo e dell'odio.

Qualsiasi intervento extracurricolare in ambiente scolastico funziona meglio se i professori coinvolti collaborano. Questo non è accaduto sempre: durante gli incontri di VOCI alcuni docenti, come accennato precedentemente, hanno disapprovato il mio approccio, per alcuni troppo "aperto" nei confronti dei ragazzi. Forse in conseguenza al loro disappunto per il tipo di metodologia proposto, alcuni di loro hanno messo a punto azioni quasi di "boicottaggio" dell'incontro, talvolta distraendosi in maniera plateale con il cellulare (rimarcando così la loro "superiorità" rispetto agli studenti, generalmente privati del dispositivo), a volte lasciando fisicamente la classe e, in generale, rinunciando ad aiutare nella gestione dei discenti. Mi è capitato di entrare in aule dove non ero attesa, creando così fastidio e sconcerto – qualcuno si era dimenticato di avvisare il o la docente della mia venuta – oppure di ritrovarmi con studenti che non avevano la minima idea di cosa fossi andata a fare da loro ("Lo sapete perché sono qui?" "Per il cyberbullismo?"). Questo, in un paio di classi, ha reso difficoltosa l'interazione, almeno in una sua prima fase.

Con il prosieguo dell'incontro, è stato quasi sempre possibile creare un clima collaborativo. In un unico caso, di fronte alla completa mancanza di cooperazione sia da parte del docente che degli studenti, l'intervento è stato interrotto, perché ho ritenuto che non ci fossero gli estremi per procedere. Dove i docenti avevano invece preparato gli studenti all'incontro, magari prendendovi poi attivamente parte, è stato possibile ottenere risultati più incisivi.

Non è stata predisposta una lezione standard, perché ritengo rilevante adattarsi al tipo di pubblico con il quale si entra in relazione, non solo tenendo conto di parametri prevedibili (ad esempio l'età e il tipo di scuola), ma anche in base alla percezione del momento. È stata comunque seguita una struttura di massima: avendo esperienza di interventi in scuole di ogni ordine e grado, so che è molto importante creare fin da subito un collegamento con gli studenti, pena il loro completo disinteresse (nel peggiore dei casi) o, al massimo, la loro attenzione educata e superficiale. Per questo, siamo quasi sempre partiti da una riflessione sulla parola, anzi, sui propri costumi linguistici, seguendo la tripartizione definita in *Tienilo acceso*. Una volta rotto il ghiaccio in questo modo, inducendo i presenti a riflettere sulle loro stesse consuetudini comunicative, il primo incontro è servito per presentare il progetto e parlare di *hate speech* e argomenti connessi, raccogliendo simultaneamente dati sugli studenti.

In vista del secondo incontro, che si è svolto all'incirca a distanza di circa due settimane dal primo, è stato chiesto agli studenti di preparare delle riflessioni sul tema "io e il digitale" da realizzare in completa libertà e nella forma preferita. L'intento era di verificare se le riflessioni del primo incontro potessero in qualche modo stimolare i ragazzi a esprimere la loro opinione nel secondo. Inoltre, i prodotti dei ragazzi sarebbero serviti, nelle mie intenzione, a capire la direzione da dare agli eventuali approfondimenti da fare.

5. Quando il contrasto al cyberbullismo diventa un problema

Apparentemente, molti discenti guardano agli interventi sul digitale come qualcosa di inevitabile; non manifestano particolare interesse per seguire un altro esperto che molto probabilmente parlerà loro di cyberbullismo, *hate speech*, pedopornografia e della necessità di spegnere il cellulare e di vivere nel "mondo reale". Non c'è alcun dubbio che le derive digitali siano fenomeni gravissimi, e che i pericoli insiti in un uso, se non scorretto, poco ponderato della rete siano davvero numerosi (Ziccardi 2016); ciononostante, gli incidenti di maggior gravità coinvolgono direttamente solo una piccola percentuale dei ragazzi: per la maggior parte di loro è qualcosa di remoto. Ed evidentemente, l'idea di passare altre quattro ore con "l'esperto" che insegna loro, dall'alto della sua competenza (troppo spesso sconnessa dalla *loro* realtà), cosa *non* fare, e che li colpevolizza per le attività che per la maggior parte di loro sono integrate nella vita quotidiana, non è allettante.

Di conseguenza, il primo compito è stato quasi sempre quello di convincere i presenti che non si sarebbe parlato solamente di cyberbullismo o di linguaggio dell'odio. In questo senso, è stato d'aiuto presentarsi, più che come esperta, come felice abitante di lungo corso della rete, evidenziando il fatto che, in ambito scolastico, raramente ci si interroga su come far funzionare la vita nell'iperconnessione. Eppure, da anni si parla di superare la prospettiva colpevolizzante dell'*online*: per esempio, il già citato Ziccardi (2016: 213-245) ritiene importante comprendere che occorre parlare della rete in maniera per quanto possibile neutra, evitando la proliferazione di regole restrittive e lavorando, invece, sull'educazione all'uso del digitale. Invece, accadono ancora scene come quella alla quale ho assistito in un blasonato liceo del Sud Italia, di un rappresentante della polizia postale che dice al suo uditorio "Ragazzi, non siate curiosi in rete, perché la curiosità è pericolosa!" (Gheno 2019c: 103).

6. Alcuni dati sugli studenti: il possesso del cellulare

Una delle prime domande poste in classe ha riguardato il possesso del cellulare. Dei circa 2.000 studenti incontrati, 35 hanno dichiarato di non possederlo (al momento); la maggior parte per ragioni contingenti (cellulare rotto, perso o sequestrato come punizione, difficoltà economiche familiari); solo 5 persone (su duemila!) hanno raccontato di non avere un cellulare per ragioni ideologiche personali o, più spesso, dei genitori. Del resto, si ricordi che in base al dato fornito da We Are Social (2020) il 94% degli italiani tra i 16 e i 64 anni possiede non solo un telefono, ma uno smartphone (e da queste percentuali sono escluse le classi più giovani incontrate, nelle quali il dato si conferma sostanzialmente in linea con le statistiche).

Nella maggioranza delle scuole, la prassi prevede che il cellulare venga ritirato all'inizio della giornata oppure chiuso nell'armadio prima di ogni singola lezione; solo in pochi casi ho avuto a che fare con classi in cui i docenti tentavano qualche esperimento di didattica "mista", impiegando il telefonino per compiti da svolgere in aula. Singolare, questa scelta: il cellulare è il dispositivo più comunemente posseduto dai ragazzi nella fascia anagrafica in oggetto, eppure la scuola, almeno fino all'attuale pandemia, l'ha considerato principalmente un problema, un fastidio, con molti plessi che addirittura si fanno (o perlomeno si facevano) vanto di essere "decellularizzati" (*Il Tirreno* 2014) con una sorta di applicazione letterale di quanto definito dal MIUR nel 2017 ma rettificato, poi, a più riprese (Del Pidio 2017): in generale, ancora oggi è vietato l'uso del cellulare in classe, ma con le dovute eccezioni.

L'applicazione draconiana, in senso restrittivo, di quanto deciso dal MIUR nel 2017, si rivela a mio parere una misura vagamente miope; sarebbe molto più utile lavorare sul concetto di BYOD, *bring your own device*, 'porta il tuo dispositivo (a scuola)'. Sicuramente sarebbe auspicabile che tutti i ragazzi, indipendentemente dal loro background socioeconomico, disponessero di un tablet o di un PC; tuttavia, sapendo che questo, almeno a breve termine, non è possibile, e con la consapevolezza della velocissima obsolescenza dei vari *device* tecnologici, non sarebbe sbagliato rivedere l'opinione aprioristicamente negativa rispetto all'uso del cellulare, che spesso si basa sulla propria esperienza, sul proprio vissuto: molti docenti, per questioni banalmente anagrafiche, hanno giocoforza un rapporto con gli strumenti digitali diverso dai loro studenti, forse meno "naturale". La dimensione digitale non è programmaticamente assente dalle loro vite, ma è sicuramente declinata in maniera differente rispetto generazioni più giovani (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 45-57).

7. La vita digitale degli adolescenti

La seconda domanda posta agli studenti ha riguardato i social network frequentati o, allargando il campo, le attività ricorrenti online. Come era prevedibile in base alle statistiche correnti (rimando nuovamente a We are social, 2020), gli utenti di Facebook scarseggiano, in quella fascia di età (il social network di Zuckerberg è davvero percepito come luogo per i "vecchi", per i cosiddetti *boomer*), anche se alcuni ragazzi sono iscritti al social network per i giochi che mette a disposizione; la maggioranza dei ragazzi sta su Instagram (anche i minori di 13 anni, che non potrebbero, mentre dai 13 ai 14 anni avrebbero bisogno del consenso dei genitori, che non sempre viene richiesto, cfr. Rancilio 2019); i giovanissimi, dodicenni e tredicenni, popolano in massa TikTok (precedentemente Musical.ly), ma l'entusiasmo sembra scemare prima dei quattordici anni. Le ragazze rimangono su TikTok più a lungo dei maschi, ma alle superiori la percentuale di frequentatori di questo social cala in maniera sostenuta e il giudizio quasi unanime nei suoi confronti è che sia troppo "bimbominkia", cioè da bimbi

piccoli. "Stare su TikTok è *cringe*", dicono i ragazzi, cioè fa rabbrividire, è fonte di imbarazzo, dopo una certa età. Eppure, in una fase successiva molti sembrano tornare a iscriversi a questo social, attualmente in fortissima crescita, tanto che nell'ultimo anno vi si sono affacciati anche adulti e aziende (Piotto 2020).

Per la messaggistica istantanea, quasi tutti usano WhatsApp con il *placet* dei propri genitori (anche se in questo caso l'età minima sarebbe 16 anni): spesso, è uno dei canali preferenziali per le comunicazioni genitore-figlio, ma anche docente-alunno, anche se la maggioranza degli adulti è ormai abituata a non ricevere risposta e a controllare che il messaggio sia almeno stato letto grazie alle "spunte blu": i ragazzi hanno creato una sorta di "codice muto" per comunicare con i propri adulti di riferimento. Alcuni usano, per la messaggistica istantanea, anche Snapchat.

Praticamente tutti gli studenti incontrati frequentano Youtube per lo più tramite app (cioè non via *browser*) e con un proprio profilo, in modo da poter organizzare i "preferiti", creare liste di video e interagire con gli *youtuber*; in alcuni casi, producono anche contenuti. Ci sono poi i *gamer*, giocatori ed esperti di vari giochi (*Fortnite* e *Minecraft*, ma anche *FIFA Soccer* e altri giochi sportivi) e che più degli altri frequentano la piattaforma Twitch sulla quale si incontrano per fare delle *live* (una cosa diversa da *i live*), cioè dei momenti di aggregazione in cui qualcuno gioca e commenta e altri guardano e interagiscono. La maggior parte dei ragazzi non possiede un computer; molti usano occasionalmente quello dei genitori; fanno eccezione i *gamer* che, dato il loro interesse predominante, tendono a possedere un personal computer appositamente configurato per il gioco. Ma il centro della vita digitale dei ragazzi è il cellulare, sicuramente assurto a oggetto-feticcio per molti di loro.

8. "Noi" e "loro"

La frequentazione della rete da parte dei ragazzi incontrati è prevalentemente tramite *app*. Questo crea una sorta di passaggio supplementare, di ulteriore distanziamento, tra l'utente e internet (Gheno 2017: 28): non a caso, molti di loro, alla domanda "che cos'è internet", rispondono elencando le loro applicazioni preferite o, quando va bene, che "internet è Google". Che cosa sia la rete, come funzioni, ma anche il cammino che ha percorso prima di diventare il fenomeno pressoché globale che è oggigiorno, sono aspetti poco conosciuti, come, del resto, c'è da aspettarsi da chi nasce e cresce con una data tecnologia già a disposizione. Per i cosiddetti "nativi digitali" (vedremo poi nel prosieguo che il senso di questa espressione va ridimensionato molto), la connessione è davvero qualcosa che sta "tutto intorno a te", come declamava soavemente Megan Gale negli spot Omnitel ormai più di vent'anni fa, della cui rilevanza ci si rende conto soprattutto quando manca, e non certo un luogo in cui entrare, metafora spaziale alla quale sono molto legate le generazioni precedenti. Quest'ultima è intimamente collegata al modo in cui si accedeva alla rete un ventennio fa (Gheno 2017: 15-29 e 2019a): da pc fissi, tramite un modem, effettuando una procedura tutt'altro che semplice che alla fine permetteva di "entrare in internet". Probabilmente per questo motivo sulle generazioni più grandi fa più presa la metafora spaziale, o il parlare di ecologia della rete; chi non percepisce la rete come un luogo, fa fatica anche a concepire la necessità preservarne l'ecosistema.

Durante questa parte del dialogo sono emersi i primi dati interessanti. I ragazzi non sono abituati a entrare così nel dettaglio rispetto a ciò che fanno online perché in linea di massima ritengono che la maggior parte dei loro interlocutori adulti nemmeno comprenda bene di cosa si stia parlando. Ma una volta conquistata la loro fiducia, dando loro l'impressione di stare parlando con qualcuno che condivide almeno in parte le loro esperienze (Gheno 2019c: 99), si possono acquisire informazioni rilevanti.

È stata evidenziata una circostanza tutt'altro che rara e di sicuro preoccupante: la maggior parte delle attività online dei ragazzi viene svolta parzialmente o totalmente all'oscuro dei genitori (e dei docenti), principalmente perché, a detta loro, "non capirebbero di che si tratta". Ad esempio, numerosi adolescenti hanno un profilo Instagram di cui la famiglia non sa nulla – magari accanto a uno "pubblico", da presentare all'ispezione, su richiesta – mentre molti bloccano le persone non gradite, tra cui i familiari, sui vari social, in modo che queste non possano vedere i loro post. E ancora, i ragazzi installano app, dopodiché ne nascondono le icone in modo che chi dovesse prendere in mano il cellulare per un controllo non possa trovarle.

La questione diventa problematica quando il ragazzo o la ragazza si ritrovano in una circostanza preoccupante (non sono rari episodi di stalking, minacce, messaggi privati provocatori o apertamente pornografici). Poiché molte attività sono svolte di nascosto, diventa difficile rivolgersi ai genitori o ai docenti per chiedere un aiuto, anche perché molti ragazzi hanno avuto esperienze pregresse di reazioni inconsulte che li hanno ulteriormente convinti a evitare di ricorrere all'aiuto degli adulti. Ad esempio, diverse persone hanno riferito di genitori che, avendo sentito dire in televisione che "su Fortnite ci sono i pedofili" o che su TikTok adescano le bambine, hanno costretto i figli a disinstallare gioco o app, con loro grande dispiacere.

Davanti a questi episodi, una quota rilevante dei ragazzi si abitua ad avere una sorta di "vita segreta" in rete, di cui non viene svelato quasi niente in famiglia per evitare problemi. E questa opinione diffusa di avere dei genitori – e dei docenti – che né sarebbero in grado di capire le questioni di cui i ragazzi magari vorrebbero pure discutere né sono, in generale, interessati a parlare di questi argomenti, è un primo elemento che richiederebbe una riflessione approfondita. Da una parte, come già menzionato, i ragazzi ottengono il loro cellulare molto presto: il 27% lo riceve già a 9 anni (Ansa 2019). Da un'altra, non solo si guarda con favore a una scuola che ne vieta l'uso e quindi anche qualsiasi impiego "generativo", ma addirittura spesso sono i genitori stessi che scelgono, per quieto vivere, di girarsi dall'altra parte rispetto a ciò che i figli fanno online: dunque, dov'è che i ragazzi possono imparare a vivere l'*onlife* in modo intelligente? Non è un caso se una delle necessità che abbiamo individuato (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 50 e Gheno 2019c: 103) sia quella del dialogo tra generazioni; magari, iniziando con lo smettere di considerare semplice "perdita di tempo" quello che i nostri figli e i nostri alunni fanno sui loro cellulari.

Stando sempre ai dialoghi con i ragazzi, nella maggior parte dei casi l'educazione digitale impartita dai genitori segue la via del controllo, ossia dell'imposizione *autoritaria*. Sovente è un controllo esterno, meccanico, o attraverso *timer* che limitano il tempo che si può passare connessi (come se non si potessero combinare disastri in dieci secondi), o tramite app di cosiddetto "controllo parentale", che definiscono a cosa possono o non possono accedere i ragazzi; altri, invece, requisiscono regolarmente il dispositivo in modo da controllarne i contenuti. Questo viene da molti vissuto come una mancanza di fiducia; in fondo, anche i nostri figli hanno diritto alla loro privacy: è giusto accedere proprio a tutte le loro comunicazioni?

Indubbiamente, molti accettano i controlli di buon grado, come male necessario; molti altri, invece, hanno sviluppato tecniche per superare indenni ogni forma di imposizione. Per esempio, i ragazzi mi hanno raccontato che alcuni limitatori temporali si azzerano riavviando il cellulare; alcuni hanno imparato a usare, per le comunicazioni a cui tengono di più, altre app, come ad esempio *Signal* (che cancella ogni messaggio automaticamente dopo un tot di secondi o minuti dall'avvenuta lettura), magari nascondendo l'icona in modo che il genitore non la trovi; altri ancora usano cellulari di scorta di cui magari i genitori si sono dimenticati. Così, anche la fatidica punizione "ti tolgo il cellulare!", diventa, di fatto, completamente inutile, con per di più il

rischio che il ragazzo affronti l'online completamente da solo. Insomma, in un'eterna rincorsa tra guardie e ladri, i ragazzi ci precedono sempre di qualche passo (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 51).

Quello che i genitori fanno poco, almeno in base a quanto emerge dagli incontri svolti, è interagire con i ragazzi rispetto a ciò che questi ultimi fanno online. Una strada che potrebbe aiutare sia genitori che figli potrebbe essere quella di far entrare lentamente la componente di vita digitale nei discorsi quotidiani (oltre a chiedere "Com'è andata a scuola?", informarsi anche sull'andamento delle ultime foto pubblicate su Instagram, giusto per fare un esempio). Ma questo è percepito da molti genitori come faticoso, perché richiederebbe di informarsi rispetto ai luoghi digitali frequentati dai figli e magari imparare a usarli. Per tale motivo, moltissimi adulti rifiutano di provare questo approccio quasi etnografico rispetto alla vita digitale degli adolescenti, preferendo, al "metodo dolce", varie forme di controllo coatto (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 52-53).

9. Il rapporto con la "parte cattiva"

Quando si affronta il tema dell'odio, della violenza in rete, dei pericoli del digitale, i ragazzi appaiono molto informati: conoscono le statistiche, sono estremamente competenti. Con un unico limite: sembra che abbiano studiato questi argomenti come una materia astratta, scolastica, in un certo senso aliena rispetto alle loro esperienze personali. Per esempio, non si accorgono di stare mettendo in atto dinamiche di bullismo in classe, mentre sono intenti a elencare tutte le caratteristiche "da manuale", teoriche, del cyberbullismo.

Questo considerare "altro da sé" tali argomenti è una spia, presumibilmente, dei limiti dell'educazione digitale tipicamente impartita a scuola. È come se i ragazzi si preparassero all'interrogazione sul digitale fornendo ai docenti ciò che i docenti vogliono sentirsi dire, ma di cui non sono minimamente convinti o con cui non si sentono affatto in relazione. I discenti, insomma, esibiscono una sorta di conoscenza-schermo a beneficio degli adulti, che corrisponde esattamente a ciò che vogliono sentirsi dire da loro per stare tranquilli. Ma tutto questo non intacca il loro mondo, il loro modo di vivere il digitale. Se qualcuno pensa di cambiare i loro costumi online parlando dei suicidi conseguenti al cyberbullismo, occorre che si renda conto che in realtà, nella maggior parte dei casi, sarà quasi del tutto ininfluente. E questo, forse, è il maggior problema del considerare "il digitale" come una materia e non come una competenza trasversale a tutte le altre, un set di informazioni da tramandare (spesso, purtroppo, a sua volta "a papera", dato che molti docenti non sono frequentatori della rete, ma ne parlano *de facto* per sentito dire) e non una dimensione cognitiva.

10. Nativo digitale non è alfabetizzato digitale

Il digitale, insomma, è una forma mentale più che una materia: un approccio cognitivo sotteso a tutte le materie. Quando molti adulti si lamentano delle scarse competenze digitali dei nativi, occorrerebbe ricordare, prima di tutto, che "nativo digitale" non vuol dire per forza "alfabetizzato digitale", e che non si comprende bene da dove i ragazzi dovrebbero trarre competenze come scrivere una mail, fare una ricerca avanzata in rete, imparare insomma a usare la rete proattivamente, se nessuno glielo ha mai insegnato (Gheno 2019b).

Il vero punto, a mio avviso, è che manca a oggi un intervento a livello di sistema, che inserisca il digitale nella scuola non come competenza strumentale, ma cognitiva e comunicativa, e non come intervento esterno, *a latere* dei programmi scolastici, ma come parte integrante degli stessi.

Tornando ai ragazzi incontrati, essi si sono mostrati sovente disposti al dialogo nel momento in cui sono stati intercettati sui loro interessi; appena si sono accorti che c'era reale interesse

nel capire come passano per davvero il tempo in rete, ecco che hanno mostrato di avere molte più cose da raccontare: hanno parlato di gioie, dolori, esperienze, attività, progetti personali con grande trasporto e passione. In molti casi, è bastato chiedere delucidazioni con curiosità per aprire finestre sui loro mondi.

A fronte, dunque, di una buona consapevolezza rispetto ai pericoli più gravi (un esempio su tutti: la pedopornografia), gli studenti coinvolti nel progetto sono sembrati molto meno preparati su questioni apparentemente collaterali, ma con il potere di impattare direttamente sulle loro vite. Mentre riescono a ripetere a dovere la "lezione" che "sui social ci sono i malintenzionati", spesso non compiono il passaggio logico ulteriore che li dovrebbe portare a farsi la domanda "e quindi io, nella pratica, come mi devo comportare?".

Non sono una rarità le foto profilo spesso inadatte, fuorvianti, i contenuti autoprodotti e non pensati fino in fondo, che magari danno un'immagine completamente distorta del ragazzo o della ragazza; eppure, molto spesso, in rete *ciò che sembra è*, ossia viene dato per la pura e semplice realtà (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 79-81); per fare un solo esempio, un gruppo di ragazzine di dodici anni ha definito senza esitazione "puttana" una loro compagna di classe perché sul suo profilo Instagram usa mettere dei *selfie* in pose vagamente ammiccanti, per quanto possa essere ammiccante una ragazzina così giovane. E la *puttana* viene guardata con invidia – per la sua spavalderia – mentre è contemporaneamente sottoposta al giudizio stigmatizzante dei suoi pari (forse i ragazzi dovrebbero leggere *Palla di sego* [*Boule de suif*, 1880], bellissimo racconto di Guy De Maupassant, che potrebbe insegnare loro molto). D'altro canto, i contenuti che la ragazzina ha scelto di condividere sono stati chiaramente concepiti pensando solo all'occhio dei suoi pari: che possano essere visti anche dai suoi docenti, o da altre persone che magari daranno un giudizio ancora più negativo dei suoi compagni, probabilmente non le è proprio venuto in mente. Eppure, nel caso della succitata ragazzina, è andata proprio così: una delle sue docenti l'ha definita "una da cui stare lontani", e il giudizio era formulato soprattutto in base ai suoi contenuti social (con una buona dose di miopia).

Un altro aspetto interessante è che i ragazzi appaiono molto informati sulle questioni di privacy: sono bravissimi nell'illustrarne le criticità, conoscono a menadito il funzionamento dei loro dispositivi, per cui sanno come fare per non far vedere la propria foto su WhatsApp o "blindare" un profilo social in modo che sia – almeno in apparenza – impenetrabile; ma questo dà a molti di loro una falsa sicurezza: quella di poter agire, sicuri nei loro recinti *allucchettati*, in maniera libera e senza alcuna conseguenza. Eppure, sanno altrettanto bene quanto sia facile fare uno *screenshot*, una foto della schermata. Sanno che tutto ciò che passa per il cellulare è facilmente replicabile, eppure spesso si sentono al sicuro all'interno dei loro profili chiusi, privati. Avendo chiesto loro come sia possibile questa dicotomia, la risposta è stata che "si fidano" dei loro amici e compagni. Una fiducia che non solo spesso è malriposta (in chiunque può nascere la motivazione per tradirla, per scherzo o per dolo), ma che non tiene conto di un aspetto fondamentale: i messaggi non vengono inviati da una persona all'altra, ma dallo strumento di una persona a quello di un'altra (o di altre); non possiamo mai avere la piena certezza sull'esatta ubicazione di quel dispositivo, o di chi possa averci accesso. Quindi non basta conoscere i sistemi di privacy, occorrerebbe pensare a una serie di comportamenti che possano limitare gli eventuali danni da esposizione sui social *a monte*, indipendentemente dal grado di apparente riservatezza del contesto elettronico. Facciamocene una ragione: sui social siamo, volenti o nolenti, diventati tutti *piccoli personaggi pubblici* (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 191), e come loro dobbiamo imparare a gestire la nostra *faccia pubblica* accanto alla *faccia privata* (Goffman 1969).

11. La ricostruzione: la centralità della parola

Al di là della parte iniziale dell'incontro, riservata, appunto, alla raccolta di informazioni, la riflessione si è concentrata sulle caratteristiche della parola in rete e sui suoi tre ruoli centrali, cercando di portare i ragazzi verso un ragionamento strutturato rispetto ai loro stessi usi linguistici e, più latamente, comunicativi. Ho sfruttato per questo la tripartizione definita in *Tienilo acceso*: parlare di sé, parlare con gli altri e parlare del mondo (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018).

In altre parole, è stato prima di tutto discusso come il modo in cui ognuno si presenta tenda a condizionare tutte le interazioni successive e di come ogni parola che si sceglie di dire – e ogni foto che viene condivisa – sia un vero e proprio atto di identità (Gheno 2020a), tra l'altro destinato a lasciare una traccia a lunghissimo termine, date le caratteristiche dell'atto comunicativo in rete.

In questo contesto, infatti, la parola è *nuda*, privata dei tratti extralinguistici; di conseguenza, diventa molto più *fraintendibile* di quanto non avverrebbe in una comunicazione *de visu*; inoltre, per le caratteristiche stesse della comunicazione in rete, diventa *immortale* a causa del suo essere perlopiù scritta e facilmente riproducibile (non a caso, una delle prime operazioni che chiedo di fare a ogni conferenza o presentazione ai presenti è quella di "googlarsi", ossia di verificare la propria presenza su Google cercando il proprio nome e cognome tra virgolette); infine, ciò che viene inserito in rete è *incontrollabile* per definizione, e anzi, più un contenuto è imbarazzante o penalizzante per chi l'ha creato, più sarà difficile da controllare (Gheno 2020a: 155-156).

La consapevolezza di queste caratteristiche dei contenuti in rete, che normalmente riassumo nel concetto di *permeabilità* (tra online e offline, tra i vari canali di comunicazione digitali, tra passato e presente, tra pubblico e privato, tra personale e professionale) manca in generale a buona parte dei frequentatori di internet, giovani compresi (non fa parte di quelle competenze che in qualche modo ci aspettiamo che abbiano automaticamente in quanto "nativi digitali"); eppure, per loro, la questione è molto più pericolosa che per gli adulti, dato che il cosiddetto *Google CV*, ossia la raccolta digitale delle "briciole di informazione" disseminate online in maniera più o meno inconsapevole, potrà avere conseguenze pesantissime sulla loro reputazione e, a cascata, sul loro futuro professionale. Già oggi, infatti, quasi in ogni contesto lavorativo si dà grande rilevanza al curriculum digitale di un candidato (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 77), ossia a ciò che ha mostrato di sé nel corso del tempo online oltre a quello che di sé dichiara. Come noto spesso, ho avuto la grande fortuna di essere stata adolescente in tempi in cui l'occhio inquisitore della fotocamera del cellulare non esisteva, potendo così perpetrare le leggerezze tipiche della gioventù senza lasciare tracce.

Il secondo punto trattato in aula ha riguardato la relazione con gli altri e la possibilità di interagire con loro senza finire continuamente a litigare (Mastroianni 2017). La rete ci ha messi in contatto con la differenza, anzi, con la "diversità aumentata" (Mastroianni 2019): nelle discussioni ognuno di noi non porta solo le proprie parole, ma i propri mondi. Occorre tenere conto di questa maggiore esposizione alle differenze e imparare a gestirle. Per fare questo, abbiamo tentato di "smontare" una serie di reazioni quasi pavloviane che le persone hanno in rete – in Gheno (2017: 112-116) avevo raccolto un elenco di "tratti comunicativi stereotipati ricorrenti nelle interazioni online, come ad esempio il *benaltrista* – mostrando come, dal fastidio per i comportamenti altrui, sia necessario passare a una maggior consapevolezza nei confronti dei propri comportamenti. Altrimenti, si finisce nell'eterno paradosso di parlare degli altri, senza mai riflettere su cosa sia possibile fare a livello personale.

Il discorso vale anche in relazione ai famosi *hater*, che spesso, nei contesti di educazione digitale, vengono per l'appunto trattati come "altro da noi". Questa visione degli odiatori

porta, come conseguenza, all'"esternalizzazione del problema", ossia al pensare all'odio come una questione che ci riguarda solo in qualità di vittime, ma non di possibili carnefici. Come scrive Giglioli:

> Vittime e carnefici, questi ultimi sostanzializzati in profili che li identificano, prima ancora che con gli atti che compiono, con un carattere, una natura, un destino, una descrizione definita che si fa nome comune e quasi proprio: il pedofilo, lo stalker, l'omofobo, il razzista, l'orco, il branco. Al posto di una spiegazione, un quadro nosografico e criminologico, un marker che si ha o non si ha: non una storia singola, un intreccio a volte inestricabile di causalità e casualità, vicende individuali e circostanze culturali. Che se ne stiano fuori, lontani, radicalmente altri da noialtri, i normali, noi che non coviamo nell'inconscio alcuna pulsione distruttiva e non abbiamo mai sentito neanche una volta la tentazione della sopraffazione. (2014: 24)

Non a caso, alcuni paragrafi fa è stato notato come i ragazzi non siano in grado di identificare alcuni loro comportamenti come (cyber)bullismo, pur sapendo alla perfezione che cosa sia, almeno sulla carta, il fenomeno: semplicemente, non comprendono che ognuno di noi, in determinate circostanze, può dare il peggio di sé (Gheno e Mastroianni 2018: 25-26). Insomma, il primo passo per iniziare una riflessione seria sull'odio sta, a mio avviso, nell'assumersi la responsabilità di essere odiatori noi stessi.

A questo proposito, Federico Faloppa illustra un episodio avvenuto a gennaio 2020, in cui una donna di Bologna accompagnò Matteo Salvini a casa di una famiglia italo-tunisina alla quale, secondo lei, apparteneva un pericoloso spacciatore. L'illazione si rivelò falsa e la donna, sui suoi social, venne sommersa di manifestazioni di odio violentissime. L'autore, a chiosa di quell'episodio, scrive:

> Di destra, o di sinistra, il discorso d'odio è sempre discorso d'odio. Ed è questo che lo rende così diffuso, così pervasivo, così elusivo. Qui non si tratta di puntare il dito contro l'"odiatore" (chi era costui?), o stabilire la differenza tra buoni e cattivi […]. Si tratta piuttosto di chiedersi quali siano le caratteristiche e le modalità di ciò che chiamiamo 'linguaggio' o 'discorso d'odio', quali le sue variabili, le sue cause, i suoi effetti. Si tratta di partire da alcune semplici domande, le cui risposte, però, sono tutt'altro che semplici. Anche perché – come vedremo – spesso mettono in discussione ciò che, su questo argomento, pensavamo di sapere. (2020a: 18-21)

Il grosso limite delle discussioni sull'odio nelle scuole sta, al momento, nel pensare a *hater* e cyberbulli prevalentemente come un nemico esterno, un "altro da sé" da combattere. Tutto ciò, però, non ci permette di vedere i *nostri* comportamenti d'odio, di riconoscerli e quindi, con una maggior consapevolezza, di evitarli. Proprio per questo abbiamo cercato anche di lavorare su una "normalizzazione dell'odio" (Gheno 2020b); non nel senso di minimizzarne la portata e l'impatto, ma ricordando che esso fa parte degli istinti naturali dell'uomo e come tale, è in primis compito di ognuno di noi imparare a gestire il *proprio* odio prima ancora di andare a giudicare quello degli altri. Ovviamente, l'odio è uno degli istinti meno costruttivi, ma non per questo va considerato come qualcosa di esterno alla vita di ognuno di noi. O come scrive ancora Faloppa,

> Forse, scopriremmo così che, a parte i troll e i professionisti dell'odio, come quelli al servizio della propaganda politica e delle varie "bestie", non esistono assolutamente cattivi da un lato e assolutamente buoni dall'altro, quanto piuttosto un'eterogenea serie di casistiche, tra le quali si estende un *continuum* dai contorni non sempre definiti che va dall'odio occasionale all'odio casuale, dal 'l'ho scritto senza pensarci' al 'non pensavo che avrei fatto del male a qualcuno'. (2020a: 215)

In altre parole, ogni persona tende a ritrovarsi o a indulgere in dinamiche di odio anche molto gravi, spesso senza rendersene del tutto conto, come, ad esempio, quando prende parte

al pubblico ludibrio di una persona che palesemente ha sbagliato e che forse, come tutti, si meriterebbe di essere condannata non da noi, non dalla "gente", ma nelle sedi opportune esistenti nelle società civili e democratiche (su questo cfr. Ronson, 2015).

Questo approccio nei confronti della questione dell'odio è stato, in linea di massima, accolto in maniera favorevole dalla maggioranza degli studenti, anche se non sono mancati qua e là i contestatori, talvolta fomentati anche da docenti che, a valle di un lunghissimo ragionamento, hanno chiosato il tutto tornando ai consueti discorsi incentrati sull'"odiare l'odio", posizione che non condivido. Dove si è creato un "braccio di ferro" tra me e il docente, i ragazzi hanno prevedibilmente preso le parti dei loro professori.

La terza questione di cui si è discusso è stata quella del "parlare del mondo"; chiarite tutte le relazioni tra lingua e realtà (e di rimando tra realtà e lingua), l'interesse degli studenti si è concentrato sulla questione delle notizie false: come riconoscerle, come tutelarsi dalla messe di informazioni che ci arrivano quotidianamente? Di lì a poco sarebbe scoppiata la pandemia da coronavirus con la relativa *infodemia*, parola usata dall'OMS stessa (Gheno 2020c); ma già al tempo degli incontri il problema dell'eccessiva quantità di informazioni era ben sentito da tutti. Come notano Wardle e Derakhshan (2018: 43 e sgg.), occorrerebbe prima di tutto differenziare tra *misinformation*, *dis-information* e *mal-information*: la questione, insomma, non è semplice come distinguere tra *fake news* e *real news*, anche se spesso la narrazione semplicistica da parte dei media vorrebbe questo.

Sono quindi state fornite diverse linee guida per comprendere il fenomeno delle notizie false (Quattrociocchi 2018), ma si è ragionato molto soprattutto sullo spostamento di *focus* necessario per gestire la questione infodemica: non tanto lamentarsi del sistema che permette la circolazione di notizie false, quanto creare degli utenti con gli anticorpi contro di esse (Unità 2020), partendo, soprattutto, dalla competenza linguistica, per esempio rendendosi conto delle parole *trigger* che attivano determinate reazioni con un "effetto innesco" o *priming effect*, "che si ha quando l'esposizione a uno stimolo (verbale, visivo, uditivo) influenza, senza che se ne abbia consapevolezza, una risposta a uno stimolo successivo" (Faloppa 2020a: 128).

12. Il secondo incontro: la discrepanza tra il raccontato e il vissuto

I secondi incontri sono iniziati sempre con la presentazione dei lavori dei ragazzi. Alcune classi hanno realizzato prodotti encomiabili. Tra questi: diversi poster (a tema cyberbullismo, nella maggior parte dei casi); alcuni video con interviste a soggetti vari sul tema del digitale; un testo *trap* (su questo cfr. Cristalli 2020) recitato di fronte alla classe, con grandissimo coraggio da parte dello studente; diversi video di 5-6 minuti recitati e montati dai ragazzi stessi; alcune poesie ispirate ad avvenimenti personali; coreografie di gruppo per TikTok presentate dal vivo; uno studente ha preparato un discorso di una decina di minuti per spiegare come diventare influencer su Instagram, altri hanno sceneggiato un fumetto o una pièce teatrale.

Molti studenti hanno dedicato attenzione e tempo al compito, realizzando prodotti davvero originali e in alcuni casi perfino toccanti (come quando una ragazzina di origine indiana ha raccontato gli episodi di cyberbullismo alla quale l'avevano sottoposta i compagni, peraltro seduti davanti a lei mentre raccontava delle angherie a cui era stata sottoposta: alcuni di loro si sono resi conto per la prima volta di quanto la questione del bullismo fosse qualcosa che li aveva visti coinvolti direttamente, e non in veste di vittime).

In alcune classi, invece, i docenti stessi hanno giustificato lo scarso impegno e lo scarso interesse dei ragazzi affermando che nessuno aveva capito la consegna (e sottintendendo quindi che fossi stata io a non spiegarmi bene), che non c'era stato modo di riparlare della questione in classe e che avevano avuto troppo da fare. In altri casi, un'intera classe ha preparato un unico

lavoro abbastanza deludente sul tema del… cyberbullismo, snocciolando in maniera meccanica le solite informazioni sull'argomento. Da questo punto di vista, la qualità dell'attività svolta è apparsa direttamente connessa all'impegno messo nell'iniziativa dai docenti stessi: gli incontri erano pur sempre extracurricolari, e questo, in diverse occasioni, ha evidentemente limitato l'interesse dei docenti e di conseguenza dei discenti.

Il limite di numerosi lavori è stato sempre lo stesso: una grande aderenza, al di là di quello che era stato detto durante il primo incontro, alla "versione scolastica" della questione digitale. Così, solo una minoranza si è lanciata in considerazioni davvero personali sull'argomento: ho assistito, insomma, a una vera e propria regressione dell'interesse degli studenti per l'iniziativa, con la sensazione che la maggior parte di ciò che era stato detto nel primo incontro quasi non avesse lasciato traccia.

È sorta spontanea una domanda: se la rete è così piena di cose brutte, come mai praticamente tutti i ragazzi la frequentano massicciamente e con entusiasmo? E la risposta quasi unanime è stata: "Perché ci piace e per noi è importante". Andava da sé chiedere come mai, allora, avessero scelto di parlare non del lato positivo della connessione, ma dei consueti problemi. La maggioranza ha risposto "Perché al/alla prof non sarebbe andato bene". Di nuovo, ecco presentarsi lo scollamento tra mondo online dei ragazzi e la sua versione da presentare agli adulti: una questione sulla quale penso sia necessaria una riflessione urgente. Pur apprezzando l'approccio "generativo", il timore di scontentare i propri docenti, in molti casi, è prevalso.

14. La conclusione … a cura della pandemia

Proprio mentre si stavano concludendo gli ultimi incontri, è scattato il periodo dell'isolamento domiciliare in seguito alla dichiarazione della pandemia da COVID-19, noto ai più come *lockdown*. E improvvisamente la relazione tra il digitale e la scuola è stata stravolta dagli eventi. In alcuni mesi di quella chiamata in parte impropriamente DAD, *didattica a distanza* (molti la chiamerebbero piuttosto DDE, *didattica di emergenza*, cfr. ad es. Cederna 2020), le difficoltà già notate durante gli incontri a scuola sono emerse in maniera deflagrante. Per esempio, si sono dovuti fare i conti con il divario digitale: non tutti i ragazzi hanno un loro computer, o magari una connessione internet adatta ad assistere a una lezione a distanza (e si pensi alle famiglie in cui ci sono più figli che devono seguire le lezioni in contemporanea: si può davvero pensare che tutti possano avere il loro PC personale?); ma nemmeno tutti i professori erano pronti per trasferirsi in rete, sia per mancanza di dispositivi sia per limiti mentali che, in alcuni casi, cognitivi.

Molto probabilmente, se in precedenza si fosse lavorato di più sull'integrazione del cellulare nelle attività scolastiche, questo "trapasso" sarebbe stato meno doloroso. Insomma, se è pur vero che non tutti i ragazzi hanno il computer – non è il loro dispositivo primario: lo era per le generazioni precedenti, ma non per le nuove – una possibile, parziale risposta sarebbe (stata) quella di concepire una DAD fruibile anche tramite cellulare. Tra l'altro, la centralità del telefonino nelle vite degli studenti dovrebbe portare a riflettere maggiormente sul tipo di competenze che possiedono. Per esempio, la maggior parte dei ragazzi non sa usare un *word processor*, e scrive normalmente con due sole dita, sulla tastiera, dato che la loro "digitalità" è perlopiù riservata all'uso del cellulare (in compenso, con i pollici riescono a usare le tastiere *touch* con velocità incredibile). Questo, però, non è un limite cognitivo: è semplicemente conseguenza della naturalezza con cui i giovani si trovano a contatto con un tipo specifico di dispositivo, ovvero il cellulare (che diventa, a tratti, quasi un'ossessione, cfr. Metitieri 2019). È stata a lungo data per scontata l'idea che il "pacchetto digitale" del nativo contenesse anche

le competenze per lavorare al computer, e questo ha fatto sì che larga parte della famosa educazione digitale sia stata fatta passare da questo strumento, senza quindi intercettare di fatto le reali inclinazioni tecnologiche dei ragazzi.

Per entrare nel pratico dei problemi legati all'uso del cellulare nella DAD, ecco un esempio. Il corrispettivo digitale del distrarsi durante una lezione diventa, in una classe virtuale, l'uso improprio degli strumenti digitali, come ad esempio lo *zoom bombing* (azioni organizzate di disturbo delle lezioni sulla piattaforma Zoom, cfr. Ficara 2020) o lo scambio dei link delle varie lezioni in chat per poi "invaderle" impedendo la lezione (Evelli 2020). È anche molto comune accendere il cellulare mentre si assiste con il computer a una lezione su Google Classroom e far partire una *live*, cioè una diretta, su Instagram. Dal punto di vista dell'alunno, la *live* su Instagram equivale al chiacchierare indebitamente con un amico mentre il professore spiega. Da un punto di vista giuridico, dato che magari vengono riprese persone a loro insaputa, questo comportamento è ben più grave che non la semplice distrazione. Ma se al ragazzo questo non lo ha mai spiegato nessuno, come fa a rendersi conto della gravità della sua azione? Se poi, come ho visto accadere personalmente, il docente coinvolto nemmeno capisce ciò che è accaduto (per esempio, confonde uno *streaming* "dal vivo" con una registrazione – e la confusione si capisce dalle domande che fa, come "dove è stato pubblicato il materiale? Voglio visionarlo"), si comprende che la situazione si complica ulteriormente. Si aprono, così, veri e propri baratri di incomprensione tra studenti, docenti e anche genitori, spesso a loro volta completamente a digiuno di competenze digitali (perlomeno, di quelle che servirebbero per capire i bisogni dei propri figli).

Benché la didattica a distanza non possa e non debba, a mio avviso, sostituire la didattica in presenza, l'emergenza che stiamo vivendo può davvero insegnare a non sottovalutare l'importanza dell'integrazione del digitale nella didattica, sia dal lato dei discenti che dal lato dei docenti. Chiunque abbia un atteggiamento di *apartheid* nei confronti del digitale, o di neoluddismo, rischia di perdere in parte o del tutto un "treno educativo" decisamente rilevante: in fondo, è evidente che il digitale sia destinato a far parte molto a lungo, se non per sempre, delle nostre vite; forse conviene imparare a farci i conti. Inoltre, deve passare sempre più chiaramente l'idea che quella del "disagiato digitale" è una categoria trasversale all'età, ed è piuttosto da mettere in correlazione con il background sociale e culturale di provenienza. In altre parole, come già ricordato, usa male e superficialmente i *device* a propria disposizione soprattutto chi proviene da contesti culturalmente poveri di stimoli (Hutt 2016, Gheno 2019b), esattamente come – richiamando William Labov (1972) – succede con l'uso della lingua, potentissimo indicatore sociale. Ed è proprio su questa potenziale fonte di diseguaglianze sociali che dovrebbe intervenire la scuola.

Riferimenti bibliografici

Ansa. 2019. "A che età concedere il primo smartphone?." *Ansa.it.* 1/7, <www.ansa.it/canale_lifestyle/ notizie/teen/2019/07/01/a-che-eta-concedere-il-primo-smartphone_577959bb-6655-4ba2-b946-757fd380af28.html> (06/2020).

Cazzullo, Aldo. 2017. *Metti via quel cellulare. Un papà. Due figli. Una rivoluzione.* Milano: Mondadori.

Cederna, Giulio. 2020. "Non chiamamola didattica a distanza ma didattica d'emergenza. Ridateci la classe." *Vita*, 5/3, <www.vita.it/it/article/2020/05/03/non-chiamamola-didattica-a-distanza-ma-didattica-demergenza-ridateci-/155320/> (06/2020).

Cristalli, Beatrice. 2020. "Di cosa parliamo quando parliamo di trap." *Treccani lingua italiana,* 20, 4, <www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/percorsi/percorsi_258.html> (06/2020).

De Mauro, Tullio. 2018a [1975]. "Il plurilinguismo nella società e nella scuola italiana", in Id., *L'educazione linguistica democratica*, a cura di S. Loiero e M. A. Marchese, 73-84. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Del Pidio, Patrizia. 2019. "Cellulare a scuola spento nello zaino: si può portare?." *Orizzontescuola*, 8, 12. <www.orizzontescuola.it/cellulare-a-scuola-spento-nello-zaino-si-puo-portare/> (06/2020).

Dominici, Piero. 2018. "La Società Iperconnessa e Ipercomplessa e l'illusione della cittadinanza." *Fuori dal prisma*, blog sul portale del *Sole24ore*, 14, 12, <pierodominici.nova100.ilsole24ore.com/2018/12/14/la-societa-iperconnessa-e-ipercomplessa-e-lillusione-della-cittadinanza/> (06/2020).

Evelli, Valentina. 2020. "Disturbatori alle lezioni on line ai tempi del coronavirus, primi denunciati dalla polizia in Liguria." *La Repubblica di Genova*, 17, 4, <genova.repubblica.it/cronaca/2020/04/17/news/disturbatori_alle_lezioni_on_line_primi_denunciati_dalla_polizia_in_liguria-254251504/> (06/2020).

Faloppa, Federico. 2020a. *#Odio. Manuale di resistenza alla violenza delle parole*. Torino: UTET.

Faloppa, Federico. 2020b. "Virus dell'odio: metafora o realtà?", Rubrica *La cura delle parole*, *Treccani*. 29, 4, <www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/parole/cura_parole_6.html> (06/2020).

Fea, Maurizio. 2019. *Spegni quel cellulare. Le tecnologie tra cattive abitudini e dipendenze*. Roma: Carocci.

Ficara, A.D. 2020. "Zoom bombing: quando la lezione on line viene disturbata da utenti sconosciuti." *Tecnica della scuola,* 3, 4, <www.tecnicadellascuola.it/zoom-bombing-quando-la-lezione-on-line-viene-disturbata-da-utenti-sconosciuti> (06/2020).

Floridi, Luciano (a cura di). 2015. *The Onlife Manifesto. Being Human in a Hyperconnected Era*. London: Springer International Publishing.

Gheno, Vera e Bruno Mastroianni. 2018. *Tienilo acceso. Posta, commenta, condividi senza spegnere il cervello*. Milano: Longanesi.

Gheno, Vera. 2003. "Prime osservazioni sulla grammatica dei gruppi di discussione telematici di lingua italiana." In *Studi di Grammatica Italiana*, 22: 266-308.

Gheno, Vera. 2017. *Social-linguistica. Italiano e italiani dei social network*. Firenze: Franco Cesati.

Gheno, Vera. 2019a. Alla ricerca della felicità sui social network: riflessioni in aula sull'etica della comunicazione." In *Politiche e problematiche linguistiche nella formazione degli insegnanti* a cura di Francesco Avolio, Antonella Nuzzaci, Lucilla Spetia, 37-51. Lecce-Rovato: Pensa Multimedia.

Gheno, Vera. 2019b. "Da nativi a disagiati digitali: nuovi analfabetismi emergono online." *Agenda Digitale*, 17, 10, <www.agendadigitale.eu/cultura-digitale/da-nativi-a-disagiati-digitali-nuovi-analfabetismi-emergono-online/> (06/2020).

Gheno, Vera. 2019c. "Felici e connessi (per un'alfabetizzazione digitale nelle scuole)." In *Micromega*, 5: 99-111.

Gheno, Vera. 2020a. "Atti di identità verbali e non verbali in un mondo iperpermeabile." In *Comunicare ad arte. Per costruire contenuti e promuovere eventi* a cura di Benedetta Baldi, 155-172. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Gheno, Vera. 2020b. "La trappola dell'odio sui social: quando scatta e perché." *Agenda Digitale*. 13, 2. <www.agendadigitale.eu/cultura-digitale/la-trappola-dellodio-sui-social-quando-scatta-e-perche/>. (06/2020)

Gheno, Vera, 2020c, "Coronavirus, una parola infetta." *Treccani lingua italiana*, 2, 3, <www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/parole/Coronavirus.html> (06/2020).

Giglioli, Daniele. 2014. *Critica della vittima. Un esperimento con l'etica*. Milano: Nottetempo.

Goffman, Erving. 1969. *La vita quotidiana come rappresentazione*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Hutt, Rosamund. 2016. "Rich and Poor Teenagers Use the Web Differently – Here's What This is doing to Inequality." *World Economic Forum*, 7, <www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/07/rich-and-poor-teenagers-spend-a-similar-amount-of-time-online-so-why-aren-t-we-closing-the-digital-divide/>. (06/2020).

Il Tirreno. 2014. "Telefonino che passione ma tienilo spento a scuola." *Il Tirreno*, 12, 5, <iltirreno.gelocal.it/massa/cronaca/2014/12/05/news/telefonino-che-passione-ma-tienilo-spento-a-scuola-1.10441553> (06/2020).

Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the Inner City. Studies in Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.

Manifesto per la comunicazione non ostile. 2016. <www.paroleostili.it> (06/2020).

Mastroianni, Bruno. 2017. *La disputa felice. Dissentire senza litigare sui social network, sui media e in pubblico*. Firenze: Franco Cesati.

Mastroianni, Bruno. 2019. *La diversità aumentata*. TedX talk. <www.brunomastro.it/2019/11/la-diversita-aumentata-tedx.html> (06/2020).

Metitieri, Tiziana. 2019. "La dipendenza dei giovani dai cellulari è un allarme fondato?". *Valigia Blu*. 16, 4, <www.valigiablu.it/dipendenza-giovani-cellulari/> (06/2020).

Piotto, Chiara. 2020. "TikTok, il "non social" dei video brevi." *SkyTG24*, 5, 3, <tg24.sky.it/tecnologia/now/2020/03/05/tik-tok-funzionamento-creator> (06/2020).

Quattrociocchi, Walter e Antonella Vicini. 2018. *Liberi di crederci. Informazione, internet e post-verità*. Torino: Codice Edizioni.

Rancilio, Gigio. 2019. "Bambini e digitale. Ecco qual è l'età minima per app, social e cellulare." *Avvenire*. 5, 3, <www.avvenire.it/attualita/pagine/ecco-qual-let-minima-per-app-social-e-sim-card> (06/2020).

Rheingold, Howard. 1993. *The Virtual Community. Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, <www.rheingold.com/vc/book/> (06/2020).

Ronson, Jon. 2015. *I giustizieri della rete. La pubblica umiliazione ai tempi di Internet*. Torino: Codice.

Scuola di Barbiana. 1967. *Lettera a una professoressa*. Firenze: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina.

Turkle, Sherry. 2011. *Alone Together: Why We Expect More From Technology and Less From Each Other*. New York: Basic Books.

Unità di monitoraggio per il contrasto della diffusione di fake news relative al covid-19 sul web e sui social network. (2020). *Programma operativo di attività*. Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dipartimento per l'informazione e l'editoria. <informazioneeditoria.gov.it/media/3234/programmaoperativo.pdf> (06/2020).

Wardle, Claire e Hossein Derakhshan. 2018. "Thinking About 'Information Disorder': Formats of Misinformation, Disinformation, and Mal-information." *Journalism, 'Fake News' & Disinformation*. UNESCO, <en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/f._jfnd_handbook_module_2.pdf> (06/2020).

We are social. 2020. *Digital 2020 Italia,* <wearesocial.com/it/digital-2020-italia> (06/2020).

Ziccardi, Giovanni. 2016. *L'odio online. Violenza verbale e ossessioni in rete*. Milano: Cortina.

La lingua debole dei poteri forti:
Matteo Salvini e Luigi Di Maio su Twitter

Susanna Giovinazzo
Università degli Studi di Firenze
(<susanna.giovinazzo@stud.unifi.it>)

Abstract:

The article investigates the morpho-syntactic characteristics and the Gulpease readability index of a finite number of tweets extracted from the @matteosalvinimi and the @luigidimaio Twitter accounts. The study material refers to two distinct time periods: the tweets preceding the election victory (1 January 2015 - 4 March 2018) and the tweets produced immediately after the election victory (5 March 2018 - 31 August 2019). The aim of the work is to evaluate the linguistic level of the current political communication, also in relation to the level of education of the Italian population; in order to use reliable answers, the obtained data were compared with the results of the linguistic analysis (carried out following the same prerogatives) of the first twenty-eight articles of the Constitution of the Italian Republic, and also of six school essays written by students attending different classes.

Keywords: *Gulpease, political communication, readability, Twitter*

1. Introduzione

In questo articolo verranno riportati i dati relativi all'analisi linguistica effettuata su un circoscritto numero di tweet proporzionalmente estratti dagli account Twitter di @matteosalvinimi e @luigidimaio. I risultati tengono conto delle percentuali relative all'indice di leggibilità Gulpease, delle percentuali di difficoltà circa il profilo di base, il profilo lessicale e il profilo sintattico ottenute sottoponendo i tweet estratti all'analisi linguistica effettuata tramite il programma DyLan Tetxtools (di cui si offrirà un quadro più esaustivo nelle prossime pagine).

Il lavoro è articolato in due sezioni considerando, in un primo momento, i tweet realizzati nella fase precedente alla vittoria elettorale, nonché dal 1 gennaio 2015 al 4 marzo 2018, per poi volgere l'attenzione al periodo immediatamente successivo, vale a dire dal 5 marzo 2018 al 31 agosto 2019. I rappresentanti

politici oggetto di studio sono Matteo Salvini e Luigi Di Maio, preferiti ad altri data l'assenza di approfondimenti linguistici incentrati sul loro modo di comunicare a cui si aggiunge la centralità ricoperta nella scena politica italiana. Lo scopo della ricerca è quello di valutare scientificamente il livello di leggibilità degli enunciati politici emessi tramite il portale che attualmente risulta essere il mezzo di comunicazione prediletto dal mondo politico e, al fine di rendere affidabili le conclusioni, sono stati sottoposti alla medesima analisi linguistica testi appartenenti a differenti tipologie testuali, nonché i primi ventotto articoli del testo della Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, due temi svolti da alunni frequentanti la classe quinta della scuola primaria; due temi svolti da alunni frequentanti la classe terza della scuola secondaria di primo grado e due temi svolti da alunni frequentanti la classe quinta della scuola secondaria di secondo grado. I risultati ricavati sono stati confrontati con i risultati registrati dai tweet caratterizzanti i due corpora in modo da poter avere a disposizione un parametro di confronto indiscutibilmente certo.

1. Modalità di estrazione del materiale e caratteristiche peculiari dei tweet

Il lavoro di estrazione dei tweet è stato intrapreso a partire dall'autunno del 2019[1] e, all'altezza di quel periodo, l'account @matteosalvinimi registrava 36.178 tweet, mentre l'account @ luigidimaio 5.242 tweet. L'evidente disparità quantitativa tra i due profili ha portato ad estrarre un numero diverso di tweet che è stato rispettivamente pari a 3460 tweet estratti dal profilo di Matteo Salvini e 992 tweet estratti dal profilo di Luigi Di Maio.

L'estrazione del materiale per la realizzazione dei *corpora* è stato condotto in modo interamente manuale, date le limitazioni imposte dal portale di fronte alla possibilità di scaricare i contenuti in modo automatico[2] ed è stato possibile ricorrendo al sistema di ricerca avanzata presente su Twitter di cui sono state sfruttate le seguenti stringhe di ricerca: "Tutte queste parole", "Questi hashtag", "Una di queste parole", combinate, di volta in volta, con le opzioni che permettevano di isolare determinati periodi temporali (sul portale con la denominazione "Date") e di selezionare specifici account che nel nostro caso si sono alternati tra l'account @matteosalvinimi e l'account @luigidimaio (sul portale sotto la denominazione "Da questi account").

I *corpora*, dunque, sono stati generati tenendo conto di una suddivisione di carattere temporale e di carattere tematico filtrando, nel primo caso, i tweet realizzati nell'arco di tempo di quattro anni (1 gennaio 2015- 31 agosto 2019), mentre nel secondo caso, sono state selezionate determinate parole (alternate tra parole semplici e *hashtag*) da inserire nelle relative stringhe di ricerca. Per entrambi gli account le parole da inserire hanno riguardato ambiti differenziati, interessando l'ambito economico, partitico-elettorale, di cronaca nazionale e internazionale e sono state selezionate avendo come punto di riferimento iniziale i trenta punti del Contratto del Governo del Cambiamento,[3] scelto perché intuitivamente utile ad offrire un gran numero di risultati essendo un collante tra i desideri del passato, gli impegni del presente e le aspettative del futuro. Ad alcuni dei trenta punti del Contratto, sono stati affiancate anche parole scelte in relazione a conoscenze pregresse, in modo particolare per quanto riguarda la cernita di hashtag.

---

[1] Esattamente la data di inizio dell'estrazione del materiale risale al 10 ottobre 2019.

[2] Tale possibilità veniva garantita solo attraverso apposite App che avrebbero permesso di estrarre automaticamente gli ultimi 3200 tweet dal profilo selezionato, salvando il contenuto in un file Excel ma, al contempo, non inserendo filtri di alcun genere. Si è scelto, dunque, di puntare alla realizzazione di *corpora* costituiti da tweet razionalmente selezionati.

[3] È possibile leggere il testo in forma integrale al seguente link: <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2018/05/18/governo-m5s-lega-il-contratto-di-governo-versione-definitiva-del-testo/4364587/> (06/2020).

Nello specifico dall'account @matteosalvinimi sono state filtrate sedici parole (tra parole semplici e hashtag), mentre dall'account @luigidimaio trentuno (di cui un solo hashtag, essendo molto rari sul suo profilo). I dati quantitativi sono sinteticamente esposti nelle tabelle sottostanti

PAROLA FILTRATA DALL'ACCOUNT @matteosalvinimi	TOTALE DI TWEET
#primagliitaliani	311
Europa	801
PD	767
Sud	150
Immigrazione	403
#portichiusi	109
Forze dell'ordine	300
Beata Vergine Maria	1
Rosario	15
Crocifisso	16
Flat-tax	143
Legge Fornero	242
Quota 100	78
Gay	31
Cultura	72
Università	21

Tabella 1. Totale dei tweet estratti dall'account @matteosalvinimi

PAROLA FILTRATA DALL'ACCOUNT @luigidimaio	TOTALE DI TWEET
PD	127
Movimento 5 Stelle	112
#M5S	28
Grillo	24
Redd. di cittadinanza	30
Lavoro	57
Lavoratori	21
Aziende	5

Povertà	7
Pensione	11
Tagli OR poltrone/a	27
Parlamento	45
Vitalizi	18
Ambiente	4
Famiglia	22
Corruzione	29
Sanità	9
Sud	3
Sicurezza	8
Cultura	7
Giustizia	9
Manovra	12
Italiani	74
Governo	164
Lotta	9
Elezioni	26
Europa	20
Politica	31
Riforma/e	29
Innovazione	3
Cambiamento	21

Tabella 2. Totale dei tweet estratti dall'account @luigidimaio

In modo evidente, dunque, dal lavoro di estrazione dei tweet è emerso quanto Matteo Salvini sia decisamente più attivo sul portale, tanto per il periodo precedente alla vittoria elettorale, quanto per il periodo successivo al 4 marzo 2018, sottostando a tutte le regole previste da Twitter al fine di avere una corretta trasmissione e diffusione del messaggio inoltrato, ricorrendo in modo puntuale alla creazione di hashtag e rivolgendosi in modo diretto e amichevole all'interlocutore, così come si legge nei tweet datati rispettivamente 12 ottobre 2016 e 9 dicembre 2015: "Alle 8.45 sarò in diretta a "#Unomattina (@Raiuno) per parlare di referendum, tasse, pensioni, immigrazione e proposte. Buona giornata Amici."; : "Notte serena amici, a tutti ma non ai bugiardi del #PD. #Salvini #Portaaporta". Frequentemente ci si imbatte in tweet costituiti da un linguaggio informale, adoperando espressioni elementari e popolari; esempi in questa direzione sono vari, si

scelgono alcuni tra tanti: il 12 marzo del 2015 Salvini scriveva: "Di aziende in ginocchio #Europa se ne frega, perde tempo a misurare vongole. Via da questa gabbia di matti!https://youtu.be/OdbUWMe78OU #Salvini"; nella data 6 luglio 2015 ritroviamo questo post: "Molti geni della Sinistra dicono 'ci vuole più Europa'. Come dire 'ci vuole più whisky' per curare un alcolizzato. #agorarai #Grecia"; il seguente post è, invece, riferito al 29 luglio 2015: "Il Senato salva dall'arresto il sen. #Azzolini (NCD). #Renzi e il PD calano le braghe per salvare le loro poltrone, che pena. #Salvini." Interessante e costante è la volontà di rivolgersi ai suoi oppositori utilizzando appellativi poco gentili, ricorrendo al turpiloquio e a toni decisamente aggressivi, dai quali traspare un atteggiamento strafottente e un'ostilità spesso velata da costruzioni apparentemente allusive. L'opposizione politica si ritrova, spesso, ad essere definita come *imbecille*, *cazzara*, come *fenomeno*, *genio* (in veste decisamente dispregiativa), così come è evidente nei seguenti tweet: il 4 marzo 2015 il soggetto in esame scriveva "#Europa si accorge che per bloccare immigrazione di massa bisogna collaborare anche con i dittatori. Imbecilli! Ci arrivano solo ora? #Salvini"; il 6 novembre 2016 "Quando smascheri le loro bugie, i parlamentari del PD urlano… Dai ragazzi, il 4 dicembre mandiamo a casa il CAZZARO!#Iovotono"; il post datato il 15 settembre 2018: "Se vedessi sulla strada il figlio di #Salvini vittima di un incidente stradale, passerei avanti dicendo 'Prima i piddini'. Cretino, lascia fuori dalle polemiche i miei figli. P.S. il 'signore' si dichiara iscritto al PD"; non rari i casi in cui si ricorre a metafore zoomorfe per descrivere il rivale politico, ed ecco che ci si imbatte in post del tipo "Per la parlamentare PD se lo dico sono RAZZISTA… Vorrei vedere quell'oca vivere in certe condizioni" (risalente alla data 6 marzo 2016). Ancora inerenti alle caratteristiche elencate, i seguenti tweet: il 27 gennaio 2016, riferendosi alla legge Fornero "In tivù ho chiesto di cambiare 'quella CAZZO di L. Fornero.' Scandalizzati… Quella cazzo di legge Fornero. Quella cazzo di legge Fornero."; nel giorno 25 settembre 2017 scriveva "E dei commenti dei buonisti, come diceva il grande D'Annunzio, me ne strafotto. #primagliitaliani #andiamoagovernare"; inoltre, si consideri il tweet postato in data 4 ottobre 2018: "#Salvini: bocciare la manovra? L'Europa per bene ha solo convenienza a che l'Italia torni a crescere e a correre. Non piaccio a qualche ministro francese? E chissenefrega! Preferisco il prosecco allo champagne. #wlitalia"; l'11 febbraio 2016 scriveva "Abbiamo le palle piene di IMMIGRAZIONE fuori controllo! 3/4 di quelli che sono qua dovrebbero essere rispediti a casa loro.#dallavostraparte"; il 21 giugno 2015 si legge "#Salvini: i missili di chi vuole fare una nuova guerra in Europa sappiamo noi dove infilarglieli! #pontida15"; e ancora: "#Baglioni? Canta che ti passa, lascia che di sicurezza, immigrazione e terrorismo si occupi chi ha il diritto e il dovere di farlo", risalente alla data del 9 gennaio 2019; per concludere altri tweet, carichi di una vena ironica, così come il seguente: "Fantastica Lauria, dei sondaggi dei giornaloni non mi fido ma dell'abbraccio dei cittadini lucani sì! Vi aspetto oggi alle 15 in Val d'Agri a Marsicovetere (piazza Zecchettin) e alle 18.30 a POTENZA in piazza Matteotti. Dai, dai, dai e al PD facciamo bye- bye! #24marzovotoLega", scritto nella data del 16 marzo 2019, in occasione dell'incontro con il popolo lucano.

Oltre all'aspetto prettamente lessicale, interessanti sono anche le caratteristiche sintattiche presenti nei tweet nei quali si nota una continua omissione dell'articolo, della congiunzione *se* nei periodi ipotetici e delle preposizioni relative: nel giorno 15 giugno 2015 si legge "Si votasse domani mattina, la Lega andrebbe sola, perché su Europa, Euro, tasse con FI ci sono troppe differenze #ottoemezzo", mentre nel seguente post, datato il 29 ottobre 2015, si legge "Min. Orlando vuole subito ADOZIONI GAY. Io invece vorrei legge che renda più veloci e meno costose adozioni per coppie in attesa da anni." Inoltre, ricorrenti sono casi in cui ci si imbatte in costruzioni sintattiche non aderenti alla norma della grammatica italiana: "#Salvini su #SeaWatch3: la politica dei #portichiusi salva vite. Conto che questo viaggio di quella nave sia stato l'ultimo. #ForumANSA #Europee @Agenzia Ansa" (20 maggio 2019).

Al pari del lavoro condotto sul profilo Twitter di Matteo Salvini, si riportano anche per Luigi Di Maio alcuni tweet esemplificativi, al fine di offrire un quadro sintetico delle caratteristiche più vistose e ricorrenti. Prima di tutto è fondamentale sottolineare un atteggiamento comune alla maggior parte dei tweet realizzati nella fase precedente alle elezioni, nel quale l'account @luigidimaio tendeva a realizzare tweet tronchi, rinviando il contenuto integrale ad altri social network, così come si può leggere nel tweet scritto in data 17 novembre 2015 e ottenuto filtrando il nome proprio *Grillo*: "Beppe Grillo ha deciso di eliminare il suo nome dal simbolo. Il moVimento 5 Stelle è diventato adulto e… fb.me/4qVWDQ3N8", prassi sostanzialmente abbandonata nel corso del tempo: "Il problema della stampa italiana sarebbe Beppe Grillo? Altra #Fakenews sul M5S smentita dalla procura di Roma. Giornalisti chiedano scusa" (27 aprile 2017). Questa caratteristica, come vedremo, appare decisamente importante al fine del nostro lavoro di analisi linguistica poiché determina una notevole differenza di risultati di leggibilità rispetto al periodo successivo.

Al pari dell'account @matteosalvinimi, anche in Luigi Di Maio sono frequenti tweet poco cortesi nei confronti dell'opposizione politica, unite a costruzioni sintattiche a volte scorrette e molto informali. Esempi in questa direzione sono tanti, se ne sceglie qualcuno in funzione esemplificativa: "La disoccupazione giovanile aumenta quasi al 42% perché quei fenomeni del PD nel 2012 hanno votato la Riforma… http://fb.me/Dh7TIofa", risalente al 1° ottobre 2015; in data 16 gennaio 2017 si legge: "A Bruxelles lo chiamano 'il conto di Renzi' ma le sue bugie le pagheremo con le nostre tasse. ¾ miliardi di manovra lacrime e sangue"; in un tweet postato il 19 novembre 2016 si può osservare la tendenza all'omissione di articoli: "Italiani vogliono Stato fondato sulla meritocrazia e non sulla dittatura delle poltrone". Ancora il 1° aprile 2016 si legge: "Risultati sconfortanti per #GaranziaGiovani: un altro fallimento dei governi del PD che cadono sotto il peso dei numeri e dei fatti" e l'11 giugno 2019 ci si imbatte in un tweet che, non rispettando i canonici accordi verbali, crea delle difficoltà nella lettura del testo: "È finita l'epoca in cui le multinazionali firmano accordi, prendono i soldi dallo Stato e poi fanno quello che vogliono. Le aziende, gli imprenditori e i lavoratori italiani meritano rispetto. Revoco i finanziamenti alla #Whirlpool se non manterrà gli impegni presi."

2. Sistemi informatici per l'analisi linguistica

I tweet estratti da entrambi gli account, sono stati sottoposti a un'analisi linguistica attraverso il programma *DyLan Tetxtools V 2. 1. 9*,[4] realizzato presso l' Istituto di Linguistica Computazionale "Antonio Zampolli" di Pisa. Dopo aver inserito il materiale suddiviso nei due rispettivi blocchi temporali, i risultati su cui si è puntato maggiormente l'attenzione, hanno riguardato l'analisi globale della leggibilità, considerando le percentuali relative all'indice di leggibilità Gulpease, le percentuali di difficoltà dei profili di base, lessicali, sintattici e globali.

In modo particolare, il profilo di base tiene conto del numero complessivo dei periodi, delle parole (token) presenti nel testo e della lunghezza media dei periodi e delle parole; il profilo lessicale delle caratteristiche delle parole presenti nei testi, offrendo le percentuali dei lemmi appartenenti al Vocabolario di base (VdB), la parte centrale del lessico di una lingua e della sua ripartizione interna in lessico fondamentale (FO), il nucleo più stabile e importante della struttura lessicale di una lingua e al cui interno rientrano i vocaboli di altissima frequenza, riferiti a repertori semantici vitali per l'uomo (bere, mangiare, camminare, etc.), le cui occor-

---

[4] Consultabile al seguente link: <http://www.ilc.cnr.it/dylanlab/apps/texttools/?tt_user=guest> (06/2020).

renze costituiscono il 90% delle occorrenze presenti in tutti i testi scritti o parlati; lessico di alto uso (AU), nel quale rientrano i vocaboli di alta frequenza, che costituiscono il 6% delle occorrenze presenti in tutti i testi scritti o parlati; infine lessico di alta disponibilità (AD), in cui vi sono i vocaboli che, seppur rari, si presentano ben noti ai parlanti perché legati a oggetti di forte rilevanza nella vita quotidiana. Dunque, pur essendo adoperati poco frequentemente, sono conosciuti da qualsiasi parlante di lingua italiana (De Mauro 2005).

Diversamente, il profilo sintattico rilascia informazioni disparate, nel nostro caso si è ritenuto opportuno focalizzare l'attenzione sulle percentuali relative al numero di sostantivi, aggettivi, verbi, nomi propri e congiunzioni presenti nei testi sottoposti all'analisi linguistica, unite alle percentuali di coordinate e subordinate presenti nel testo. Una trattazione a sé riguarda l'indice di leggibilità Gulpease; questo, creato nel 1982 da GULP- Gruppo universitario linguistico pedagogico, presso l'Istituto di Filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza", è tarato sulla lingua italiana e ha il vantaggio di basarsi su due variabili linguistiche: la lunghezza delle parole (e non delle sillabe) e la lunghezza della frase rispetto al numero delle lettere. Tale formula è stata ricavata attraverso una serie di test volti ad indagare il reale livello di comprensibilità di un *corpus* di testi. La verifica viene effettuata su tre categorie di lettori, selezionati in base al loro grado di scolarizzazione, rispettivamente licenza elementare, licenza media e diploma di scuola superiore, presentando i risultati su una scala che va da 0 a 100, dove "100" rappresenta la leggibilità massima e "0" la leggibilità minima. Ne deriva, dunque, che un testo che registrerà un indice di leggibilità pari a 50 risulterà essere decisamente complesso per chi ha la sola licenza elementare, mediamente difficile per chi ha la licenza media e molto semplice per chi ha il diploma superiore.[5]

3. *Analisi linguistica del testo della Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana e dei temi scolastici*

Così come anticipato precedentemente, al fine di avere un quadro esaustivo e scientificamente controllato, sono stati sottoposti alla medesima analisi linguistica tramite DyLan, i primi ventotto articoli del testo della Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana e sei temi scolastici frutto di alunni frequentanti classi differenti,[6] i cui risultati saranno confrontati con quelli ricavati dall'analisi linguistica dei tweet estratti dall'account @matteosalvinimi e dall'account @luigidimaio.

Partendo dai primi ventotto articoli della Costituzione italiana, i risultati ottenuti dichiarano che l'indice di leggibilità Gulpease è pari al 49,7%, si tratta di testi caratterizzati da un numero maggiore di coordinate piuttosto che subordinate, costituite nella maggior parte da sostantivi e seguiti da verbi, aggettivi, congiunzioni e nomi propri; i vari sottolivelli registrano le percentuali di difficoltà del 54,7% per quanto riguarda il profilo di base; l'81,2% per quanto riguarda il profilo lessicale; il 36,4% per quanto concerne il profilo sintattico e il 93,7% per il profilo globale. In rapporto al totale del lessico adoperato, il 76,3% appartiene al vocabolario

---

[5] <http://www.corrige.it/leggibilita/lindice-gulpease/> (06/2020).
[6] La possibilità di poter sottoporre all'analisi linguistica i temi scolastici è stata offerta per i gradi primaria e secondaria di primo grado dall'Istituto Comprensivo "G. Racioppi" di Moliterno e Castelsaraceno. Nel nostro specifico caso, il materiale è pervenuto dalla scuola primaria e secondaria con sede a Castelsaraceno; per quanto riguarda, invece, i temi scritti da alunni frequentanti la scuola secondaria di secondo grado, non ci sono giunti grazie l'intermediazione dell'Istituto scolastico che li ospita, nonché l'ISIS "N. Miraglia" con sede nella città di Lauria, bensì attraverso un concorso pubblico svoltosi nel loro paese di origine (Castelsaraceno, in provincia di Potenza), in occasione dell'incontro della cittadinanza del luogo con l'associazione "Generazione lucana".

di base, di cui il 73,5% è inerente al lessico fondamentale, il 24% al lessico di alto uso e il 2,5% al lessico di alta disponibilità. Di seguito una tabella riassuntiva:

INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB
49,7%	54,7%	81,2%	36,4%	97,7%	76,3% (73,5%-24%-2,5%)

Tabella 3. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi al testo della Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana

Per quanto riguarda i temi scolastici, invece, i risultati saranno esposti rispettando l'ordine di grado scolastico, considerando che per ognuno sono stati analizzati due temi scritti da alunni differenti.

Per quanto riguarda la scuola primaria, si nota una propensione da parte della prima alunna nell'utilizzo di frasi coordinate, formate prevalentemente da sostantivi, aggettivi, congiunzioni, verbi e nomi propri. Il secondo tema, invece, registra un numero di subordinate maggiore rispetto alle coordinate, costituite dal 24% di sostantivi, dal 18,1% di aggettivi, il 6,6% di congiunzioni, il 5,4% di verbi e il restante 0,8% di nomi propri. I dati relativi all'indice di leggibilità e ai vari sottoprofili possono essere più facilmente consultati nella tabella sottostante:

TEMI SVOLTI (scuola rimaria)	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
TEMA 1	57,4%	44%	0,5%	8,4%	1,8%	81,4% (89,9%-10,3%-3,8%)
TEMA 2	46,5%	94,1%	80,6%	88,2%	100%	84% (83,4%-12,1%-4,5%)

Tabella 4. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai temi scritti dagli alunni frequentanti la scuola primaria

Analogo procedimento è stato effettuato per i temi realizzati da alunni frequentanti la classe terza della scuola secondaria di primo grado. In questo caso, le frasi presenti nel primo tema, nella maggior parte dei casi subordinate, sono costituite prevalentemente da verbi (23,8%), sostantivi (15,4%), congiunzioni (6,7%), aggettivi (5,6%) e nomi propri (2%); per il secondo tema, invece, ci si imbatte in un numero più alto di subordinate, formate nella maggioranza dai verbi (23,3%), seguiti dal 14,4% di sostantivi, il 6,8% di congiunzioni, 4,5% di aggettivi e l'1,3% di nomi propri. I risultati dell'analisi linguistica sono riportati nella tabella che segue:

TEMI SVOLTI (scuola media)	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
TEMA 1	57,7%	38,8%	28,5%	11,3%	55%	79,4% (84,3%-9%-6,6%)
TEMA 2	50,9%	82%	50%	98,3%	100%	84,2% (86,5%-9,1%-4,3%)

Tabella 5. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai temi scritti dagli alunni frequentanti la scuola secondaria di primo grado

Infine, per quanto riguarda i temi scritti da alunni frequentanti la classe quinta della scuola secondaria di secondo grado, i risultati ottenuti non si sono distaccati molto da quelli precedenti registrando, nel primo tema una tendenza a ricorrere maggiormente all'utilizzo di subordinate, caratterizzate da una percentuale più elevata di verbi (18,2%), seguita da sostantivi (15,7%), aggettivi (8,8%), congiunzioni (6,7%) e, in minima parte, nomi propri (0,2%); mentre nel secondo tema la percentuale di subordinate è leggermente più bassa rispetto a quella ottenuta per le coordinate, i periodi sono caratterizzati da una maggioranza di sostantivi (19,8%) e di verbi (16,8%); a questi seguono gli aggettivi (6,9%), le congiunzioni (5,8%) e i nomi propri (0,8%). Anche in questo caso i risultati dell'analisi linguistica sono schematizzati nella tabella seguente:

TEMI SVOLTI (scuola superiore)	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
TEMA 1	53,2%	1,9%	78%	88%	90,4%	84,5% (89,5%-7,4%-3,1%)
TEMA 2	50,1%	4,4%	83,5%	96,7%	100%	85,2% (83,3%-12,7%-4%)

Tabella 6. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai temi scritti dagli alunni frequentanti la scuola secondaria di secondo grado

4. Analisi linguistica dei tweet estratti

Riconsiderando lo scopo principale del lavoro in esame, i tweet estratti dai rispettivi account (@matteosalvinimi e @luigidimaio) sono stati sottoposti a un'analisi linguistica analoga a quella dei temi scolastici e del testo della Costituzione, suddividendo il lavoro in due blocchi dal punto di vista temporale. Pertanto, i tweet estratti da entrambi i profili sono stati scomposti, fin dove è stato possibile, in blocchi che considerano da una parte, l'arco temporale che va dal 1° gennaio 2015 al 4 marzo 2018 e, dall'altra, quello che va dal 5 marzo 2018 al 31 agosto 2019. Soprattutto per quanto riguarda il profilo Twitter di Matteo Salvini, essendo quest'ultimo molto più ricco, per alcune ricerche è stato necessario scansionare ulteriormente il blocco di tweet analizzati, suddividendolo in gruppi biennali (1° gennaio 2015- 31 dicembre 2016; 1° gennaio 2017- 4 marzo 2018; 5 marzo 2018- 31 agosto 2019). Ovviamente ciò non è stato necessario per quanto riguarda il profilo di Luigi Di Maio, avendo ottenuto, nel complesso, risultati decisamente minori.

5. Fase pre- elettorale: qual è il livello linguistico che caratterizza i tweet di Matteo Salvini e Luigi Di Maio?

Il *corpus* di tweet estratti dal profilo Twitter di Matteo Salvini, è composto da 3460 tweet, ottenuti filtrando sedici parole; nel complesso le caratteristiche registrate nel periodo precedente alla vittoria elettorale sono molto simili a quelle registrate nel periodo successivo anche laddove le parole riguardano tematiche differenti, mettendo in evidenza un atteggiamento decisamente costante.

Diverso è l'atteggiamento presente nel profilo di Luigi Di Maio, dal quale sono stati estratti 992 tweet filtrando trentuno parole appartenenti ad ambiti semantici differenti.

Per quanto riguarda i tweet realizzati da Matteo Salvini nella fase precedente alla vittoria elettorale, da un punto di vista puramente sintattico, nella globalità, oltre ad esserci una quantità decisamente più alta di proposizioni principali rispetto a quelle subordinate, sono i sostantivi ad essere più marcatamente adoperati, seguiti dai verbi, dai nomi propri e, infine, da aggettivi e congiunzioni prevalentemente coordinanti.

Nella tabella che segue, così come nella successiva, saranno presentati sinteticamente i risultati ottenuti dall'analisi linguistica attuata sui tweet estratti dai profili di Matteo Salvini e Luigi Di Maio nella fase precedente alla vittoria elettorale, volti ad offrire informazioni circa: le percentuali relative all'indice di leggibilità Gulpease, le percentuali di difficoltà relative al profilo di base, al profilo lessicale, al profilo sintattico e al profilo globale, con una particolare attenzione alle percentuali di parole appartenenti al Vocabolario di base e alla sua ripartizione interna in lessico fondamentale (FO), lessico di alto uso (AU) e lessico di alta disponibilità (AD).

ACCOUNT @matteosalvinimi: PAROLA FILTRATA	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
#primagliitaliani		%	91%			62% (78,1%-15,7%-6,2%)
Europa (2015/16)			91,5%			54,1% (74,5%-18,9%-6,6%)
Europa (2017/ 4 marzo 2018)			94,9%			54,8% (78,7%-14,9%- 6,5%)
PD			99,5%			48,1% (72,9%-20,9%-6,2%)
Legge Fornero			95,2%			57,5% (79,1%-16,5%-4,1%)
Università			97,2%			69,7% (81,5%-13%-5,4%)
Gay			98,4%			64,4% (79%-16,6%-4,4%)
Forze dell'ordine			76,3%			66,1% (80,7%-15%-4,3%)
Crocifisso			85,1%			69,6% (81,7%-11,3%-7%)
Rosario			100%			81,6% (80,6%- 9,7%-9,7%)
Cultura			89%			66,3% (83,6%-11,5%-4,9%)
Sud	74,2%	2,2%	91,7%	62,4%	98,7%	59,5% (78,4%-17,6%-4%)
Immigrazione (2015-2016)	70,5%	1,5%	94,1%	47,3%	99,3%	57,3% (78,1%-16,1%-5,8%)
Immigrazione (2017 -4 marzo 2018)	68%	2,1%	85,5%	58,8%	98,7%	57,7% (78,7%-16,2%-5,1%)

Flat- tax	76,3%	1,3%	90%	56,3%	98,2%	59,7% (79,3%-14,5%-6,2%)
Quota 100	100%	0,3%	2,2%	61,1%	88,3%	49% (87,5%-8,3%-4,2%)

Tabella 7. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai tweet estratti dall'account @matteosalvinimi
(1 gennaio 2015 - 4 marzo 2018)

Analogamente al *corpus* di Matteo Salvini, anche in Luigi Di Maio i tweet registrano una percentuale maggiore di sostantivi, seguiti da verbi, nomi propri, aggettivi e congiunzioni, nella maggior parte dei casi di tipo coordinante.

ACCOUNT @luigidimaio: PAROLA FILTRATA	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
#M5S			99,7%			58% (80,%-15,5-4,4%)
Aziende			100%			74,1% (86%-7%-7%)
Ambiente			100%			64,6% (85,7%-9,5%-4,8%)
Cambiamento			8,3%			65,4% (79,2%-11,3%-9,4%)
Corruzione			70,3%			67,3% (77,7%-19,3%-3%)
Cultura			100%			65,9% (86,7%-10%-3,3%)
Innovazione			100%			67,7% (76,2%-19%-4,8%)
Pensione			97,5%			70,8% (82,4%-12,9%-4,7%)
Giustizia			90,5%			62,3% (76,3%-15,8%-7,9%)
Europa			99,4%			61,5% (81,3%-12,1%-6,5%)
Vitalizi			93,3%			69% (81,7%-15,6%-2,8%)
Tagli or Poltrone	59,8%	7,3%	48,1%	86,9%	98%	63,6% (83,2%-13,3%-3,5%)
Lavoro	62,4%	6,1%	73,1%	65,3%	96,8%	63,5% (84,5%-11,8%-3,8%)
Governo	63,2%	4,9%	61,6%	38,1%	97,6%	58% (76,4%-18,5%-5,2%)
Movimento 5 Stelle	53,7%	5,4%	50%	52,8%	99,3%	55,2% (80,5%-14,8%-4,7%)

Politica	63,8%	5,6%	99,6%	41%	96%	68,6% (82,3%-11,5%-6,2%)
Riforma	57,4%	15%	92,2%	33,2%	93,9%	67,7% (81,2%-15,2%-3,7%)
Reddito di cittadinanza	64,6%	3,9%	50%	51,7%	97,3%	63,6% (79,9%-13,8%-6,3%)
Manovra	59,8%	24,3%	89,1%	11,5%	2,9%	70,2% (84,8%-12,1%-3%)
Sud	67,9%	6,3%	100%	8,4%	96,7%	73,2% (80,5%-14,6%-4,9%)
Italiani	59,4%	6%	81,8%	59,9%	99%	63,8% (81,1%-15%-3,9%)
Lotta	50,1%	12%	73,6%	38,4%	96%	63% (78,3%-13%-8,7%)
Sicurezza	59,2%	13,6%	96,4%	82,4%	97,1%	74,4% (78,8%-16,4%-4,9%)
Sanità	59,4%	6,1%	99,5%	19,9%	96,9%	71,4% (78,8%-16,2%-5%)
Lavoratori	60,1%	7,5%	98,6%	64,6%	98,8%	61% (78,2%-14,3%-7,6%)
Povertà	56,3%	10,4%	97,5%	63,7%	97,3%	70,1% (83,8%-11,8%-4,4%)
PD	67,5%	4,3%	97,2%	48,1%	98,8%	57,3% (74,2%-21,2%-4,5%)
Grillo	52%	0,1%	97,7%	66,9%	100%	54,5% (80,7%-11,9%-7,3%)
Parlamento	63,3%	3,5%	87,4%	44,5%	99,2%	61,4% (81,2%-14,7%-4,1%)
Elezioni	58,5%	5,7%	92,2%	62,1%	97,8%	61,7% (84,5%-11,5%-4,1%)
Famiglia	57,5%	2,9%	92,7%	40,6%	97,2%	73,8% (79,8%-11,5%-8,7%)

Tabella 8. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai tweet estratti dall'account @luigidimaio
(1 gennaio 2015- 4 marzo 2018)

6. Fase post- elettorale: qual è il livello linguistico che caratterizza i tweet di Matteo Salvini e Luigi Di Maio?

Procedendo in modo del tutto analogo a quello presentato nei paragrafi precedenti, in queste pagine saranno esposti i risultati della ricerca linguistica condotta su DyLan relativa ai tweet estratti dai profili dei soggetti politici in esame nell'arco cronologico che va dal 5 marzo 2018 al 31 agosto 2019, nonché coincidente con il periodo che li vede protagonisti del quadro politico italiano, con gli incarichi di Vicepresidente del Consiglio e Ministro dell'Interno per quanto riguarda Matteo Salvini e Vicepresidente del Consiglio e Ministro dello Sviluppo economico,

Lavoro e politiche sociali per quanto riguarda Luigi Di Maio. Facendo riferimento a un arco cronologico più limitato, inevitabilmente il numero dei tweet raccolti sarà di numero inferiore rispetto ai precedenti; nonostante ciò sufficienti a creare dei *corpora* la cui analisi linguistica si è mostrata soddisfacente e dettagliata.

Per continuità i risultati saranno presentati rispettando l'ordine precedente, offrendo informazioni sul *corpus* di tweet estratti dall'account @matteosalvinimi, per poi volgere l'attenzione al *corpus* di tweet estratti dall'account @luigidimaio.

Così come anticipato precedentemente, per quanto riguarda Matteo Salvini, non si notano repentini cambiamenti nel corso degli anni, tanto per le percentuali relative all'indice di leggibilità e ai vari sottoprofili, quanto per l'aspetto prettamente sintattico, presentando comunque un numero maggiore di sostantivi, seguiti da verbi, nomi propri, aggettivi e congiunzioni, per lo più di carattere coordinante.

I risultati relativi all'analisi di leggibilità sono schematizzati nella tabella sottostante:

ACCOUNT @matteosalvinimi: PAROLA FILTRATA	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
#primagliitaliani			85,2%			59,8% (79,6%-15,4%-4,9%)
Europa			87,5%			57,7% (72,2%-21,1%-6,7%)
#portichiusi			97,5%			67,3% (77,9%-17,8%-4,9%)
PD			89,6%			56,6% (72,3%-21,6%-6,1%)
Legge Fornero			78,8%			64,8% (82,8%-13,5%-3,7%)
Università			98,5%			69,6% (80%-14,5%-5,5%)
Gay			100%			67,4% (87,1%-9,7%-3,2%)
Forze dell'ordine			66%			57,9% (71,9%-21,6%-6,5%)
Crocifisso			99,6%			81,8% (78,6%-13,4%-8%)
Rosario			89,3%			75% (77,8%-16%-6,2%)
Beata Vergine Maria	61,5%	5,4%	100%	9,2%	9,1%	64,3% (77,8%-11,1%-11,1%)
Cultura	66,8%	3,6%	97,2%	62,6%	98,5%	71,3% (78,2%-17,2%-4,5%)
Sud	65,6%	6,2%	55,4%	62,4%	97,2%	64% (81,8%-14,4%-4,3%)
Immigrazione	59,7%	8,3%	99,6%	69,8%	100%	57,4% (74,7%-19,8%-5,5%)

Flat tax	68,3%	3,5%	2,3%	39%	80,9%	63,3% (78%-16,3%-5,7%)
Quota 100	66,6%	4,7%	98,8%	68,1%	99,6%	61% (80,6%-13,7%-5,6%)

Tabella 9. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai tweet estratti dall'account @matteosalvinimi
(5 marzo 2018- 31 agosto 2019)

Passando invece all'account @luigidimaio, le differenze per quanto riguarda le percentuali di leggibilità sono evidenti, conseguenzialmente all'atteggiamento adottato dall'account nella realizzazione dei tweet, i quali appariranno tronchi e non conclusi nella fase precedente alla vittoria elettorale, per poi presentarsi completi e ben formati nella fase successiva. Differente è la situazione per quanto riguarda l'aspetto sintattito e della costruzione della frase, infatti anche in questo caso la maggior parte dei tweet è caratterizzata principalmente da elementi coordinanti che, in alcuni casi, non lasciano il minimo spazio alle subordinate, così come si può notare per quanto riguarda la parola *innovazione*, che registra una percentuale massima del 100%, costruiti ricorrendo prevalentemente a sostantivi, seguiti da verbi, nomi propri, aggettivi e congiunzioni.

ACCOUNT @luigidimaio: PAROLA FILTRATA	INDICE GULPEASE	READ-IT BASE	READ-IT LESSICALE	READ-IT SINTATTICO	READ-IT GLOBALE	VDB (FO-AU-AD)
Aziende			99,7%			81% (86,3%-9,8%-3,9%)
Ambiente			100%			75% (75%-12,5%-12,5%)
Cambiamento			13,4%			68,8% (83,8%-10%-6,2%)
Corruzione			95,9%			65,6% (85,7%-9,5%-4,8%)
Cultura			99,5%			79,3% (87%-4,3%-8,7%)
Innovazione			100%			65% (76,9%-15,4%-7,7%)
Pensione			100%			66,7% (65%-30%-5%)
Giustizia			96,9%			73,8% (83,9%-12,9%-3,2%)
Europa			87,8%			78,3% (80,6%-8,3%-11,1%)
Vitalizi			100%			69,9% (87,7%-9,2%-3,1%)
Tagli or poltrone	64,7%	4,8%	100%	30,5%	98%	74,3% (78,8%-15,4%-5,8%)
Lavoro	61,2%	11,7%	96,9%	60,5%	78,3%	69,7% (81%-15,1%-3,9%)

Governo	61%	8,7%	17,9%	50%	81%	69,2% (81,1%-13,8%-5,1%)
Movimento 5 Stelle	63,4%	7,8%	0,1%	76,4%	5,7%	75% (82,9%-12%-5,1%)
Politica	63,6%	6,1%	99,2%	26,6%	58,3%	82,3% (78,5%-16,5%-5%)
Riforma	57,6%	9,5%	100%	11,6%	14,1%	82,4% (82,1%-10,7%-7,1%)
Reddito di cittadinanza	64,8%	4,8%	55%	40,2%	86%	77,4% (78,1%-15,6%-6,2%)
Manovra	68,8%	3,6%	25,9%	25,1%	72%	71,1% (80,2%-15,6%-4,2%)
Italiani	63,2%	6,5%	62,8%	22,1%	47,2%	78,1% (82,5%-15,3%-2,1%)
Lotta	60%	17,4%	96,2%	4,6%	65,3%	73,3% (80,5%-15,6%-3,9%)
Sicurezza	59,8%	14,7%	31,8%	40,1%	19,3%	75% (83,3%-11,7%-5%)
Lavoratori	60,4%	10,6%	99,1%	19,3%	39,2%	80,5% (79,4%-17,8%-2,8%)
PD	74,1%	2,4%	100%	7,6%	12,9%	74% (83,8%-13,5%-2,7%)
Parlamento	62,8%	2,2%	73,7%	25,6%	72,1%	71,4% (80%-16,4%-3,6%)
Elezioni	54%	8,7%	86,1%	22,6%	94,3%	61,1% (84,1%-9,1%-6,8%)
Famiglia	67,5%	7,5%	45%	77%	41,6%	78,8% (84,1%-9%-6,9%)

Tabella 10. Risultati dell'analisi linguistica relativi ai tweet estratti dall'account @luigidimaio (5 marzo 2018- 31 agosto 2019)

7. Conclusioni

Dopo aver esposto i risultati ottenuti, è utile offrire un quadro sintetico e lineare delle caratteristiche e dei relativi cambiamenti riscontrati nel corso degli anni procedendo per gradi e presentando, inizialmente, un parallelismo tra il *corpus* di tweet estratti dal profilo di Matteo Salvini e il *corpus* di tweet estratti dal profilo di Luigi Di Maio, per poi metterli a confronto con i risultati ottenuti dall'analisi linguistica effettuata sul testo della Costituzione e sui temi scolastici; in aggiunta, i vari risultati saranno confrontati con i dati ISTAT[7] relativi al livello di alfabetizzazione della popolazione italiana, volti a constatare realmente a quanta e a quale parte di questa risultano essere effettivamente comprensibili e a quale parte non lo sono.

---

[7] Consultabile al seguente indirizzo: <https://www.istat.it/> (06/2020).

Per quanto riguarda l'indice di leggibilità, nella fase pre elettorale l'account @matteosalvinimi raggiunge risultati maggiori rispetto ai risultati registrati dall'account @luigidimaio, avendo come percentuale minima il 60,7%, unito a una minore difficoltà anche per quanto riguarda il profilo di base e il profilo lessicale. Situazione differente si presenta per il periodo successivo alla vittoria elettorale, nel quale il più alto indice di leggibilità è riferito all'account @luigidimaio, con un minimo di 54% e con percentuali ridotte di difficoltà per i profili di base, lessicale, sintattico e globale.

Dal confronto con l'indice di leggibilità ottenuto dai primi ventotto articoli del testo costituzionale (pari a 49,7%) emerge che i risultati di leggibilità dei tweet sono decisamente superiori rispetto ai risultati ottenuti dall'analisi della Costituzione, fatta eccezione per un'esigua parte del *corpus* di tweet estratti dall'account @luigidimaio nella fase precedente alla vittoria elettorale per la quale si registrano valori minimi pari al 45,4%. Una situazione analoga si ritrova anche nei temi scolastici sottoposti all'analisi linguistica per i quali l'indice di leggibilità Gulpease registra valori tendenzialmente affini e in molti casi inferiori rispetto ai risultati riscontrati dall'analisi dei *corpora*.

Per poter ottenere una risposta circa l'effettiva comprensibilità dei tweet da parte della popolazione italiana, si tiene conto dell'edizione de *L'Italia in cifre* [8] riferita all'anno 2016 e relativa alla popolazione compresa tra i 24 e i 64 anni. La popolazione italiana maschile che ha frequentato esclusivamente la scuola primaria è pari al 6,3%, mentre la popolazione di sesso femminile è pari all'8,2%; il 36% della popolazione maschile è in possesso anche della licenza media contro il 30,5% delle donne; per quanto concerne i livelli di studio superiore, l'Istat suddivide in base agli anni di frequenza che possono variare da due/tre e quattro/cinque: il 6,8% degli studenti ha un diploma di due/tre anni, mentre il 35,6% ha completato il percorso di studi superiore; situazione simile per le studentesse: il 6,6% ha acquisito un diploma parziale, mentre il 34,9% ha terminato il percorso di studi; infine il 15,3% della popolazione maschile è in possesso di un attestato di laurea contro al 19,8% della popolazione femminile.

Partendo da questi dati e osservando che gli indici di leggibilità dei tweet analizzati nel periodo che va dal 1° gennaio 2015 al 4 marzo 2018, oscillano, per quanto riguarda l'account @matteosalvinimi, tra un minimo di 60,7% e un massimo del 100%; per quanto concerne @luigidimaio tra il 45,4% e il 70% e considerando che l'indice Gulpease di muove su una scala di valori che va da 0 a 100 in base al grado di istruzione della popolazione, i tweet a cura di Matteo Salvini, risultano essere comprensibili dall'intera popolazione, con leggere problematicità per il 14,5% della popolazione maschile e femminile in possesso della sola licenza elementare; i tweet scritti da Luigi Di Maio, risultano, invece, complessi per la popolazione in possesso della licenza elementare e media e facilmente comprensibili all'83,9% dei diplomati (a cui è necessario aggiungere anche il 35,1% dei laureati).

Situazione analoga per quanto riguarda il periodo successivo alla vittoria elettorale, nonché dal 5 marzo 2018 al 31 agosto 2019, per il quale le percentuali ricavate oscillano tra il 53,4% e il 74,3% per quanto riguarda il profilo di Matteo Salvini tra il 54% e l'80,5% per quanto concerne il profilo di Luigi Di Maio. In questo caso i dati ricavati sono leggermente più bassi dei precedenti, senza mai raggiungere il valore ottimale del 100% come riscontrato nell'analisi precedente nel profilo di Matteo Salvini e, dunque, appariranno in misura maggiore più complesse al lettore con una licenza elementare e media, mentre a differenza del periodo precedente una buona parte dei tweet realizzati da @luigidimaio risulterà comprensibile alla maggior parte della popolazione.

---

[8] <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/italia+in+cifre> (06/2020).

Appare evidente, dunque, che emergono differenze tra i due periodi analizzati ed è possibile affermare che, se l'account @matteosalvinimi registra un calo nella leggibilità nel corso del tempo, l'account @luigidimaio registra, al contrario, un aumento della leggibilità nei suoi tweet (fatto decisamente connesso con la tendenza a creare tweet tronchi, il cui contenuto integrale era rinviato ad altri social network, nel biennio 2015/ 2017 che comportava l'aumento della difficoltà dei vari sotto profili e la conseguente diminuzione dell'indice di leggibilità Gulpease). A ciò si aggiunge il fatto che entrambi presentano un aumento della percentuale del lessico appartenente al vocabolario di base, con cifre che ammontano a circa il 10% in più rispetto al periodo precedente.

Le dinamiche relative all'utilizzo di Twitter come mezzo di propaganda e sulle modifiche apportate alla comunicazione politica non possono essere sottovalutate e, per di più, è fondamentale trattarle nel caso specifico poiché ne sono un manifesto anche i tweet raccolti all'interno dei *corpora*.

La comunicazione che avviene sul portale, così come è strutturata, assume le sembianze di un dialogo sempre aperto, creando relazioni tra una comunità di utenti che può ampliarsi a dismisura, diffondendosi anche su altri social network e generando una vasta rete sociale, volta a creare un effetto- valanga al quale tutti gli utenti possono accedere. Così, l'elemento innovativo e determinante di questo irreversibile cambiamento comunicativo e relazionale, risiede proprio nell'entrata in scena del singolo utente ed elettore, al quale viene posta la possibilità di poter esprimere la propria opinione commentando o delineando i punti deboli delle proposte avanzate e partecipando in modo attivo al dibattito politico. Tale possibilità, se confrontata con i mezzi di comunicazione tradizionali, si presenta come una vera e propria svolta ma, nonostante sia fondamentale l'opportunità dialogica e interattiva posta proprio alla base del portale, non viene sfruttata dalla classe politica dirigente italiana e internazionale. Quest'ultima in modo del tutto illusorio finge di abbattere la distanza tra eletto ed elettore, aprendo le porte della propria intimità, capovolgendo il tradizionale rapporto tra scena e retroscena, anticipando le decisioni prese e privandosi dell'intermediazione dei giornalisti. In questo modo al cittadino viene offerta l'immagine di un politico puro, trasparente, umano ma tale rappresentazione di trasparenza non è che la conferma della caratteristica di base della comunicazione politica sul web: l'autopromozione (Bentivenga 2015). Così, di fronte alle esplicite richieste di comunicazione reciproca da parte della popolazione, molti politici ricorrono al modello broadcast piuttosto che al modello conversazionale, privilegiando, quindi una pseudo conversazione *uno-a-molti*, di carattere monologico e perdendo la preziosa opportunità offerta da tale portale nel creare una finestra dialogica con il proprio pubblico (Cosenza 2013).

Ovviamente, come già anticipato e in modo del tutto esplicito all'interno del lavoro, le trasformazioni più vistose hanno riguardato l'aspetto linguistico. Dopo aver esposto i dati ricavati dall'analisi linguistica, è evidente quanto i *corpora* in esame siano un vero e proprio manifesto del cosiddetto "paradigma del rispecchiamento", etichetta utilizzata per far riferimento a costrutti espressivi immediatamente comprensibili e registri informali in grado di attivare nei destinatari potenti ed efficaci sistemi di rispecchiamento, utili anche per la crescita del consenso e volti a canalizzare il disagio e indirizzare la protesta, tipici della comunicazione linguistica della Seconda Repubblica (Boldrin 2016). Ne consegue che nell'estrarre e nel leggere, per poi evidenziare i tweet più significativi, ci si imbatte in una lingua assolutamente lontana da quella adoperata nel passato, una lingua con tratti popolari, molto superficiale e disadorna, fondata su un livello stilistico medio- basso, un periodare semplificato, costituito da frasi stringate, colorite da un lessico spesso volgare ed elementare, totalmente distante dal vecchio *politichese*, inteso come ciò che attrae perché vago e avvolto nella nebbia e che caratterizzava, invece, il periodo della Prima

Repubblica (Antonelli 2000). Subendo trasformazioni a partire dal filtro televisivo, ad oggi, la causa principale all'interno della comunicazione politica dell'utilizzo di una lingua stringata ed epigrafica può essere proprio l'avvento dei social network e in particolare la diffusione di Twitter. L'obbligo, a cui sono sottoposti gli utenti, di racchiudere in 140 caratteri un pensiero è, a discapito di quanto potremmo istintivamente affermare, un'operazione complessa poiché necessita di selezionare il materiale a disposizione in modo economico e razionale, in modo tale da raggiungere incisivamente l'interlocutore. La brevità, vincolo e veicolo dei messaggi inoltrati tramite Twitter porta ad escludere tutto ciò che di superfluo è presente all'interno di un messaggio, ricorrendo quanto più a costruzioni paratattiche e a riferimenti concreti (servendosi di deittici e avverbi temporali), eliminando continue ripetizioni e prediligendo parole di classe aperta piuttosto che parole di classe chiusa, le quali saranno prevalentemente dotate di una forte densità lessicale, mettendo da parte l'oratoria e la retorica tipica della politica di un tempo (Spina 2012).

Le modifiche linguistiche rese obbligatorie anche da un portale come Twitter sono state, però, accompagnate dal cambiamento che ha investito la classe politica dirigente italiana. Con il passare degli anni e in seguito a modifiche apportate al mondo politico, i rappresentanti di quest'ultimo hanno via via perso l'alone di autorevolezza che li caratterizzava, conquistato anche grazie ai continui richiami alla loro cultura umanistico- giuridica che contribuiva a dotarli di prestigio agli occhi dell'elettorato. All'ormai superato rischio dell'autoreferenzialità distintiva di un periodo storico a noi lontano, si sostituisce il rischio di appiattimento e di omologazione della sfera politica. La lingua della politica attuale è, per molti versi, specchio della dilaniante crisi politica che ci circonda, frutto inevitabile del continuo cambiamento della classe dirigente che ci governa e che ritrova il suo punto di forza proprio nel trasmettere un messaggio ricorrendo alla lingua adoperata dal comune cittadino (Cortelazzo 2016).

Riferimenti bibliografici

Antonelli, Giuseppe. 2000. "Sull'italiano dei politici nella seconda Repubblica." In *L'italiano oltre frontiera*, ed. by Serge Vanvolsem, Dieter Vermandere, Franco Musarra (a cura di), *L'italiano oltre frontiera, Atti del V Convegno internazionale del Centro di Studi Italiani* (Leuven, 22-25 aprile 1998), 211-234. Firenze-Leuven: Franco Cesati Editore-Leuven University Press.

Bentivenga, Sara. 2015. *A colpi di tweet. La politica in prima persona*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Boldrin, Anita. 2016. "Il discorso politico della sinistra nell'Italia contemporanea: la carta di intenti del partito democratico." In *L'italiano della politica e la politica per l'italiano: atti di XI convegno ASLI, Associazione per la Storia della Lingua Italiana Napoli, 20-22 novembre 2014*, a cura di Rita Librandi e Rosa Piro, 833- 841. Firenze: Cesati.

Corrige.it. "Indice Gulplease." <http://www.corrige.it/leggibilita/lindice-gulpease/> (06/2020).

Cortelazzo, Michele. 2016. "Dai gesuiti a Twitter, così cambia il discorso dei nostri politici." <https://www.repubblica.it/cultura/2016/10/27/news/michele_cortelazzo_dai_gesuiti_a_twitter_cosi_cambia_il_discorso_dei_nostri_politici_-150707256/> (06/2020).

Cosenza, Giovanna. 2013. "I politici italiani su Twitter, fra esagerazioni, pasticci e qualche buon risultato." In *Comunicazione politica*, 3, dicembre, 299-317. Bologna: Il Mulino.

De Mauro, Tullio. 2005. *La fabbrica delle parole: il lessico e problemi di lessicologia.* Torino: UTET.

Dynamics of language. DyLan TextTools v2.1.9. <http://www.ilc.cnr.it/dylanlab/apps/texttools/?tt_user=guest> (06/2020).

Il fatto quotidiano. 2018. "Governo M5s-Lega, il contratto di governo: la versione definitiva del testo." <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2018/05/18/governo-m5s-lega-il-contratto-di-governo-versione-definitiva-del-testo/4364587/> (06/2020).

Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. "Italia in cifre." <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/italia+in+cifre> (06/2020).

Spina, Stefania. 2012. *Open politico. Il discorso del politici italiani nell'era di Twitter*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Beyond the words:
Pier Paolo Pasolini and
the language as spirit of life

Maria Teresa Venturi
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<mariateresa.venturi@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

During his rich and varied activity, Pier Paolo Pasolini was very intrigued by linguistic theories, and he himself committed to many interesting dissertations about language. The reflection about the nature and the conditions of all different forms of expression has always been the core of his personal and artistic life, starting from his own experience as a dialectal poet (which he always motivated and commented in his theoretical linguistic essays), passing through his famous intervention of 1964 concerning the advent of a new, technological Italian language, until his last, desperate complain about the ruin of Italian dialects. This overview about Pasolini's contribution to Italian linguistic scene of last century may be useful to reassess the value of his penetrating insights, too often neglected by the critics because of his unconventional and provocative way of reasoning, which prevented him from being taken seriously from a theoretical standpoint. Since many of his intuitions have proved to be valid over time both from a social and a linguistic point of view, it may be interesting to consider Pier Paolo Pasolini's heritage not only in terms of his literary, critical or cinematographic work, but also, finally, under a linguistic perspective.

Keywords: *dialect, Italian language, modernity, sociolinguistics*

1. Expression is life: the history of a non-common linguist

Perhaps, among the many souls of Pier Paolo Pasolini, well known as a poet, novelist, journalist, screenwriter, director, critic and intellectual *corsair*, his vocation as a linguist does not seem to have enjoyed the deserved importance to date: in reality, the vital core of his production is his passion for the study of language in all its forms, his perception of language as a vital centre of personal and social existence. In the course of his life, he carried on a continuous experimentation of the most diverse uses of verbal language, from poetic to journalistic, from dialect to high and literary Italian language, from the language of songs to the scientific Italian of his essays, and again

the language of theatrical and cinematographic scripts, the judicial language, the political-ideological language of an active intellectual, and finally the lowest registers of neglected and colloquial Italian; moreover, he painted, drew, experienced music and above all he explored the great world of cinema, where various expressive channels converge (not just words but music, songs, moving bodies, etc.)

Simultaneously, he carried on a tight theoretical reflection on all linguistic forms he used, from the dialect of his first poems (his debut dates back to 1942, with his collection *Poesie a Casarsa* ('Poems from Casarsa') written in Friulian dialect) to the intense critic of contemporary Italian, which exploded in 1964 through his famous essay *Nuove Questioni Linguistiche* ('New linguistic questions') from the many accusations on television and political language to his broad reflection on the language of cinema, considered by Pasolini the only tool capable of depicting reality without using symbols, such as words, but through reality itself, allowing him to always live at the level, and in the heart, of reality.

According to Pasolini, linguistic experimentation therefore embodies a necessary condition of existence, as it reflects and at the same time guarantees his degree of participation to the surrounding reality: in fact, the poet's relationship with linguistic universe reflects his urgency of *having to express himself* in order to survive: indeed, according to Pasolini, different languages make up as many different forms of relating to others and to the world, as well as establishing a deep connection with different aspects of his identity (Friulian poet, narrator of Roman *borgate*, active intellectual, filmmaker and so on).

In Pasolini's view, in fact, it was precisely thanks to the accumulation and the reciprocal exchange between heterogeneous languages (as happens in cinema) that a sufficiently complex, vital and dynamic representation of reality could be hopefully achieved, since only "la complessiva interazione tra linguaggi diversi, come nella realtà, garantisce la massima continuità fra la realtà e le sue rappresentazioni" ('the overall interaction between different languages, as in reality, can guarantee the best continuity between reality and its representations.') (De Mauro 1987a: 277).

And it's not only that, Pasolini also crossed every border between languages and materials, broke the laws of their normal conditions of use, rules and limits, and by juxtaposing them in such a number, he transformed, manipulated and even violated them.

Above all, however, Pasolini crossed the greatest border, the one separating the artistic sphere from the dimension of practice: in fact, he actually opened his own artistic writing to practical purposes, by writing verses and novels as well as news pieces, by talking directly to his readers or even reproaching them, by accusing or defending himself through his literary works.

For this reason, it's clear how Pasolini's linguistic research can be inscribed in a broader concept of artistic experience as a form of action, therefore inseparable from the figure of the author, who becomes integral part of all his work, with every gesture, word, stance and public demonstration.

Thus, Pasolini considered language as a concrete tool of investigation as well as action inside reality: following Gramsci's wake, he was deeply convinced that it is within the language that all turmoils of social and cultural change emerge, and that language is the place where the actual power of ruling class can be verified.

Ogni volta che affiora, in un modo o nell'altro, la questione della lingua, significa che si sta imponendo una serie di altri problemi: la formazione e l'allargamento della classe dirigente, la necessità di stabilire rapporti più intimi e sicuri tra i gruppi dirigenti e la massa popolare-nazionale, cioè di riorganizzare l'egemonia culturale.

(Every time that the language issue reappears in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems is also emerging: the formation and the widening of the ruling class, the need for establishing more intimate and safer relationships between leading groups and national-popular masses, that is the need for reorganizing cultural hegemony.)

(Gramsci 1976: 2346)

Furthermore, language is, and must be, an effective instrument of intervention on reality, and for this reason he is the first to use it to the best of its abilities, overturning it, shaping it, altering it, constantly testing language as an instrument capable of conveying what he considers as the meaning.

2. Pasolini and the heart of reality: the discovery of the dialect

The analysis of the complex linguistic sphere within Pasolini's work must start from its essential link with dialect, symbolizing the deepest core of his artistic experience, being set at the beginning and end of his intellectual and spiritual path.

The vision of dialect in Pasolini is inextricably linked to the ideal of the Friulian world, the immaculate land of his summer holidays, the place where he wished to belong with all his might: however, at the very moment he moved permanently to Friuli, during the war, therefore coming into a deeper contact with that archaic and pastoral world, he also became aware of his painful intellectual, sexual and socio-cultural estrangement, thus dialect would have always remained, in his perception and poetry, the language of *others*, the language of his mother and of Friulian boys, the language of a pure and perfect world where he was not allowed to belong completely.

Pasolini approached dialect for the first time in 1942, the year of publication of *Poesie a Casarsa*: with this collection he made a strong and revolutionary choice, as he chose as his poetic and literary language the Friulian dialect from the right bank of Tagliamento river, which lacked any previous written tradition, a language he learnt using the vocabulary of Abbot Pirona, which he modified and partly invented; it was a strong choice, against the tide, a clear refusal in regards to the Italian language of the time, that same literary Italian he considered a worn out instrument – exhausted by the extreme poetic tension – and which he also condemned as the language of the bourgeoisie.

Within the *Nota* (*Note*)in the addendum to *Poesie a Casarsa*, the writer claimed to have written "i primi versi in friulano a Bologna, senza conoscere neanche un poeta in questa lingua, e leggendo invece abbondantemente i provenzali" ('the first verses in Friulian in Bologna, knowing not even a single poet who used this language, and instead reading the Provençals abundantly.') (Pasolini 2003: 193).

At that time, in fact, to Pasolini Friulian was a language that "non aveva nessun rapporto che non fosse fantastico col Friuli e con qualsiasi altro luogo di questa terra" ('had no relationship which wasn't fantastic with Friuli as well as any other place in this land'), as it wasn't the actual dialect spoken by the people, but rather some kind of "invented tale", "da usarsi con la delicatezza di un'ininterrotta, assoluta metafora" ('to be used with the gentleness of an uninterrupted, absolute metaphor') (Pasolini 1999a: 174).

The *Poesie a Casarsa* were accompanied and followed by an accurate theoretical definition of Pasolini's poetics, published several times in the Friulian magazines of those years and consecrated by the foundation of the *Academiuta di lenga furlana* ('Friulian Language Academy') an institute with the precise purpose of promoting Friulian (until then an exclusively oral vernacular language) to a literary language of the same level as Italian.

After the years spent in Friuli, Pasolini's texts that in 1954 made up *La Meglio Gioventù* ('The Best of Youth') sanctioned the evolution from an invented language to a learned language, that is, a code more faithful to reality, reflecting the characteristic elements of local speech; the founding idea was that of a path which passed through the retrieval of the language, through the conscious mastery of dialectal *words-things*, allowing him to draw from that same reality in which he wished to immerse himself, not just ideally but physically.

It's with this in mind that, from the early compositions of Pasolini, a vision of the dialect / language relationship begins to take shape, founded on the extreme desire for transparency and sincerity, as well as the will to establish a relationship that is as direct as possible, nearly physical, with reality. Faced with an elected and exquisite literary language, dominated by elusiveness and reticence, Pasolini instead looks for a powerful Word, a tool for touching the world, and in this sense "le parole del friulano sono tanto più utili quanto più sono strumenti che al loro interno hanno una forza espressiva che contiene già il mondo" ('the Friulian words are all the more useful instruments as they have an expressive force within them that already contains the world.') (Bazzocchi 2014: 21).

Only within dialect, in fact, is it possible to find words that can really evoke the original images, since the dialectical lexicon seems to be able to establish a direct, unmediated connection with the referent, thus putting the speakers in direct contact with the out-of-themselves. Francesca Cadel (taking up a beautiful definition by Giacinto Spagnoletti) speaks in this regard about a "lingua dei desideri" ('language of desires') (Cadel 2002: 19) and indeed, for Pasolini, it's only through that initiatic, almost mysterious code, that it is possible to access to the objects and subjects of the universe he was so strongly longing for.

Pasolini's dialectal turn was particularly relevant as it marked the beginning of what Franco Brevini has defined as *poesia neodialettale* ('neo-dialectal poetry'), in which

il dialetto diventa uno strumento d'introversione lirica, ricalcando gli idiomi privati, i *patois de l'*âme, le lingue che più non si sanno, circolanti nella letteratura post-simbolista.
(dialect becomes an instrument of lyrical introversion, following private idioms, the *patois de l'*âme, the languages no longer known, circulating in post-symbolist literature.)

(Brevini 2014: 3)

Lorenzo Coveri then cited Pasolini's work as the starting point of *neo-dialectal* literature (Coveri 2011: 510), which represents today one of the places where dialect re-emerges, within mainly Italian-speaking contexts, as a form of survival, resurgence, as a fragment, that is, as a second language, in previously untrodden and precluded areas of use. It is therefore thanks to Pasolini's dialectological commitment that the once shameful use of dialect as a "language of poetry" is now a widely accepted fact.

Pasolini's choice of founding a new poetic tradition was neither obvious nor simplified by the spontaneity of spoken use, at a time when Italian language truly began to be utilized in daily communications after centuries of crystallization as institutional and literary language.

Through his experimental operation on Friulian dialect (which he aimed to remove both from vernacular level and from the flatness of the *koinè* which was accepted at a regional level), Pasolini looked for a real translation from the literary language, intended as a transfer of poetic material from one floor to another, from one dimension to another, but always at the same level; Pasolini's awareness of the revolutionary nature of his linguistic operation would have led to his interpretation, "necessariamente polemica" ('necessarily controversial') of dialect as *anti-dialetto* ('anti-dialect'), that is, as "un'ideale traduzione" ('an ideal translation'), or rather "una metafora" ('a metaphor') of language (Pasolini 1999a: 256-257).

Behind the text written in dialect, he always allowed Italian language to emerge, both in the inevitable translations of poems – both present in *Poesie a Casarsa* and in all texts of *Meglio Gioventù*, up to *Nuova Gioventù* (*The New Youth*) in 1972 – and in the titles of compositions – both in the text and in the index, with only two exceptions – of *Poesie a Casarsa.*

The dialectal and dialectological interest of the author, however, didn't end up here: in the Roman novels of the 1950s[1], the Italian narrative was a counterpoint to the Roman dialect of *borgate*, as to underline once again the gap between the abstractness of the official language and the authenticity of dialect which, appearing on the scene through dialogues and the use of free indirect speech, allowed for sudden glimpses of reality, revealing the existence of a suspended, hidden humanity which was unknown up until that moment.

Furthermore, again in the 1950s, Pasolini carried out a deep study to rediscover Italian dialectal tradition; in 1952 *Poesia Dialettale del Novecento* ('Dialect Poetry of the Twentieth Century') was published by Guanda, an anthology gathering the work of the greatest dialectal poets of Twentieth Century, followed in 1955 by *Canzoniere Italiano* ('Italian Chansonnier of Folk Poetry'), an anthology dedicated to popular poetry instead, and from essays, critical contributions to magazines of the sector, and even some peculiar reports, conducted in first person by the writer and focused on the status of poetry in dialect and / or popular and on the perception contemporary authors had of it (the greatest exponents of dialectal poetic scene answered to Pasolini's questions, from Aldo Spallicci to Edoardo Firpo, from Domenico Naldini, to Ferdinando Palmieri, and then Eugenio Cirese, Biagio Marin, Antonio Guerra and Vann'Antò – Giovanni Antonio Di Giacomo).

Having reached the watershed of the Sixties, however, the writer considered the time of commitment to be over, as well as the time of dialectal research "per un'improvviso stingimento dei dialetti come problema linguistico e quindi come problema sociale" ('for the sudden fading of dialects as a linguistic issue and therefore as a social problem.') (Pasolini 2000a: 12).

Therefore, he turned resolutely to the sociolinguistic reflection on contemporary Italian language, while dialect was destined to stay in the background until his last, painful, poetic season, marked in 1972 by the publishing of *Nuova Gioventù* (a bitter remake of the poems of *Meglio Gioventù*).

3. Pasolini and the Italian language: a socio-linguistic point of view

3.1 Nuove questioni linguistiche: analysis and predictions about the technological evolution of Italian

In the early Sixties, Pasolini found out he had survived an ideological and cultural world that no longer existed, since traditional Italian cultures, so rich and diverse, seemed to be bound to destruction by a *nuovo Potere* ('new Power'), that's to say the empire of goods and consumption, conforming everyone to the same standards: no more different cultures for people to belong to and no more reasons for the mimetic use of the dialect, which many no longer even knew.

In these years of personal and ideological crisis, the writer turned his gaze towards new horizons of research, new sciences, new techniques of analysis, with which he decided to challenge himself.

 While in the 1940s the young Friulian poet had been fascinated by the glottological and dialectological studies by Ascoli, to later deepen, through Gramsci, the link between language, writing and social life (with particular attention to the socio-economic mechanisms underlying

---

[1] The first novel, *Ragazzi di Vita* ('Street Boys') was published in 1955, while the following, *Una Vita Violenta* ('A violent Life'), in 1959.

cultural and political dynamics), with the advent of modernity Pasolini (who had already read in the 1950s the *Cours de linguistique générale* by Saussure, as well as the works of Giacomo Devoto) ventured into the uncharted territories of structural linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, social sciences, that provided him with new incentives and fascinations capable of renewing his dialogue with the surrounding reality.

1964 was the year that marked Pasolini's resolute immersion into contemporary socio-linguistic scenario: the main theme of his essay *Nuove Questioni Linguistiche* is well known by now, that is a harsh accusation addressed to the so-called *italiano medio* ('average Italian')[2], a language which was both artificial and not really national, as it was in fact split into two irreconcilable entities: instrumental Italian and literary Italian, neither of them mastered by the whole population. According to Pasolini, this false and misleading language had never reached the status of national language since it was the heritage of a single social class, the bourgeoisie, which had been unable to spread it to the whole population and had always used it as a tool to defend its own privileges instead.

However, after this harsh analysis of Italian language – which he considered unserviceable even from a literary standpoint – Pasolini expressed a famous prophecy, concerning the imminent birth of a true national language, a technological product created by the centers of bourgeois and industrial power of Northern Italy, an eventually unified language capable of conforming all pre-existing layers in the name of technical instrumentality.

It may be useful to remark the importance of the connection established by Pasolini between language and socio-economic factors, not in terms of sheer determinism (as it was sometimes seen), but of much wider and deeper correlations between socio-economic, anthropological, cultural and linguistic changes; in the early Sxties, in fact, in the wake of the capitalistic evolution of European economic systems, a new neocapitalistic and technocratic burgeoisie appeared in Italy. This social class held an enormous economic power and dominated the media of mass communication. According to Pasolini, it was precisely thanks to this political and cultural dominance that this ruling class, unlike the old clerical-fascist bourgeoisie, seemed to be finally able to impose its own aseptic, technological, anti-expressive language onto the whole nation, an idiom capable of conforming the great variety of existing languages.

The writer also went as far as to outline the traits that would have been specific features of the new Italian language, such as syntactic simplification (with reduction of its polymorphy), the end of its osmosis with Latin and the prevalence of the communicative spirit over the expressive one. Concerning this last point, Pasolini underlined how Italian had always been conservative and expressive during its history, being capable of absorbing new stylistic layers to preserve them and reuse them for expressive purposes; according to him, this was due to its extraordinary richness and variety, bound to drastically decrease in the face of the prevalence of a new technological spirit, which aimed instead to make the language simpler and more efficient by abolishing competing forms and flattening them into few functional models.

Pasolini's witty remark into the official world of linguistics was greeted by professionals with a certain astonishment, actually almost with annoyance, caused by such an amateurish

---

[2] Pasolini called *italiano medio* a variety which had a diastratic connotation, being fundamentally used by the bourgeois class. Some years later, the linguist Francesco Sabatini used the expression *italiano dell'uso medio* ('Italian of average use') in a different sense, referring to a variety of Italian which differs from the standard one for some particular features, which are typical of spoken language and common to the different regional varieties of Italian (Sabatini 1985: 55); in this sense, the *italiano dell'uso medio* by Sabatini may be comparable to the *italiano neostandard* ('neo-standard Italian'), as defined by Gaetano Berruto in 1987 (Berruto 1987: 23, 54-103).

initiative and for the recklessness of an analysis devoid of scientific foundations. Many of them considered Pasolini's statements not as intuitions to be taken seriously from a theoretical standpoint, but only as declarations on his own poetics.

Thus, the outraged replies of linguists and writers focused on highlighting Pasolini's approximation and absence of objectivity, but also featured a generous amount of self-reference and sensationalism; above all, the writer was contested in his unwary and conceited appropriation of ideas, concepts and categories belonging to a knowledge which he didn't master, just to bend them to his own stylistic purposes.

Undoubtedly, as we approach the figure of Pasolini as a linguist, it's impossible to overlook how his analyses in the linguistic field are a result of the fusion of his personal interests (so varied and numerous), his personal biographical story and his vast literary experience: however, the crushing of his linguistic reflection based on the single, predominant aesthetic / literary dimension appears inappropriate, especially considering how many of his intuitions proved to be absolutely valid and correct over time, despite being initially misjudged by much of the criticism he received.

In fact, if on one hand it is true that the following evolution of Italian sociolinguistic panorama did not match the predictions made by the writer in 1964 – mainly because the changes in the language and dialects, or the effects of the overwhelming power of mass media, actually needed a much longer time to be put into effect – on the other hand there is no denying that the writer understood very well, and sooner than others, many of the trends that would have driven the evolution of national language, which was undertaking a process of definitive detachment from its humanistic-literary tradition.

Pasolini should in fact be recognized for having identified, well before specialized studies, all the vital cores around which the changes in the language would revolve – what De Mauro defines as *zone calde* ('hot areas'), such as the decline of dialects and the parallel formation of regional Italians, the role of mass media as promoters of standardizing elements, the change in the internal balance and prestige of the different varieties of Italian, the flattening of the standards into a model of *italiano medio*, the profound interference between sociological and cultural changes triggered by mass society and the parallel linguistic evolution.

Over the years, Pasolini's sociolinguistic analysis has proven to be valid in various aspects, from the progressive intrusion of technical languages, whose terms nowadays show a deeper penetration in common language than in the past (see for instance the language of information technology or that of economics) to the decrease in richness of competing forms in Italian and the emergence of "una sintassi di sequenze progressive, profondamente nominale" ('a profoundly nominal syntax of progressive sequences') (Pasolini 2000a: 34).

In this regard, it may suffice to observe how Gaetano Berruto, in his description of the characteristics of *italiano neostandard* ('neo-standard Italian'), spoke both of a marked tendency towards nominal style in contemporary Italian, as well as of a "semplificazione e omogeneizzazione dei paradigm" ('simplification and homogenization of paradigms'), with a consequential "riduzione e diminuzione delle irregolarità" ('reduction and decrease of irregularities.') (Berruto 1987: 83).

Another relevant aspect of Pasolini's reflection was the fate of dialects in a rapidly evolving socio-political context: in fact, the writer observed the deep crisis of dialects following the shift of linguistic prestige from the Romanesque-Neapolitan dialectal area to the industrial centers of the North, whose technical languages were a symbol of social progress and advancement.

From this point of view, Pasolini's prophecy envisioned the idea of an imminent language shift, an overwhelming transition from a substantially dialectophone Italy – where the general

condition was still that of prevalent diglossia – towards a more widespread knowledge of Italian, which would have been adapted according to the linguistic repertoire of geographical areas. With an ever-increasing number of regions, with few exceptions, language would have shifted towards a context of bilingualism with dilalia – bidialettism in Tuscany – and only in a few residual areas the achievement of italophony wouldn't have led to the overcoming of diglossia.

Although this path has actually come to an end, the actual timing has been considerably slower that the one predicted by Pasolini (with a marked slowdown since the mid-Seventies) and results today appear much more complex and unstable than his forecasts. The transition from dialectophony to Italianophony has in fact only partially occurred and with many variables and exceptions, above all the diffusion of forms of "mixed" behavior (alternation of Italian and dialect, code-mixing and code-switching, interferences and crossbreeds).

But it's nevertheless true that Pasolini's accusation and firm stand for the defense of dialectal heritage have undoubtedly contributed to the raising of awareness of civil conscience on the preservation of those ancient codes, which were threatened with extinction by an overwhelming and standardizing Italianization.

Finally, concerning the prevalence of the communicative spirit in the characterization of Italian language, it is interesting to observe the development of Pasolini's thought in his reflections following the 1964 essay; in his later works, in fact, he reiterated that by then, in his opinion, the communicative core was the dominant one within the language, although on several occasions he lingered in the explanation of all its manifestations (especially in youth language): he observed how the Italian population was gradually losing its linguistic ingenuity, flattening into a language so poor as to border on actual aphasia or, on the contrary, on a non-sensical speech made only of empty talks and lies, devoid of any real content.

According to the writer, in fact, the ability of using language as a rich and effective tool of communication was lost: if on one hand it was used (mainly by politicians) to trick and deceive the interlocutors, capturing them in a web of empty formulas and deceiving expressions, on the other hand speakers went as far as to lose every ability to express themselves verbally, reaching an actual aphasia, and communicating through incomprehensible noises and mumbles.

Compared to Pasolini's descriptions, today's scenario shows much greater variability and multiformity: there's no undisputed domination of a flat and standardizing communicative spirit, because alongside the manifestations of a brutally pragmatic language there are others instead revealing an extraordinary communicative and functional richness (especially in technical-scientific idioms); besides, if in some contexts the tendency to use an exaggeratedly expressive, false and even vulgar language has actually been established, the expressive vitality of Italian in the literary and humanistic sphere didn't fail at all.

However, by paying attention to some borderline aspects of contemporary linguistic scenario, we can easily acknowledge the same impoverishment of speakers' linguistic-expressive potential which was so bitterly described by Pasolini, manifesting itself in extremely limited and stereotypical (often youthful) linguistic productions, as well as through verbal productions hiding an absolute lack of content behind a fake, flamboyant expression (it would suffice to think of the many examples offered by the language of television).

Even today, as in the years of the advent of the *new Power*, these linguistic phenomena seem to be rooted in a deteriorated cultural background, what Pasolini feared as a future scenario "senza particolarismi e diversità di culture, perfettamente omologato e acculturato" ('without particularisms and diversity between cultures, perfectly conformed and cultured.') (Pasolini 2000b: 12).

Pasolini described such scenario as a "mondo di morte" ('world of death') (*Ibidem*) generated by the action of an invisible *Power* which, by violating the unique cultures still present in Italy, would have subjugated the masses of the nation depriving them of their intellectual, moral, as well as linguistic identity: this *Power* would have been his obsession, both from an ideological and – pre-eminently – from a linguistic standpoint, during the last season of his life.

3.2 Pasolini and the apocalypse of modernity: investigating the linguistic reactions to the socio-economic revolution

With the coming of the Seventies, Pasolini devoted himself with great force to sociological criticism, both through a series of extremely relevant journalistic writings, subsequently collected into two fundamental volumes, *Scritti corsari* ('Pirate Writings') and *Lettere Luterane*, ('Lutheran Letters') and by releasing interviews or partaking in television debates.

In the last years of his life, the writer dedicated himself to raising the alarm against the *new Power* of consumption and goods, "ultima delle rovine, rovina delle rovine" ('last of the ruins, ruin of the ruins') (Pasolini 2009a: 19).

For this purpose, Pasolini felt the need to coin a specific expression when referring to the new consumption empire, so terribly insane and destructive, and chooses to operate a semantic redefinition of the term *power*, establishing a precise connection with the new system of ideological and economic domination.

This theme also represents an interesting interpretation from a linguistic point of view, since starting from the 1960s Pasolini had focused repeatedly on the very close link that language has with the dimension of power. This is a link of pivotal relevance, spreading its echo upon the theoretical field - in a crescendo that will lead to his last, desperate proclamations of cultural and moral decay of modern society – and upon his linguistic choices, since it's by starting from the dimension of power that Pasolini will then create a real personal lexicon, capable of providing a key, as univocal as possible, to interpret and react to the new reality.

In fact, if on one hand Pasolini carried out an examination of the general social crisis that he knew was spreading right from the language, despairing of the expressive impoverishment afflicting all individuals in the modern era (above all, the common people who were once so creative from a linguistic standpoint), on the other he utilized language as a useful tool to restore semantics of reality in order to make it understandable and interpretable in some way, and act effectively on it.

According to Pasolini, the subjugation of individuals to consumer goods would have caused a real anthropological mutation within the people, proclaiming the triumph of unreality and fiction over the social scene, and operating a distortion of reality whose language he could no longer decipher.

In his last season, then, the writer tried to fight the rampant dehumanization of society by acting on the language, which is mirror and emanation of society itself, in order to restore its lost transparency: where falsehood reigns, emptiness and inability to establish a real contact with the objects of the world, he tries to find words (by inventing them, or changing their meaning) able to restore the essence of things.

Thus, from his last season a series of *keywords* was born, all closely linked to the dimension of power: Pasolini speaks of the empire of consumption as a dangerous *nuovo fascismo* ('new fascism'), responsible for intellectual and cultural homologation of individuals through a furious and brainless economic *sviluppo* ('development'), not matched by a parallel moral and civil *progresso* ('progress') and which is responsible for the destruction of previous traditional *culture* ('cultures') that made Italy so rich in countless and precious diversities.

He speaks of a reality ever closer to hell made up of monstrous individuals, about a world in ruins and the end of time. And he speaks of all this from every stage he is allowed to get onto, whether it be the headlines of a national newspaper, television programs, debates or cinema productions, in an unrelenting, obsessive and desperate attempt to launch an appeal to his compatriots, and to establish any form of contact with them.

The importance of such work of lexical renovation, whose key elements still circulate in the lexicon of contemporary Italian, cannot go unnoticed: we're dealing with a linguistic operation clearly linked to the pedagogical mission so evident in the late production of Pasolini, which had the purpose of sending a message to the widest possible audience, hoping (predictably in vain) to make Italians aware of their state of human and civil degradation.

It is a last act of trust in the Italian language, so often harshly criticized by the writer for its inability to be an instrument in service of the community, a language which had never been that ruined before, by being subjugated purely for material purposes: he tries to restore its pristine purity by creating new words, by giving them meanings that may finally correspond to reality, eventually trying to return to the Word its ability to shape what is real by *naming* it.

Nonetheless, at the end of his life, when the writer will be overwhelmed by a world he feels profoundly a stranger to and which now appears to him as being made only by "insignificanti e ironiche rovine" ('insignificant and ironic ruins') (Pasolini 2009a: 86), it will be again the language of soul, the bright dialect of his youth, to finally offer him a last, unhoped-for utopia of salvation.

4. The final cut: back to dialect

Right at the end of his last season, Pasolini decided to return to that code which, back in 1942, he had chosen as the language of poetry; thirty years later, with the rewriting of *Meglio Gioventù*, the writer returned to dialect almost with bitterness, to talk about a world that no longer exists, hopelessly twisted and ruined by the ferocious tide of modernity. Still, a few days before his death, the poet spoke again of dialect, this time with renewed energy, during a debate with professors and students held on October 21st, 1975 in Palmieri high school in Lecce.

On this occasion, the writer began by reading the final monologue of his drama *Bestia da Stile* (*Style Beast*) focused on the praise of *volgar'eloquio* ('vulgar speech'): this term, which gave title to the meeting, is at the same time a Dantesque and a Poundian quote, and refers to a dialect that is still alive in some places of rural and provincial Italy, and which must be seized before it's too late, with care and benevolence, before its final demise.

This invitation, addressed by Pasolini to his public, must be clearly contextualized in the historical-cultural scenario of the mid-Seventies, when the collapse of Italian cultural and anthropological tradition by the hand of the new civilization of consumption is at last dramatically evident, and the variety of linguistic particularisms of the nation, together to the values of tradition, have all been eradicated.

In fact, if since the mid-Sixties Pasolini had pledged to denounce the parallel – and apparently irreversible – decline of dialects (going as far as to declare their imminent death) due to the cultural genocide carried out by the ruling class, at this moment he instead focused on devising and proposing some form of recovery of his "language of desires". Thus, just at the time of his greatest desperation, when consumerism has flooded, corrupted and falsified everything, and on the linguistic scene no longer seems to exist any alternative to an increasingly homologated Italian (even surviving dialects, in fact, are gradually being italianized), Pasolini's provocative proposal is to turn dialects into revolutionary tools, real weapons at the service of the struggle for the defense of cultural particularisms.

Therefore, the dialect arises as a symbol of a near-desperate cultural and anthropological survival, so that its recovery becomes a challenge which is both difficult and problematic, but at the same time gives new hope, however absurd and abstract it may be: then, just when Pasolini declared the dialectal world to be actually dead, together with the values of its foundations, its unexpected and unhoped-for proposal of a revolutionary utopia promising its salvation seemed to provide a mirage of rebirth, mainly to the poet himself, becoming the seal of an artistic and existential path trodden all along in the name of the most obstinate, and scandalous, contradiction.

From the author's perspective, then, the dialect seems to survive in a posthumous dimension, holding up beyond what Pasolini sees as the death of history, and thus becomes "codice di sopravvivenza") ('survival code'), "ciambella di salvataggio a cui restare tenacemente aggrappati" ('life preserver we should tenaciously cling onto'): whereas, in fact,

l'italiano corrisponde a una pratica di distanziazione, responsabile non di identificazione ma semmai di isolamento dell'individuo rispetto al proprio habitat di riferimento,
(Italian corresponds to a practice of distancing, not responsible for the identification but rather for the isolation of individuals from their habitat of reference)

(Binazzi 2019: 258-259)

the dialect survives even in the most hostile and barren reality as a code of humanity, memory and unreflected practice that brings back "all'immedesimazione nel contesto più familiare e consueto" ('to the identification in the most familiar and usual context') (Binazzi 2019: 8).

And then, just as everything seems lost, "le radici appaiono di colpo come una risposta al fragile cosmopolitismo della merce" ('the roots suddenly appear to him as a response to the fragile cosmopolitanism of goods') (Brevini 2014: 14), and dialect, although only as a residue, as a form of survival, *resurgence*, is once again offered to him as an instrument of comfort, capable of restoring the individual to his deepest self, thus carrying humanity away from the siege of an alienating and mystifying *Power*.

4. Conclusions

What emerges from this overview of Pier Paolo Pasolini's linguistic reflection, spanning through his entire life and artistic production, is what De Mauro (quoting Contini) calls "intelligente dilettantismo" ('smart amateurism') (De Mauro 1987a: 110); amateurism may be seen through the improper, or even incorrect, use of terms and technical concepts, drawn from the various scientific fields in which the writer ventures from time to time, as well as from the audacity of many of his statements and conclusions that are not always scientifically based. And yet, to get to know the deepest and true core of Pasolini's linguistic experience, it is necessary to go beyond his often inaccurate and provocative wording to appreciate his ability to grasp any hint of change within the linguistic and cultural fabric throbbing around him, and its profound interrelation with the socioeconomic and anthropological substrate of collective life.

As Gian Luigi Beccaria observes in his review of *Empirismo Eretico* ('Heretical Empiricism'),[3] within the "fluire furioso e anarchico" ('furious and anarchic flow') of Pasolini's pages, where certainly "ambiguità, contraddizioni, paure, errori" ('ambiguities, contradictions, fears, mistakes') emerge, everywhere "un traboccare di osservazioni finissime" ('an overflow of all the subtlest

---

[3] Published on *La Stampa* on September 29th, 1972.

observations') is revealed, the result of a linguistic and sociological sensitivity which certainly was out of the ordinary, and allowed the writer to read beyond the linguistic phenomena so that he could see – before others – turmoils and socio-cultural tendencies of great importance. And for this, Pasolini can truly be seen as a prophet: not as a man blessed with real divination skills, but rather as someone with the rare ability to read and interpret the signs of his time, and therefore capable of deciphering not so much the future as his present time, upon which he's determined to act concretely.

Thus, Pasolini proves to be able to read the signs of parallel socio-cultural changes in the language and vice versa (not only in the Sixties, but throughout his entire life), often translating his intuitions into a very personal and unconventional language – which doesn't affect its substantial validity in any case – which has become ever more evident during the progressive development of national sociolinguistic context.

Without a doubt a linguist *sui generis*, who made language, in all its manifestations, the center and the driving force of his entire artistic and personal experience, always faithful to the ideal of language being "la spia dello spirito" ('the telltale sign of the spirit') (Pasolini 1987: 53), and as such the fundamental and most authentic manifestation of the human being.

References

Agosti, Stefano. 2004. *La parola fuori di sé. Scritti su Pasolini*. Lecce: Manni.

Antonelli, Giuseppe. 2007. *L'italiano nella società della comunicazione*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Bazzocchi, M.A. 2014. "Pasolini e il fantasma della vocalità." In *Pasolini e la poesia dialettale*, ed. by Angela Felice, and G.P. Borghello, 19-27. Venezia: Marsilio Editori.

Beccaria, Gian Luigi. 1972. "Con Pier Paolo linguista. Genialità e approssimazioni nei saggi di varia letteratura di 'Empirismo eretico'." *La Stampa*, 29 settembre.

Benedetti, Carla. 1998. *Pasolini contro Calvino. Per una letteratura impura*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Berruto, Gaetano. 1987. *Sociolinguistica dell'italiano contemporaneo*. Roma: Carocci.

Berruto, Gaetano. 2006. "Quale dialetto per l'Italia del Duemila? Aspetti dell'italianizzazione e risorgenze dialettali in Piemonte (e altrove)." In *Lingua e dialetto nell'Italia del Duemila*, ed. by A.A. Sobrero, and Annarita Miglietta, 101-127. Galatina: Congedo.

Binazzi, Neri. 2017. "Nelle mani della massa parlante. L'Italia di Tullio De Mauro fra slanci nuovi e antiche resistenze." *RID. Rivista italiana di dialettologia*, 41: 27-59.

Binazzi, Neri. 2019. *Codici di sopravvivenza. Dialetto e italiano nel mondo dei semicolti*. Padova: Esedra editrice.

Brevini, Franco. 1981. *Per conoscere Pasolini*. Milano: Mondadori.

Brevini, Franco. 1990. *Le parole perdute. Dialetti e poesia nel nostro secolo*. Torino: Einaudi.

Brevini, Franco. 1999. "L'interpretazione di Pasolini." In *La poesia in dialetto. Storia e testi dalle origini al Novecento*, ed. by Franco Brevini, 3162-3225. Milano: Mondadori.

Brevini, Franco. 2014. "La poesia in dialetto: un caso letterario del Novecento." In *Pasolini e la poesia dialettale*, ed. by Angela Felice and G.P. Gri, 11-15. Venezia: Marsilio Editori.

Cadel. Francesca. 2002. *La lingua dei desideri: il dialetto secondo Pier Paolo Pasolini*. Lecce: Manni Editori.

Cerruti, Massimo, Claudia Crocco and Stefania Marzo. 2017. *Towards a new Standard. Teoretical and Empirical studies on the Restandardiztion of Italian*. De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin-New York.

Coveri, Lorenzo. 2011. "Dialetto in poesia (e altrove)." *Italiano Linguadue,* 1: 510-514.

Coveri, Lorenzo. 2013. "Dalla parte delle radici. Risorgenze dialettali a Genova e in Liguria (ma non solo)." In *Lingua e dialetti nelle regioni*, ed. by Gianna Marcato, 137-144. Padova: CLEUP.

D'Achille, Paolo. 2010. *L'italiano contemporaneo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

D'Achille, Paolo. 2019. *Pasolini per l'italiano. L'italiano per Pasolini*. Alessandria: Edizioni Dall'Orso.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1976. "La ricerca linguistica." *Pasolini un anno dopo. Nuova generazione,* 15 (31 ottobre).

De Mauro, Tullio. 1987a. "Pasolini critico dei linguaggi." In *L'Italia delle Italie*, ed. by T. De Mauro, 257-270. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1987b. "Pasolini linguista." In *L'Italia delle Italie*, ed. by T. De Mauro, 271-278. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

De Mauro, Tullio. 1987c. "Pasolini e il codice della fraternità." In *L'Italia delle Italie*, ed. by T. De Mauro, 279-289. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

De Mauro, Tullio. 2011. *Storia linguistica dell'Italia Unita*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

De Mauro, Tullio, and Francesco Ferri (eds). 1997. *Lezioni su Pasolini*. Ripatransone: Sestante.

Desogus, Paolo. 2017. "Da Saussure a Devoto e da Ascoli a Gramsci. La riflessione linguistica di Pier Paolo Pasolini." *Blityri. Studi di storia delle idee sui segni e le lingue,* 6, 1: 175-189.

Desogus, Paolo. 2018. *Laboratorio Pasolini. Teoria del segno e del cinema*. Macerata: Quodlibet Studio.

Felice, Angela (ed). 2009. *Pasolini e la televisione*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Felice, Angela, and Giampaolo Borghello (eds). 2014. *Pasolini e la poesia dialettale*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Felice, Angela, and Roberto Carnero (eds). 2016. *Pasolini e la pedagogia*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Felice, Angela, and G.P. Gri (eds). 2014. *Pasolini e l'interrogazione del sacro*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Felice, Angela, and Antonio Tricomi (eds). 2017. *Lo scrittore al tempo di Pasolini e oggi. Fra società delle lettere e solitudine*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Ferretti, G.C. 1978. *Pasolini. L'universo orrendo*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Ferri, Francesco. 1996. *Linguaggio, passione e ideologia. Pier Paolo Pasolini fra Gramsci, Gadda e Contini*. Roma: Progetti Museali Editore.

Galli De' Paratesi, Nora. 1985. *Lingua toscana in bocca ambrosiana*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Golino, Enzo. 1976. *Letteratura e classi sociali*. Bari: Laterza.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1975. *Quaderni dal carcere*. Torino: Einaudi.

Iannaccaro, Gabriele, and Vincenzo Matera. 2009. *La lingua come cultura*. Torino: Utet.

Magrelli, Enrico (ed). 1977. *Con Pier Paolo Pasolini*. Roma: Bulzoni-Quaderni di Filmcritica.

Marazzini, Claudio. 1977. *La lingua come strumento sociale. Il dibattito linguistico in Italia da Manzoni al neocapitalismo*. Torino: Marietti Editore.

Marazzini, Claudio. 1981. "Pasolini dopo le *Nuove questioni linguistiche.*" *Sigma,* 14, 2-3: 57-71.

Marazzini, Claudio. 1998. *Sublime volgar'eloquio: il linguaggio poetico di Pier Paolo Pasolini*. Modena: Mucchi.

Marazzini, Claudio. 1999. *Da Dante alla lingua selvaggia. Sette secoli di dibattito sull'italiano*. Roma: Carocci.

Marazzini, Claudio. 2013. *Da Dante alle lingue del web. Otto secoli di dibattiti sull'italiano*. Roma: Carocci.

Martinet, André. 1965. *La considerazione funzionale del linguaggio*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Mengaldo, P.V. (ed). 1981. *I Poeti italiani del Novecento*. Milano: Mondadori.

Mengaldo, P.V. 1987. *La tradizione del Novecento. Nuova serie*. Firenze: Vallecchi.

Mengaldo, P.V. 1994. *Storia della lingua italiana. Il Novecento*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Migliorini, Bruno. 1975. *Parole d'autore (Onomaturgia)*. Firenze: Biblioteca Sansoni.

Orioles, Vincenzo. 2009. "Attraverso Pasolini. La visione plurilingue dalla letteratura alla linguistica." *Studi in onore di Niccolò Mineo, Siculorum Gymnasium,* 58-59: 1297-1306.

Parlangeli, Oronzo (ed.). 1971. *La nuova questione della lingua*. Brescia: Paideia.

Pasolini, P.P. 1947. "Dalla lingua al friulano." In *Ce fastu?*, 13: 5-6.

Pasolini, P.P. 1979a. *Porcile Orgia Bestia da stile*. Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 1979b. *Una vita violenta*. Torino: Einaudi.

Pasolini, P.P. 1987. *Volgar'eloquio*, ed. by Gian Carlo Ferretti. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Pasolini, P.P. (ed). 1992a. *Canzoniere italiano. Antologia della poesia popolare*. Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 1992b. *I dialoghi*, ed. by Giovanni Falaschi. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Pasolini, P.P. 1992c. *Petrolio*, ed. by Maria Careri and Graziella Chiarcossi. Torino: Einaudi.

Pasolini, P.P. 1993. *Bestemmia*. Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 1994. *Vita attraverso le lettere*, ed. by Nico Naldini. Torino: Einaudi.

Pasolini, P.P. 1995. *Interviste corsare sulla politica e sulla vita (1955-1975)*, ed. by Michele Gulinucci. Roma: Liberal Atlantide Editoriale.

Pasolini, P.P. 1996. *Le belle bandiere. Dialoghi 1960-1965*, ed. by G.C. Ferretti. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Pasolini, P.P. 1999a. *Saggi sulla letteratura e sull'arte*, ed. by Walter Siti and Silvia De Laude. Milano: Mondadori.

Pasolini, P.P. 1999b. *Saggi sulla politica e sulla società*, ed. by Walter Siti and Silvia De Laude. Milano: Mondadori.

Pasolini, P.P. 2000a. *Empirismo eretico.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2000b. *Scritti corsari.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2005. *Trilogia della vita.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2009a. *Lettere luterane.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2009b. *Passione e ideologia.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2009. *Calderòn-Affabulazione-Pilade.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2015a. *Il caos.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2015b. *Una vita violenta.* Milano: Garzanti.

Pasolini, P.P. 2015c. *Polemica politica potere. Conversazioni con Gideon Bachman*, ed. by Riccardo Costantini. Milano: Chiarelettere.

Pasolini, P.P. 2015d. *Un paese di temporali e di primule*, ed. by Nico Naldini. Parma: Guanda.

Pasolini, P.P. 2015e. *Tutte le poesie*, ed. by Walter Siti. Milano: Mondadori.

Pound, Ezra. 1985. *I Cantos.* Milano: Mondadori.

Roncaglia, Aurelio. 1978. "Parola poetica e discorso vitale." In *Per conoscere Pasolini*, ed. by AA.VV., 19-23. Roma: Bulzoni & Teatro Tenda Editori.

Sabatini, Francesco. 1985. "L'italiano dell'uso medio: una realtà tra le varietà linguistiche italiane." In *Gesprochenes Italienisch in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Günter Holtus and Edgar Radtke, 154-184. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Scarpa, Raffaella. 2012. *La questione della lingua. Antologia di testi da Dante a oggi*. Roma: Carocci.

Serianni, Luca. 1996. "Appunti sulla lingua di Pasolini prosatore." *Contributi di filologia dell'Italia mediana*, 10: 197-229.

Sobrero, A.A. 2009. "L'italiano dopo mezzo secolo di tv. Il compimento dell'omologazione o no?" In *Pasolini e la televisione*, ed. by Angela Felice, 197-229. Venezia: Marsilio.

Sobrero, A.A. 2016. "Lingue speciali." In *Introduzione all'italiano contemporaneo*, vol. II: *La variazione e gli usi*, ed. by Sobrero, Albero A. 237-278. Laterza: Roma-Bari.

Volponi, Paolo. 1978. "Pasolini maestro e amico." In *Perché Pasolini. Ideologia e stile di un intellettuale militante*, ed. by Gualtiero De Santi and Maria Lenti and Roberto Rossini, 15-28. Firenze: Guaraldi.

Contributors

Benedetta Baldi is Full Professor of Communication and Discourse Analysis at the University of Florence. Her research includes various fields of linguistics and pragmatics, specifically language teaching and communication theory. As for the second subject, she mostly focuses on communication processes, political language, the relationship between media and cognitive and pragmatic capabilities and socio-cultural identity. Her latest book #*Opinione immediata* addresses communication and social media.

Serena Camilla Crocchi is a PhD Student in Linguistics at the University of Florence. Her main areas of interest are in the field of pragmatics, communication theory and discourse analysis. She is also interested in cognitive pragmatics. Her PhD thesis deals with post-truth under the supervision of Professor Benedetta Baldi.

Deborah Cappelli is a PhD Student in Linguistics at the University of Florence. Her main research interest focuses on L2 acquisition, interlanguage, language transfer and educational linguistics of similar languages, in particular Spanish and Italian. Her PhD thesis deals with the morpho-syntactic aspects in language acquisition of similar languages, under the supervision of Professor Benedetta Baldi.

Lena Dal Pozzo received her PhD in Cognitive Sciences from the University of Siena. At present she is a Finnish language Instructor and Adjunct Professor of Finno-Ugric languages and literatures at the University of Florence. Her research interests include L2 acquisition at interfaces, bilingual acquisition, language teaching and learning, with particular reference to Finnish and Finno-Ugric languages.

Nicola D'Antuono received his BA Degree from the University of Bologna in 2016 with a thesis on cyclical change in morphosyntax from a generative perspective and his MA Degree in 2018 from the same university with a thesis on fragment answers, ellipsis and negation in Irish. His research interests include generative grammar, syntax, formal semantics and the semantics-pragmatics interface.

Ludovico Franco is a Tenure Track Assistant Professor at the University of Florence. His main research interests are morphosyntax and neurolinguistics. He has published a monograph and several papers in international journals, including *NLLT*, *The Linguistic Review*, *Glossa*, *Lingua*, *Probus*, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, *Language Sciences* and the *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*.

Susanna Giovinazzo received her BA in Modern Letters in 2017 and her MA in Modern Philology in 2020 at the University of Florence. Her research interests include a synchronic study of language, political communication, studies on the new languages of social networks and legislative language

Mikheil Labadze received his PhD in Philological Sciences with a thesis on "Speech Characteristics (Questions of Code Switchings) of the Indigenous Georgians – the Laz and the Livanians in the Murguli Gorge (Turkey)" (2013). He is currently an associate scientific researcher at St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia.

Rosangela Lai is currently a Research Fellow at the University of Pisa. Previously, she was a Postdoctoral Fellow and Adjunct Professor of Linguistics at the University of Florence and an Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow at the Georg-August University of Göttingen.

Paolo Lorusso is a Research Associate at the NEtS Center for Neurocognition, Epistemology and Theoretical Syntax at the Scuola Universtiaria Superiore IUSS Pavia. He obtained a PhD in Linguistics at the University of Florence and a PhD in Cognitive Science at Autonomous and University of Barcelona. His research areas are psycholinguistics, morphosyntax, syntax-semantics interface and comparative syntax.

Andrea Moro is Professor of General Linguistics at the Scuola Universtiaria Superiore IUSS Pavia (Italy). He specialized at the University of Geneva, he has been visiting scientist at Harvard and MIT as a Fulbright Student. He is currently researching the syntax of human languages; in particular symmetrical structures and the neurobiological correlates of syntax in human brains. He has published a novel entitled: *Il segreto di Pietramala* (2018).

Mihaela Marchis Moreno is a Postdoctoral Researcher at CLUNL, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. The focus of her research is comparative syntax, morpho-syntax and the semantics-syntax interface. Topics she has investigated include relational adjectives, the syntax of nominal phrases, control, raising and clitic-doubling. She has recently published a monograph entitled *Mismatches at the Syntax-Morphology Interface: the Case of Relational Adjectives* with Cambridge University Press.

Diego Pescarini is a Researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and teaches Syntax at the Université Côte d'Azur. He held research and teaching appointments at the Universities of Zurich, Frankfurt, Bristol, and Padua, where he obtained his PhD. He has been awarded two *Marie Curie Fellowships*.

Maria Grazia Proli is a Research Fellow at the University of Florence. She is an expert in multimedia and e-learning. She currently collaborates in the research program "Organization and construction of multimedia materials for teaching in secondary school. Tutoring and management of e-learning training activities for the inclusion of migrant minors in Italy and Europe".

Tariel Putkaradze received his PhD in Philological Sciences with a thesis on "The Vowel System of Modern Georgian Language" (1988). He is a Professor at St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia.

Giuseppe Rugna is a PhD Student in Linguistics at the University of Florence. He graduated *cum laude* from the University of Milan (BA) with a thesis on the verbal syntax of the Poetic Edda and from the University of Siena (MA) with a thesis on German wh-copying. His research interests include generative syntax and comparative morphosyntax.

Leonardo M. Savoia has been Professor of General Linguistics at the University of Florence. He is "Accademico corrispondente" of the Accademia della Crusca and was President of the Italian Linguistics Society (2003-2007). His research regards phonology and morphosyntax of Italian dialects, Albanian and Aromanian, sociolinguistics, and, with Benedetta Baldi, communication and political language. Together, they have published articles and books, and recently *Linguistica per insegnare*, Zanichelli 2018.

Antonio Taglialatela received his PhD in European Languages and Terminology Studies from Parthenope University of Naples and serves as a Research Fellow in English Language and Translation at the University of Viterbo. His research interests and fields of publication are mainly concerned with ELF, Multilingualism and Translation, and Plain Language.

Knut Tarald Taraldsen is a Professor Emeritus in Linguistics at UIT – The Arctic University of Norway and a Researcher at the Masarykova Univerzita (Brno). His research interests are syntax and morphology and the architecture of grammar. For a number years, he has focused on Xhosa and other Southern Bantu languages.

Giulia Tardi is a Research Grant Holder in Language Teaching at the University of Florence where she also received her PhD in Philology, Italian Literature, Linguistics (Linguistic Curriculum). Her main research fields are concerned with Language Teaching and Learning, New Technologies for Language Teaching, and the European Language Portfolio.

Ottavia Tordini holds a Master's Degree in Italian Studies and Linguistics from the University of Bologna. In 2019, she obtained a PhD in Linguistics at the University of Pisa, where she currently holds a position as a Post-Doc in Phonetics. Her research interests span the fields of experimental phonetics, dialectology and L2/L3 acquisition.

Maria Teresa Venturi is mainly interested in Italian Socioliguistics and Dialectology. She graduated in 2014 in Italian Sociolinguistics with prof. Neri Binazzi. In 2015 she entered the Ph.D. program with a project about Pasolini's contribution to the contemporary Italian language. In 2019 she completed her Ph.D. and she is currently "Subject Expert" in Italian Linguistics.

Elina Ylinärä holds a PhD in Linguistics from Roma Tre University and is Adjunct Professor of Finnish language and literature at the University "L'Orientale" of Naples. Her main areas of interest include Finnish syntax, morphosyntax, discourse-syntax interface, mixed categories, L2 acquisition and bilingualism.

Published Works

*The works listed below were submitted to Firenze University Press by
the Advisory Board of the Department
and set up for publication by its Open Access Publishing Workshop*

Open Access Volumes
(<http://www.fupress.com/comitatoscientifico/biblioteca-di-studi-di-filologia-moderna/23>)

Stefania Pavan, *Lezioni di poesia. Iosif Brodskij e la cultura classica: il mito, la letteratura, la filosofia*, 2006 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 1)

Rita Svandrlik (a cura di), *Elfriede Jelinek. Una prosa altra, un altro teatro*, 2008 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 2)

Ornella De Zordo (a cura di), *Saggi di anglistica e americanistica. Temi e prospettive di ricerca*, 2008 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 66)

Fiorenzo Fantaccini, *W.B. Yeats e la cultura italiana*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 3)

Arianna Antonielli, *William Blake e William Butler Yeats. Sistemi simbolici e costruzioni poetiche*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 4)

Marco Di Manno, *Tra sensi e spirito. La concezione della musica e la rappresentazione del musicista nella letteratura tedesca alle soglie del Romanticismo*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 5)

Maria Chiara Mocali, *Testo. Dialogo. Traduzione. Per una analisi del tedesco tra codici e varietà*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 6)

Ornella De Zordo (a cura di), *Saggi di anglistica e americanistica. Ricerche in corso*, 2009 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 95)

Stefania Pavan (a cura di), *Gli anni Sessanta a Leningrado. Luci e ombre di una* Belle Époque, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 7)

Roberta Carnevale, *Il corpo nell'opera di Georg Büchner. Büchner e i filosofi materialisti dell'Illuminismo francese*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 8)

Mario Materassi, *Go Southwest, Old Man. Note di un viaggio letterario, e non*, 2009 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 9)

Ornella De Zordo, Fiorenzo Fantaccini (a cura di), *altri canoni / canoni altri. pluralismo e studi letterari*, 2011 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 10)

Claudia Vitale, *Das literarische Gesicht im Werk Heinrich von Kleists und Franz Kafkas*, 2011 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 11)

Mattia Di Taranto, *L'arte del libro in Germania fra Otto e Novecento: Editoria bibliofilica, arti figurative e avanguardia letteraria negli anni della* Jahrhundertwende, 2011 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 12)

Vania Fattorini (a cura di), *Caroline Schlegel-Schelling: «Ero seduta qui a scrivere»*. Lettere, 2012 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 13)

Anne Tamm, *Scalar Verb Classes. Scalarity, Thematic Roles, and Arguments in the Estonian Aspectual Lexicon*, 2012 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 14)

Beatrice Töttössy (a cura di), *Fonti di Weltliteratur. Ungheria*, 2012 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 143)

Beatrice Töttössy, *Ungheria 1945-2002. La dimensione letteraria*, 2012 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 15)

Diana Battisti, *Estetica della dissonanza e filosofia del doppio: Carlo Dossi e Jean Paul*, 2012 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 16)

Fiorenzo Fantaccini, Ornella De Zordo (a cura di), *Saggi di anglistica e americanistica. Percorsi di ricerca*, 2012 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 144)

Martha L. Canfield (a cura di), *Perù frontiera del mondo. Eielson e Vargas Llosa: dalle radici all'impegno cosmopolita = Perù frontera del mundo. Eielson y Vargas Llosa: de las raíces al compromiso cosmopolita*, 2013 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 17)

Gaetano Prampolini, Annamaria Pinazzi (eds), *The Shade of the Saguaro / La sombra del saguaro: essays on the Literary Cultures of the American Southwest / Ensayos sobre las culturas literarias del suroeste norteamericano*, 2013 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 18)

Ioana Both, Ayşe Saraçgil, Angela Tarantino (a cura di), *Storia, identità e canoni letterari*, 2013 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 152)

Valentina Vannucci, *Letture anticanoniche della biofiction, dentro e fuori la metafinzione*, 2014 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 19)

Serena Alcione, *Wackenroder e Reichardt. Musica e letteratura nel primo Romanticismo tedesco*, 2014 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 20)

Lorenzo Orlandini, *The relentless body. L'impossibile elisione del corpo in Samuel Beckett e la* noluntas schopenhaueriana, 2014 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 21)

Carolina Gepponi (a cura di), *Un carteggio di Margherita Guidacci*, 2014 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 22)

Valentina Milli, *«Truth is an odd number». La narrativa di Flann O'Brien e il fantastico*, 2014 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 23)

Diego Salvadori, *Il giardino riflesso. L'erbario di Luigi Meneghello*, 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 24)

Sabrina Ballestracci, Serena Grazzini (a cura di), *Punti di vista - Punti di contatto. Studi di letteratura e linguistica tedesca*, 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 25)

Massimo Ciaravolo, Sara Culeddu, Andrea Meregalli, Camilla Storskog (a cura di), *Forme di narrazione autobiografica nelle letterature scandinave.* Forms of Autobiographical Narration in Scandinavian Literature, 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 26)

Lena Dal Pozzo, *New information subjects in L2 acquisition: evidence from Italian and Finnish,* 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 27)

Sara Lombardi (a cura di), *Lettere di Margherita Guidacci a Mladen Machiedo*, 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 28)

Giuliano Lozzi, *Margarete Susman e i saggi sul femminile*, 2015 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 29)

Ilaria Natali, *«Remov'd from Human Eyes»: Madness and Poetry. 1676-1774*, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 30)

Antonio Civardi, *Linguistic Variation Issues: Case and Agreement in Northern Russian Participial Constructions*, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 31)

Tesfay Tewolde, *DPs, Phi-features and Tense in the Context of Abyssinian (Eritrean and Ethiopian) Semitic Languages* (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 32)

Arianna Antonielli, Mark Nixon (eds), *Edwin John Ellis's and William Butler Yeats's* The Works of William Blake: Poetic, Symbolic and Critical. *A Manuscript Edition, with Critical Analysis*, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 33)

Augusta Brettoni, Ernestina Pellegrini, Sandro Piazzesi, Diego Salvadori (a cura di), *Per Enza Biagini*, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 34)

Silvano Boscherini, *Parole e cose: raccolta di scritti minori*, a cura di Innocenzo Mazzini, Antonella Ciabatti, Giovanni Volante, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 35)

Ayşe Saraçgil, Letizia Vezzosi (a cura di), *Lingue, letterature e culture migranti*, 2016 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 183)

Michela Graziani (a cura di), *Trasparenze ed epifanie. Quando la luce diventa letteratura, arte, storia, scienza*, 2016 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 36)

Caterina Toschi, *Dalla pagina alla parete. Tipografia futurista e fotomontaggio dada*, 2017 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 37)

Diego Salvadori, *Luigi Meneghello. La biosfera e il racconto*, 2017 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 38)

Sabrina Ballestracci, *Teoria e ricerca sull'apprendimento del tedesco L2*, 2017 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 194)

Michela Landi (a cura di), *La double séance. La musique sur la scène théâtrale et littéraire / La musica sulla scena teatrale e letteraria*, 2017 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 39)

Fulvio Bertuccelli (a cura di), *Soggettività, identità nazionale, memorie. Biografie e autobiografie nella Turchia contemporanea*, 2017 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 40)

Susanne Stockle, *Mare, fiume, ruscello. Acqua e musica nella cultura romantica*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 41)

Gian Luca Caprili, *Inquietudine spettrale. Gli uccelli nella concezione poetica di Jacob Grimm*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 42)

Dario Collini (a cura di), *Lettere a Oreste Macrì. Schedatura e regesto di un fondo, con un'appendice di testi epistolari inediti*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 43)

Simone Rebora, *History/Histoire e Digital Humanities. La nascita della storiografia letteraria italiana fuori d'Italia*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 44)

Marco Meli (a cura di), *Le norme stabilite e infrante. Saggi italo-tedeschi in prospettiva linguistica, letteraria e interculturale*, 2018 (Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 203)

Francesca Di Meglio, *Una muchedumbre o nada: Coordenadas temáticas en la obra poética de Josefina Plá*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 45)

Barbara Innocenti, *Il piccolo Pantheon. I grandi autori in scena sul teatro francese tra Settecento e Ottocento*, 2018 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 46)

Oreste Macrí, Giacinto Spagnoletti, *«Si risponde lavorando». Lettere 1941-1992, a cura di Andrea Giusti*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 47)

Michela Landi, *Baudelaire et Wagner*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 48)

Sabrina Ballestracci, *Connettivi tedeschi e poeticità: l'attivazione dell'interprete tra forma e funzione. Studio teorico e analisi di un caso esemplare*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 49)

Angela Tarantino, Ioana Bot (a cura di), *Cronologia della letteratura rumena moderna (1780-1914) - Cronologia literaturii române moderne (1780-1914)*, 2019 ((Strumenti per la didattica e la ricerca; 213)

Fiorenzo Fantaccini, Raffaella Leproni (a cura di), *"Still Blundering into Sense". Maria Edgeworth, her context, her legacy*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 50)

Arianna Antonielli, Donatella Pallotti (a cura di), *"Granito e arcobaleno". Forme e modi della scrittura auto/biografica*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 51)

Francesca Valdinoci, *Scarti, tracce e frammenti: controarchivio e memoria dell'umano*, 2019 (Biblioteca di Studi di Filologia Moderna; 21)

Riviste ad accesso aperto
(<http://www.fupress.com/riviste>)

«Journal of Early Modern Studies», ISSN: 2279-7149

«LEA - Lingue e Letterature d'Oriente e d'Occidente», ISSN: 1824-484X

«Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali / Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies», ISSN: 2421-7220

«Studi Irlandesi. A Journal of Irish Studies», ISSN: 2239-3978