

# The left periphery fragmented: evidence from Italian\*

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- In this mini-talk, I show that:
  - § based on the binding data below, the full cartographic CP structure is not always projected
  - § only the outmost edge of a phase is accessible for binding (Bošković, 2016)
- Outline of the mini-talk
  1. Brief overview of the starting theoretical assumptions
  2. Data:
    - a. anaphor-containing D-linked *wh*-phrases
    - b. indirect Y/N-questions
    - c. anaphor-containing topic + argumental *wh*-item
  3. Concluding remarks
- any kind of feedback is GREATLY appreciated!
  - ⇒ especially, native speakers in the audience are more than welcomed to express their judgments for the data below.

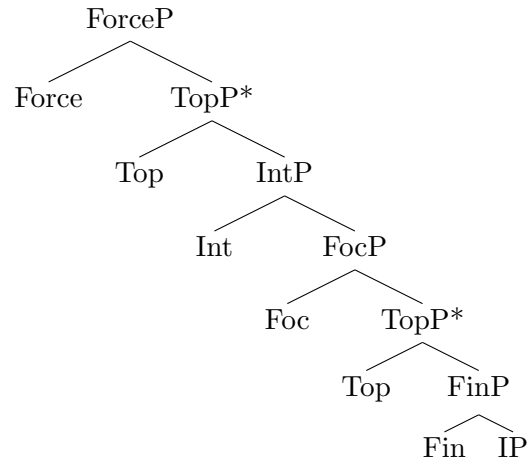
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\*I am indebted to Željko Bošković for the continued support and invaluable contribution. Thanks to Luigi Rizzi for many useful suggestions I tried to implement in this present analysis. I am not a syntactician, so I owe Giuseppe Samo if I am presenting this today. Nevertheless, all errors remain mine.

# 1 Theoretical background

§1

(Rizzi, 1997)



§2

- a. *Force* selects clausal type
- b. *Fin* selects clausal finiteness
- c. *TopP* may be recursive (as indicated by \*)
- d. *IntP* is where *se* 'if', *perché* 'why' are positioned (Rizzi, 2001)
- e. *FocP* may not be recursive

§3

The binding domain for Condition A is stated in terms of phases (Bošković, 2016; Canac-Marquis, 2005; Despic, 2011, to appear; Hicks, 2009; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2008; Carlos Quicoli, 2008; Safir, 2014; Zanon, 2015, to appear). An anaphor can be bound outside of its minimal phase only if it is located at the edge of the phase.

§4

The highest clausal projection is a phase (Bošković, 2014, 2015).

§5

Bošković (2016): if a phase has more than one edge, only the outmost one is accessible to movement and binding. For example, only the outmost edge counts as the edge for the purpose of the PIC below.

- (1) a. omiljena Jovanova kola<sup>1</sup> (Serbo-Croatian)  
 favorite Jovan's car
- b. Javanova omiljena kola  
 Jovan's favorite car
- (2) a. Marija<sub>i</sub> je prodala svoju<sub>i</sub> omiljenu knjigu.  
 Marija is sold her favorite book  
 'Marjia sold her favorite book.'
- b. \*Marija<sub>i</sub> je prodala omiljenu svoju<sub>i</sub> knjigu.  
 Marija is sold favorite her book  
 'Marjia sold her favorite book.'
- (3) a. \*Maria<sub>i</sub> znae kade kolko/kakvi [[svoi<sub>i</sub>] snimki] bjaha kupeni. (Bulgarian)  
 Maria knows where how.many/what.kind.of her picture were bought  
 'Maria knows where how many/what kind of pictures of herself were bought.'
- b. ??Maria<sub>i</sub> znae kolko/kakvi [[svoi<sub>i</sub>] snimki] kade bjaha kupeni.  
 Maria knows how.many/what.kind.of her picture where were bought  
 'Maria knows where how many/what kind of pictures of herself were bought.'

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<sup>1</sup>For Bošković (2016), there are multiple edges of the same phase in examples (1) and (2).

## 2 Cross-clausal A-binding in Italian

### A. ANAPHOR-CONTAINING D-LINKED *wh*-PHRASES

- (4) a. ??Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede [quale ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>] Maria ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG [which picture of REFL same.MASC] Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG  
 ‘Gianni wonders which picture of himself Mary bought.’
- b. \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, Maria, [quale ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>], ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG Maria [which picture of REFL same.MASC] AUX buy.PPT.MSG  
 ‘Gianni wonders, Mary, [which picture of himself], she bought.’

Crucially, it’s the anaphor inside the fronted construction that is responsible for the effects in (4a) and (4b):

- (5) a. Gianni si chiede [quale ritratto di Luigi] Maria ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG [which picture of Luigi] Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG  
 ‘Gianni wonders [which picture of Luigi] Mary bought.’
- b. Gianni si chiede, Maria, [quale ritratto di Luigi], ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG Maria [which picture of Luigi] AUX buy.PPT.MSG  
 ‘Gianni wonders, Mary, [which picture of Luigi] she bought.’

Keep in mind that focus is structurally incompatible with *wh*-phrases (Rizzi, 1997), regardless of the presence of the anaphor:

- (6) a. \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, MARIA, [quale ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>] ha comprato (non  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, MARIA, [which picture of REFL same.MASC] AUX buy.PPT.MSG (not  
 Marco)  
 Marco)  
 Intended: ‘Gianni wonders, MARIA, [which picture of himself] bought (not Marco).’

- b. ??Gianni si chiede, MARIA, [quale ritratto di Luigi] ha comprato (non Marco)  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, MARIA, [which picture of Luigi] AUX buy.PPT.MSG (not Marco)  
 ‘Gianni wonders, MARIA, [which picture of Luigi] bought (not Marco).’

→ The data in (4) challenge the idea of the full cartographic structure being always projected.

B. INDIRECT Y/N QUESTIONS

- (7) \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede se Maria ha comprato [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]. (*baseline*)  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG [the picture of REFL same.MASC].  
 ‘John<sub>i</sub> wonders whether Mary has bought the picture of himself<sub>i</sub>.’
- (8) a. Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, se Maria lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato<sup>2</sup>.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], whether Mary CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.  
 b. ??Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede se, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, Maria lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], Mary CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.  
 c. ??Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede se, [IL RITRATTO DI [SE STESSO]<sub>i</sub>], Maria ha comprato  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether, [THE PICTURE OF REFL SAME.MASC], Mary AUX buy.PPT.MSG  
 (non quello di Marco).  
 (not that of Marco)

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<sup>2</sup>Noteworthy, judgments are maintained if the subject is post-verbal:

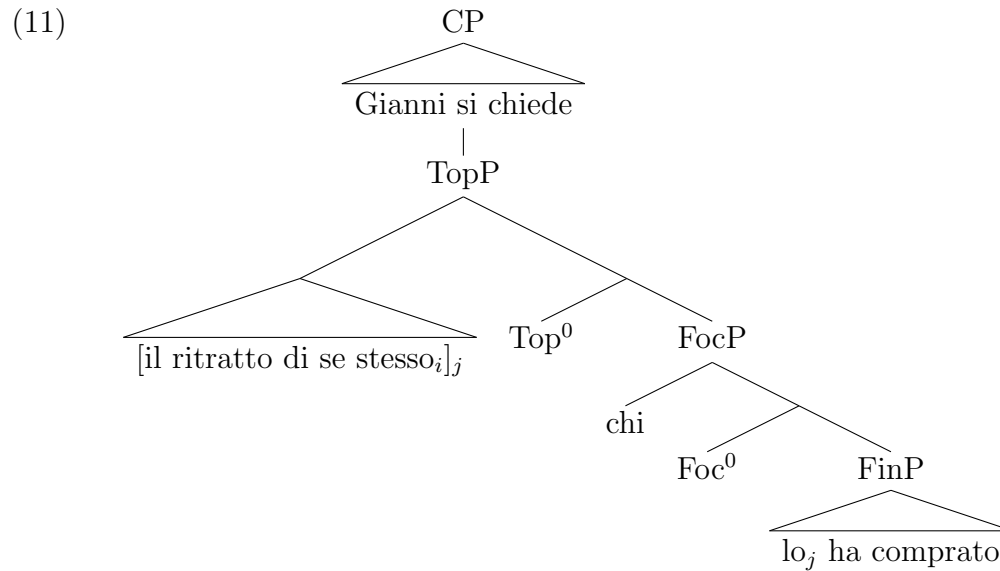
- (i) a. ??Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede se, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato Maria.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG if, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG Mary  
 b. Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, se lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato Maria.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], if CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG Mary

Again, it's the anaphor that is responsible for the spectrum of judgements in (8), as anaphor-less sentences are all okay:

- (9) a. Gianni si chiede se Maria ha comprato [il ritratto di Luigi].  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG [the picture of Luigi].
- b. Gianni si chiede se, [il ritratto di Luigi]<sub>j</sub>, Maria lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether, [the picture of Luigi], Maria CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.
- c. Gianni si chiede, [il ritratto di Luigi]<sub>j</sub>, se Maria lo<sub>i</sub> ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, [the picture of Luigi], whether Maria CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.
- d. Gianni si chiede se, [IL RITRATTO DI LUIGI], Maria ha comprato (non quello  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether, [IL RITRATTO DI LUIGI], Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG (not that  
 di Marco).  
 of Marco)

C. ANAPHOR-CONTAINING TOPIC + ARGUMENTAL *wh*-ITEMS

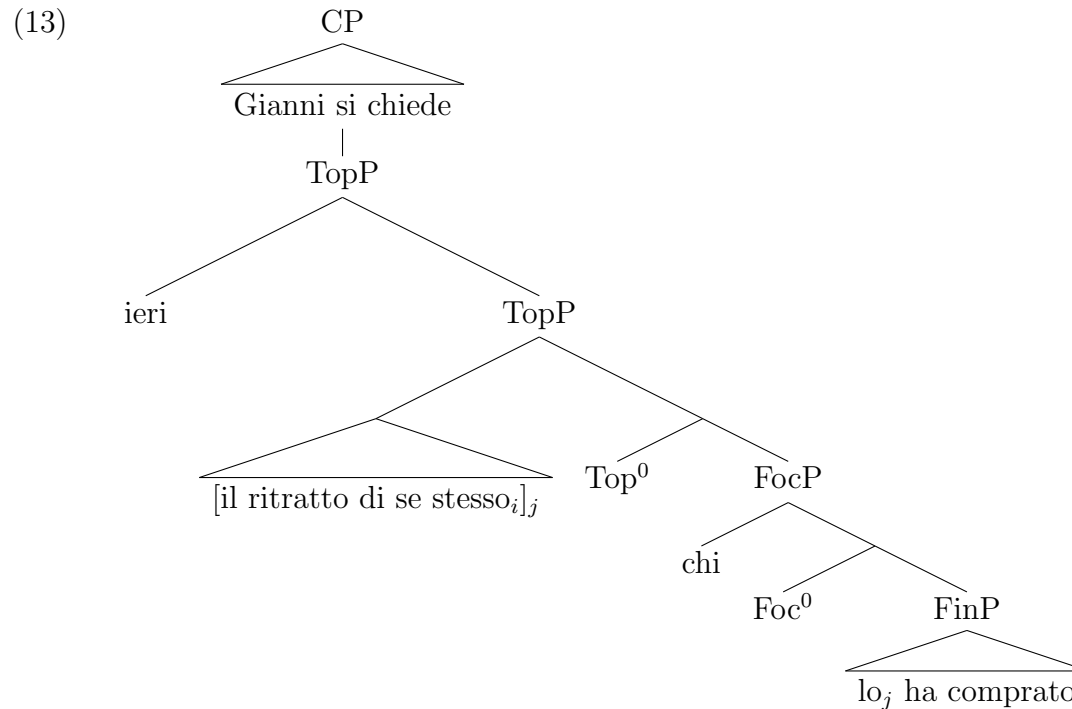
- (10) Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, (ieri), chi lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], (yesterday), who CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.  
 'John wonders, the picture of himself, who bought (yesterday).'



- §6 If the full structure were always present, all cases where the anaphor is not in [Spec, ForceP] should be bad.
- §7 A-binding is allowed across clauses if and only iff the anaphor is inside of the outmost phasal edge of the embedded clause, in compliance with Bošković (2016).

Though predicted to be bad, the sentence below sounds perfect to me:

- (12) Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, ieri, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, chi lo<sub>j</sub> ha comprato.  
 Gianni REFL ask.3SG, yesterday, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], who CL AUX buy.PPT.MSG.  
 'John wonders, yesterday, the picture of himself, who bought.'



- §8 Adjunct topics like [*ieri*] are arguably adjoined post-cyclically (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988; Stepanov, 2001). Assuming a derivational approach to Condition A, anaphor licensing occurs *before* introducing adjuncts. Additional evidence corroborating this, comes from double object constructions, where anaphors do not seem to be licensed<sup>3</sup>:



- (14) \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede, [a Maria]<sub>k</sub>, [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>, chi gli<sub>k</sub>-e-lo<sub>j</sub> ha Gianni REFL ask.3SG, to Maria, [the picture of REFL same.MASC], who CL.DAT-CL.DCC AUX dato.<sup>4</sup>  
give.PPT.MSG.  
'John wonders, to Mary, [the picture of himself], who gave.'

N.B.: The example in (14) may involve either multiple Specs of the same TopP or multiple TopPs.

<sup>3</sup>For another case where adjunct and non-adjunct topics behave differently, see Bošković (2011) and Browning (1996).

<sup>4</sup>Speakers vary in their judgements here. However, this may be due to the fact that for speakers who judge (14) to be good, the following sentences are good too:

- (iii) Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede chi ha comprato il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>.  
Gianni REFL ask.3SG who AUX buy.PPT.MSG the picture of REFL same.MASC  
'John wonders who bought the picture of himself.'
- (iv) Gianni<sub>i</sub> si chiede se Maria ha comprato [il ritratto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub>].  
Gianni REFL ask.3SG whether Maria AUX buy.PPT.MSG the picture of REFL same.MASC  
'John wonders whether Mary bought the picture of himself'.

I assume that these speakers allow the logophoric use of *se stesso* in such contexts. Giorgi (2007) shows that *se stesso* is *usually* not logophoric, as opposed to *proprio/a* 'his/her own'; for example:

- (v) \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> disse a Maria<sub>j</sub> che la foto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub> con lei<sub>j</sub> a Roma provava che la foto di [se stessa]<sub>j</sub> con lui<sub>i</sub> a Napoli era un falso.  
John told Mary that the photo of himself with her in Rome proved that the photo of herself with him in Naples was a fake. (Pollard and Sag, 1992, 275)

But actually *se stesso* may be used logophorically in some cases:

- (vi) Gianni<sub>i</sub> pensò che niente avrebbe potuto rendere una foto di [se stesso]<sub>i</sub> adeguata per Maria.  
John thought that nothing could make the picture of himself acceptable to Mary. (*ib.*, 272)

### 3 Conclusions

- §9 According to the contextual structural needs, the left periphery may not be always entirely projected, as also suggested by Rizzi (1997, 314–315)
- §10 Cross-clausal A-binding is possible only when the anaphor is inside the outmost phasal edge.

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