

The grammaticalization of
do-support in the northern
Italian Camuno dialect



Nicola Swinburne

St. Edmund Hall
University of Oxford

*A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in General Linguistics & Comparative Philology*

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Abstract

The Camuno dialect is almost unique among the Romance languages in employing a support verb, *fa* 'do', in an interrogative construction strongly reminiscent of English *do*-support. In the community in which it was originally described (Monno, Upper Val Camonica: Benincà & Poletto, 1998/2004) it is essentially obligatory. However, FS is also found further south in the Middle Val Camonica where it co-occurs with the normal Lombard interrogative that inverts verb and subject clitic (SCI).

This research tested *fa*-support (FS) use in Middle Valley dialects according to the type of support verb, with an elicitation experiment. The probability of FS use varied according to supported verb semantics. It was highest with activity verbs lexicalizing the manner in their root, lower with verbs lexicalizing result, and lowest with stative verbs. The manner > result > stative pattern also represents the pathway of generalization of FS, and different communities can be arranged along it according to their degree of grammaticalization of the construction.

When FS is optional and co-occurs with SCI in a dialect, the FS question has the pragmatic properties of an indirect question: it refers to an event slightly anterior to the utterance time about which the speaker has already some presupposed notion and is seeking the opinion of the addressee. The embedded proposition can only contain specific references and any *wh*-item must refer to an entity (person, place, manner) that already exists in the mind of the speaker. Furthermore, the grammatical subject must be referential and not impersonal. It therefore seems to have a biclausal structure with *fa* 'do' as a main and lexical verb in a separate clause. In contrast the direct, SCI question is an 'open' question, without strong preconceptions of the answer, and where the *wh*-item is non-specific.

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To my father, Richard

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Significance of *fa*-support (FS)

1.1.1 SCI interrogatives in Northern Italian Dialects

In most Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs), a question is characterized by the use of a dedicated interrogative construction. So, while the declarative has an order of subject clitic (SCL)-finite verb (Vfin) (1), the interrogative (2) usually employs an order of Vfin-SCL, inverted compared to the declarative. Interrogatives with subject clitic-verb inversion (SCI) are typical of the dialects of Lombardy, such as those in the province of Brescia, shown here for Esine, in Middle Val Camonica.¹

1. Maria la **màngia** 'l peh da hena. (Decl) (Esine)
Maria SCL.3F eats the fish for supper.
'Maria [is eating] / [(usually) eats] fish for supper.'
2. **Mànge**-la 'l peh da hena, Maria? (SCI on Vlex)
'[Is Maria eating] / [Does Maria (usually) eat] fish for supper?'

In most Bresciano dialects, SCI forms with subject enclitic are available for all tenses. These examples are of the synthetic tenses: the present (2), imperfect, future (3) and conditional so the inversion is on the syntactically main and semantically lexical verb (Vlex) (*mangià* 'eat' in these examples).² The finite verb is highlighted.

3. **Mangerà**-la 'l peh da hena, Maria? (SCI on Vlex)
'Will Maria eat fish for supper?'

To form a perfective past, Camuno, as modern Northern Regional Italian, has only the analytic tense, the *passato prossimo*. This uses an auxiliary 'have' or 'be', the choice of auxiliary being largely identical to standard Italian. Similar to the situation with the synthetic tenses, the declarative (4) differs from the interrogative (5) in the

¹ Dialects of the Middle valley, but not the Upper valley, employ the regional phonological rule of /s/ > /h/, hence 'l pes 'the fish' (Monno), but 'l peh (Esine).

² In recent years the more Italian form *mangià* has largely replaced the older form *maià* even in the more conservative dialects.

presence/absence of inversion on the finite verb, and so whether the subject clitic is a proclitic (declarative) or enclitic (interrogative). No additional support verb is required.

4. Maria l=**a** mangiàt 'l peh da hena. (Decl)
Maria SCL.3F=has eaten the fish for supper.
'Maria has eaten (the) fish for supper.'
5. **A**-la mangiàt 'l peh da hena, Maria? (SCI on Aux)
'Has Maria eaten (the) fish for supper?'

If an object is represented by a clitic, as is normal in Italo-romance, the clitic is borne on the auxiliary verb (6).

6. l'**a**-la mangiàt, ('l peh da hena) Maria? (object clitic on Aux)
'Has Maria eaten it (the fish) for supper?'

1.1.2 FS interrogatives in Monno dialect

It is notable, then, that within the Bresciano region, there exists a dialect which forms all interrogative constructions analytically by adding a support verb *fa*, cognate of Latin FACERE 'do, make, cause'. This *fa*-support (FS) construction is strongly reminiscent of English do-support (DS). It was originally described by Benincà & Poletto (1998/2004) (B&P) from the dialect of Monno, an isolated community in Upper Val Camonica. (B&P also noted FS in nearby Malonno.) The Monno dialect is a variety of the valley dialect known as Camuno, itself a variety of Bresciano.

Little has been added to the literature since B&P's landmark publication. Munaro (1999) also noted occurrence of FS at Provaglio in Lower Val Camonica. Munaro's study was dedicated to another unusual property of Camuno dialects, so-called "*wh-in situ*", or non-fronting of the *wh*-item (see below). Manzini & Savoia (2005, Vol 1, Chap 3: 602-4) also described FS from Incudine and Vezza d'Olio, west of Monno in Upper Val Camonica.

In fieldwork 2017-2020, I visited Monno as part of this valley-wide study into FS in Camuno, and verified most of B&P's original observations. (All examples below are from my fieldwork.) Examples (7) to (9) show how a normally synthetic tense, such as the present tense, cannot form the synthetic interrogative with SCI, but instead must add the support verb *fa* to make the analytic interrogative, FS. Interrogatives of all tenses are then parallel in form, as they all use a support verb.

7. Maria la **màngia** 'l pes per sena. (Decl) (Monno)
 'Maria [is eating] / [(usually) eats] fish for supper.'
8. ***Màngia**=la 'l pes per sena, Maria? (*SCI)
 eats= SCL.3F the fish for supper, Maria?
9. **Fa**= la mangià 'l pes per sena, Maria? (FS)
 does=SCL.3F eat.INFIN the fish for supper, Maria?
 '[Is Maria eating] / [Does Maria (usually) eat] fish for supper?'

Any object clitics are embedded as enclitics on the infinitival verb (10).

10. Fa=la mangià **-l** per sena, Maria? (FS)
 does=SCL.3F eat.INFIN-3M.ACC for supper, Maria?
 '[Is Maria eating] / [Does Maria (usually) eat] it for supper?'

The position of non-subject clitics distinguishes interrogative support verb *fa* from the homophonous causative verb, *fa* 'make, let, cause'. With causative *fa*, as in declarative (11), clitics representing the causee (dative *i/gli* in (11a/b)) or object raise to the causative verb, a situation almost without exception in Italo-romance.

11. a. Maria la **i** fa mangià 'l pes. (Monno)
 Maria SCL.3F 3.DAT makes eat.INFIN the fish.
- b. Maria **gli** fa mangiare il pesce. (Italian)
 'Maria [is making] / [(usually) makes] them eat (the) fish.'

In an interrogative causative in the Monno dialect, there then are two *fa*, the first interrogative and the second causative. Object/causee clitics are attached to the causative verb as enclitics (12).

12. Fa=la **fa-i** mangià 'l pes, Maria? (Monno)
 does=SCL.3F make.INFIN-3PL.M.DAT eat.infin the fish, Maria
 '[Is Maria making] / [does Maria (usually) make] them eat (the) fish?'

In the Monno dialect the position of the finite verb in the declarative is the same in standard Italian and other NIDs as per Cinque (1999) and Schifano (2018). Thus the verb precedes adverbs such as negative adverb *mìa* 'not' (13) and *semper* 'always' (B&P) but follows *de solit* 'usually' (14). (This will be demonstrated in more detail in Chapter 4: Clausal syntax.)

13. Maria la **màngia** mìa 'l pes.
 Maria SCL.3F eat.INFIN not the fish.
 'Maria is not eating (the) fish. / Maria does not (usually) eat fish.'

14. La Caterina **de solit la sbàglia** mìa.
 Caterina usually SCL.3F makes-mistakes not
 ‘Caterina doesn’t usually make mistakes.’

In the interrogative, adverbs such as *mìa/semper/de solit*, as well as pragmatic particles such as *pò* may intercede between *fa* and the main verb (15). Importantly, the lexical subject may not be placed there, and, as there is no complementizer, the structure appears (at least from this evidence) to be monoclausal.

15. **Fa=la** (*Maria) po mìa màngia=l ‘l pes, la Maria?
 does=SCL.3F po not eat.INFIN=it the fish, the Maria
 ‘(After all the trouble we’ve gone to to prepare it,) isn’t Maria eating the fish?’

In an embedded clause there is no inversion (and no non-causative *fa*) and the declarative order of SCL-Vfin is used (16).

16. Go domandat chol che la **màngia** da sena, Maria. (emb. clause)
 have.1SG asked what that SCL.3F eats for dinner Maria
 ‘I asked what Maria [is eating]/ [(usually) eats] for dinner.’

FS is also used with wh-questions/interrogatives, and is required irrespective of whether the wh-item is immediately post-verbal, fronted (and there may be minor morphological differences in the wh-item), or both (17). (This is also discussed further in Chapter 4 on Clausal syntax.)

17. (Che) **fa=la** mangià què a sena, la Maria? (FS)
 (what) does=SCL.3F eat.INFIN what for supper, Maria?
 ‘[What is Maria eating] / [What does Maria (usually) eat] for supper?’

Although unusual, non-fronting of a wh-item is known in other Lombard and Veneto dialects (e.g. Munaro (1999); Manzini & Savoia (2005: Vol. 1, 586-96). B&P concluded there was no causal connection between the existence of FS and post-verbal-wh.

The lists of verbs excluded from use with English DS and with Monno FS are very similar. B&P noted the exceptions with Monno FS of *veì* ‘have’ and *èser* ‘be’, when used either as auxiliary or main verbs. In English too, DS cannot be used with auxiliary *have* and *be* or with main-verb *be*, although with main-verb *have* DS now prevails over inversion (‘??Have you a pen?/Do you have a pen?’) in the standard languages (although not in all dialects). Thus the case for exclusion of verbs ‘have’ and ‘be’ from DS/FS on syntactic grounds is stronger in Camuno than in English.

As regards the modals, B&P found no use of FS with modal *olè* ‘want’ (cognate of Italian *volere*). This allowed them to draw parallels to English as DS with all modals in standard English is agrammatical. The use of FS in Monno to support the other available modal *podé* ‘can, could’ (cognate of Italian *potere*) must be an exception, they argued, perhaps due to the verb being borrowed from another dialect.^{3,4}

This research paints a slightly more nuanced picture. It has found that FS is in fact possible with *volere* cognates even in Monno under the right pragmatic circumstances, so the exclusion of *volere* is not syntactic. In contrast, the inadmissibility of DS with English modals is probably syntactic. English modals are morphologically simple, lack inflections and non-finite forms and direct objects, and are considered to be in an advanced stage of grammaticalization; their Romance counterparts, in comparison, behave more like lexical verbs (Heine, 1993). As regards the other available Camuno model⁵, the *potere* cognate, although FS is possible in Monno, it is not possible in many other valley dialects (e.g. Esine, see below).

This research found one additional verb that can be added to the list of verbs resisting use of FS even in Monno: *saé* ‘know’. An entire paradigm of SCI forms exists for this verb in the Monno dialect. As with ‘want’, this is not a categorical, syntax-based exclusion but one dependent on the question pragmatics, 2nd person forms more commonly taking SCI (18) and the 3rd person taking either SCI or FS (19).

18. ‘I **sè**-t / ?**fè**-t saé(l) ngo o mütü le ciaf? (Monno)
‘Do you know where I’ve put the keys?’
19. **Sa**-la / **fa**-la saé(l) ngo o mütü le ciaf?
‘Does she know where I’ve put the keys?’

The revised list of verbs excluded from using FS in Monno then consists of ‘be’, ‘have’ (full exclusion) and ‘want’, ‘know’ (partial exclusion), all of which are classic stative verbs.

³ This seems inherently improbable as cognates of *potere* are present in all other neighbouring dialects. Furthermore I found FS fully productive with verbs borrowed from Italian such as *vendere* ‘sell’ and *allenarsi* ‘train’.

⁴ B&P also noted FS use with *ndà* ‘go’ and *fà* ‘do’ as main verbs was only optional in the Monno dialect.

⁵ The third common Italian modal *dovere* is commonly represented in Camuno by a periphrastic construction as in Italian *avere da fare* ‘to have to do’.

A syntactic reason for their exclusion (also reflecting the semantics), such as their being merged on heads that are too high in the structure and above the location of support verb *fa* seems unlikely because ‘know’ is a main verb in almost all its Camuno uses.⁶ More probable is that the partial exclusion of ‘know’ in Monno is part of a more general Camuno tendency for FS to be less common with stative verbs (as will be demonstrated in Chapters 6 & 7 that detail the factors determining optional FS). The verbs that remain without FS are then vestiges of a generalization that proceeded according to verb semantics, rather than syntax, being equally applicable to main verbs and to auxiliaries.

1.1.3 Similarities to English DS and relationship to verb raising

The significance of FS in the Monno dialect for B&P lay in its strong similarity to English DS and the fact that it was an example of ‘do’-support in a Romance language (and, at the time, the only such example).⁷ Thus the existence of FS called into question the general applicability of the now conventional syntactic explanation for English DS: due to the verb being unable to raise out of the verb phrase, a ‘dummy’ auxiliary must be inserted in T (Chomsky, 1957). The problem was that in Camuno, even in the declarative, the verb already raises out of the verb phrase, as attested by its position with respect to relevant adverbs. For an argument based on verb raising to be tenable for FS in Camuno, it would need to be adapted slightly and be based on the idea of a barrier to movement from T to C in the interrogative.

Whereas English DS is also present in the declarative (and for similar reasons, the imperative), Camuno FS is more restricted in its distribution as it occurs only in the interrogative. Among English declarative uses, in a negative declarative, DS allows a finite

⁶ The most common use of ‘know’ as a verb with vP complement is in ‘Do you know how to X?’, which in Camuno is more commonly lexicalized with ‘be good at’. However, it is occasionally used: e.g. *Sét/hét nudà?* ‘Do you know how to swim?’, *Sét/hét bù de nudà?* ‘Are you good at swimming?’. (The example also brings out the confluence between 2ps ‘be’ and ‘know’.)

⁷ Among the few other examples of a FACERE-based support verb in Romance languages is the interrogative use in Central and Southern Italian dialects (and in declaratives in Siciliano). See Lusini, 2013, for Sienese and summary of findings of Cruschina, 2008, 2012, for Sicilian and Garzonio, 2004, for Florentine. The FACERE verb, which is always optional and in some dialects replaceable with ‘be’, is preceded by a *che*-like word (either a wh-item or complementizer) and followed by a finite main verb – and therefore syntactically quite different from Camuno FS. Most (but not all) of these occurrences are without semantic restrictions. There is also an auxiliary *faire* without semantic restrictions in the affirmative declarative of Medieval French (Miller, 1997).

verb to precede the negative adverb *not* and to support the clitic form *n't*. These functions are not needed in Camuno as the finite verb anyway precedes negation and, as shown in (13) above, uses a self-standing, non-clitic adverb. English affirmative uses include emphatic *do*, with intonational stress on the auxiliary, used to assert the truth (or, with 'not', the falsity) of the proposition, or, without the stress, as an intensifier of the verb phrase.⁸ In Camuno, as in Italian, emphasis or intensity is usually achieved through word order permutations (use of various focus positions), or adverbially; moreover, in Camuno unlike in English, auxiliaries 'have' 'be', as well as interrogative *fa/do* not take stress. Another consequence of using word order permutation rather than stressing the auxiliary is that Camuno does not use VP ellipsis. The difference in DS and FS possible functions is summarized in Table 1.1 (overpage).

It could also be argued that the existence of a causative structure with homophonous causative verb *fa* could also present a 'block' to the use of FS in the declarative because the two structures might be confused. This is possible, but seems superfluous because the two are fairly easily distinguished by causee presence, and/or clitic position (see (12) above for Monno and (23) below for Esine: additional arguments are presented in Chapter 3). More likely is that FS in the declarative never evolved because, as the main verb raised, insertion of *fa* was redundant.

Even the hypothesis that, in Camuno, it is only the movement of a main verb from T to C that is problematic, is not without difficulties. As B&P (2004: 62, fn 10) pointed out, if enclitics on the finite main verb in constructions such as conditional clauses (20) and optatives are taken as examples of a verb in C, SCI exists even in the Monno dialect.

20. Piöe-l o piöe-l mà...
 rains-it or rains-it not...
 'Whether it rains or not...'

⁸ There is also dialect affirmative 'do', considered to be a remnant of a once more common structure (e.g. Kroch, 1989; Nevalainen, 1991; Jones & Tagliamonte, 2004, which is not necessarily used to intensify.

TABLE 1.1: USES OF 'DO' SUPPORT IN ENGLISH AND CAMUNO

	English	Camuno	Explanation
Interrogative			
Does Maria usually eat fish for supper?	✓	✓	
Declarative - negative			
Maria doesn't usually eat fish for supper.	✓	x	Not required. Negation is adverbial.
Declarative - affirmative (emphatic)			
(You're wrong.) Maria DOES usually eat fish for supper.	✓	x	Adverbial intensifiers or word order variation used to achieve these effects. In addition, <i>fa</i> does not take stress.
Declarative - affirmative (intensification)			
Maria does enjoy her fish on a Friday!	✓	x	
Declarative – VP ellipsis and topicalization			
They say Maria usually eats fish for supper and it's true, eat fish she does.	✓	x	No auxiliary stranding in Camuno.
Embedded interrogative			
I don't know if Maria usually eats fish for supper.	x	x	

Overall, regardless of the precise syntactic mechanism responsible for FS, the end result from a learnability perspective is still a rule for the Monno dialect of no-main-verb-in-C in the interrogative (or declarative). On hearing an assertion, the learner interprets the main verb to be in Asp (approximately T), as they hear numerous example of a main verb preceded by the subject proclitic followed by an adverb such as *mia* 'not'. In questions, they hear an inflecting morpheme *fa* with subject enclitic at the start of the sentence (possibly preceded by a wh-word or topic) and conclude that the finite verb, *fa*, is in C. Furthermore, as in the Monno dialect *fa* is used regardless of the semantics of the accompanying verb, they assume it is a purely functional auxiliary not a lexically contentful main verb. The conclusion reached by the learner of the Monno dialect, and thus their parameter setting for the language, is that, although the main verb always raises out of the verb phrase, in an interrogative it does not raise to C, and a dummy verb *fa* is inserted (21).

21. ***Màngia**-la / **Fa**-la mangià 'l pes per sena, Maria? Monno (*SCI/FS)
[Is Maria eating] / [Does Maria (usually) eat] (the) fish for supper?'

The advantages to English of a rule of no-verb-raising-to-C are that the declarative word order of S-Vlex-O can also be perceived in the interrogative construction. In other Germanic languages that employ a 'do'-type auxiliary in a similar way to English (but for which use is largely optional), notably Dutch and colloquial and dialect German (see review in Jäger (2006: 230-235); van der Auwera (1999); and summary in Chapter 10), there is a further advantage in ease of learnability: as inflectional morphology is carried on the auxiliary, only the 'do' paradigm in the various tenses must be memorized, which makes it particularly common in child language (Cornips, 1998; Schütze, 2004, 2013). (In Modern English, as there are so few inflections, this is less of an issue.) On the basis of their similarity in functions (maintenance of declarative order of Vlex and O, and to a lesser extent, learnability), Jäger (2006), in his typology of 'do'-support constructions, placed the Germanic languages in his Group 2, in which were placed 38 of his 200 language sample.

The advantages that obligatory use of an auxiliary *fa* confers on Camuno are less clear than for the Germanic languages, but it still seems most appropriate to place it in Jäger's Group 2. With inflectional morphology similar in complexity to standard Italian there is still a slight learnability advantage if inflections always placed on an auxiliary, yet the inflectional paradigms with lexical verbs still have to be learned for the declarative forms.⁹ An argument based on maintenance of a strict (S-)Vlex-O order is possible but less fruitful in Camuno as the adjacency of Vlex-O is already broken by intervening adverbs. If the subject was also a consideration (so, disregarding adverbs, maintenance of S-V-O was important) it would rely on the subject clitic position (regardless of whether or not it bears the argumental role: see discussion in Roberts, 2014), not that of lexical subject, which is either sentence final, or topicalized and sentence initial (preceding *fa*). If maintenance of the declarative word order was paramount, this could be why 'do'-

⁹ One speaker from Bienno for whom FS is optional, noted that for her FS was the only form available with the (rarer) 1st and 4th person questions.

support is not more widespread within the Romance family, as most (excepting French) of these languages are null-subject languages and without subject clitics (Roberts, 2019).

The existence of English DS is linked to the abandonment of verb raising in late Middle/early Modern English (e.g. Roberts, 1993: 238-9) and a process of re-setting of the verb-raising parameter from positive (V to T to C) to negative (no V to T and therefore no T to C). There is evidence for the following characteristics:

1. It **took several hundred years** (1400-1700), during which forms with *do* **co-existed** with forms inverting main verb and subject (Ellegård, 1953, Nevalainen, 1991).
2. Adoption of DS varied by verb with some **stative verbs lagging** behind (Ellegård, 1953).
3. In the early stages, insertion of *do* in affirmative clauses was primarily for the **pragmatic reasons** of highlighting, or intensifying, the content of a clause within the discourse (Stein, 1990: Chapter 3).
4. The rise in **do insertion** is approximately concurrent with **loss of verb raising** (as attested by increasing frequency of the order of *never-Vlex*: Ellegård, 1953; Kroch, 1994). It is therefore unclear **what is cause and what is effect**.

FS, as represented by the Monno dialect, must similarly be associated with a change in the main-verb raising parameter in interrogatives from positive (Asp to C) to negative (no Asp to C). As the form is geographically limited, FS is interpreted as the innovative form compared to the SCI of surrounding Bresciano dialects. In fact, the Monno dialect is in most ways exceptional, as in this dialect FS is (essentially) obligatory and the parametric change has gone to completion. Other Camuno dialects (see below) have a mixture of FS and SCI forms and probably represent earlier stages in the grammaticalization of a similar 'do' support verb. If this rich diatopic evidence is used to reconstruct the sequence that for English is available on the basis of historical evidence, there is evidence that each of the processes suggested for English occurred. Thus for Camuno, the following are suggested:

1. Many Camuno dialects show a **mixture of forms** with main verb-SCL (SCI) and *fa*-SCL (FS). This indicates that the process of change may slow or stall.

2. FS use propagates through the different verbs according to their semantics with **stative verbs most resistant**.
3. Whenever there is an alternative interrogative form to FS, FS is being used for **semantic/pragmatic reasons**.
4. Overall the parameter change is **not apparently driven by syntactic motivations**, even if that is the result.

1.2 FS in other Camuno dialects

A fuller understanding of FS is obtained by taking into account not just the FS of Monno and other Upper Valley communities, but FS as used further south in the Middle Valley. The Middle Valley is the area south of the bend in the river at Berzo Demo and the entry point for the NE-SW trending Val di Scalve. This is summarized on Figure 1.1 (overpage). (A more detailed map showing distribution of optional versus obligatory FS is included in Chapter 8: Generalization of FS.)

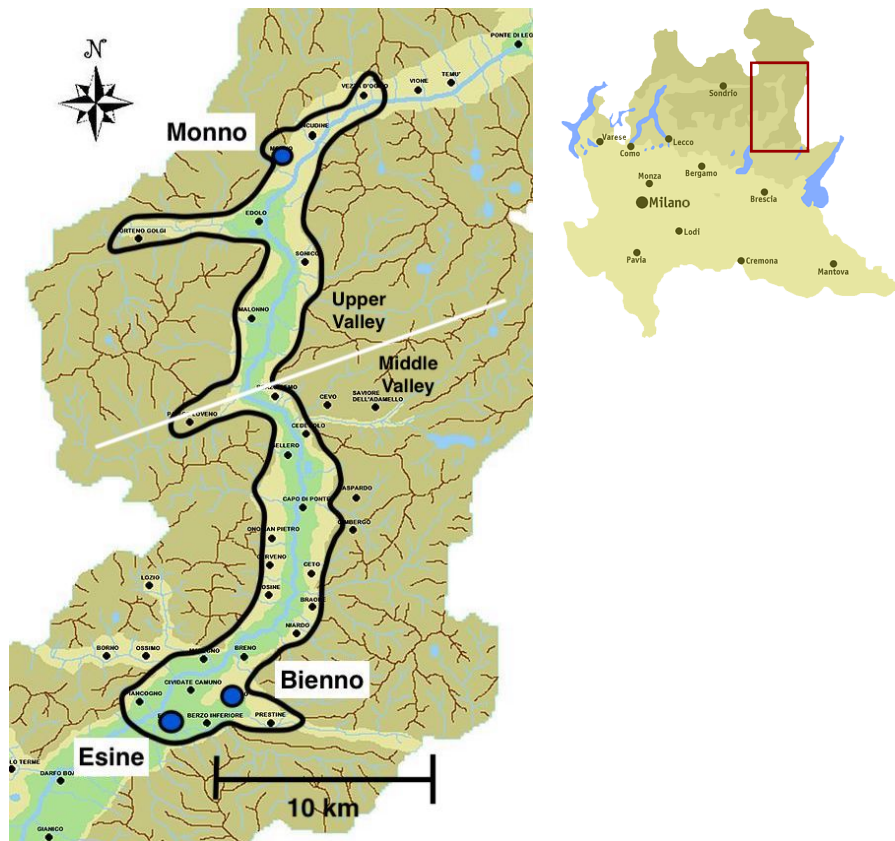
Compared to the Upper Valley, the Middle Valley is better connected to the cities of the Po Plain, such as Bergamo, Brescia, and Milan. Communication pathways have always been along the major valleys such as the Oglio valley and its tributaries. Historically, when the river Oglio was also used for freight transport, the town of Esine marked the northernmost limit of navigability. This is also the southernmost extent of the FS phenomenon today.

Unlike in the Upper valley, where FS use is obligatory with most verbs, in at least the better connected towns of the Middle Valley such as Esine, it is an entirely optional phenomenon.^{10,11}

¹⁰ In the Middle Valley, FS is usually only present in the dialect of older speakers (over 60s). In the Upper Valley, it may occur in dialect speakers of all age groups.

¹¹ However, most speakers in the town of Bienno and more isolated surrounding agricultural communities such as Prestine also have (essentially) obligatory FS.

FIGURE 1.1: AREA OF FA-SUPPORT WITHIN VAL CAMONICA IN 2017-20



In these Middle Valley communities interrogatives can be formed using either SCI or FS (22). The questions have the same literal meaning and *fa* makes no semantic contribution.¹²

22. a. **Màngia**=la 'l peh da hena, Maria? (SCI) (Esine)
 eats=SCL.3F the fish for supper, Maria?
- b. **Fa**=la mangià 'l peh da hena, Maria? (FS)
 does=SCL.3F eat.INFIN the fish for supper, Maria?
 '[Is Maria eating] / [Does Maria (usually) eat] fish for supper?'

There are two important traits associated with optional FS when present alongside SCI. Firstly, the two question forms have different meanings; secondly, there are semantic restrictions on the possible complement verbs.

¹² Although most examples shown here are in the present tense with habitual meaning, there is no necessary association with habituality.

25. #Fé=t **troà** le cial hèmper an tahca? **result**
do.2s=SCL.2s find.INFIN the keys always in pocket
‘Do you always **find** your keys in your pocket?’
26. ??#Fé=t **penhà** che ‘l hàeh anna buna idéa, o no? **stative**
do.2s=SCL.2s think.INFIN that SCL.3DEF be.3s.COND a good idea, or no
‘Do you **think** it would be a good idea, or not?’

Auxiliary verbs

27. #Fé=t **finì** a tö=ho i cachi prima che ‘l rüa
la nef? **result**
do.2s=SCL.2s finish.INFIN to pick=down.INFIN the persimmons before that SCL.3DEF
arrive.3s the snow
‘Do you **finish** gathering the persimmons before the snow comes?’
28. *Fé=t **podé** mangià=la la carne graha? **stative**
do.2s=SCL.2s are-able-to.INFIN eat.INFIN=ACC.3F the meat fatty
‘**Can** you eat fatty meat?’

These characteristics suggest that the optional FS of Esine, where *fa* still has lexical content, is at an earlier stage of grammaticalization than the (essentially) obligatory FS of Monno. The modal *vulì* ‘want’ and main verb *saé* ‘know’ are two of the last verbs to which FS generalizes in the grammaticalization of the construction.

1.3 Research questions

To summarize from above: the initial stages of this research suggested that FS shows a range of phenomena within Camuno. The Monno dialect represents one extreme and the Esine dialect the other, and it is possible to model these two dialects as two ends of a grammaticalization spectrum. The overt differences in FS between these dialects are semantic/pragmatic as there is no overt representation in the syntax. They could be considered consequences of the change of *fa* from a primitive lexically contentful verb ‘do’ to a semantically bleached auxiliary.

This thesis will therefore attempt a comprehensive answer to the following three questions:

1. What are the differences between the FS and SCI question, when both are possible in the dialect?
2. How is the probability of FS use connected to the semantics of its complement?

3. How does FS use generalize from optional to obligatory across the different types of verbal complement?

Given the answers to those questions on the semantics, it is then fruitful to ask the syntactic/semantic question:

4. What kind of verb is *fa* as represented by the Monno and Esine dialects: an auxiliary and functional verb, or a main and lexical verb; and so is the structure of the FS monoclausal or biclausal?

1.4 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2: Methodology. This chapter describes the data collection methodology for the qualitative phases of this research (P1, P2) which produced the syntactic examples in Chapters 3 and 4 and the explanations of question meanings in Chapter 5. It then describes the modifications that resulted in the elicitation technique for the quantitative experimental phases (P3 and P4) of which the results are presented in Chapters 6 to 8. The main focus of those experiments was to measure the probability of FS use according to the supported verb (as categorized primarily by its lexical semantics, but also testing variation according to its syntax) by simulating use in conversation. There were minor focuses on assessing variation according to the tense, and person (2nd vs 3rd) on which the question was based.

Chapter 3: Morphosyntax of three interrogative forms. This provides the basic descriptions of the various Camuno interrogative forms: *fa*-support (FS), subject clitic – main verb inversion (SCI) and the non-inverted, declarative form with question intonation (QDec). Interrogative *fa* is consistently distinguished from causative *fa* by the different positions for non-subject clitics and, in the area around Bienno, a distinctive aspirated pronunciation, *ha*.

Chapter 4: Clausal syntax and finite verb position. This covers the evidence for the structural location of verb in the declarative, and SCI, FS and QDec interrogatives, by using the cartographic sequence of Lower and Higher adverbs. The evidence confirms that the verb raises out of the verb phrase and that the standard explanation for the necessity of English DS (lack of V to T) is not appropriate for Camuno. A position within the CP for the finite verb, whether the full lexical verb, or *fa*, is affirmed by using the

particle *po*, which, due to its pragmatic nature, is considered a representative of the CP domain. Different positions for the finite verb according to its degree of lexical content cannot be distinguished. The post-verbal (focus) position of the *wh*-item is discussed but no connection to the occurrence of FS is found. Possible syntactic structures for SCI (monoclausal) and FS (monoclausal or biclausal) are introduced.

Chapter 5: Semantic and pragmatic meanings of FS. In areas of the valley where FS is optional and it co-exists with SCI, the two question forms have different meanings. The FS question (the marked option) is opinion seeking, and carries a speaker presupposition of the answer. Its propositional content is 'old' and is already part of the Common Ground. It refers to an event that anterior to the speaking time and the speaker has 'moved on' to assess the consequences of the answer. In contrast, an SCI question is information-seeking, and relatively 'open' as regards the answer. The few *wh*-Q pairs appear to demonstrate a difference in specificity of the *wh*-item: in SCI it is non-specific but in FS it is specific. Overall, SCI has all the semantic properties of a direct and matrix question while optional FS has those of an indirect and embedded question. Syntactically, this translates to SCI as monoclausal and FS, when optional, as biclausal.

Chapter 6: Supported verb aspect and manner/result as optional FS determinants and **Chapter 7: Subject theta role, tense and person as optional FS determinants.** Results of the quantitative analysis show that the probability of FS use, when optional, is determined by the semantics of the accompanying verb and by its subject theta role, but not by its syntax. FS is most likely to be used with non-stative than stative verbs, and within the non-statives verbs those that lexicalize manner (almost all activities) rather than verbs that lexicalize result. Additionally, FS is most likely with an effector subject. The semantic restrictions indicate that *fa* still has lexical content, further supporting a biclausal model and subject assignment by *fa*. The preference for a manner-activity complement makes it most likely that the support verb *fa* is derived from the pro-verb *fa* 'do'.

Chapter 8: Generalization from optional to obligatory FS. By comparing the relative use of FS with verbs of different kinds in adjacent communities (thus diatopic change), the chapter reconstructs the grammaticalization sequence (of diachronic change) from each of three valleys, the Grigna, Oglio and Ogliolo. These sequences each demonstrate

generalization of FS across the verbs in the order of manner > result > stative verb. Additional patterns of generalization within the functional verbs are broadly in line with the cartographic hierarchy. The chapter argues how it is far simpler to explain obligatory FS as a result of generalization and grammaticalization of optional FS, than to explain optional FS as de-grammaticalization due to later incursion of SCI into an originally grammaticalized, obligatory FS dialect. Under the grammaticalization hypothesis, at least three separate grammaticalization sequences are attested, each following a predetermined pattern.

Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant. This chapter looks separately at the *ha* morphological variant, typical of the Bienno dialect previously described under the more general title of FS. Dialects with optional *ha*-support (HS) also show the complement verb restrictions and the unique question meaning similar to those with *fa*-support. The *ha* form seems to have originated by copying a phonological rule of /f/ to /h/ from the dialect of an neighbouring community but applying it word-initially to just this one lexical item. Application of /f/ to [h] distinguishes interrogative *ha* 'do' and causative *fa*, but conflates *ha* and *èher* 'be'. A few speakers at the edge of the *ha* area have both forms of the support verb, *ha* and *fa*, and use *ha* 'be' more with stative verbs and *fa* 'do' with non-statives. This indicates that the manner-activity lexical semantics of 'do' is an obstacle to its generalization and that an understanding of *ha* as 'be' would be one way to counter this.

Chapter 10: Conclusions. The thesis concludes by providing answers to the research questions asked in this chapter, and suggests some wider implications of the findings. In an attempt to answer the question not asked up to this point of why 'do'-support should exist in Camuno but not more widely within Romance, some additional information is provided. It concerns a particular trait of Camuno of doubling of certain entire verbs: the causative verb, the two modals, and 'go'; or even of the entire verb phrase, seemingly for an emphatic function. A similar doubling of the manner-activity component of a lexical verb most likely gave rise to a *fa*, creating a separate support verb. Brief comparisons are made to Swiss German, which has a *tun* 'do'-support verb and doubling of some aspectual verbs. Finally, the chapter notes findings of the research that warrant further, more detailed study.

1.5 Terminology, frameworks and scope limitations

This thesis employs a Minimalist and cartographic framework for its syntax. However, Chapters 3 and 4 are, to the extent possible, intended to provide a basic description sufficient to refer to syntactic structures without providing detailed mechanisms of their derivation.

In relating FS use to the internal verb semantics, two systems are employed, both of which produces ‘flat’ decompositions unconnected to the syntax. This choice is justified on grounds that selection of the complement by *fa* is purely semantic and there is no overt expression in the syntax. The first system is aspectual and from Van Valin (2005) and the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) framework. The second system, which is found to best reflect the semantic selection of *fa* comes from Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1998) and incorporates the manner/result division.

1.6 Camuno orthography and glosses

Camuno dialects are mostly spoken languages with little written record so there is at yet no official orthographic standard. If there is a need to write the dialect, each user must adopt their own system. In fact, the systems in use share many common traits so, rather than reverting to a phonetic orthography, this thesis employs the methods that are most commonly used by the Camunans.

Examples from Informant 36. Esine, author of a forthcoming dictionary (Volpi, in prep.) on his dialect use his orthography except for removal of the accent on the finite support verb *fa* (to distinguish it from the infinitival uses of homophonous verbs), and treatment of the declarative endings as inflections rather than clitics.

Apart from that, examples used in Chapters 3-5, even if originally transcribed by this author, have been checked with speakers to ensure that the sounds intended and grouping of morphemes have been correctly captured. However, minor corrections have been made to prevent the reader from assuming syntactic differences between dialects that are only a consequence of using a different orthographic system. The basic system used is then a modification of the standard Italian orthography:

- As in Italian: *ci, ce* combinations are pronounced with a soft 'c', /tʃ/; *chi, che* have the hard 'c', /k/; *ca, co* and *cu* have a hard 'c' /k/, and *cia, cio, ciu* when word initial a soft 'c', /tʃ/.
- In Camuno, as final consonants are allowed, a word-final soft 'c' /tʃ/ is spelt as *cc*. However, some instances here, to avoid confusion, it is written as *č*.
- In Camuno there are two rounded front vowels not present in Italian and they are spelt as in German. Thus *ü* represents /y/ and *ö* is /œ/.
- The Middle Valley uses an 's-aspirata', and *s* when pronounced as [h] is usually written as *h*.
- An accent is used to indicate a stressed vowel but (with the exception of the Esine data where it has been supplied by the writer) it has not always been notated. At a minimum the accent is present on the verb (or associated adverbial particle) to indicate whether it is an infinitive (which almost invariably has the accent on the final syllable due to apocope of the *re* ending with respect to Latin), or a finite verb (and therefore either one or two syllables from the end). *fā* is not accented when used to indicate the lemma or the finite verb, but the infinitive (relevant to forms other than the support verb) is marked as *fà*.
- The grave accent indicates a lower sound and acute accent a higher sound for the stressed vowel. Between dialects the direction of the accent may differ, but, with the exception of the local of stress within verb+particle combinations, the position of stress is invariable.

Glosses include the following notations:

SCL = subject clitic with M/F, SG/PL as indicated. (This is to emphasize that this is viewed as an agreement marker, rather than argumental.)

DEF = default (for clitics, either when the form is not the expected M/F, SG/PL, but has changed for compatibility with the combination of clitics, or when it represents a non-argumental form such as an expletive)

REF = reflexive; REF.INV=invariable (*se/he*)

3IMP = impersonal clitic (which has 3rd person agreement on the verb)

3PASS / 3MV = clitic indicating a passive / “middle voice” reading of the construction and absence of external argument

1PL.IMP = weak impersonal pronoun *an/am* used on 1PL and originally derived from Latin *homo*.

IMP = imperative

IMPERF = imperfect

PTCP = past participle

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter describes how the linguistic samples were collected. **Section 2.1** describes the profile of the informants and explains how they were chosen as suitable representatives of their dialect. **Section 2.2** is about the qualitative phases of data gathering, P1 and P2. These were based on the questionnaire method and translations from Italian, but through oral discussion rather than in writing. These first two phases provided the syntactic information and informed the methodology for the subsequent quantitative phases. **Section 2.3** describes the methodology for the elicitation experiments of P3 and P4 that measured the effect of various independent variables as factors determining the use of *fa*-support (FS).

2.1 Informants interviewed

The success of this study relies on the strength of the innate knowledge of the dialect speakers, or informants, who participated. From the many fluent dialect speakers, informants were chosen on grounds of their age, stability within their community during the critical period of language acquisition, and willingness to participate in the research. They included both genders.

Almost all were over 55 in age (in 2019, i.e., born before 1964) and most were 65-75. For these speakers, dialect was their first language growing up, the language of home (many of them came from large families), and with friends outside school, although only Italian was used inside school. In Middle Val Camonica, dialect speaking was still common among those younger than 55 (at least in the 30-55 age group) in some communities. However, use of *fa*-support (FS) to form a question had been dropped in favour of the more cosmopolitan, verb-subject clitic inversion (SCI). There was no upper age cut-off for the criteria for participation, except that informants needed to be sufficiently mentally acute to be able to follow the instructions and concentrate during the interview(s).

Informants were fluent dialect speakers, still using it for everyday communication with valley friends of their age or older, and almost all were fully bilingual in Italian. For their dialect to be truly representative of one community, it was necessary that they grew up in that community, with at least one, preferably both, parents from that community, and that they had not spend significant time away until they were adults. Several speakers had moved away as adults (to larger cities in northern Italy, or even abroad) but returned to retire. I found that if they had lived out of the Valley during their working years, they generally faithfully preserved their childhood speech because there had been no

competing influence from a similar dialect. If they had moved to a different dialect-speaking community within the Valley this had influenced their original dialect to varying degrees.

In the initial stages, or phases, of the research, P1 and P2, informants were asked for translations from Italian. In the later phases, P3 and P4, questions were elicited from them using a dialect context. The informants came from all over the valley and enabled the mapping of the boundaries of FS (shown in Chapter 1, Figure 1.1., and in more detail in Chapter 8, Figure 8.1). Formal interviews were held with 55 informants from the central part of the Middle Valley (MV); 8 from the northern part of the MV; 16 from the Upper Valley (UV); and 8 from the Ogliolo Valley or Upper Valley West (UVW). Their translations, or elicited questions, were recorded and responses stored in a Filemaker database. In addition, many more informants were consulted about their use of FS. A list of the characteristics of these informants (anonymized for privacy) is presented in Appendix A2a.

Camuno has little written record, so this investigation is based largely on the spoken word. In fact, most informants will say that they do not know how to write their dialect (although it is widely used for texting), so, even if they could, reading it would not come naturally to them. Furthermore, as the focus of this investigation is the type of interrogative form used for a question, it is best examined within a dialogue involving the interaction of a speaker and addressee. As the research focuses on FS use by verb, and some of the verbs investigated have a relatively low frequency in natural speech, the phenomenon must be investigated by slightly artificial, experimental means.

2.2 Translation method (P1/P2)

2.2.1 Method description

In P1 and P2, samples of dialect interrogatives, including a mixture of both FS and non-FS interrogatives, were gathered using the 'questionnaire' method. This is based on translations from Italian in a similar manner to the *Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale* (ASIt) enterprise (Benincà & Poletto, 2007). However, in this work, the translations were almost all obtained orally rather than in writing (although a set of written responses to the ASIt 2nd questionnaire by one Esine informant is also included in

Appendix A3b.) In most instances the question for translation was accompanied by a context (also in Italian but not requiring a translation) that provided information on the identities of the speaker and the listener, and also set up a situation. In earlier stages of the research, the questionnaire included some other types of sentences such as declarative or imperative sentences, embedded questions, *wh*-questions, and questions with other syntactic variation. Besides providing additional information, they prevented the informant from answering by rote.

In P1, as syntactic information was gathered, the questionnaires went through several iterations where new questions were added (to obtain more detail on a specific point) and older ones removed (once a syntactic phenomenon had been generally understood). P2, which also used the translation method, was the first attempt at quantifying the relative FS by verb, using exactly the same questionnaire with different informants from different communities. The questions with contexts were scripted, and I (as the interviewer) read them out loud to the informant making every attempt to give additional meaning by using intonation and explaining the context if it was not clear. Any follow-up questions on the syntax were generally left to the end of the interview to avoid disrupting the flow.

2.2.2 Appropriateness for gathering syntactic data

Results from P1/P2 showed that FS in the UV was generally an obligatory phenomenon and, with only a few minor exceptions, was largely as originally described by Benincà & Poletto (2004) from Monno. The focus of the investigation turned to the MV and use of FS when optional and co-occurring with SCI.

In these dialects, use of FS seemed largely independent of the syntax; for example, it was present with/without negation (as provided by post-verbal negative adverbs) and non-subject clitics. It was also used both with yes/no-questions (*y/n*-Qs) and *wh*-questions (*wh*-Qs), and there was no obviously greater use with one over the other. However, due to the relative complexity of *wh*-Qs in Camuno (*wh* '*in-situ*' versus fronting; different semantics of each *wh*-item) and because of a speaker tendency (particularly in the MV) to cleft some of these *wh*-questions (resulting in a declarative word order in the main

clause and hence no use of FS), all quantitative measurements of FS use by verb were restricted to y/n-Qs.

When optional, FS use was clearly related to the pragmatics. Firstly, it depended on the relationship between the questioner and addressee. Informants said its use was more common with valley 'insiders' and it indicated a degree of intimacy, as well as politeness in the sense of taking into account the feelings (i.e., 'face') of the addressee. With some particularly sensitive issues, FS could also be regarded as too intimate and perhaps intrusive, and therefore inappropriate.

Informants indicated that FS was also more likely to be used if the context indicated the questioner had already some knowledge of the question answer, or some emotional involvement in the subject. As one informant told me, FS meant *si sa già* 'you already know' (the answer to the question). This information was used in construction of certain pragmatic types of context in P3 of the research.

In P2, the first attempt to quantify relative use of FS in y/n-Qs, it became clear that FS use was very rare when the supported verb was a stative verb and was much more common when it was non-stative and described an activity.

2.2.3 Challenges in assessing the degree of FS optionality

Although results from P2 showed that the probability of FS use (when optional) was related to the aspectual category of the supported verb, by using only one question per verb, results were not clear-cut and there was an overlap in aspectual categories. To assess the use by verb, a mixture of questions based on each verb was required and certain factors (such as whether the question was a 2nd person question asked directly of the interlocutor, or a 3rd person question, asked about the interlocutor's opinion of another person; and also the tense) needed to be kept constant.

Pragmatics clearly played a role in a speaker's decision to use FS. With some informants, I, as the interviewer, a non-dialect speaker, non-native Italian speaker, and valley outsider, was not able to adequately engage the interviewee in play-acting, persuade them react to the context, and generate a spontaneous answer. A further impediment to maintaining spontaneity was that the method was laborious as an entire transcription was required. This meant that the informant often slowed down their response to an

unnatural speed to allow the interviewer to keep up with the dictation, possibly affecting the type of response chosen.

Although most informants could switch between Italian and dialect very easily (and regularly code-switched in conversation with other fully bilingual speakers), some who took a long time with their translations and appeared to be consciously analysing their choices of FS versus SCI. As almost all of them had never questioned why they used one form over another until we began our interviews, their preliminary attempts at a personal theory could have affected their responses.

With other informants, the opposite situation was encountered and the informant's translation, although it captured the intention behind the context, had too much artistic liberty and reformulated the question, with syntactic and lexical changes, including not using the intended lexical verb. This introduced several variables making it hard to compare the responses between different informants.

Finally, there was always a possibility that, when translating a question from Italian (which although lacking subject clitics, forms interrogatives in a manner more similar to SCI than FS), the informant would produce a calque and bias results in favour of SCI.

2.3 Elicitation method (P3/P4)

2.3.1 Context recorded in local dialect

In view of the issues outlined above, the decision was made to collect data on FS by running an elicitation experiment and to use the recorded voice of a local dialect speaker. This formed the final two phases of the research, P3 and P4. The recorded voices were those of people of similar age to the informant (50-80) and from one of the local communities (and all were, coincidentally, female).¹

The local voices encouraged the interviewee to imagine they were in a dialect-speaking situation surrounded by people similar to themselves, and served to further distance the

¹ All voices were from MV communities as the initial intention was to restrict the quantitative data sampling to those communities. However, the P3 experiment was successfully extended to the UV, notably to the UVW, using the same MV recordings. UV and MV dialects are mutually intelligible, although there are some lexical differences in addition to the pronunciation.

investigator (with her foreign accent) from the situation. Several different voices were used, three for P3 and four for P4, each voice for one question per verb. Reasons for this were both practical, in that it reduced the workload per narrator, and methodological, in that it gave no particular advantage to informants who came from the same community, maybe recognizing the voice as someone they knew, or even who were reacting to their own voice. Results were averaged to minimize any such preference. Furthermore, alternating the voices during the experiment helped keep the informant engaged and responsive.

The recording of the context was expressive, conveying emotion through intonation, encouraging the interviewee to relate to the situation and be equally expressive in their formulation of the question (and they were told that how they said the question was important).² To further encourage interviewees to be drawn into the situation and react in a realistic manner, contexts were drawn from real life stories of situations that had actually happened, or could have happened, in the valley. These stories were discussed with local people beforehand for their suitability (particularly so in P4). Some examples are presented below.

Each numbered recording of a context with question request was associated its original Italian version in a filemaker database. These were then organized in a certain fixed order in the manner of a written questionnaire. In establishing this order, one example of each verb was put into a different section, or block, and then their order within that section randomized (as described in Cowart, 1997). In this way, if an informant tired (and, say, produced all FS for the final quarter of the questionnaire without thinking about the context, or the verb), this should not cause bias in the overall results for that verb.

The person in the recorded context and instructing the informant to ask the question, could be interpreted by them as a friend, in which case the situation included three people (voice=friend, questioner=informant, and addressee=imagined participant specified in the context). Another interpretation is that the voice was regarded as the

² The FS questions appear to have in general a higher pitch range than the SCI questions, indicating expressiveness, but these effects have not been quantified. This mirrors the prosody of the question request.

speaker's own thoughts ('the little voice inside the head'), nudging them to ask the question once they became aware or reminded of certain facts. Either way, the recorded voice must be regarded as part of the dialect situation.

2.3.2 Question elicitation by reformulation of declarative

Each context ended with a request to the informant to ask a certain question of the person described in the context. This is referred to here as the 'question request'. Syntactically the question request was an imperative with embedded question, for example (in dialect): 'Ask Maria if she works on a Saturday'. This would then be rephrased by the informant as: '(Maria), do you work on a Saturday?' A full list of contexts with question requests for is available in Appendices A2b-d.

The question request suggested the lexical items in dialect (albeit in the dialect of a neighbouring community) and although informants sometimes substituted their own local terms for certain nouns, they almost always used the suggested verb (which was a relatively common dialect verb). And, as they needed to rephrase the sentence syntactically, they could not produce a calque.

2.3.3 Collecting the responses

To speed data collection, maintain spontaneity, and allow more results to be gathered per interview, the elicited questions were not transcribed during the interview. All interviews were recorded and could be transcribed later for the precise form of the question if required. Instead, the form of the informant's dialect question was noted during the interview in a checkbox in the database. For most informants only two possibilities were necessary: FS or SCI. In the few instances where informants were ambivalent about a response and gave both FS and SCI, the result was counted as $\frac{1}{2}$ in the scoring.³

Informants very rarely used the QDec (declarative syntax with question intonation) option during these experiments, and if they did, they were asked if SCI was another

³ As noted in Chapter 8, in calculation of the metric, it was simpler to count an FS response as 1 (even if SCI was also offered). It makes negligible difference.

option (which it almost always was).⁴ Only towards the end of P4 did the QDec option have to be introduced as a third alternative, for the sake of certain Bienno participants who insisted that this was their primary way to make the question in that situation, rather than using either SCI (or FS).

With the quicker method, more tokens could be gathered before an informant tired. In each phase, one questionnaire (in P4 broken into 4 parts) was aimed at determining the results by verb with four (P4) or three (P3) questions per verb. In P3, person contrasts for verbs with human subjects were assessed between two questionnaires, one with 2nd person and the other with 3rd person subjects. Both of these P3 questionnaires also contained tense contrasts. In P4 tense contrasts were assessed in a separate questionnaire containing both members of minimal pairs.

During both P4, and P3 (for informants who also did the 2nd questionnaire with the 3rd person questions), at least two interviews were required per informant, and these were usually held on different days. In P3, with some informants there was a noticeable difference in their rate of production of FS on the different days, which could potentially have affected measurements of the person contrast and produced a slight 'interview effect'. In P4, to counter any possible 'interview effect', the main by-verb questionnaire was split into four balanced portions each containing one example of each verb, so even if there was a relatively lower overall production on one day compared with another, it would not have affected the relative production per verb.

2.3.4 Measuring FS variation by verb

2.3.4.1 Verbs selected

The P3 selection of verbs included 8 core verbs for with 3 tokens each, 2nd person forms for verbs with human subjects, measured for all of the group of 9 MV and 6 UV informants; and, for a reduced number of informants, some additional 3rd person tokens of these verbs and some additional verbs with only 1-2 tokens each. In P4, FS use was

⁴ In P3 and P4, if they did not produce FS spontaneously, they were not asked if it was possible. This was because it had already become clear that FS had a very different pragmatics/semantics from SCI/QDec. No such difference had been detected between QDec and SCI.

tested for a total of 29 verbs, 18 lexical/main verbs and 11 functional/auxiliary verbs (see definitions of these terms in Chapter 3), all with 4 tokens apart from *girare/girà* 'turn, spin' for which there were only 2. A classification of all these verbs by aspect and by whether manner or result is lexicalized by the verb root, is discussed in Chapter 6, along with the results.

Included in the selection of verbs representing each aspectual category were intransitive verbs that take 'be' rather than 'have' as the auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* tense (in Camuno as in Italian), possibly indicating a connection to the syntactic unergative/unaccusative divide. Among the transitive verbs were ones with different complement types and argument realization patterns. As no correlations were found between differential use of FS and verb complement type, this data is presented in a table in Appendix A6c.

The P3 and P4 datasets have slightly different geographical coverage. The P3 dataset covers the MV and some parts of the UV and UVW. The P4 dataset is from the MV only, including the Bienno/Prestine area (otherwise only covered in P1/2).

2.3.4.2 Syntax/lexis, person, tense

Despite the lack of evidence for any connection between use of FS and the syntactic factors, it was still possible that it might affect the relative frequency of FS use. For this reason, in P3 and P4, all questions analysed quantitatively were: *y/n-Qs* (not *wh-Qs*), without negation, main clause (not embedded), and relatively short and easy to understand.

In P3, the focus was on maximizing the pragmatic variety of questions in a controlled way using three distinct types of context, but minimizing the syntactic and lexical diversity of elicited questions. In P4 the focus was on obtaining the most accurate average for the verb, allowing free variation of the pragmatics (provided the context still gave a reason why the question was being asked) and maximizing the syntactic/lexical diversity.

Kept constant in the main analysis of FS-by-verb were person (2nd person for verbs with human subjects, but necessarily 3rd person for verbs with inanimate subjects)⁵; and tense (present, in a habitual sense: PresHab).⁶

2.3.4.3 Context type and recorded voice

In P3, the three questions elicited were very similar or identical in syntax and lexis but generated by very different contexts. This allowed measurement of the pragmatic influence of the context to see if FS use had been correctly predicted. Averaging then removed the controlled effect of variation in the context. Variation in recorded voice was ‘rotated’ around the 3 different contexts so that each type of context was recorded using the same proportion of each different voice. In P4 there was free variation of the pragmatics of the context, within certain limits. Variation in context type and in the recorded voice were removed from the dataset by averaging of the 3 (P3) and 4 (P4) results per verb.

The three context types chosen for P3 attempted to mirror two of the explanations provided by some informants on their intuitive knowledge for why they used FS. The first was a control.

Context 1 contained no relevant information about the answer to the question and the intonation was relatively neutral suggesting that the question and answer were not of great importance to either party.

Context 2 provided information to the informant on which to base a presupposition about the answer to the question. In most cases the premise provided a negative

⁵ The reader may be asking themselves why, given the fact that a verb with an inanimate subject must use a 3rd person form, the questions were not all in the 3rd person. The reason for choosing the 2nd person was intelligibility: informants sometimes had difficulty understanding what was being required of them with a request to make a question directed at a person other than the addressee. For example, if the question request was: ‘Ask Maria if Giovanni likes prosecco’, what was required was the informant to rephrase this as ‘Does Giovanni like prosecco?’. Frequently, however, what the informant did was pretend to ask Giovanni directly ‘Do you like prosecco?’.

⁶ There is no particular significance to the selection of the PresHab. Of the other available tenses, the PresNow is dispreferred in certain circumstances because a progressive form with a ‘be’ auxiliary (so without FS) is used. Too many questions in the future seemed awkward. No syncretic past tense is available. Note that, unlike in Heerlen Dutch (Cornips, 1998), there is no necessary connection to habituality (nor even to imperfectivity): *fa* is in fact more likely to be used in the (single-event) future (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4).

presupposition and an expectation that the answer to the question was 'no'. In a few cases the presupposition was that the answer to the question was 'yes'. In both cases the intonation of context and question request contained a slightly exaggerated pitch range to indicate that something was 'curious' about the situation.

Context 3 encouraged the participant to empathize with the recorded voice about a situation that everyone involved could relate to. This effect was also accomplished through the intonation mainly by using more stress (loudness and pitch contrast) on the question focus, and sometimes increasing speed and pitch range to express anxiety or delight.

The examples below are English translations of contexts and questions to be elicited for the verb, 'fix/repair' (Italian *aggiustare*, Camuno-Esine *giùhtà*)

Question to be elicited: Do you fix cars (nowadays)?

Context 1 (informational): Your car has a few problems. Go and find Giuseppe because you know that he does a bit of everything. Ask Giuseppe if he fixes cars.

Context 2 (presuppositional): Marco used to work as a baker and he was always covered in flour. But now his hands are dirty with oil. Ask Marco if he fixes cars now.

Context 3 (emotional): Paolo breaks everything that he touches. You've heard that now he works as a mechanic. Oh God!....Ask Paolo if he fixes cars now.

Analysis of results showed little difference according to the contexts and for most verbs, Context 2 or 3 was preferred, as predicted, but Context 1 (the supposed control context) also scored fairly high. This is attributed to the fact that it was never possible to know whether the informant brought their own expectation about the probable answer to the question, if it was not provided by the context. The interested reader is referred to Appendix A6d for these results. For this reason, no attempt was made to control the contexts in P4 and they were all to some extent presuppositional or emotional.

2.3.4.4 Means of establishing habituality

Contexts for non-stative verbs were necessarily habitual to ensure that informants used the PresHab in formulating their questions. Had the contexts described a single event, the informants would have been tempted to substitute a progressive tense that in Camuno uses the verb 'be' and an adverb, and so is not available for FS.

The means of establishing the habitual context can be divided into these:

- Using an **adverb of frequency**: *sempre/hemper* (Italian/Esine dialect) ‘always’, *spesso/hpeh* ‘often’, *di solito/de holit* ‘usually’, *mai* ‘ever’
- Referring to a regularly occurring **period**, e.g. ‘for supper, ‘every Saturday’, ‘in September’, etc.
- Specifying the general (repeating) situation in which the event will occur with *quando* ‘**when**’ X + indicative.
- Leaving the habituality unspecified and letting the hearer assume that ‘normally’ is implied. This can also be described as ‘attitudinal’, ‘dispositional’ or ‘potential’ and indicates a **tendency**.

A few questions were ambiguous between an interpretation of a single event that was ongoing (and so therefore of continuous aspect), or the continuation of a habitual event, both of which are representations of imperfectivity. Thus, to the same list, the following method of indicating habituality/continuity is added:

- Indicating continuity, or the **ongoing** nature of the (repeating?) event, either with *ancora* ‘still’, or through the context.

It was not practical to use one example of each method of establishing habituality in the three/four questions per verb so a comparison of the effect of these different methods has been prepared ‘after the fact’. This is included in Appendix A6e to show that no significant difference was found.

2.3.4.5 Question focus

As described in Chapter 4, y/n-Qs that query the truth of the entire proposition are described as being in verb-phrase focus, and those that question a smaller constituent, as being in constituent focus. It was possible that FS use varied according to the size or nature of the constituent focused.

The intended focus was supplied to the informant through the context and question request using syntax and intonation. In Camuno, as in Italian, a focused constituent is usually placed immediately after the verb and receives intonational stress. In the following examples, the focalized constituent is in capitals and square brackets.

The first example is of a **time adverbial** phrase (1).

Marisa works all day for the *Comune* and as well as that she has three children. She always gets home really late. Ask her if she always finishes preparing dinner after 8 o'clock.

1. Domàndi=ga he la finih [HEMPER DOPO LE OTT] de preparà la hena.
ask.IMPER=3.DAT if SCL.3F finishes [always after the eight] to prepare.INFIN the dinner

A pronominal or lexical **object** may be similarly focused; in (2) there is the intensifier *po' apena* 'only'.

You are in charge of the town's library and an 18-year old girl arrives to return her books. You'd like to help her find some more. Ask her if she only reads 'romanze rosa' [popular romance novels].

2. Domàndi=ga he la lèh [po' apena romanze rosa].
Ask.IMPER=3.DAT if SCL.3F reads [only 'pink romances']

A **subject** may be focalized when a pronoun or lexical item, as the subject clitic cannot take stress. In (3) there is also an emphasizer *anche* 'also/even'.

You've come to know a foreigner. She seems very well informed. Yesterday she told you not to go to the library because it was closed for renovations. Ask her if, even she, reads the *Giornale di Brescia* [local newspaper].

3. Domàndi=ga he, [ANCHE LÉ], la lèh 'l giornal de Bréha.
Ask.IMPER=3S.DAT if, [also she], SCL.3F reads the Journal of Brescia

A separate 'after-the-fact' comparison was made of the types of focus. There were minor differences, but as these are unlikely to have significantly influenced the results by-verb or minimal pairs for tense, they are included as Appendix A6f.

2.3.5 Measuring FS variation by person

To assess any differential use of FS with verbs with human subjects between a 2nd person question (addressee is being asked a question about themselves), and a 3rd person question, (they are being asked about another person), kept constant were tense (PresHab) and verb. The person contrast experiments were part of P3. To minimize confusion for the participants, questions based on 2nd person and those based on 3rd person were contained in separate questionnaires usually run on subsequent days. Contrasts were sought for 8 lexical verbs with representatives from all three aspectual categories, from questions that were otherwise syntactically and lexically almost identical, and an additional 3 functional verbs ('succeed', 'try', 'want'), where questions had greater syntactic and lexical variation.

A small amount of difference was found between person both for activity verbs (2nd > 3rd) and a larger difference for some stative verbs (3rd > 2nd). This is discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.5, and Chapter 5, Section 5.5.2.10.

2.3.6 Measuring FS variation by tense

There was a minor focus in both P4 and P3 on establishing whether there was a difference in frequency of use between tenses. In P4 these questions, which are in minimal pairs, are all in 3rd person. In P3, they are in both the 2nd person, and 3rd person.⁷ These results are presented in Chapter 7, Section 7.4.

2.3.7 Summary of variation measured quantitatively

In summary, results for these experiments, which yield important information, can be found in the following chapters.

Verb (and subject): Chapters 6 & 7, and Chapter 8

Tense: Chapter 7, Section 7.4.

Person: Chapter 7, Section 7.5 and Chapter 5, Section 5.5.2.10

Additional results for variation that had little or no effect on the factors determining use of FS is presented in Appendices A6c-f.

- Syntactic complement type and auxiliary in *passato prossimo*
- Context type and recorded voice (in P3)
- Means of establishing habituality
- Focus type

⁷ In P4 the minimal pairs are true pairs, differing only in the tense. In P3 there is also some syntactic variation and variation in context. In some instances there is more than one token of the PresHab question.

Chapter 3: Morphosyntax of three interrogative forms

This chapter describes the syntax of the various interrogative forms available in Camuno. **Section 3.1** begins with statements of the terminology to be used throughout, and distinguishes the different uses of the verb *fa*. **Section 3.2** then describes the component parts, the verbal morphology and subject clitics, as they appear in the declarative. Subject proclitics are present on forms 2SG, 3SG/PL and an impersonal pronoun on 1PL. Verbal morphology distinguishes tense, modality, and person. The verb *fa* has reduced morphology in the present tense as with other verbs with monosyllabic infinitives, but is otherwise not exceptional. For most dialects, the declarative paradigm is the same for the verb *fa* when a main verb ‘do’, main verb ‘make’, or auxiliary verb ‘cause’.

Section 3.3 then describes the principal interrogative forms. **Section 3.3.1** describes SCI, the synthetic interrogative which has subject clitic and finite verb in an order that is inverted compared to that of the corresponding declarative. A subject enclitic is present for all 6 forms of the paradigm. **Section 3.3.2** notes the occasional use of a third interrogative form, QDec, the declarative form with question intonation. **Section 3.3.3**, describes FS, the analytic interrogative that adds *fa* as a support verb.

Section 3.4 discusses how, when interrogative *fa* and causative *fa* are morphologically identical, position of non-subject clitics usually suffices to distinguish them. **Section 3.5** notes how FS interrogatives with impersonal subjects denoted by clitic *se/he* (Italian *si*) are only possible in dialects where FS is obligatory. This provides evidence for the syntactic structures in Chapter 4. **Section 3.6** sums up the discussion.

3.1 Preliminaries

3.1.1 Terminology

Before entering a discussion on how Camuno forms interrogatives with different kinds of verbs, it is necessary to define the two major syntactic and semantic types of verbs. These labels are then used systematically for these concepts throughout this work.

In syntax Chapters 3 and 4, verbs other than *fa* are referred to as either auxiliary or main verbs, an auxiliary verb being defined as one with a vP complement. This terminology correlates directly with that used in semantic Chapters 5-8, where functional verbs are distinguished from lexical verbs. Thus by the definitions employed here, a (syntactically) **auxiliary** verb is referred to as a (semantically) **functional** verb and a **main** verb as a **lexical** verb. A structure with an auxiliary verb and vP complement is called **monoclausal**; one with a main verb and CP complement is **biclausal**.

This terminology is largely for ease of reference and does not imply that there is no lexical content in a functional verb (see discussion in Muyksen, 2008) – in fact it is assumed that the opposite is more generally true. Following Cinque (1999, 2006a,b,c),

Italian (and by extension, Camuno), aspectuals, causative *fare*, and many others, are recognized as functional verbs and syntactic heads, and so are called here auxiliary verbs. The semantic component of some of these verbs will be defined with lexical semantic representations in Chapter 6. The functional content of a lexical verb, at least for result and stative verbs, is attested in the lexical verbs that give rise to auxiliaries in the grammaticalization process (e.g. Heine, 1993).

The verb at issue here, *fa*, when used to as an additional morpheme to form an interrogative is referred to by the more generic label of ‘support verb’. This allows for it to be interpreted either as a auxiliary (in a monoclausal structure), or a main verb (in a biclausal structure). At places in this discussion where there is evidence for one or other, that is brought out.

3.1.2 Uses of *fa*

Besides its use as an interrogative support verb (which is unique to Camuno), *fa* has several other uses also available in Italian, the morphosyntax of which are discussed in this chapter. These are all reflexes of Latin FACERE. There are two main verbs with different semantics, one meaning ‘do’ and the other ‘make’ in addition to the causative auxiliary ‘make, let, cause’.¹

The ‘do’ verb is often referred to in the literature as a ‘pro-verb’, a use that is widespread cross-linguistically (Jäger, 2006). In this work, it will be argued that it is this use that gave rise to the interrogative support verb. A pro-verb is a generic verb that substitutes for verbs of which it is a hypernym. In the case of *fa* ‘do’, it substitutes for a verb that also contains activity (*sensu* Vendler 1967) in its semantics, and is also a manner verb (*sensu* Rappaport Hovav & Levin (RH&L), 2010) (as explained in Chapter 6). The pro-verb use is demonstrated here with Camuno (Esine dialect) *fa*, Italian *fare*, and English *do*, in all three languages for its one grammatical use with a manner verb (1); and for only Italian

¹ Cross-linguistically, it is fairly common for the same verb to be used both for ‘do’ and ‘make’ (Jäger, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1994: 473-474; van der Auwera, 1999: 466). It is attributed in Chapter 6, to the same generic content being expressed either as a modifier to the root of the verb, as in manner verb ‘do’, or as an argument of the root, as in result verb ‘cause’.

and English with its semi-grammatical use with a result verb (2) and agrammatical use with a stative verb (3) (verb phrases bolded).²

Manner

1. a. **Màngo** hèmper **am póm** dopo dihnàt per netà-fo i décc
eat.1SG always an apple after lunch for clean-out.INFIN the teeth
e la mé hòcia i **la fa** anche lé.
and the my friend SCL.3DEF ACC.3DEF does also her
- b. **Mangio** sempre **una mela** dopo pranzo per pulire i denti e la mia amica **lo fa**
anche lei.
- c. I always **eat an apple** after lunch to clean my teeth and my friend **does it/so** too.

Result

2. a. ?Dicono che la nuova macchina da caffè Lavazza **si rompa** sempre entro un mese
dall'acquisto, ma che quella DeLonghi **lo faccia** entro una settimana.
- b. ?People say that new Lavazza coffee machine invariably **breaks (down)** within a
month but the DeLonghi **does it/so** in a week.

Stative

3. a. *Maria **pensa** che Gianni sia un po' stupido, ma sua madre non **lo fa** lei.
- b. *Maria **thinks** that John is a bit stupid, but his mother **doesn't do it/so** too.

In its second main verb use, *fa* has the role of the accomplishment verb (*sensu* Vendler), or result verb (*sensu* RH&L), that in English is lexicalized with *make* (4).

4. Fò 'nna tùrta.
make.1SG a cake
'I'm making a cake.'

The one auxiliary use (other than the Camuno interrogative support verb) is as a causative auxiliary (5). This may have either a coercive semantics 'make', or (for some speakers) a concessive semantics 'let' (see (15) below).

5. Fò mangià 'l péh a Giani.
cause.1SG eat.INFIN the fish a Giani
'I'm making Gianni eat (the) fish.'

² The informant was reluctant to translate agrammatical examples of sentences that were also agrammatical in Italian.

3.2 Declarative forms

3.2.1 Subject clitics and verbal morphology in present tense

The Camuno dialect has a pattern of verbal morphology and subject clitics very similar to other Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs), and to Lombard dialects in particular. This is described first for the declarative, to enable the reader to assess the similarities and differences between declarative forms with subject proclitics, and interrogative forms with enclitics. Examples come from the Middle Valley (MV) dialect of Esine, where FS is optional and co-occurs with SCI, and the Upper Valley (UV) dialect of Monno, where FS is (essentially) obligatory. The Monno paradigms are generally identical to those reported by Benincà & Poletto (2004) (B&P). In addition, where relevant, forms for the MV dialect of Bienno are also included. FS is either optional or obligatory for different Bienno speakers. Locations of these places were shown on Figure 1 in Chapter 1.

The pairs of subject proclitic and verb that make up the declarative paradigm of regular verb *laurà* ‘work’ are presented in Table 3.1. In the left-hand column are the combined forms; the separated elements are in columns to the right.

TABLE 3.1: PRESENT TENSE DECLARATIVE PARADIGM FOR *LAURÀ* ‘WORK’ FOR ESINE AND MONNO

Form		Entire form	Full subj pronoun	Subj clitic/ weak pron.	Verb
1 SG		mé laùre (Esine) mé laùrio (Monno)	mé		laùre (Es) laùrio (Mon)
2 SG		té te laùret	té	te	laùret
3 SG	M	lù 'l laùra	lù	'l	laùra
	F	lé la laùra	lé	la	
1 PL		nótre 'n laùra	nótre	'm/n	laùra
2 PL		ótre laurì	vótre		laurì
3 PL	M	lur i laùra	lur	i	laùra
	F	lure le laùra	lure	le	

The 2SG, 3SG and 3PL forms use subject clitics as an obligatory part of the verbal paradigm. As 3rd person verb forms are otherwise identical morphologically, the subject clitic is the

only means of distinguishing singular and plural as well as masculine and feminine. The 3SG masculine form *l* is pronounced with the addition of an epenthetic vowel that differs slightly according to the dialect. The 1PL form is an impersonal form that, in the declarative (but not interrogative) uses 3rd person verbal morphology and an impersonal subject pronoun *'m* (or *'n* depending on place of articulation of the following consonant) analogous to the French *on* and German *man* and etymologically derived from *homo* 'man' (B&P). There is no subject proclitic for 1SG or 2PL.

Due to syncretism in the paradigm, there is a maximum of 4 distinct verb forms: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG/PL, 2PL. The 2SG form has a *-t* inflectional ending in the present tense for polysyllabic verbs only. While most valley dialects distinguish 1SG and 3SG/PL by slight differences in the final vowel, the Monno 1SG form is unique (among the dialects studied) in having a syllabic *-io* ending. Following its Latin root, the 2PL form has the main stress further forward in the word, so in Camuno due to apocope of the final *re*, it is on the last syllable.

3.2.2 Verbal morphology across tenses

As with most NIDs, Camuno uses synthetic forms for these tenses: present, imperfect, future, conditional and subjunctive. For the past, only an analytic past, the *passato prossimo*, is available and with most verbs the choice of use of a 'have' versus a 'be' auxiliary is the same as for standard Italian (a trait relevant to the semantics of the verb in Chapter 6). Consistent morphological differences are maintained between the tenses, as demonstrated in Table 3.2 with the paradigms for *laurà* 'work' from Esine.

TABLE 3.2: DECLARATIVE PARADIGMS FOR PRESENT INDICATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, CONDITIONAL AND FUTURE TENSE FORMS OF LAURÀ 'WORK' FOR ESINE

Form	Indicative	Subjunctive	Conditional	Future
1 SG	laùre		laureréh	laureró
2 SG	te laùret		te laureréhtet	te laureré
3 SG M/F	'l/la laùra	'l/la laùreh	'l/la laureréh	'l/la laurerà
1 PL	'n laùra	'n laùreh	'n laureréh	'n laurerà
2 PL	laurì	laùreheh	laureréheh/-f	laurerì
3 PL M/F	i/le laùra	i/le laùre	i/le lauraréh	i/le laurerà

The fairly high degree of distinctiveness in modality distinction (indicative-subjunctive-conditional) on the verb forms is similar to standard Italian.

3.2.3 Status of subject clitics in Camuno

There is a long-standing debate on the status of subject clitics in the NIDs and whether they should be considered argumental or simply as agreement markers (e.g. Renzi & Vanelli 1983; Rizzi, 1986; Poletto, 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005: Vol 1:120; Cardinaletti & Repetti, 2008, 2010; Roberts, 2014). As it is quite likely that the answer varies according to the dialect, the following characteristics of Camuno subject clitics are pertinent to that debate.

Firstly, as shown above in Table 3.1, the declarative paradigm is incomplete, as subject clitics are absent on 1SG and 2PL forms. Secondly, in Camuno, subject clitics are present even when they represent no argument as with an expletive in (6), or a quantifier and therefore a non-referential argument as in (7) and (8). Thirdly, (at least in some dialects) when the subject is post-verbal, no agreement is required between lexical subject and clitic, and a default clitic *’l* may be used (9), (10). These facts (also noted by B&P for Monno) are generally used as evidence in favour of a status as agreement markers rather than argumental. Further examples from Esine relevant to this discussion are available in responses to a written questionnaire, included in Appendix 3b.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|
| 6. | Al piöf. / Piöe-l?
<small>SCL.DEF rains / rains-SCL.DEF</small>
‘It’s raining. / Is it raining?’ | (expletive) (Esine) |
| 7. | Negù i me ’öl bé.
<small>nobody SCL.DEF me.DAT wants well</small>
‘Nobody loves me.’ | (negative quantifier) |
| 8. | E-l chi che ’à a Milà?
<small>is-SCL.DEF who that goes to Milan?</small>
‘Who is going to Milan?’ | (wh-quantifier) |
| 9. | ’l se rop la scagna!
<small>SCL.DEF REF.INVAR breaks the chair</small>
‘The chair is breaking!’ | (post-posed subject) (Monno) |

10. 'l rüa la gnarèla.
 SCL.DEF arrives the girl
 'The girl is (just) arriving.'

An obvious function of the subject clitics is as a supplement to the verbal morphology to ensure that all members of the paradigm can be distinguished. Although there is some redundancy in the system when considering polysyllabic verbs, with monosyllabic verbs (see below), that have limited inflectional morphology, subject clitics are essential for making this distinction.

3.2.4 *fa* as main and causative verb and its present tense declarative paradigm

As mentioned above, in Camuno, *fa* also has the same uses as Italian *fare*, both as a main verb and as a causative auxiliary. This section describes the declarative morphosyntax for those uses and evidence for why the unique Camuno support verb is considered not to exist in the declarative.

As is generally the case in Romance, the causative structure shows the distinctive property of clitic climbing, where clitics representing the arguments of the main and infinitival verb are borne on the causative verb. This includes any clitics referring to the main verb subject, also known as the causee, and any object(s). With intransitive main verbs (11), the causee is accusative; with transitive verbs, the causee is dative and direct object accusative (12). The case is evidenced either by the clitic form and/or, with a lexical causee, use of the preposition *a* to mark the dative. Following Kayne, 1975, causative structures are divided into a *faire-infinitif* (FI) (11, 12), with argumental causee and a *faire-par* (FP) (13) where the causee is either oblique (with preposition *da*) or absent (but semantically assumed). (For more details, see discussion in Sheehan, 2016). I found that FP causatives were used only rarely in Camuno and most speakers translated Italian FP causatives with Camuno FI versions.

11. Fò laurà Giani. (FI: intransitive verb, accusative causee)
 cause.1SG work.INFIN Giani
 'I'm making Gianni work.'
12. Fò mangià 'l péh a Giani. (FI: transitive verb, dative causee)
 cause.1SG eat.INFIN the fish a Giani

'I'm making Gianni eat (the) fish.'

13. Fò giühtà la machina (da Giani). (FP: oblique & optional causee)
cause.1SG fix.INFIN the car (by Giani)
'I'm getting the car fixed (by Gianni).'

The causative meaning of auxiliary *fa* is also employed for the imperative (14, 15). These imperative examples also demonstrate two different semantics of the causative verb, either of which may be encoded in *fa* 'cause': the coercive 'make' (14); and the concessive 'let' (15), for which the verb *laghà* 'let' may be preferred by some speakers. With the imperative, clitics, such as the dative *ga* 'him' are encliticized to the causative verb.

(Today is Tonino's birthday, but he's on a diet.)

14. Fa=**ga** mià mangià le hpinàhe!
cause.IMP=DAT.3 not eat.INFIN the spinach
'Don't make him eat spinach!'
15. Fa/làghe=**ga** mangià la nutella!
cause.IMP/let.IMP= DAT.3 eat.INFIN the nutella
'Let him eat nutella!'

The unique Camuno use of *fa* as an interrogative support verb is described in below in Section 3.3.3 and compared to the causative verb, when also used in the interrogative, in Section 3.4. This will enable readers to see that, with the exception of the initial consonant in some dialects, the verbs are morphologically identical. However, one fundamental property that distinguishes the interrogative support verb from the causative verb is that with the support verb *fa*, the clitics do not raise.

Table 3.3 shows the present tense paradigm applicable for *fa* as both a main verb (accomplishment verb 'make' and pro-verb 'do') and as a causative auxiliary verb. As in standard Italian (and, as far I am aware, all Italo-romance), the forms for these different uses are identical. As a monosyllabic verb in the present tense, *fa*, although very similar to polysyllabic *laurà*, preserves fewer distinctions between forms. The potentially four different forms may even be reduced to three in some dialects: *fo*, *fé*, *fa*, + *fi*-Esine, of which one, *fà*, is also the infinitive form (here marked systematically with a grave accent to distinguish the infinitival from the 3ps form). Interestingly the *-t* ending on the 2sg form, is not present on *fa* in the declarative (so as an inflectional ending). This is true for

all the following verbs: ‘have’ (*av*) / (*v*)*ei* (Esine/Monno) ‘have’, *èher/èser* ‘be’, *dà* ‘give’ *nà/ndà* ‘go’ and *hai/sai* ‘know’ in addition to *fà* ‘do, make, cause’. Present tense declarative (and interrogative) paradigms of these verbs in Esine, Bienno and Monno are included in Appendix 3a.

TABLE 3.3: PRESENT TENSE DECLARATIVE PARADIGM OF MAIN (LEXICAL) VERB *FÀ* ‘DO, MAKE, CAUSE’ AND CAUSATIVE AUXILIARY *FÀ* IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	Declarative: <i>fà</i> main and causative verbs
1 SG	<i>fó</i> (‘ <i>nna tùrta / laurà Giani</i>)
2 SG	<i>te fé ...</i>
3 SG M/F	<i>‘l/la fa ...</i>
1 PL	<i>‘m fa ...</i>
2 PL	<i>fì ...</i> (Esine) <i>fé ...</i> (Bienno / Monno)
3 PL M/F	<i>i/le fa ...</i>

3.3 Interrogative forms

3.3.1 Verb-subject clitic inversion (SCI)

3.3.1.1 Form and terminology

The first interrogative form to be described is SCI, where finite verb and subject clitic are inverted compared to the corresponding declarative. SCI is a synthetic interrogative in the sense that it consists largely of a re-arrangement of the materials (even though, as shown below, the proclitic in several instances differs from the enclitic). This is the most common strategy of forming an interrogative in a NID. For the purposes of this chapter, the term SCI is being used descriptively and implies nothing of the mechanism and whether this takes place in the morphology or the syntax (see debate in Cardinaletti & Repetti, 2010).

In the terminology used here, SCI refers both to the situation where the finite verb is a main (and lexical) verb and where it is an auxiliary (and functional) verb – and in the case of the latter, the term SCI is qualified. In using the term SCI, therefore, what is being highlighted is that there is no addition of an auxiliary not also present in the corresponding declarative.

The use of SCI with main verb *laurà* ‘work’ is shown in (16) and uses with auxiliaries in (17) to (20): ‘have’ (17), ‘be’ (18), modal (19), and causative *fa* (20). The availability of SCI as an interrogative method is regionally variable, but is a possible strategy on these verbs in Esine (the source of these examples). Present tense interrogative (and declarative) paradigms of these auxiliary verbs in Esine, Bienno and Monno are included in Appendix 3a.

16. Laùre=la ‘l hâbet, Maria? (SCI on main verb)
works=SCL.3F the saturday Maria
‘Does Maria work on Saturday?’
17. À=la lauràt, hâbet pahàt, Maria? (SCI on ‘have’ auxiliary)
has=SCL.3F worked saturday passed Maria
‘Did Maria work last Saturday?’
18. È=la rüàda, Maria? (SCI on ‘be’ auxiliary)
is=SCL.3F arrived.3F Maria
‘Has Maria arrived?’
19. Pöde=la laurà ‘l hâbet, Maria? (SCI on modal auxiliary)
can=SCL.3F work.INFIN the saturday Maria
‘Can Maria work on Saturday?’
(There’s a new choir mistress.)
20. Fa=la cantà Maria? (SCI on causative auxiliary)
causes=SCL.3F sing.INFIN Maria
‘Does she make Maria sing?’

As with all interrogatives (SCI, FS, and QDec), the lexical subject is most commonly sentence-final and separated from the rest of the sentence by an intonational break (represented with a comma) (21a). However, it may also be sentence initial, also with a so-called comma intonation, where it is interpreted as topicalized (21b).

21. a. Laùre-la 'l hàbet, Maria?
works-SCL.3F.SG the saturday Maria
b. Maria, Laùre-la 'l hàbet?
'Does Maria work on Saturday?'

3.3.1.2 Position of non-subject clitics

Paradigms of accusative, dative, and reflexive clitics are included in Appendix 3a.

For SCI on a main verb, *mangià* 'eat' (22), auxiliary 'have' (23), and causative *fa* (24), object clitics are in the same place as they would be on the corresponding declarative, i.e. procliticized to the finite verb. In these examples, this is demonstrated with a topicalized object *al péh* and resumptive clitic (*a*)l (3.M.SG.ACC).

22. Al péh, **al** mänge=t?
the fish ACC.3M.SG eat=SCL.2SG
'Fish: Do you eat it?'
23. Al péh, **l'** é=t mangiàt?
the fish ACC.3M.SG have=SCL.2SG eaten
'The fish: Have you eaten it?'
24. Al péh, ghe =**l** fé=t mangià, al tò pi ?
the fish DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG make=SCL.2SG eat.INFIN a.the your son
'(The) fish: Do you make your son eat it?'

With modals using SCI, in Camuno non-subject clitics do not climb to the modal verb but instead are embedded as enclitics on the first infinitival verb, a main/lexical verb in (25) and causative auxiliary verb *fa* in (26), as is normal for Northern Regional Italian. In this property, support with *fa* is analogous to support with a modal.

25. Al péh, 'öle=t mangià=**l**?
the fish want=SCL.2SG eat.INFIN=ACC.3M.SG
'(The) fish: Do you want to eat it?'
26. Al péh, 'öle=t fà=ghe=**l** mangià al tò pi?
the fish want=SCL.2SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG eat.INFIN a.the your son
'(The) fish: Do you want to make your son eat it?'

3.3.1.3 Verb-scl interrogative paradigm

The interrogative paradigm of verb-subject enclitic pairs is demonstrated in Table 3.4 below for main verb *laurà* ‘work’ in the left-hand column. The paradigms of *fa* as main verb ‘make’ and the causative auxiliary are in the right-hand column of Table 3.4 as they are identical (as were the declarative paradigms for these two senses of the verb in Table 3.3)

Each of the pairs is hyphenated to show the contribution made by the verb with inflection and by the subject enclitic, although they are normally pronounced and written as one unit. Note how the 1PL form that is an impersonal form with ‘*n/m* weak pronoun (‘one’) and 3SG/PL verbal morphology in the declarative, usually uses the 1SG form of the verb (for monosyllabic verbs) with enclitic *-m* in the interrogative, at least in the Esine dialect. (There are rarer instances in both the Esine and other dialects of use of a 3SG form with *-m* enclitic.)

TABLE 3.4: PRESENT TENSE SCI INTERROGATIVE PARADIGMS OF MAIN (LEXICAL) VERBS *LAURÀ*, ‘WORK’ AND *FÀ* ‘DO, MAKE,’ AND THE CAUSATIVE AUXILIARY *FÀ*, FOR ESINE AND MONNO

Form	Interrogative: <i>laurà</i> (SCI) as in: ‘Are you working?’	Interrog: <i>fà</i> -lex (SCI) as in: ‘Are you making a cake?’ and <i>fa</i> -caus (SCI) as in: ‘Are you making Gianni work?’
1 SG	laùre-(i)	fó-i (‘nna tùrta)?/(laurà Giani)?
2 SG	laùre-t?	fé-t ...?
3 SG M/F	laùre-l/la?	fa-l/la ...?
1 PL	laur-ó-m?	fó-m ...?
2 PL	laurì-f?	fì-f ...?
3 PL M/F	laùre-i/le?	fa-i/le ...?

3.3.1.4 Subject proclitic and enclitic paradigms

For comparative purposes, in Table 3.5 below the (interrogative) subject enclitics are presented side-by-side with the (declarative) subject proclitics.

TABLE 3.5: SUBJECT PROCLITICS, ENCLITICS AND PRESENT TENSE MORPHOLOGY FOR *LAURÀ* 'WORK' IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	Declarative verb form	Declarative: proclitic (or weak pronoun, 3sg)	Interrogative: enclitic
1 SG	laùre (Esine) laùr-io (Monno)		-i/-
2 SG	laùre-t	te	-t
3 SG M/F	laùra	'l / la	-l / -la
1 PL	laùra	'm	-m
2 PL	laurì		-f/h (Esine) -h (Bienno) -f (Monno)
3 PL M/F	laùra	i / le	-i / -le

The reader will see that, where a subject proclitic (or impersonal pronoun) exists, the enclitic is almost identical, but that enclitics also exist for the two forms for which there is no corresponding proclitic, the 1SG and 2PL, a situation which occurs in many NIDs, as noted by numerous authors (e.g. Renzi & Vanelli, 1983; Cardinaletti & Repetti 2010). Note also that inflectional endings on polysyllabic (but not monosyllabic) verbs of *-t* 2sg (used regionally) and *-io* 1sg (Monno only), resemble the enclitics of the interrogative forms.³ This has been interpreted as a historical remnant of an inverted form that became adopted as the declarative form and the subject clitic reinterpreted as verb morphology (B&P). As most Northern Italian Dialects were likely V2 languages, this may be a relic of that history (see B&P and Benincà, 2016 and references therein).

3.3.2 Declarative form with question intonation (QDec)

For completeness, a third interrogative form in addition to SCI and FS is mentioned here: QDec, the declarative form with a question intonation (27). This method was used occasionally by informants in their oral translations of Italian questions, but (for most

³ B&P referred to this as phenomenon as agglutination and that it was a feature of main verbs, but not of auxiliaries (or of the main verb counterparts of auxiliaries).

speakers) only rarely in the experiments that required them to reformulate indirect question as a direct question.⁴ Any lexical subject was usually post-posed.

27. La làura 'l hàbet, Maria? (QDec)
SCL.3F.SG works the saturday Maria
'Does Maria work on Saturday?'

Informants producing questions of this type were asked if they were sure that these were real questions expecting an answer, rather than rhetorical questions expressing speaker opinion, and all replied in the affirmative. Use of the declarative syntax for the interrogative is similar to the situation in Italian (which lacks subject clitics), where, in the absence of a lexical subject, intonation alone may suffice to distinguish them. It is well known that, in recent years in the Northern Italian Dialects, SCI has been dying out and being replaced with QDec (e.g. Benincà & Poletto, 1997:7; Poletto, 2000: 42; Benincà, 2016).

The reader should note here that, although verb and subject clitic are in the declarative order, QDec probably differs structurally from the declarative, as, at least in the Esine dialect, the verb is in a higher clausal position (a point to be made in Chapter 4, Section 4.1), as well as subject being normally post-posed (even though the latter is not definitive).

3.3.3 *Fa* support (FS)

3.3.2.1 Distribution and form

Although SCI is widely available within the NIDs, FS exists only in Val Camonica. In 2017-20, I found it specifically within the area outlined in Chapter 1, Figure 1. Esine, in the so-called Middle Valley, is at the southernmost limit of this area, and 43 km to the north, Monno, in the Upper Valley, is (almost) at the northern extreme. The town of Bienno, also referenced above, is in the Middle Valley and although only 5 km northeast of Esine, and has some unique and significant traits. Although in Esine, and for some speakers in Bienno, SCI and FS co-exist as interrogative-forming strategies with almost all verbs (even

⁴ Two Bienno speakers with otherwise very high use of FS had QDec rather than SCI as their main alternative. This will be described in Chapter 8.

though SCI may be strongly favoured with some verbs: see Chapters 6 to 8), in Monno, and for other Bienno speakers, usually only FS is available.

As the name suggests, FS uses a support verb, *fa*, not present in the corresponding declarative, together with an infinitival form of the main verb (27a). In this sense, it is an analytic interrogative. Note that both SCI and FS have an inverted order of finite verb and subject clitic compared to the normal declarative order. For comparison, FS is shown alongside the other two interrogative methods, SCI (28b) and QDec (28c) for the same sentence, all three in the Esine dialect. For SCI and QDec, the subject could be topicalized or post-posed. In FS, a topicalized subject is possible but less common, at least in the Middle Valley.⁵

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| 28. a. | (?Maria,) Fa=la | laurà | ‘l hàbet, | Maria? | FS |
| | (Maria) | does=SCL.3F.SG | work.INFIN | the saturday | Maria |
| b. | (Maria,) Laùre-la | | ‘l hàbet, | Maria? | SCI |
| | (Maria) | works=SCL.3F.SG | the saturday | Maria | |
| c. | (Maria,) La | làura | ‘l hàbet, | Maria? | QDec |
| | (Maria) | SCL.3F.SG | works | the saturday | Maria |
| | ‘Does Maria work on Saturday?’ | | | | |

Thus *fa* appears, at least superficially, similar to English *do* when used as a support verb: it conveys the functional information through person and tense inflections, leaving the lexical information to the main and infinitival verb. (For that reason it is glossed as ‘do’, a label which, as in English, could mean it is either the full lexical verb, or a semantically null auxiliary.) Also, similarly to English, a representation of the subject immediately follows *fa*. However, if Camuno as other Italo-romance dialects are null-subject languages (as discussed above), the subject clitic does not hold the argumental role, so the comparison can only be taken so far.

⁵ A post-posed subject is also possible for all verbs in the declarative, at least in the Monno dialect (B&P: 58). The subject position cannot therefore be regarded as diagnostic in the instances of where a declarative form is being used but it is unclear if a true question is being asked (QDec) or an assertion being made (Decl): the intonation must suffice.

3.3.2.2 Position of non-subject clitics

In FS, all clitics representing non-subject arguments are encliticized to the first following infinitival verb, whether the clitics are (presumably) agreement markers (and the lexical argument is not present in the main clause), as with the accusative clitic in (29) or bear the argument role (30) (and the lexical argument is not present).

29. **Chèla màchina lé,** fé=t dunà= **ghe= la** al to fredèl?
 that car there do=SCL.2SG give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3F.SG to your brother
 ‘That car there, are you giving it to your brother?’

(The fridge is broken.)

30. Dumà, farà=la portà=**l** an dihcàrica, Lucia?
 tomorrow, does.FUT=SCL.3F carry=ACC.3M.SG to.the dump Lucia
 ‘Tomorrow, will Lucia take it to the dump?’

3.3.2.3 *fa*-SCL paradigms used in FS

Table 3.6 compares the interrogative paradigms of SCI and FS forms for *laurà* ‘work’ (as in ‘do I work/am I working?’, etc.).

The SCI forms in the left-hand column are available in Esine and for some Bienno speakers. FS forms using *fa* (middle column) are available in most of the FS area from Esine to Monno. A glance up at Table 3.3 should confirm to the reader that forms of *fa* as the interrogative support verb are identical to interrogative forms of *fa* as both a main and causative auxiliary verb.

TABLE 3.6: INTERROGATIVE PARADIGM OF LAURÀ ‘WORK’ WITH SCI AND FS IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	SCI (Esine & Bienno)	FS (Esine & Monno)	FS (Bienno)
1 SG	laùre-(i)	fó-i laurà?	hó-i laurà?
2 SG	laùre-t?	fé-t laurà?	hé-t laurà?
3 SG M/F	laùre-l/la?	fa-l/la laurà?	ha-l/la or hè-l/la laurà?
1 PL	laur-óm?	fó-m laurà?	hó-m, ha-m or hè-m laurà?
2 PL	laurì-f?	fi-f laurà? (Esine) fé-f laurà? (Monno)	hì-f/h or hé-f/h laurà?
3 PL M/F	laùre-i/le?	fa-i/le laurà?	ha-i/le or hè-i/le laurà?

Curiously, however, in the area around Bienno (right-hand column), although the support verb forms are otherwise identical to the *fa* forms, they begin with an ‘h’. Use of the [h] variant is a signature of the dialect of Bienno and surrounding villages. For the vast majority of speakers, the syntactic and semantic traits of interrogative support verb *ha* and *fa* are identical and the underlying representation must be of the same verb. Therefore for all chapters except Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant, the term *fa*-support, or FS, is used for both.⁶

The morphological separation in Bienno of interrogative support verb *ha* from causative auxiliary *fa* ‘make, let, cause’ and main verbs *fa* ‘do’ or *fa* ‘make’, indicates that, even though historically it was presumably originated from one of these verbs (and the case will be made that it was from ‘do’), it has since diverged. The /f/ to [h] transition is a case of phonological lenition in removal of the bilabial feature and this fits nicely with a pattern of its grammaticalization.

3.4 Distinguishing the causative and interrogative support verbs, *fa*

As most dialects within the FS area use the [f] variant of *fa*, which makes the paradigm of interrogative support *fa* identical to that of causative *fa*, the reader may be asking if, in these dialects, forms are ever ambiguous between the two readings. This topic has been much discussed in the literature on Middle/Early-Modern English following the arguments of Ellegård (1953) who suggested that English *do*-support originated by reanalysis of a causative *do* due to the large number of forms ambiguous between a ‘do’ and ‘cause’ reading.

Examples (31) and (32) show causative interrogatives. These either do, or do not, take a support verb *fa* according to the dialect. There is no problem in recognizing a causative interrogative in the UV Monno dialect (31a, 32a), as FS is obligatory even with the causative verb, so there are two *fa* morphemes. In the MV Bienno dialect (31b, 32b), FS is

⁶ However, despite this, it appears that a few speakers on the edge of the Bienno *ha*-area who have both *fa* and *ha* at their disposal as an interrogative support verb may be reanalysing *ha* as ‘be’, as the paradigms have a strong overlap (see Chapter 9).

also normally used and, with the *ha* morphology, the distinction between the two verbs is quite clear. Ambiguity could however occur (at least theoretically) in the Esine dialect, as FS is not used with the causative verb and an interrogative is usually made either using SCI on the causative verb (31c), or QDec (32c).

31. a. Fe=t fà= ie= | vedé? (FS: Monno)
do=SCL.2SG cause=DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG see.INFIN
- b. He=t fà= go= | vedé? (FS: Bienno)
do=SCL.2SG cause=DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG see.INFIN
- c. Ghe= l fé=t 'idì (SCI: Esine)
DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG cause=SCL.2SG see.INFIN
‘Can you show it to me?’
32. a. Fa=i fà=t cantà de spes in ciesa? (FS: Monno)
do=SCL.3M.PL cause.INFIN=ACC.2SG sing.INFIN often in church
- b. Ha=i fà=t cantà de hpeh on ciesa? (FS: Bienno)
do=SCL.3M.PL cause.INFIN=ACC.2SG sing.INFIN often in church
- c. l te fa cantà hpeh an cieda? (QDec: Esine)
SCL.3M.PL ACC.2SG cause.3 sing.INFIN often in church
‘Do they often make you sing in church?’

In fact, several strategies are employed by the speaker to ensure there is no confusion between the ‘do’ and ‘cause’ verbs when morphologically identical: a) use of the declarative form, QDec; b) presence of a causee; c) position of object and/or causee clitic; and d) intonation to distinguish subject, and causee or object.

The first option, to use non-inverted (QDec) as in (32c) above, makes it clear to the hearer that the form is a causative, as this is the only available interpretation of a declarative auxiliary *fa*.

With the inverted (SCI) form, for the hearer to establish that the speaker intends a causative, they search for a reference to the causee, the subject of the lexical verb. As discussed above, they are likely to find such a reference because *faire-infinitifs* (FIs) (causatives with overt reference to a causee) are much more common than *faire-pars* (FPs) (forms which may lack the overt reference, even if it is semantically assumed).

Examples (33) to (37) illustrate structures based on the transitive verb *portà* ‘carry’ and show how the hearer would recognize a causative structure, whether it was a FI (no possible confusion) or a FP (potential confusion).

Transitive FI causatives have a causee connected with preposition *a* (a dative case marker), and this is optionally doubled by a dative clitic by some speakers. Thus in (33), if the causee *Marco* has already been mentioned, the dative clitic alone may suffice to indicate his participation in the event; if not, the hearer realizes this is a causative by noting the lexical causee *a Marco* (and possibly a dative clitic in addition), but one of these must be present. In examples (33) to (36), an additional clue is provided by the presence of a clitic *l* referring to the direct object, the fridge, which is already part of the discourse.

(The fridge is broken.)

33. Dumà, Lucia la **ghe= l** farà portà ‘n dihcàrica (**a Marco**).
 tomorrow Lucia SCL.3F.SG DAT.3=ACC.3M cause.FUT carry.INFIN in dump, (a Marco)
 ‘Tomorrow, Lucia will get Marco/him to take it to the dump’

A causative FP structure, where the causee is non-argumental, optional, and if present would be connected by preposition *da* ‘by’ is still, however, possible, as in (34). In this there is no reference to who takes the fridge to the dump, but it is not Lucia.

34. Dumà, Lucia la **=l** farà portà ‘n dihcàrica. (Caus.: Decl)
 tomorrow Lucia SCL.3F.SG=ACC.3M cause.FUT carry.INFIN in dump
 ‘Tomorrow, Lucia will get it taken to the dump’

The interrogative version of the causative sentence above, inverting causative finite verb and subject clitic would be (35). (In Esine an additional support verb *fa* is only be used with causative *fa* under exceptional circumstances to disambiguate – see below.) Importantly, the accusative clitic is still a proclitic on the causative verb as in the declarative.

35. Dumà, **l** farà=la portà an dihcàrica, Lucia? (Caus.: SCI)
 tomorrow ACC.3M.SG causes.FUT=SCL.3F.SG carry.INFIN in dump Lucia
 Tomorrow, will Lucia get it taken to the dump?

Note that the interrogative of the non-causative sentence (where Lucia herself would take the fridge) using FS on the lexical verb, would be (36). Here the accusative clitic is instead an enclitic on the lexical verb.

36. Dumà, farà=la portà=**l** an dihcàrica, Lucia?(Non-causFS)
 tomorrow does.FUT=SCL.3F.SG carry.INFIN=ACC.3M.SG in dump Lucia
 ‘Tomorrow, will Lucia take it to the dump?’

Had the fridge not already been a salient part of the discourse but was being introduced as a lexical item and direct object (which in Camuno does not necessitate a resumptive clitic) it is true that there could be confusion as to whether it is Lucia, or someone else, who takes the fridge to the dump. Hence the ambiguous (37).

37. Dumà, farà-la portà ‘l frigo an dihcàrica, Lucia? (Ambiguous)
 tomorrow does/cause.FUT carry.INFIN the fridge in dump Lucia
 1. ‘Tomorrow, will Lucia take the fridge to the dump?’
 2. ‘Will Lucia get the fridge taken to the dump?’

There are several solutions to this problem. Firstly, a clitic that doubles the argument (here the direct object) could be added, as in (38). Alternatively, or in addition, a declarative form could be used (where *fa* must be causative) (39); the intonation serves to indicate this is a question, and the lexical subject would normally be sentence-final. For some sentences, but not this one (40), perhaps because of the initial *dumà* ‘tomorrow’, it is just possible to use FS even in Esine, although it is awkward as it seems as if (to quote the informant) there are just ‘too many *fa*’.

Causative: SCI

38. Dumà, **al** farà=la portà an dihcàrica, ‘l frigo, Lucia?
 tomorrow **ACC.3M.SG** causes.FUT=SCL.3F.SG carry.INFIN in dump the fridge Lucia

Causative: QDec

39. Dumà, la ‘**l** farà portà ‘n dihcàrica, ‘l frigo, Lucia?
 tomorrow SCL.3F.SG **ACC.3M.SG** causes.FUT carry.INFIN in dump the fridge Lucia

Causative: FS

40. ??Dumà, farà=la fà portà ‘l frigo an dihcàrica, Lucia?
 tomorrow does.FUT= SCL.3F.SG cause.INFIN carry.INFIN the fridge in dump Lucia

The meaning for all three is:

2. ‘Will Lucia get the fridge taken to the dump?’

Examples (41a) and (41b) below both use an intransitive verb, the unergative *cantà* ‘sing’. Were it not for the comma after the verb, the written sentences could be confused as, theoretically, *Isabella* could be the sentence subject or the causee. Intonationally, however, they are quite distinct, as in (41a) *Isabella* is the subject and is right dislocated and a separate intonational unit, but in (41b) *Isabella* is the causee and the intonational peak of the main intonational unit.

(The new choir mistress has been training Isabella for the concert.)

41. a. Fa=la cantà, Isabella?
 does=SCL.3F.SG sing.INFIN Isabella
 ‘Is Isabella singing?’
- b. Fa=la cantà Isabella?
 causes=SCL.3F.SG sing.INFIN Isabella
 ‘Is she (the choir mistress) making Isabella sing?’

Similarly there seems, from the written version, to be room for ambiguity with unaccusative (42) *nà defò* ‘go outside’ (a structure which is technically a *faire-par* (Kayne, 1975)). The effect of the causative verb is to transitive the lexical verb so causer and causee are the same. Theoretically again, *’l ca* ‘the dog’ could be the sentence subject or the causee, and a comma intonation is key to teasing these apart.

(The neighbours are complaining because the dog is always barking. Despite this, what is Mario’s solution:)

42. a. Fà=l nà defò, ’l ca? (Non-causative: FS)
 does=SCL.3M.SG go.INFIN of.outside the dog
 ‘Does the dog go out?’
- b. Fà=l nà defò ’l ca? (Causative: SCI)
 causes=SCL.3M.SG go.INFIN of.outside the dog
 ‘Does he (Mario) let the dog out?’

With both types of intransitive verb the speaker may attempt further solutions to resolve potential ambiguities if they consider that the intonation is not sufficient. These are the same as demonstrated above with transitive verb *portà*: a) use an accusative clitic on the

verb and right-dislocate (or marginalize) the lexical object⁷; b) use the declarative form with subject proclitic so that *fa* must be a causative, e.g. (43); or c) add the an extra *fa* support verb (44).

43. 'l fa nà defò, 'l ca? (Causative: QDec)
 SCL.3M.SG causes go.INFIN of.outside the dog
 'Does he make the dog go out?'
44. ??Fa=l / la fà=l nà defò 'l ca? (Causative: FS)
 does=SCL.3SG.M/F cause.INFIN=ACC.3M.SG go.INFIN of.outside the dog
 'Does he/she let the dog out?'

As regards the latter (44), for the Esine informant who provided these examples, this solution would be dispreferred for this example because it would result in an unacceptable repetition of *fa-l*. It would, however, be acceptable if the subject (or the object) were of a different gender.

In summary, there is therefore a very low chance in Camuno that the causative verb and interrogative verb could be confused, even if both are pronounced *fa*. In dialects where the interrogative verb is *ha*, however, the distinction is even clearer.

3.5 Interrogatives with an impersonal subject

3.5.1 Italian impersonal *si*

Camuno also has an impersonal subject clitic, *he/se*, equivalent to Italian impersonal *si*. This is generally regarded as generic and non-referential, and, at least with transitive and unergative verbs, argumental (see discussions in Cinque, 1998, D'Alessandro, 2001; Lepschy 1986, Manzini & Savoia, Vol II, p70-80). It is best translated with English 'one' and as with 'one', the finite verb is in the 3SG form (although adjectival agreement is 3PL). Impersonal *si* refers to no one in particular, therefore to everyone, and no one is specifically excluded. It is also possible that there is no referent, e.g. (45), in Italian.⁹

⁷ The difference between right dislocation and marginalization is explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.2

⁹ Uses of 'impersonal' *si* to describe everyone as a group are not relevant here, e.g. (We're on holiday together:) *Si va al cinema stasera?* (Are we going to the cinema this evening?)

45. Cosa **si** dà a una signora per il suo centesimo compleanno? (**impersonal si**)
 what **3IMP** give.3SG to a lady for the her one.hundreth birthday
 ‘What does one give a lady for her 100th birthday?’

Instances of impersonal *si/se/he*, the form of interest here, needs to be distinguished from passive and middle *si*, clitics which are non-argumental and used to reflect the absence of the subject argument, and reflexive (argumental) and pronominal (non-argumental) *si*.

Impersonal and passive *si*, the two which are most easily confused, differ syntactically in Italian in that passive *si*, but not impersonal *si*, takes object agreement, so with a plural object the two are distinguishable by the verbal morphology. (In Camuno there is no verbal morphology to distinguish 3SG and 3PL.) In instances with a singular object, they are syntactically similar but are in fact semantically different. For instance, with passive *si* in Italian (46), the question is about the object, the artichokes, and, although whoever sells them is largely irrelevant, a referent is assumed. The question can therefore be asked in contexts where only a 3rd ps seller is possible, and both the questioner and addressee are excluded. In addition, there can be a specific time reference. In both of these traits, impersonal *si* differs from passive *si*.

(You are out shopping and looking for a market that sells artichokes. You ask:)

46. **Si** vendono carciofi in quel mercato (oggi)? (**passive si**)
3PASS sell.3PL artichokes in that market (today)
 ‘Are artichokes sold / do they sell artichokes in that market (today)?’

Central to this discussion is the generally accepted finding that an impersonal *si* is excluded from untensed control clauses: compare (47) and (48) (from Cinque, 1998, exs. 1a, 2a, glosses added) and also (48a,b).

47. (Prima o poi) **si** scopre sempre il colpevole.
 early or then **3IMP** discovers always the culprit
 ‘Sooner or later one always discovers the culprit.’
48. *Sarebbe meglio scoprir=**si** il colpevole.
 be.COND.3SG better discover.INFIN=**3IMP** the culprit
 ‘It would be better to discover the culprit.’

49. a. *(Si) spera scoprir=**si** il colpevole
 (si-imp) hopes discover.INFIN=**3IMP** the culprit
 ‘One hopes to discover the culprit.’
- b. **Si** spera che **si** scopra il colpevole
 si-imp hopes that =**3IMP(anaph)/3PASS?** discovers the culprit
 ‘One hopes that [one discovers the culprit.]/[the culprit is discovered.]’

3.5.1 Camuno FS questions with impersonal *si*

There are important differences between dialects with optional FS and obligatory FS in their ability to form an FS question with impersonal *si* – Camuno *he/se*. Significantly, in dialects with obligatory FS, the combination *fa-s* (UV) ‘does-one’ is permitted, in MV optional FS dialects, *fa-h* (or *ha-h*) is generally disallowed.

Thus in optional FS dialects, such as the Esine dialect, impersonal questions can only be formed with either QDec (50a) or SCI (51a) but not FS (50b, 51c). Furthermore, in SCI constructions, the *he* impersonal proclitic is always a proclitic (51a), and never an enclitic (50b); instead an / clitic is sometimes encliticized to the finite verb.¹⁰ The most reasonable conclusion is that it is not possible for either the lexical verb, or the *fa* of optional FS, to scope over the impersonal clitic. It is therefore noteworthy that in the UV dialects such as Monno (50c, 51d), there is no such problem with *fa* of obligatory FS scoping over the impersonal clitic.¹¹

50. a. H' ghe da chè a'nna fónna che fà i hènto agn? (QDec: Esine)
 SCL.3IMP DAT.3 gives what to a lady that does the 100 years
- b. ***Fa=h** dà=ga chè a'nna fónna che fà i hènto agn? (***FS: Esine**)
 does=SCL.3IMP give.INFIN=DAT.3 what to a lady that does the 100 years
- c. **Fa=s** dà=i que a ina fomna quan-che la fa i cent'agn?(**FS: Mon**)
 does=SCL.3IMP give.INFIN=DAT.3 what to a lady when-that SCL.3F.SG does the 100 years
 ‘Cosa si dà a una signora per il suo centesimo compleanno? / ‘What does one give a lady for her 100th birthday?’

¹⁰ The MV SCI/QDec construction is equivalent to the many examples reported by Manzini & Savoia (2004: Vol II, p21-27) for other Lombard and other NIDs. M&S (Vol 1: p162) also show some examples of this clitic in the declarative for the UV in the Vezza d'Oglio dialect and refer to it an expletive clitic.

¹¹ All judgements are irrespective of whether the wh-word is post-verbal or fronted, or both.

51. a. He pèhche=l 'ndóe, ché, 'nna bèla trüta? (SCI: Esine)
 SCL.3IMP fishes=SCL.DEF where here a beautiful trout
- b. *'l pèhche=h 'ndóe, ché, 'nna bèla trüta? (*SCI: Esine)
 SCL.DEF fishes=SCL.3IMP where here a beautiful trout
- c. *Fà=h pehcà 'ndóe, ché, 'nna bèla trüta? (*FS=SCL.3IMP: Esine)
 does=SCL.3IMP fish.INFIN where here a beautiful trout
- d. Fa=s pescà 'ngont ina bela trota, chilò? (FS=SCL.3IMP: Monno)
 does=SCL.3IMP fish.INFIN where a beautiful trout here
 'Dove si pesca una bella trota qui? / 'Where does one catch a nice trout around here?'

The problem for the optional FS speakers is not in the use of FS with either verb, as FS is possible with the 3PL clitic, in the construction which seems to be equivalent to the *si*-passive (excluding the speaker from the subject reference) (52), (53).

52. Fa=i dà-ga chè a 'nna fónna che fà i hènto agn?(FS-scl.3PL: Esine)
 does=SCL.3PL give.INFIN=DAT.3 what to a lady that does the 100 years
 'What do they [people] give a lady for her 100th birthday?'
53. Fa=i pehcà 'ndóe, ché, 'nna bèla trüta? (FS- scl.3PL: Esine)
 does=SCL.3PL fish.INFIN where here a beautiful trout
 'Where do they [people] catch a nice trout around here?'

Furthermore, the problem is not in encliticizing the identical morphological clitic *-h/-s* to the lexical verb, as observed in the 'middle' voice construction (which reflects absence of the subject argument); this occurs in both an optional FS (54b) or obligatory FS (54c) dialect.

54. a. He 'mpinihe=l quan che 'l piöf, al laghèt? (SCI: Esine)
 SCL.3MV fills=SCL.3M.SG when that SCL.EXPL rains the lake
- b. Fa=l ampini=h quan che 'l piöf, al laghèt? (FS: Esine)
 does=SCL.3M.SG fill.INFIN=SCL.3MV when that SCL.EXPL rains the lake
- c. Fa=l 'mplini=s quan-che 'l plöf, 'l laghiciöl? (FS: Monno)
 does=SCL.3M.SG fill.INFIN=SCL.3MV when that SCL.EXPL rains the lake
 'Si riempie con la pioggia, il laghetto? / Does the little lake fill up with the rain?'

Further examples of the impersonal construction, as well as some reflexives, are presented in Appendix 3a from informants representing several different MV and UV communities. It proves generally true that speakers of MV dialects for whom FS is an optional method of forming the interrogative (and, where *fa* has lexical content, as to be

demonstrated in Chapters 6-8), cannot use FS to form an impersonal question. In contrast, speakers of UV dialects for whom FS is (essentially) obligatory (and where, it will be contended, *fa* is a bleached auxiliary) have no such difficulty.

This finding is taken as evidence that optional FS and obligatory FS are fundamentally different. It will be used to support the suggestion to be made in Chapter 4, Section 4.3 that the *fa* of optional FS is a main and lexical verb that embeds the rest of the sentence, but the *fa* of obligatory FS is an auxiliary verb. The inadmissibility of impersonal *si* is because in the biclausal structure it would control the subject of the lower clause, and, as shown above, this is for semantic reasons, not permitted. A further discussion on this point is included in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2.4.

3.6 Conclusions on interrogative forms

This chapter has described the syntax of three interrogative forms in Camuno: two synthetic (SCI and QDec) and one analytic (FS). It has shown how, in most dialects, the interrogative support verb *fa* is morphologically identical to both the causative auxiliary and main verbs ‘do’ and ‘make’. In the case of interrogative causatives in dialects where no additional support verb is used, the position of non-subject clitics is definitive in distinguishing causative and non-causative interrogatives.

Both SCI and FS interrogatives result in an order of V_{fin}-SCL, whether the finite verb is an main verb, auxiliary such as ‘have’, ‘be’, ‘cause’, or the support verb *fa* (which could potentially be either an auxiliary or main verb at this point in the discussion). One piece of evidence introduced here suggests that dialects in which FS is optional and those in which it is obligatory have different semantic/syntactic properties: non-referential arguments not permitted with optional FS, but allowed with obligatory FS.

The next chapter, Chapter 4, looks at where in the syntactic structure the finite verb is located in these interrogatives, and whether syntactic tools can be used to determine if it is a main or auxiliary verb.

Chapter 4: Clausal syntax and finite verb position

This chapter discusses the syntactic evidence available to determine the possible structures of a *fa*-support (FS) interrogative compared to that of verb-subject clitic inversion (SCI) and the declarative form with question intonation (QDec). At issue is the position of the finite verb and possibility of a discontinuity, including clausal boundary, within the structure.

Section 4.1 uses various syntactic markers to establish the position of the finite verb in the declarative and interrogative. **Section 4.1.1** uses the series of Lower adverbs defined by Cinque (1999) and employed successfully by Schifano (2018) to show that the position of the finite verb in the declarative in Camuno is the same as in other (non-V2) Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs). **Section 4.1.2** uses the pragmatic particle *po* as a marker of the upper left periphery, or C-domain. The normal order is *Vfin-po*, indicating the finite verb is in a C-head irrespective of whether it is a main verb or auxiliary verb (in SCI) or the support verb *fa* (in FS). Arguments using pragmatic *po* appear to be weakened by instances of a *Vfin-po* order in declarative, non-exclamatory clauses. This order is explained by use of a lower left periphery, also required to explain a post-verbal focus position.

Section 4.2 describes the other unusual (but not unique) trait of Camuno, the post-verbal position of a *wh*-item, in the same position as occupied by other focused constituents. The reason why the *wh*-item is not fronted is not apparent and there seems to be no causal connection between the two phenomena, non-fronted *wh* and FS. **Section 4.3** concludes with some generalized syntactic structures for obligatory FS and optional FS.

4.1 Position of the finite verb within the clause

4.1.1 Evidence for declarative and interrogative verb positions from sentential adverbs

Starting with the observation that in French the finite verb is found to left of various aspectual adverbs but in English it is found to the right, Pollock (1989) laid the foundation for the notion of verb raising out of the verb phrase into the IP. This is a trait of all Romance languages, to various different extents. As laid out in Chapter 1, lack of verb raising in English has been a central issue in the arguments for the existence of *do*-support. It is attributed as the reason that a meaningless auxiliary *do* must be inserted in T. The position of the finite verb in Camuno in the declarative is therefore a central issue and must be established for that reason.

Following Cinque (1999), adverbs have been used to establish the position of the finite verb in in the declarative clause. Notable among these studies is that of Schifano, 2018, and her comparison of the position of the finite verb in the declarative throughout Romance. For standard Italian and the Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs), the Lower

adverbs are most relevant for the position of the verb in the declarative, and the Lower and Higher adverbs for the interrogative.

4.1.1.1 Finite verb position with respect to lower adverbs

By using the Lower adverbs, this study can confirm the findings of Benincà & Poletto (2004) for the Monno dialect, that in Camuno, in the declarative, the finite lexical verb is found to the left of most of the common aspectual adverbs and in the same position as established for standard Italian and other Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs) (Cinque, 1999, Schifano, 2018). Thus in the declarative, the verb position in Camuno is (1a) is different to English (1b), where the verb follows all these adverbs.

1. a. Maria la **màngia hemper** al peh al venerdì. (Camuno: Esine)
Maria SCL.3F.SG eats always the fish on-the friday
- b. Maria **always eats** fish on friday. (English)

This position will be demonstrated below with examples from Esine (and some from Monno), in a trait that has been verified throughout the valley.

A significant difficulty in ascertaining the (unmarked) position of the verb in the structure is that it relies on the adverb having a fixed position to be a point of reference. For this purpose, adverbs in utterances where the adverb is either focalized or topicalized must be rejected. Unfortunately, in sentences with a verb in the present tense with habitual meaning (as used here, for consistency), it is quite common for an aspectual adverb to be focalized in an immediately post-verbal position. This focalization can usually be detected in the intonation by the stress given to the focused constituent. Likewise, it is possible for an adverb to be moved for topicalization to a sentence initial position. In this case it would normally be followed by a short intonational break or ‘comma intonation’. These examples too must be rejected. In addition, all adverbs must have sentential scope, and instances where they scope over one particular constituent are avoided. (See examples of scope over an infinitival verb in Section 4.1.2.2).

Relevant adverbs of the Lower adverb sequence (shown here with their Esine/Monno forms) are listed in (2) in the same order as Cinque (1999: 106), and as adopted by Schifano (2018: 2) in her study. The unmarked positions for the finite and infinitival verbs in the declarative and interrogative(s) from this study are also located within that

sequence. Possible higher positions of the infinitival verb are also possible, but they are marked.

2. **Vfin-intr** > *de hòlit/de sòlit* ‘usually’ > *de nöf* ‘once again’ > **VFin-decl** > *mìa* ‘not’ > *già* ‘already’ > *piö/pö* ‘no more’ > *hemper/semper* ‘always’, *mai* ‘never’ > **VInfin** > *del tüt* ‘completely’ > *bé* ‘well’

Two other common adverbs *dehpeh/de spes* ‘often’ (but with scope over the event itself or repetition of the event) and ‘*amò*’ ‘still’ or ‘once again’ are not considered definitive as they have more than one meaning and lexicalize more than one projection.

Adverbs over which the finite verb raises in declarative and interrogative

Members of this group of adverbs: *mìa* ‘not’ > *già* ‘already’ > *piö/pö* ‘no more’ > *hemper/semper* ‘always’, *mai* ‘never’ are consistently post-verbal in their unmarked position. Or, described from the point of view of the adverb that is presumed to be stationary in the derivational process, the verb raises over these adverbs in the declarative as well as interrogative. This is demonstrated below with *già* ‘already’ (3, 4) and *mìa* ‘not’ (5, 6).¹

(You’ve heard Gianni is going to be Maria’s new boss but you don’t know when that starts. Your friend tells you.)

- | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 3. a. | La laùra già per Giani.
SCL.3F.SG works already for Giani | Decl: SCL-Vfin – adv (Esine) |
| b. | La loura za par ‘l Giani.
‘She’s already working for Gianni.’ | (Monno) |
| 4. a. | Laùra=la già per Giani?
works=SCL.3F.SG already for Giani | SCI: Vfin-SCL-adv (Esine) |
| b. | Fa=la già laurà per Giani?
does=SCL.3F.SG already work.INFIN for Giani
‘Is she already working for Gianni?’ | FS: <i>fa</i> -SCL – adv (Esine) |
| 5. a. | Ancö, Loretta la ‘à mìa a hcöla.
today Loretta SCL.3F.SG goes not to school | Decl: SCL-Vfin – adv (Esine) |
| b. | Ancö, la Loretta la va mìa a scöla. | (Monno) |

¹ If the structure of FS in the Esine dialect is in fact biclausal and *fa* is in a separate clause from the adverb, in fact the position of *fa* is not established by it failing to raise over the adverb, even if the position of the infinitive is.

‘Today Loretta is not going to school.’

6. a. Ancö, **‘à=la** **mìa** a hcöla, Loretta? SCI: Vfin-SCL-adv (Esine)
 today goes=SCL.3F.SG not to school Loretta
- b. Ancö, **fà=la mìa** nà a hcöla, Loretta? FS: *fà*-SCL – adv (Esine)
 today does=SCL.3F.SG go.INFIN to school Loretta
- c. **Fa=la** **mìa** ‘ndà a scöla ancö la Loretta? (Monno)
 does=SCL.3F.SG not go.INFIN to school today the Loretta
 ‘Isn’t Loretta going to school today?’

Adverbs over which the finite verb raises in the interrogative, but not the declarative

Among the Lower adverbs, there are only two in this category: *de hòlit/de sòlit* ‘usually’ > *de nöf* ‘once again’. These adverbs, when in their unmarked positions, are pre-verbal in the declarative and post-verbal in the interrogative. When viewed from the perspective of the adverb, the finite verb then fails to raise over these adverbs in the declarative, but does so in the interrogative. Moreover raising of the finite verb in the interrogative apparently occurs irrespective of whether verb and subject clitic invert (SCI), or not, as in the question with declarative word order (QDec). This is demonstrated below in examples from Esine (7, 8) with unergative verb *parlà* talk. (Evidence in Section 4.1.2 using pragmatic particle *po* will corroborate this finding.)

(The two sisters had a row and they haven’t spoken for years.)

7. Ma adèh, **de nöf le** **he pàrta.** Decl: adv – SCL-Vfin (Esine)
 but now of new SCL.3F.PL REF talk.INFIN
 ‘But now they are speaking to each other once again.’
8. a. **He pàrta=le** **de nöf**, adèh? SCI: Vfin-SCL – adv (Esine)
 REF talk.INFIN=SCL.3F.PL of new now
- b. **Le** **he pàrta** **de nöf**, adèh? QDec: SCL-Vfin – adv
 SCL.3F.PL REF talk.INFIN of new now
 ‘Are they speaking again now?’

With verbs that take a complement (DP/PP), the position of verb and adverb is less straightforward apparently because speakers dislike separating verb and complement by these two-part adverbs (*de hòlit/de sòlit* and *de nöf*). Thus although in the declarative there is no problem (as the verb would not normally raise over them) this becomes a potential issue for the interrogative. The solution is apparently to topicalize the adverb,

noting this with comma intonation. This can result in a normal pre-verbal position for these adverbs in both the declarative AND interrogative as in (9, 10, 11).

9. a. ?**À=la** **de nöf** a hcöla, Loretta? SCI: ?Vfin-SCL adv (Esine)
 goes=SCL.3F.SG of new to school Loretta
- b. ?**Fà=la** **de nöf** nà a hcöla, Loretta? FS: ?fa-SCL adv
 does=SCL.3F.SG of new go.INFIN to school Loretta
- c. **De nöf**, **'à=la** a hcöla, Loretta? SCI: adv (topic), Vfin-SCL
 of new goes=SCL.3F.SG to school Loretta
- d. **De nöf**, **fà=la** nà a hcöla, Loretta? FS: adv (topic), fa-SCL
 of new does=SCL.3F.SG go.INFIN to school Loretta
 Is she going to school once again, Loretta?

(Those two twins are completely different. Sandro may get the answer wrong but...)

10. a. Caterina **de hòlit la** **fa** giùht. Decl: adv SCL-Vfin (Esine)
 Caterina of usual SCL.3F.SG does right
- b. La Caterina **de solit la** **sbaglia** mìa. (Monno)
 the Caterina of usual SCL.3F.SG makes-mistakes not
 'Caterina usually gets it right.'
11. a. **De hòlit**, **fa=la** giùht, Caterina? FS: adv (topic), Vfin-SCL (Esine)
 of usual does=SCL.3F.SG right Caterina
- b. **De solit**, **fa=la** mìa sbaglià la Caterina? FS: adv (topic), fa-SCL (Mon.)
 of usual does=SCL.3F.SG not make-mistakes.INFIN the Caterina
 'Usually, does Caterina (lit.) do right / not mess up?'

4.1.1.2 Infinitival verb position with respect to lower adverbs (declarative and interrogative)

Similarly to Italian, the infinitival verb is normally found to the left of *bé* 'well', as shown for a declarative (12) with causative auxiliary *fa* and *netà-dó* 'clean-down' and FS interrogative (13) with support verb *fa* and *gnì-ho* 'grow-up'; and to the left of *del tüt* 'completely', shown with auxiliary *rüà-ga* 'succeed in' and *capì* 'understand' (14).

(The windows are very clean:)

12. Ghe le fó **netà=dó** **bé** al me fiöl. Decl: Vinf adv-*bé* (Es.)
 DAT.3 ACC.3F.PL cause.1SG clean.INFIN=down well to my son
 'I get my son to clean them well.'

13. Fa=l **gnì=ho** **bé** 'l vidùr hó de 'otre? SCI(caus): Vinf adv-*bé* (Es.)
 does=SCL.3M.SG grow.INFIN=up well the vines up of you.PL
 'Do vines grown well where you live?'

(Isabella has considerable emotional intelligence.)

14. Isabella la ghe rüa a **capi** **del tüt**
 Isabella SCL.3F.SG DAT.3 succeeds to understand.INFIN totally
 come l' è nàda. Decl: Vinf adv-*del tüt* (Es.)
 how SCL.3M.SG is went.PTCP.F.SG.
 'Isabella succeeds in understanding completely what has happened.'

To convey particular meanings, infinitival verbs may alternatively be found to the left of adverbs *mìa*, *già*, *piö*, *hemper*, *mai*, in marked positions as in (15), a declarative sentence with two infinitival verbs that employs the negative adverb *piö* 'no more'. Negative adverbs are particularly revealing as they are the sole means of conveying the negation, there being no additional pre-verbal negator.

'Simone isn't as strong as he used to be.'

15. Ghe (*0. **piö**) fa=la (1. **piö**) hegà=fò (#2. **piö**) l'èrba, la hò hpùda? (Esine)
 Ghe fa=la piö hegà=fò l'èrba, la hò hpùda?
 DAT.3 causes=SCL.3F.SG no-more mow.INFIN=down the grass the his wife
 'Does his wife no longer make him cut the grass?'

Possible positions of *piö* are as follows: Position 0 (pre-verbal) is agrammatical.² Position 1 (post-finite verb) is the unmarked option, and it can mean one of two things: either that his wife no longer MAKES him cut the grass, which is sentential negation (but perhaps he does it of his own accord) or that she makes him no longer CUT the grass (but what else would he be doing with the grass?). Position 2 (post-lexical infinitive) is agrammatical.³

In a monoclausal structure, whether the finite verb has a merge position below the adverb as with causative *fare*, or above, as with modals such as *potere* or *dovere* (Cinque,

² The Esine informant indicated that this position seemed poetic and 18th century.

³ For *piö* to take scope over *l'erba*, this is achieved by the intonation: *La hò hpuda la pöl piö fà-ga hegà-fò L'ÈRBA.*

1999 or 2006b), the two possible meanings still arise (e.g. ‘He must not cut the grass anymore’/‘He doesn’t have to cut the grass anymore’). Whether or not the same pertains with interrogative support verb *fa* (in a monoclausal or biclausal structure) is however, irrelevant, due to its lack of relevant semantic content. This is shown in (16) a non-causative interrogative with support verb *fa* and *hegà-fò* ‘cut’. If the function of *fa* is little more than a truth operator, as will be claimed in Chapter 5, then the two possible paraphrases are logically identical..

16. **Fà=I** **piö** hegà-fò l'èrba?
 does=SCL.3M.SG no-more mow.INFIN=down the grass
 1. Is it no more the case that: [he cuts the grass]?
 2. Is it the case that: [no more [he cuts the grass]]?

4.1.1.3 Finite verb position with respect to higher adverbs

Compared to use of the lower adverbs to determine the verb’s position in the declarative, the higher adverbs have not generally been used as productively for the interrogative.

It is unclear whether the entire higher adverb sequence belongs to the I-domain, or whether the uppermost ones belong to the C-domain. The boundary between the I-domain and C-domain was not clearly located by Cinque (1999), and it is possible that at least ‘frankly’, which indicates speaker perspective, could belong to the C-domain. Poletto (2002: 226) would also place framesetter adverbs such as ‘tomorrow’, that necessarily scope over the entire utterance, in the C-domain.

Similarly to the problems encountered in the declarative by adverbs moved for focus reasons from their base position, in the interrogative, adverbs are often moved for topicalization to a sentence-initial position or to a position after another topic, such as the subject. Examples with a comma intonation are not therefore definitive (even if they result in no overall change to the order).

Accepting that using the higher adverbs has resulted in relatively little success in determining the precise position of the interrogative verb (and has not been sufficient to diagnose the verb’s position in the C-domain), this study instead uses higher adverbs to

further demonstrate that the interrogative position of the finite verb pertains irrespective of whether verb and subject clitic invert or not.

The examples below establish the finite verb's position in the declarative and interrogative (SCI/QDec) with respect to the following sequence of higher adverbs (17).⁶

17. **Vfin-intr** > *de higùr/de sigùr* 'certainly' > *forhé/forse* 'perhaps' > **Vfin-decl** > L.advs *gia/mia/piö*, etc.

In declarative (18) with *forhe* 'perhaps', a SCI (19a), and QDec (19b) interrogative are shown for comparison. QDec with a causative verb is also shown in (20, 21) with *de higùr* 'certainly'. All examples are from Esine.

(We're looking for mother's shoes:)

18. **Fórhe** la mama **la** **he** **regórda** Decl: adv SCL-Vfin
 perhaps the mother SCL.3F.SG REF remembers
 'ndó che g' è le hcarpe.
 where that SCL.3F.PL are the shoes
 'Perhaps mother remembers where the shoes are.'

(Mother is quite old now. She's lost her shoes.)

19. a. La mama **he** **regórda=la** **fórhe**, adèh 'ndó che g'è le hcarpe? SCI: Vfin-SCL adv
 the mother REF remembers=SCL.3F.SG perhaps...
 b. La mama **la** **he** **regórda** **fórhe**, adèh 'ndó che g'è le hcarpe? QDec: SCL-Vfin adv
 the mother SCL.3F.SG REF remembers perhaps...
 'Perhaps mother remembers now, where she left her shoes.'

(The new choir mistress can persuade anyone to sing.)

20. **De higùr** **la** **fa** cantà ISABELLA. Decl: adv SCL-Vfin
 of certainty SCL.3F.SG causes sing.INFIN Isabella
 'She will certainly get ISABELLA to sing.'

(Lucia is so shy. She would never sing for the old choir master.)

21. **I** **la** **fa** **de higùr** cantà la maèhtra NÖA? QDec: SCL-Vfin adv
 SCL.DEF ACC.3F.SG causes of certainty sing.INFIN the teacher new
 'Does the NEW teacher definitely get her to sing?'

⁶ Several examples purposefully mirror those of Schifano, 2018.

This section has shown that the adverbs from the Cinque (1999) sequence can serve as valuable markers for determining the position of the finite and infinitival verbs in the declarative and interrogative. As regards this study on Camuno, it has verified the declarative position found in other studies, and shown that the higher interrogative position pertains irrespective of whether or not verb and subject clitic invert. However, these adverbs have not proven useful in determining the upper limit of finite verb movement in the interrogative, and whether there are differences according to the type of verb involved. The following sections use the marker *po* to attempt to fill this gap.

4.1.2 Evidence for interrogative verb position from focalizing particle *po*

4.1.2.1 Relevance of *po*

Po, or in some other dialects, *pa* is considered a focus particle of adverbial origin. It is widely reported from NIDs and used in syntactic studies of clausal architecture. (See Hack, 2012 for a study of *wh*-questions in four Rhaetoromance dialects, two of which are V2 and two non-V2, as well as overview of previous studies; Rhaetoromance dialects, Poletto & Zanuttini, 2003; Poletto, 2002; Benincà, 1995 as cited in Poletto, 2000: 46-9; 66-67; Veneto dialects: Munaro & Poletto, 2002, 2004, 2005.) In both of Hack's V2 dialects *po/pa* is an obligatory component (of *wh*-questions (*wh*-Qs), and also of *yes/no* questions (*y/n*-Qs) in Gherdëina), so aiding the distinction between an interrogative a declarative as with V2 both can have an inverted finite verb and subject.

Derived from Latin POST 'after', NID *po/pa* is reported as having a non-temporal, pragmatic meaning of presupposition and emphasis. This meaning is primarily found in questions, and to a lesser extent with exclamations, but only rarely with assertions that are non-exclamatory, most of these reported from V2 dialects.

Po/pa can have two different scope positions: either over the entire verb-phrase, or over a smaller, focused constituent. Most relevant to this study is when it has verb-phrase scope, as these instances can provide information to constrain the interrogative position of the finite verb. Its use in this regard is due to its pragmatic nature, which makes it a component of the C-domain. *Po/pa* was first analyzed by Benincà (1995) as occupying a head rather than a phrasal position, an analysis eventually adopted by most subsequent authors (e.g. Munaro & Poletto, 2002: 92; Hack, 2012: 107), and used here. It can be

used to diagnose the position of the finite verb (22) whether this is a main verb in SCI, or the support in obligatory FS or optional FS. In optional FS, it also does not preclude the possibility that the structure is biclausal.⁷

22. [CP **Vfin**-SCL *po* [IP/CP]]

A second use for *po* is when it takes scope over a focalized constituent including when that constituent is a wh-item. In Camuno a wh-item is not necessarily fronted but may be post-verbal, a situation described in the literature by using the (slightly inaccurate) term wh-“*in situ*”. As non-fronted wh is, cross-linguistically, a rare occurrence, the phenomenon is discussed in brief, even though its relevance to occurrence of FS will be largely ruled out. The usefulness of *po* in the discussion on the non-fronting of the wh-item is presented in Section 4.2.4. Examples are from Esine, unless otherwise noted.

4.1.2.2 The Vfin-*po* position in Camuno interrogatives

In Camuno, *po* is used in questions to indicate speaker disbelief, doubt, or surprise at a situation that is counter-expectational.⁸ In some instances the additional meaning it provides is best paraphrased as: ‘after all that’s been said and done’, ‘despite what I think’, or even simply ‘then’ (in the sense of ‘therefore’ or ‘as a consequence’ and a reaction to the surprising situation), all of which relate it to previous discourse. In this, the meaning appears to reflect some of the remnant semantics of *po* and its derivation from Latin POST ‘after’. In the examples used here, *po* has a pragmatic meaning even if there is still a residuum of its temporal origin, as should be evident from the translations.

The most common position of *po* in Camuno is immediately following the finite verb, Vfin-*po* and this is taken to reflect the finite verb raising to the C-domain over pragmatic *po*. Any infinitival verbs, arguments, and adjuncts, follow *po* and presumably remain in

⁷ If the structure is biclausal, *po* is best placed in the upper clause because there is no evidence for any left periphery to the lower clause, either in any constituents merged there or using it as a landing site for movement.

⁸ There are similarities in the pragmatic effects achieved with *po* to those of using an FS versus SCI question (where both are available), the topic of Chapter 5. Both *po* and *fa* are counter-expectational (“presuppositional”) and describe relationships between the utterance and the ‘Common Ground’ (whether that is established by the directly preceding utterance, or by the set of shared assumptions). However, it is maintained here that similar counterexpectational effects are being realized in unrelated ways: the adverbial particle *po* through its lexical content (and syntactic position); the verb *fa* through the syntactic structure built around it.

the IP. Thus the finite verb for all interrogative types must be in the C-domain. This applies to the Esine examples of support verb *fa* in optional FS (23a) and for the Monno in obligatory FS (24). Note however, that without the infinitival verb, it is also possible that that *po* is sentence-final (*S-po*) and constituents after the comma are right-dislocated, as with SCI (23b) or QDec (23c). This option, uncommon in Camuno, will be ruled out below.

(Everyone wants to know what Maria finally decided about the Saturday shift at the library.)

23. a. (*Po) **Fa=la** **po** laurà, 'l hàbet? FS-opt (Vfin-*po*) (Esine)
 (**po*) does=SCL.3F.SG *po* work.INFIN the saturday
- b. (*Po) **Laùre=la** **po**, 'l hàbet? SCI (Vfin-*po* or S-*po*)
 (**po*) works=SCL.3F.SG *po* the saturday
- c. (*Po) **La** **làura po**, 'l hàbet? QDec (Vfin-*po* or S-*po*)
 (**po*) SCL.3F.SG works *po* the saturday
 'Is she working on Saturday (after all that)?'

(Loretta is cooking a dish that takes a long time to prepare and she doesn't know if it's worth it. She asks her husband doubtfully:)

24. (*Po) **Faré=t** **po** mangià=l (**po*)? FS-obl (Vfin-*po*) (Monno)
 (**po*) does.FUT=SCL.2SG *po* eat.INFIN=ACC.3M.SG (**po*)
 'Will you at least eat it, then?'

The addition of *po* to the question to produce the order Vfin-*po* highlights the entire question within the discourse. The Vfin-*po* position is found both in questions in verb-phrase focus and those in constituent focus (even though *po* takes scope over the finite verb). Verb-phrase focus (essentially the same as neutral focus) is when the question concerns the entire sentence (or most of it, possibly minus any framesetters). Constituent focus, as the term is used here, is when a smaller constituent, such as an argument or adjunct is in focus of the question, including when that constituent is a wh-item.⁹ That constituent is generally placed immediately after the verb(s) and also bears intonational stress. To help the reader, the constituent focus in the examples below is indicated as [_F focused constituent]. (In some later examples the intonational focus is on a contrasted item and that is indicated by capital letters.) In most cases, the focus should

⁹ Of course, the verb phrase is also a constituent, but is not included in the term 'constituent focus' as used here.

also be obvious from the context. For example, (25) is most likely to be in constituent focus on the propositional-clause object *che 'm é en ritart* 'that we are late'; but (26) is more likely in verb-phrase (or even verb) focus rather than constituent focus on the object, as *l'öle de ricino* 'castor oil' has been introduced in the context. Examples are from Esine unless otherwise stated.

(Everyone has gone!)

25. **Crède-t** **po** [_F *che 'm é en ritart*]? SCI (Vfin-*po*)
 think-SCL.2SG *po* [that SCL.1PL.IMP is late]
 'Do you think we are late, then?'

(Mario is trying the castor oil for himself because everyone has told him it's so horrible. His friend asks him:)

26. **Te** **piàde=l** **po** *l'öle de ricino*? SCI (Vfin-*po*)
 DAT.2SG pleases=SCL.3M.SG *po* the oil of ricin/castor
 'Do you like castor oil, then?'

For some Camuno speakers, such as this Esine speaker, *po* is also grammatical in a position at the end of the main intonational unit of the sentence (*S-po*) as in (27), although this is not its most common position. However, the *S-po* is normal in the Veneto dialects where it has been explained by Munaro & Poletto, (e.g. 2002: 87) as movement of the entire CP (i.e. the sentence without the particle) to the specifier of the particle, presumably resulting in focalizing of the entire sentence.

(We want to know what Elisabetta is doing on Saturdays because she's never in the village as she is during the week.)

27. a. *Fa=la* *nà* *a Milà, po*? FS-opt (*S-po*)
 does=SCL.3F.SG go.INFIN to Milan *po*
- b. *'à=la* *a Milà, po*? SCI (*S-po*)
 goes=SCL.3F.SG to Milan *po*
 'Does she go to Milan, then?'

In some instances with a sentence lacking any infinitival verbs, there could potentially be potential confusion between the two positions of Vfin-*po* (the position relevant to these arguments of the finite verb position) and *S-po* (not relevant). This is because of the possibility that arguments are right dislocated and so syntactically outside the main clause, a situation which is normal for the Veneto dialects (Antinucci & Cinque, 1977; Munaro, Poletto, & Pollock, 2001; Kayne & Pollock, 2001).

In separating right-dislocation from the alternative of marginalization, Hack (2012) used criteria laid down by Cardinaletti (2001), that a right dislocated argument is preceded by a significant intonational break (usually indicated by a comma in a transcription) and is obligatorily doubled by a clitic on the verb; but with a marginalized constituent the intonational effect is largely limited to de-stressing and any clitic is optional. Using these criteria, in example (28) below, the constituent *an del frigo* ‘in the fridge’ that follows the focused argument is not doubled by a clitic nor preceded by a comma intonation, so is marginalized rather than right dislocated. The example is therefore demonstrating the *Vfin-po* position and that the finite verb in both instances, *méte* ‘put’ in (28a) and *fa* in (28b) in the C-domain.

(In the guesthouse it seems that they use the fridge like a cupboard. You say to your wife:)

28. a. **Méte=i** **po** [F la hal] an del frigo, an chèla ca lé? SCI (Vfin-po)
 put=SCL.3M.PL *po* [the salt] in the fridge in that house there
- b. **Fa=i** **po** mitì [F la hal] an del frigo, an chèla ca lé? FS (Vfin-po)
 do=SCL.3M.PL *po* put.INFIN [the salt] in the fridge in that house there
 ‘Do they put the salt in the fridge, then, in that house?’

The next example (29) with causative auxiliary *fa* confirms the *Vfin-po* (not *S-po*) position due to the presence of a following infinitival verb (and within a incontrovertibly monoclausal structure) also with QDec.

(The new choir mistress can persuade anyone to sing. But even shy Isabella? I really doubt this.)

29. **i** **la** **fa** **po** cantà [F de higùr], Isabella? QDec (Vfin-po)
 SCL.DEF ACC.3F.SG causes *po* sing.INFIN [certainly] Isabella
 ‘Are you really sure she gets Isabella to sing?’

In the Esine dialect, FS is rarely used with the causative verb (and rarely with any other result verb, see Chapters 6 & 7) and QDec, the declarative form with question intonation is employed instead. This confirms that in Camuno, even without inversion with subject clitic, the finite verb is in the C-domain in the interrogative, as suggested above from adverbial evidence. (See also (31, 32) with QDec and *po*.)

Hack (2012: 171-2) further conclusively distinguished the positions of *Vfin-po* and *S-po* by using sentences with a quantifier argument after the verb(s), as these cannot be represented by clitics. This is shown here for Camuno with *tüt* ‘everything’ (30), *argù*

‘someone (31). In Camuno, it can also be demonstrated with interrogative pronouns (32) to (35).

(The auditor is most insistent about reviewing all the books. Your colleague asks you:)

30. a. Ghe **fé=t** **po** 'idì [F tüt]? SCI (quant. DO)
 DAT.3 cause=SCL.2SG *po* see.INFIN [everything]
- b. **Fé=t** **po** fà=ga 'idì [F tüt]? FS
 do=SCL.2SG *po* cause=DAT.3 see.INFIN [everything]
- ‘Are you really going to show him everything?’

(I’m talking to Marco about the beautiful Piera, who has just left her boyfriend, but intends to go to the dance on Saturday. Marco would like to know if she’s going on her own or has found a friend to accompany her and asks you:)

31. a. **Farà=la** **po** domandà=ga [F a argù] FS (quant. DO)
 does.FUT=SCL.3F.SG *po* ask.INFIN=DAT.3 [to someone]
- de nà 'nhèma a balà?
 to go.INFIN together to dance.INFIN
- ‘[Given the fact she’s now free], will she ask someone to go with her to dance?’
- b. La **'nvida** **po** [F argù] a balà, Piéra? QDec
 SCL.3F.SG invite.INFIN *po* [someone] to dance.INFIN Piera
- ‘[After all that], is she inviting someone to dance?’

(You see shy Lorenzo in the street with a bunch of flowers and you have a lot of questions:)

32. a. **Fa=l** **po** dà=ghe=i a argù chèi fiùr? FS (quant. IO)
 does=SCL.3M.SG *po* give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL to someone those flowers
- b. **Ghe=i** **da=l** **po** a argù chèi fiùr? SCI
 DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL gives=SCL.3M.SG *po* to someone those flowers
- c. Al **ghe=i** **da** **po** a argù chèi fiùr? QDec
 SCL.3M.SG DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL give.INFIN *po* to someone those flowers
- ‘Is he [despite his shyness] really giving those flowers to someone [special]?’
33. a. **Fa=l** **po** da=ghe=i [F a chi] chèi fiùr?¹⁰ FS (wh IO)
 does=SCL.3M.SG *po* give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL [to whom] those flowers
- b. **Ghe=i** **da=l** **po** [F a chi] chèi fiùr? SCI¹¹
 DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL give.SCL.3M.SG *po* [to whom] those flowers

¹⁰ As with other multiple-word wh-items, it can be sentence front or post-verbal, but is rarely doubled.

¹¹ The informant notes that with declarative word order, *po* should be sentence final position. This could be an echo question. *Al ghe i dà a chi, pò, chèi fiùr?* (Who on earth is he giving those flowers to?)

‘Who is he giving those flowers to, then?’

(All the shops are shut and there’s nothing in the fridge.)

34. (Chè) **Fé=t** **po** mangià chè de héna?¹² FS (wh-object)
(what) do.2=SCL.2SG *po* eat.INFIN what of evening
‘What are you going to eat for dinner, then?’

(Tonino’s mother is surprised to see him heading out at 10 in the evening. She asks him:)

35. a. **Fé=t** **po** nà ’ndóe? FS (wh-locative)
do.2=SCL.2SG *po* go.INFIN where
b. **Né=t** **po** ’ndóe? SCI
go.2=SCL.2SG *po* where
‘Where are you going, then?!’

To summarize: the position *Vfin-po* is normal for Camuno, the sentence final position being rare (unlike in the Veneto dialects). Addition of *po* indicates that the entire utterance/sentence is worthy of note because it is unusual and contrasts with previous expectations. In this position *po* is scoping over the entire clause, irrespective of whether the sentence is in verb-phrase or (smaller) constituent focus.

4.1.2.3 The *Vfin-po* position in Camuno declarative clauses

For the above argument to be solid and that the order *Vfin-po* represents the location of the finite verb in the C-domain in the interrogative, the same order should not be possible in a declarative clause. Thus, if inclusion of *po* were pragmatically possible in a declarative, the order *po-Vfin* but not the order *Vfin-po* would be attested.

The most likely place to find *po* in a declarative clause would be in a so-called embedded question¹³, even if it is absent from other types of assertion in most dialects due to pragmatic incompatibility. Yet surprisingly, *po* is either rarely reported; or noted as absent from embedded clauses¹⁴ (Rhaetoromance Badiotto (V2): Poletto & Zanuttini,

¹² *Che* is frequently doubled for emphasis, *’ndoe* only rarely so.

¹³ The term “embedded question” is adopted only because widely used in the literature. It seems inappropriate because the embedded clause is in declarative form in Camuno and, as will be explained in Chapter 5, the embedded portion actually should be interpreted as the answer to a previously asked question.

¹⁴ This absence was attributed by Poletto (2000: 47) to an incompatibility between *po/pa* and the complementizer.

2003; Poletto, 2002; Rhaetoromance Fassano (non-V2): Benincà, 1995, cited in Poletto, 2000: 46-7¹⁵; Veneto dialects (non-V2), Pagotto and Venetian: Munaro & Poletto, 2002: 87).

The most cited occurrence of *po/pö/pa* in a non-interrogative context is in exclamatives and positive and negative emphatic statements in the V2 Rhaetoromance dialect of Badiotto (Poletto & Zanuttini, 2003). Although the order of *scl-Vfin pa/pö* is found, syntactically this does not provide useful information for this discussion as the dialect is V2, so the finite verb would be in C even in a declarative. What is relevant about those examples is that, in that dialect, there is pragmatic compatibility with an assertion. In both varieties, *pa* and *pö* are used for emphasis in statements that contradict preceding material, so their use is counter-expectational.

The predicted *po-Vfin* order in an embedded question is however found in Camuno, a non-V2 dialect, but in these instances, it seems to indicate constituent focus on the preceding *wh*-relative pronoun (36) or interrogative complementizer (37), which receive intonational stress (indicated by capitals).

(Tonino's mother is surprised to see him heading out at 10 in the evening. She asks him:)

36. 'Ói haì 'NDÓ (CHE) po te né! wh-(comp)-po
 want.1SG know.INFIN where (that) po scl.2SG go.2SG
 'I want to know WHERE, then, you're going!'

(Lucia's was so insistent that her mother buy the fish. But now she seems to have lost interest. Her mother wants to check if it's worth cooking it but Lucia doesn't hear her question. She gently repeats.)

37. Te domànde HE po te 'l mangeré.
 DAT.2SG ask.1sg if po scl.2SG ACC.3M.SG eat.COND.2sg
 'I'm asking you if, in the end, you'll actually eat it.'

Overall, in Camuno, I found no examples of the anticipated *po-Vfin* order in a declarative other than ones similar to above, where it appears to be a consequence of constituent focus over the preceding item. Instead, when *po* was pragmatically compatible with the declarative clause/sentence, the order of *Vfin-po* was most common (as to be illustrated

¹⁵ Hack (2012: ftn, p. 105) disputes this and claims *pa* may occur in an embedded clause in the Pera di Fassa dialect.

below). Taken at face value, this would seem to compromise the function of *po* as a marker of the C-domain.

The declarative uses to be illustrated for the V_{fin}-*po* position in Camuno represent exclamations, answers to questions, and various types of embedded questions. In each case *po* is linked to a counter-expectational pragmatics, not to describing temporal relations, which is an alternative use relatively common in NIDs (Hack, 2012: 77) for cognates of POST. It is similar to the few declarative examples reported from other dialects, where *po/pö/pa* is said to add emphasis (Hack, 2012: 78; several examples from Poletto & Zanuttini 2003: 183). More specifically, in Camuno, the function of *po* is to focalize, or highlight, certain content in the discourse indicating to where the addressee's attention should be drawn.

In Camuno, *po* is used by the speaker for a highlighting function in both a question and an assertion because it is counter-expectational. What is different between the question and assertion is whose expectation is being countered. In the question, *po* is used by the questioner to indicate their doubt about the truth of the propositional material given their previous knowledge and insistence that the uncertainty is resolved; in the answer to a question, the respondent is emphasizing the truth of their reply and acknowledging it runs counter to the questioner's expectations (as well as, possibly, their own). The Camuno meanings of *po* are therefore for a question: 'despite what I may think' and for the answer: 'despite what you may think". This is similar to use of English *really*, or *after all*, in either a question or an assertion. [Note that the same argument is used in Chapter 5 as regards the presuppositional meaning of the FS question: when it indicates doubt, it generates a strong confirmation in the answer. However, it is suggested that the counter-expectational meaning of *po* is largely in the semantics of the word, but with *fa* it is more a consequence of the FS structure.]

The first examples (38) to (40) are of exclamations with a wh-word where the addition of *po* adds extra emphasis to the declaration. There is no indication that the finite verb is in C in these exclamatives, such as might be provided by inversion or raising above certain adverbs: all acceptable examples have the declarative order of scl-V_{fin}, and, in (39) the adverb *de holit* 'usually' is pre-verbal (as expected for the declarative).

(Even though other places may be beautiful...)

38. a. *Cóme l' è po contéto de htà a Eden!*
how SCL.3M.SG is *po* happy to stay.INFIN at Esine
- b. **Cóme è=l po contéto de htà a Eden!*
how is= SCL.3M.SG *po* happy to stay.INFIN at Esine
'How happy he is to stay in Esine!'

(She's usually so well behaved, but when you send her to bed early...)

39. a. *Che htòria de hòlit la fa po Isabella!*¹⁶
what story of usual SCL.3F.SG makes *po* Isabella
- b. ??*Che htòria la fa po de hòlit Isabella!*
what story SCL.3F.SG makes *po* of usual Isabella
- c. **Che htòria de hòlit fa=la po Isabella!*
what story of usual makes=SCL.3F.SG *po* Isabella
'What a fuss Isabella makes!'

40. a. *He te hé, pò, htùpit!*
if SCL.2SG are.2SG *po* stupid
- b. *Te haré, pò, htùpit!*
SCL.2SG be.FUT.EPIS *po* stupid
'How stupid you are! [I would never have thought it.]'

The following answers to questions (41, 42) show the same declarative syntax and position of *Vfin-po*. They make the case to the interlocutor that, despite what they may think, if all the evidence is taken into account, what they (the speaker) are doing is perfectly reasonable. Even though these utterances are expressive, they could scarcely be considered exclamations.

(Tonino is carrying a shopping bag and heading out. His mother asks him where he's going and Tonino replies:)

41. *Nó po 'm butìga!*
go.1SG *po* in shop
'[What's the fuss about!] I'm going to the shop, of course!'

(You have been stopped by the police. The police officer asks you: "Do you know how fast you were going?". You reply:)

42. *Nàe po ai hèn't' e déh.*
go.IMPERF.1SG *po* at-the 100 and ten

¹⁶ Note that this example uses the main verb *fa* in the idiom 'to make a story/fuss'.

[Come on, be reasonable!] I was going at 110.' [This isn't very fast and indicates that it's not a big offence. You'd probably think the police had stopped you without good reason.]

Pragmatic *po* can also be used in with a sentence fragment, such as in an answer that requires strong confirmation (43).

(There is some doubt about whether Maria works on Saturday and you have been arguing with your friend about it. He confirms.)

43. **Hé po**, la laùra 'l hàbet! (Bienno)
 yes *po* SCL.3F.SG work.3SG the saturday
 'Yes, really. She works on Saturday!'

It can also be used in answers to questions within the main clause (44).

(We want to know what Elisabetta does on Saturdays because she's never in the village. We suspect she goes to Milan to see her boyfriend. Your friend confirms.)

44. Sé, la **va po** a Milà! (Monno)
 yes SCL.3F.SG goes.3SG *po* to Milan
 'Yes, she does indeed go to Milan!'

In embedded questions (45) to (49), *po* could be said to be adding insistence by the speaker that the information requested be provided to resolve the uncertainty. In this, it seems similar to uses in imperatives in the works cited above. Yet, except perhaps for (45, 46), these do not seem to be exclamatives. Example (45) shows that both when the question is indirect speech, and so syntactically embedded (45a, 46a), and when the question is in direct speech, with SCI (45d) or FS (45e), the same *Vfin-po* position is used.

(You're very curious to know if, despite the major row last weekend, Emanuela is going back to see her boyfriend in Milan this Saturday.)

45. a. 'Ói hàì **he la 'à po** a Milà! (Esine)
 want.1SG know.INFIN if SCL.3F.SG goes *po* to Milan
 b. *'Ói hàì he **'a=la po** a Milà!
 ... goes=SCL.3F.SG *po* ...
 c. *'Ói hàì he **fa=la po** nà a Milà!
 ... does=SCL.3F.SG *po* ...
 d. 'Ói hàì: **'a-la po** a Milà?
 want.1SG know.INFIN goes=SCL.3F.SG *po* to Milan
 e. 'Ói hàì: **fa=la po** nà a Milà?
 ... does=SCL.3F.SG *po* ...
 'I want to know if she's going to Milan.'

46. Öi haè hè la à po a Milà! (Bienno)
 want.1SG know.INFIN if SCL.3F.SG goes po to Milan
 'I want to know if she's going to Milan!'

In the following embedded questions (47) to (49), *po*, still in the *Vfin-po* position, is indicating at the same time uncertainty (inherent in the 'if'-clause), and insistence on resolving this.

(Marco and I are talking about the beautiful Piera, who has just left her boyfriend, and about whether she's inviting someone to the dance. Marco asks you:)

47. Al me piadiréh haì he Piéra la 'nviderà po argù.
 to me please.COND.3SG know.INFIN if Piera SCL.3F.SG invite.FUT.3SG po someone
 '[Given all this history with the boyfriend and the resulting uncertainty] I'd really like to know if Piera's inviting someone [because I'd like to invite her myself].'

(The accountant is insisting on looking at all the accounts. We have to decide if this would be a good idea given the fact that we all know there are a few irregularities. You ask (with a certain anxiety because it's quite important to know):)

48. Dìm he te ghe fé po 'idì tüt?¹⁷
 tell.IMP if SCL.2SG DAT.3 do.2sg po see.INFIN everything
 'Tell me if you're really going to show him everything.'

(There's a big problem)

49. È=l chè che te 'ölet po fà?
 is=SCL.3DEF what that SCL.2SG want.2SG po do.INFIN
 '[Given all the history and the fact the solution is quite important], What, do you want to do about it, then?'

4.1.2.4 Usefulness of *po* as a marker of the left periphery

The existence of the *Vfin-po* order in declaratives appears to present a problem to the argument above. However, rather than reject entirely the usefulness of *po* as a marker of the left periphery, there appear to be three ways to resolve the apparent quandary.

The first way would be to unite the interrogative and declarative instances by explaining *po* as merged in a head position along the main clausal spine, in the I-domain. It could also be treated as phrasal and occupying a specifier position. However, for it to occupy

¹⁷ The informant used a question mark with this example. In English, such examples of indirect questions are usually punctuated with a full stop even if the intonation indicates doubt.

the same position in the declarative and interrogative, it would have to be treated as a Lower adverb. (The position of temporal *poi* 'then' shown by Cinque (1999) is unsuitable as it would be too high.) Making this interpretation, and rejecting *po* as a incontrovertible marker of the C-domain would require ignoring *po*'s strong pragmatic associations, so seems unwarranted.

The second way would be to acknowledge the slightly different pragmatics attributable to *po* in declarative and interrogative clauses, and reject declarative instances as being completely comparable. This would keep the interrogative *po* in the C-domain, but require a separate declarative *po* for the I-domain. Against this is the evidence that they are basically the same, but from different points of view: in a question *po* reflects the speaker's expectation but in an answer indicates the hearer's.

The third way, which is adopted here, involves a component of both the first and second solutions: to accept that interrogative and declarative *po* have some pragmatics in common, and some that are different. The same item, the focalizing particle *po*, could be placed in the left periphery in both instances but in the upper left periphery (C-periphery: HFOC) for the interrogative, and a lower left periphery (v-periphery: LFOC) for the declarative. The existence of a focus position in the lower left periphery is as originally suggested by Belletti (2004) to account for post-verbal subjects.

Using this interpretation for the declarative examples, pragmatic particle, *po*, then remains an indicator for the finite verb in a C-head in the interrogative. From these examples, there is therefore no evidence for a difference in position of the finite verb according to whether it is a main and lexical verb, support verb *fa* in optional FS, or in obligatory FS.

4.2 Wh-“*in situ*” and ramifications for clausal architecture

4.2.1 Wh-item in new information focus position

The post-verbal position of the wh-item in Camuno is unusual only in that, for some still unknown reason, fronting (in the narrow syntax) is not required for it to be interpreted – unlike in the vast majority of other languages. There are then two unusual phenomena in Camuno: non-fronting of the wh, and 'do'-support, but they do not seem to be related.

Moreover, their co-occurrence provides further evidence that the trigger for ‘do’-support in Camuno is not the overt syntactic movement of the *wh*-item over the verb, as has been suggested for English to explain the differences between non-subject interrogatives that require inversion, but subject interrogatives that lack it.

The following examples show that the post-verbal position is in fact only that occupied by any other focalized constituent that represents new information. In Camuno, as in (Northern) Italian, the position for new information focus, which is the also intonational focus of the sentence, is immediately after the verb(s), both in the declarative and interrogative. All examples, unless otherwise noted, are from Esine.

The following example chosen to demonstrate this position is a causative, as throughout Romance the causative construction has a relatively rigid word order. The unmarked order is shown in (50), with the dative causee after the direct object.

(What are you doing when you go to town?)

50. Ghe fó giühtà la màchina a Giani. (unmarked)
 DAT.3 cause.1SG fix.INFIN the car a Giani
 ‘I get Gianni to repair the car.’

However, when the causee, *a Giani*, is the new information focus as in the question (51), that order is pragmatically wrong so effectively agrammatical (51a). Instead, the focused constituent should be immediately post-verbal (51b).

51. a. *Ghe (la) fé=t giühtà la màchina [_F a giani]?
 DAT.3 (ACC.3F.SG) cause=SCL.2SG fix.INFIN the car a Giani
 b. Ghe la fé=t giühtà [_F a giani] la màchina? (new informational focus)
 ‘Do you get Gianni to repair the car?’

In (52) the speaker, instead of checking whether the car repairer is *Giani*, is asking the informational question with ‘who’ and using the same post-verbal focus position (*wh*-PV) for the *wh*-item (52a). The fronted position of the *wh*-item (*wh*-front) is also possible (52b), but the sentence-final (unmarked) position (52c), is not.

52. a. Ghe la fé=t giühtà [_F a chi] la màchina? (*wh*-PV)
 DAT.3 ACC.3F.SG cause=SCL.2SG fix.INFIN a whom the car
 b. A chi ghe la fé-t giühtà la màchina? (*wh*-front)
 c. *Ghe la fé-t giühtà la màchina a chi? (**wh*-final)

Who do you get to repair the car?’

In the answer to the question (53), the same post-verbal new informational focus position applies as in the question, differing from the unmarked order.

53. a. Ghe la fó giühtà [_F a Giani] la màchina. (new info. focus)
DAT.3 ACC.3F.SG cause.1SG fix.INFIN a Giani the car
b. *Ghe la fó giühtà la màchina a Giani.
‘I get Gianni to repair the car.’

As the focal position is stressed, any arguments or adjuncts that follow it are de-stressed and may also be separated from the focus by an intonational break. As described above in Section 4.1.2.2, the possible two syntactic options for such an arrangement are right dislocation or marginalization. In the example (53) above, the object *la macchina* is probably marginalized rather than right-dislocated as there is no major intonational break. This is despite the doubling on the verb by clitic *la*.

In the two examples below each has a different context and therefore different focus. In (54), where the focus is on the dative argument, the accusative argument *i calhècc* ‘the socks’ is probably right dislocated (due to the comma and the clitic *i*) but in (55), with accusative argument focused, the dative argument *al tò bubà* ‘to your father’ is most likely just marginalized there is no intonational break and all dative arguments are usually doubled by this speaker.

(It’s almost Christmas and I see you wrapping up some nice new socks.)

54. Fé=t dà=ghe=i [_F al tò bubà], i calhècc?
do=SCL.2SG give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.PL [to your father] the socks
‘Are you giving the socks to your dad?’

(It’s always hard to know what to give dad for Christmas.)

55. Fè=t dà=ga [_F i calhècc] al tò bubà?
do=SCL.2SG give.INFIN=DAT.3 [the socks] to your father
‘Are you giving socks to your dad?’

It must then be true that, in Camuno, where fronting of the wh-item, although possible (in most, but not all, dialects) is not required, focalizing the wh-item after the verb is

sufficient for scope purposes.¹⁸ As shown in (55a) above, and (56) below, one consequence of this is that a yes/no question (y/n-Q) and wh-question (wh-Q) can appear very similar as the same focal position can hold either a DP, including a quantifier (*tant* ‘a lot’) or an interrogative pronoun (*quat* ‘how much’).

56. Cohte=l [F (1)**quat** / (2)**tant** chèl bel pèh ché? (SCI)
 costs=SCL.3M.SG [how.much / a.lot] this beautiful fish here
 1. ‘How much does this beautiful fish cost? / 2. Does this beautiful fish cost a lot?’

Camuno then has two unusual syntactic phenomena: non-fronted wh and FS – but there is no clear causal connection, or even correlation, between the two. This is the conclusion reached in this research and it concurs with the conclusions of Benincà & Poletto (2004: 65) in their study of the Monno dialect. As documented by Munaro (1999) and Manzini & Savoia (2005: Vol I, 586) there are numerous Lombard and Veneto dialects with so-called wh-“*in situ*”, yet only Camuno has FS.

Overall, this study found that the wh-PV position predominates in the Middle Valley dialects and the fronted position is slightly more common in the Upper Valley. With optional FS speakers in the Middle Valley, no correlation was found between instances of non-fronted wh and FS versus SCI use. However, despite this, for more some conservative Middle Valley speakers with obligatory FS, fronting of a determiner-like wh-item (57), including a prepositional argument (58), is agrammatical.

This indicates only that both wh-PV and FS are primitive Middle Valley dialect traits.¹⁹

57. a. He=t maià **che** de hena? Bienno (obligatory FS speaker)
 do=SCL.2SG eat.INFIN what of evening
 b. ***Che** he=t maià de hena?
 ‘What are you eating for dinner?’

¹⁸ Wh-fronting is normally attributed to a requirement that the wh-item scope over the following utterance for it to be interpreted. Following Huang (1992), the assumption is that, even in languages with wh-*in situ* (e.g. Chinese or Japanese), the wh-item is still interpreted in a sentence-initial position. So, although it does not move in the Phonological Form, it is assumed to move there in the Logical Form.

¹⁹ In a study of historical dialect information for the Veneto dialects, Munaro (1999) showed that only fronted-wh was available in the Renaissance times and concluded that wh-“*in situ*” was the derived phenomenon.

58. a. He=t fa=go=la comedà **a chi** la machina?
do=SCL.2SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3F.SG fix.INFIN a whom the car

b. ***A chi** het fagola comedà la machina?

‘Who do you get to repair the car?’

4.2.2 Types of post-verbal wh-items

In Camuno, the post-verbal position is possible both for single-word wh-items, such as ‘what’, and multiple-word items, such as ‘which book’. This is as reported from other Lombard dialects, but differs from the Veneto dialects. The single-word items may also be sentence-initial in a slightly different form, and both may be present together.

The post-verbal position for the wh-item is most common (or even obligatory) for the one-word determiner-like wh-words such as argumental (object) **ché** ‘what’ and adjuncts **andóe** ‘where’ or **comè** ‘how’, **a chi** ‘to whom’, **quat** ‘when’, **quala/e** ‘which one’ (Esine PV-forms). In some dialects, these items may also be fronted or doubled for emphasis (59-65).²⁰ The form of the wh-item may be slightly different in the wh-PV and wh-front positions²¹, a feature that seems largely to be a consequence of the intonational stress placed on the wh-PV but not on wh-front. The post-verbal position (and its slightly different form from the fronted variety) is also found in dialects where there is no FS, such as Cimbergo on the valley side (see location on Figure 8.1, Chapter 8) (60).

Perché/(che) fosa ‘why’ is always fronted (68).

There is evidence that the wh-PV position is not necessarily sentence final as in several instances there is an argument after the verb (59b), (62), (65), (66b). In these cases the following argument must be marginalized rather than right-dislocated because it is not

²⁰ Doubling of the wh-item could be interpreted as another instance of reduplication for emphasis, also applicable to the verb or verb phrase and to be demonstrated in Chapter 10. However, it should be noted that wh-doubling is not particularly common. Far more common is the situation with one wh-item in a post-verbal position.

²¹ The instances of doubling could be used support a generative model of copying rather than of movement (Chomsky, 1993). Alternatively, they are explained by Poletto & Pollock (2004) by the wh-item being originally double, with both a clitic head and phrasal specifier. This would accommodate the observation of the slightly different forms of wh-PV and wh-front. The clitic form is fronted, while the phrasal form remains “*in situ*”.

always doubled by a clitic on the verb and there is no comma intonation. Camuno wh-PV may therefore be closer an occurrence of “*wh-in situ*” than in the Veneto dialects and a mechanism of fronting the rest of the clause over the initially-fronted wh-item (Pollock, Munaro and Poletto 1999) is not appropriate.²²

Where the wh-word is complex and the wh-item is adjectival, in Camuno, these may also be post-verbal, e.g. (66, 67), but not doubled. This is the same as in the Lombard dialects described by Manzini & Savoia (2005: 587-8), but differs from the Veneto dialects described by Munaro (1997), where wh-phrases can only be sentence-initial.

Wh-questions (i.e. utterances that are truly inquisitive, not just exclamative) except those with ‘why’, almost invariably use the inverted forms, FS or SCI, but there are rare exceptions with QDec (even with fronted wh).

chè/che-què ‘what’: PV, double, less commonly just front

59. a. **(Chè)** [fa=la mangià] / [mànge=la] **chè**, Maria, de hèna? (Esine)
 (what) [does=SCL.3F.SG eat.INFIN]/[eats=SCL.3F.SG] what Maria of evening
- b. **(Che)** fa=la mangià **què** a cèna, la Maria?²³ (Monno)
 (what) does=SCL.3F.SG eat.INFIN what at dinner the Maria
 ‘What is Maria eating for supper?’
60. **(Co)** maia=t **(que)** da hena? (Cimbergo)
 (what) eat=SCL.2SG (what) of evening
 ‘What are you eating for supper?’

andóe/(a)ngo-(a)ngont ‘where’: PV (more Esine), front (more Monno), double rare

61. a. **(Andó’)** [fé-t nà] / [né-t] **’ndóe?** (Esine)
 (where) [do=SCL.2SG go.INFIN] / [go=SCL.2SG] where

²² Wh-“*in situ*” in the Northern Italian Dialects was explained by fronting of the wh-item then remnant movement of the rest of the clause into the left periphery over the wh-item (Pollock, Munaro and Poletto 1999, 2001, Poletto and Pollock, 2004a, 2004b, 2009). Their hypothesis seems to be based primarily on data from Veneto dialects, extended to cover Lombard dialects of Mendriso (Ticino), and Monno. However, as pointed out by Manzini & Savoia (2011), wh-“*in situ*” in the Lombard dialects differs in several important respects from the Veneto dialects: lack of sensitivity to islands, scoping over negation (which is entirely from the post-verbal adverb in the Lombard varieties), and occurrence in embedded clauses. Manzini & Savoia also point out that explaining the wh-“*in situ*” that is not doubled, by the presence of a ‘silent’ sentence-initial clitic is unsatisfying because the mechanism “is too unrestricted” (i.e. there is no way to falsify this theory). For these reasons, wh-PV in Camuno is taken to be essentially a case of wh-almost-*in situ* but just focused after the verb.

²³ The post-verbal variant *què* is pronounced /kwe/, the fronted variant *che* is /ke/.

- b. **'ngo** fè=t 'ndà? (Monno)
 where do=SCL.2SG go.INFIN
- c. Fè-t 'ndà **'ngont**? (Monno)
 'Where are you going?'

cóme-comè/come-com 'how': PV, front, double,

62. a. (**Cóme**) [fé-t nà] / [né-t] **comè** a Milà? (Esine)
 (how) [do=SCL.2SG go.INFIN] / [go=SCL.2SG] how to Milan
- b. **Come** fè=t a 'ndà a Milà?²⁴ (Monno)
 (how) do=SCL.2SG a go.INFIN to Milan
- c. Fè-t fa **com** a 'ndà a Milà? (Monno)
 'How are you going to Milan?'

a chi 'to whom': PV, front (rarer), not doubled

63. a. Ghe la fé=t giühtà **a chi** la màchina? (Esine)
 DAT.3 ACC.3F.SG cause=SCL.2SG fix.INFIN to whom the car
- b. **A chi** ghe la fé-t giühtà la màchina? (Esine)
- c. Fè=t fa=i=la giüstà **a chi** la machina? (Mon.)
 do=SCL.2SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3F.SG fix.INFIN to whom the car
 'Who do you get to repair the car?'

quala 'which one': PV, front, NOT doubled

(They say you have a lovely collection of ties.)

64. a. [Faré=t miti=ho] / [meteré=t=hó] **quala** a hpùde? (Esine)
 [do.FUT=SCL.2SG put.INFIN=down] / [put.FUT=SCL.2SG=DOWN] which-one at wedding
- b. **Quala** faré=t miti=ho / meteré=t=hó a hpùde?
- c. **Quala** fè=t mèter=sö 'l dé de le nòthze? (Monno)
 which-one do=SCL.2SG put.INFIN=down the day of the marriage
- d. Fèt mèter-sö **quala** 'l dé de le nòthze?
 'Which one are you wearing to the wedding?'

²⁴ Interestingly, this appears to be a main/lexical verb use of *fà* with a complementizer: "What are you doing in order to get to Milan?" This could represent an intermediate form in the early grammaticalization of *fa* 'do'-support. Note that it occurs with the manner adverb 'how'.

quàt/quànt/quat 'how much: PV, less common front, NOT doubled

65. a. [Fé=t hpetà] / [Hpète=t] **quàt** la coriéra (Esine)
[do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN]/[wait=SCL.2SG] how-much the bus
prima de abbià=t a pè?
before to set-off.INFIN=2.REF at foot
- b. Hé=t hpetà **quànt** la coriera prima de nà a pè (Bienno)
do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN how-much the bus before to go at foot
- c. Fè=t spetà=la **quat** la coriera prima da 'ndà a pè? (Mon.)
do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN=ACC.3F.SG how-much the bus before to go at foot
'How long do you wait for the bus before heading out on foot?'

per quant temp/per quat tep 'for how long': Most common front only, PV also possible

66. a. **Per quant temp** [fé=t hpetà] / [hpète=t] la coriéra (Esine)
For how-much time [do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN] / [wait=SCL.2SG] the bus
prima de abbià=t a pè?
before to set-off.INFIN=2.REF at foot
- b. Hé=t hpetà **per quat tep** la coriera prima de nà a pè? (Bienno)
do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN for how-much time the bus before to go.INFIN at foot
- c. **Per quat tep** fè=t spetà=la la coriera prima da 'ndà a pè?(Mon.)
For how-much time do=SCL.2SG wait.INFIN=ACC.3F.SG the bus
'How long do you wait for the bus before heading out on foot?'

a che ura 'at what time': Most common front only, PV also possible

(It's getting late and we want to have dinner. It's not right that our guests keep us waiting like this.)

67. a. **A che ura** 'rüe=l? (Esine)
at what hour arrives=SCL.3M.SG
- b. Ha=l rüà **a che ùra?** (Bienno)
does=SCL.3M.SG arrive.INFIN at what hour
- c. **A che ura** farà=l rüà? (Monno)
at what hour does.FUT=SCL.3M.SG arrive.INFIN
'At what time is he arriving?!'

perché 'why': Front only

(If Tonino is on a diet...)

68. a. **Perchè** la mama la ghe fa po mangià la Nutella?! QDec (Esine)
why the mother SCL.3F.SG DAT.3 does po eat.INFIN the nutella
- b. **Perché** ghe fà=la po mangià la Nutella? SCI

why DAT.3 does=SCL.3F.SG *po* eat.INFIN the nutella
 ‘Why on earth is his mother letting him eat Nutella?’

Interestingly, the post-verbal position can also be found in a *wh*-subject question with *chi* ‘who’ – in the rare instances where it is not clefted. The *wh*-PV position applies to both SCI and FS interrogatives (69). This structure then mirrors the position of a non-quantified subject DP (‘Mario’) when it is the focus of the question.

- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|---|-----|----------|
| 69. a. | Pàrle=l
speaks=SCL.3M.SG | chi /Mario?
who/Mario | SCI | (Esine) |
| b. | Fa=l
does=SCL.3M.SG | parlà chi /Mario?
speak.INFIN who/Mario | FS | (Esine) |
| c. | Ha=l
does=SCL.3M.SG | parlà chi ?/Mario
speak.INFIN who/Mario | FS | (Bienno) |
- ‘Who’s talking? / Is Mario talking?’

There are then three properties that distinguish subject questions in Camuno (a null-subject language) and English (with obligatory subject): *wh*-PV, inversion (of finite verb and subject reference), and use of a support verb.

Manzini & Savoia (2005: 602-603) also show examples from the Upper Valley (Incudine, where FS is obligatory) where *chi* ‘who’ is doubled at the sentence front, e.g. (70) (re-transcribed for consistency with Italian orthography).

70. **Che** fa=l dormer **chi**? Incudine (oblig. FS) (M&S)
 who/what does=SCL.3M.SG sleep.INFIN who
 ‘Who’s sleeping?’

A more rigorous analysis is needed to verify the precise mechanism that gives rise to structures for sentences such as (70). At face value it seems as if they are produced in the same way as an object question with the *wh*-item focused first in a lower focus position in the VP-periphery and the verb with subject clitic (as SCI or QDec) raising over it to a C-domain position. A copy of the *wh*-item is then moved to a higher specifier position in the C-domain.

4.2.3 Wh-position in an echo question

As a brief aside, and relevant to Chapter 5, it is worth noting how a Camuno interrogative with *wh*-PV is distinguished from an echo question/interrogative that contains a *wh*-item.

As in English and Italian, an echo question/interrogative (71) is characterized by declarative form and the *wh*-item in argumental position (*in situ*) bearing strong intonational stress. For a non-subject question, the *wh*-item is therefore likely to occupy an immediately post-verbal position, which in Camuno, is the same as it would occupy in a non-echo question. The main difference is then due to the intonation and unusually strong stress on the *wh*-item in the echo question. Syntactically, the echo-interrogative does not show inversion, but the (*wh*-) non-echo question is almost always inverted.

(You are on the telephone with a friend at a Japanese restaurant. You ask him and he replies but it seems to be very odd. Perhaps you didn't hear properly? You ask want clarification. You ask:)

You're eating WHAT?

71. a. Mangi **COSA**?! (Italian)
eat.2SG what
- b. Te manget **CHÈ**?! (Camuno, Esine)
SCL.2SG eat.2SG what

4.2.4 *Wh* with argumental position in an embedded clause

Semantic evidence to be presented in Chapter 5, will be used to support a syntactic model for FS as biclausal in dialects where it is optional and co-exists with SCI. The following discussion therefore provides a guide for possible positions of a *wh*-item in biclausal structures in a dialect where there is no compunction to front it. It will serve to demonstrate that *wh*-positions found in optional FS are as commensurate with a biclausal model as they are with a monoclausal one.

In structures that are generally recognized as biclausal, and where, in Camuno, the *wh*-item has an argumental position in the embedded clause, there are three possible positions for a *wh*-item. It may be (1) post-verbal (PV); (2) front of embedded clause and relative pronoun (relative); or (3) sentence front and interrogative pronoun (front). This is illustrated in (72).

72. [_{CP2} **wh3** V_{fin1}-SCL [_{CP1} **wh2** C SCL-V_{fin2} [_{IP1} (V_{fin})⁺ **wh1** (XP)⁺]]]

These three positions in biclausal structures were also reported by Manzini & Savoia (2005: Vol 1, 591-3) (M&S) for Lombard dialects in and around Val Camonica. Although Positions 1+3 and 1+2 are attested, no examples of 2+3 (or 1+2+3) were found neither in this study nor were any reported by M&S. Thus, although current theory (e.g. Adger,

2003: Chapter 9) suggests that in a biclausal structure, movement of a wh-item to the sentence front is via the specifier of the lower clause, in Camuno, for some reason, it either does not remain there, or is not spelt out there. Furthermore, as attested by the variety of different examples below, this cannot be due to an incompatibility between the wh-item and a complementizer such as *che* as it is also the case with complementizer/preposition *a*, or when there is no overt complementizer.

When the wh-item is interpreted as scoping over the entire sentence, the equivalent sentences in Italian and English may only use Position 3 (front), and the matrix verb is said to be acting as a 'bridge' verb, allowing wh-movement over or through C-domain of the lower clause. In Camuno the bridge verb interpretation is possible with either or both of Position 3 (front), or Position 1 (PV). The following examples (73) to (79) of the bridge verb interpretation are from Esine and use a selection of matrix verbs including:

- verbs with an overt complementizer *che*, *pensare che* 'think that' and *volere che* 'want that', *dire che* 'say'
- verbs with preposition/complementizer *a*, *decidere a* 'decide to', *rinunciare a* 'renounce', *imparare a* 'learn to'
- verb with no overt complementizer, *piacere* 'please/like' with dative experiencer argument.

A wh-item representing an object argument as *chè* 'what' is most likely to be doubled. This particular informant is reluctant to double *andoe* 'where', or *come* 'how' (either in biclausal or monoclausal sentences) but in some cases, may do so for emphasis.

Verb as bridge

cosa + volere che: fronted, PV, both

73. **(chè)** 'òle=t che fàeh **(chè)**, mé?
 (what) want=SCL.2SG that do.COND.1SG (what), me
 'Cosa vuoi che io faccia? / What do you want me to do?'

dove + pensare che: fronted or PV, rarely both

74. **(Andó')** pènhe=t che
 (where) think=SCL.2SG that
 Giovanni 'l gi àeh mitide **('ndóe)** le ciàf?
 Giovanni SCL.3M.SG ACC.3M.PL has.SUBJ put.PP (where) the keys

‘Dove pensi che Giovanni abbia messo le chiavi? / Where do you think that Giovanni has left the keys?’

dove + dire che : fronted, PV, **NOT both**

(I know that you’ve talked to Maria. So...)

75. **(andóe)** à=la dit che g’=ìa **(’ndóe)**, le ciáf?
(where) has=SCL.3F.SG said that ACC.3F.PL=are.IMPERF (where) the keys
‘Dove ha detto che erano le chiavi? / Where did she say that the keys were?’

come imparare a: fronted or PV, rarely both

(When you were in Napoli...)

76. **(come)** é=t amparàt a preparà **(comè)** la pissa?
(how) have=SCL.2SG learned to prepare.INFIN (how) the pizza
‘Come hai imparato a preparare la pizza? How did you learn to make pizza? [with extra virgin olive oil, with wholegrain flour...]’

cosa decidere a: fronted, PV, both

77. **(chè)** é=t decidìt de fà **(chè)**?
(what) have=SCL.2SG decided to do.INFIN (what)
‘Cosa hai deciso di fare? / What did you decide to do?’

cosa rinunciare a: fronted, PV, both

78. **(Chè)** rinùnce=t a [’ìga] / [fà] **(chè)**, ’n Quaréhma?
(what) renounce=SCL.2SG to [have.INFIN/do.INFIN] (what), in Lent
‘Cosa rinunci ad avere/fare durante Quaresima? / What do you give up having/doing during Lent?’

come piacere Ø: fronted, PV, **NOT both**

79. **(Come)** te piàde=l fà=le=ha **(come/comè)**, le patate?
(how) DAT.2SG pleases=SCL.3M.SG do.INFIN=ACC.3F.PL=UP (how) the potatoes
‘Come ti piace prepararle le patate? / How do you like to prepare potatoes?’

In Italian and English, when the verb acts as a non-bridge verb (and there is no movement to Position 3 (front)), the wh-item is a relative pronoun in Position 2. In Camuno, however, the equivalent sentence may, in addition to Position 2 (relative), have a wh-item in Position 1 (PV), as in examples (80) to (82) below. Furthermore, the relative pronoun reading is also obtained when there is only the post-verbal wh, and no overt expression of the relative pronoun, as shown in (81). In this case, the sentence is distinguished from the bridge verb reading, (75) above, by the lack of inversion in the main clause. This is the only such example available from Esine and it is not known if lack

of inversion is always required. Example (83), taken from Manzini & Savoia, 2005, shows a similar phenomenon where the relative pronoun reading is obtained from the single, post-verbal *wh*-item, but in this case inversion would not occur because the matrix clause is declarative. Additional pairs of examples (matrix versus embedded question) can be found in Manzini & Savoia, 2011: 8-9.

In these Camuno biclausal examples where the matrix clause is an interrogative and there is only one, post-verbal *wh*-item (81b), the interpretation of whether they represent a *wh*-Q, or a *y/n*-Q with relative clause seems to be made largely on knowledge of the normal semantics for the verb.

Verb as non-bridge

sapere dove: relative pronoun, possible PV in addition
(I can't find them anywhere! Tell me:)

80. Hé=t **andó'** che gi ó mitide (**'ndóe**), le ciàf?
know=SCL.2SG where that ACC.3.PL have.1SG put.PP (where) the keys
'Sai dove ho messo le chiavi? / Do you know where I've put the keys?'

dire dove: relative pronoun, PV alone (no inversion), both

81. a. i l' à dît, **andó'** che g'ìa, le ciàf?
SCL.3DEF ACC.3DEF have said where that ACC.3.PL=are.IMPERF the keys
b. i l' à dît, che g'ìa **'ndóe**, le ciàf?
c. i l' à dît, **andó'** che g'ìa **'ndóe**, le ciàf?
'Ha detto dove erano le chiavi? / Did she say where the keys were?'

sapere dove Ø: relative pronoun, PV, both (M&S: 592)

82. 'öle hài **indo** 'l è ndacc (**indòe**). (Grumello)
want.1SG know.INFIN where SCL.3M.SG is gone.3M.PL (where)
83. 'öle hài 'l è ndacc **indoè**. (Cogno)
'Voglio sapere dove è andato. / I want to know where he went.'

In the following example with 'think', a verb which is a bridge verb in Italian and English, some Camuno speakers allow a non-bridge verb interpretation.²⁵ Examples (84) and (85) are both translations of the same Italian sentence with *pensare* and presumably there is

²⁵ In English, the relative pronoun would be possible with 'can': 'Can you think where Giovanni left the keys?'

little difference in the meaning of the translations. While the Esine speaker (same as (74) above) used positions 1+3 (bridge verb), the Malegno informant used 2+3 (non-bridge verb).

84. a. Pènhe=t che Giovanni i aeh metide **'ndòe** le ciaf? (Esine)
 think=SCL.2SG that Giovanni ACC.3.PL has.SUBJ put.PCTP.F.PL where the keys
- b. **Andó** pènhet de i aeh mitide (**ndòe**) le ciaf?
85. Penhe=t **ndo** che l=ai metit **ndòe** le ciaf, Giuan? (Malegn.)
 think=SCL.2SG where that ACC.3DEF=has.SUBJ put.PCTP where the keys Giuan
 'Dove pensi che Giovanni abbia messo le chiavi? / Where do you think Giovanni put the keys?'

Arguments to be developed more in Chapter 5 will discuss the pragmatic factors that determine whether a verb which has both options, such as 'say, tell', and in Camuno also 'think', acts as a bridge verb, allowing fronting of the wh-item as an interrogative pronoun, or a non-bridge verb, with relative clause and relative pronoun. Several authors (cited in Ambridge and Goldberg, 2008: 356) have argued that it is a matter of the semantic focus. In the bridge verb case the focus is on the content of the embedded clause and where the keys might be (84b), but in the non-bridge case, it is on the embedding verb and that it is where you think (the keys might be) (85). Bridge verbs are characteristically generic verbs with a simple semantics, of which *fa* would be a classic example. Thus if the structure of FS were biclausal instead of monoclausal, the wh-item would most likely be fronted over the bridge verb, *fa*, and not become a relative pronoun. Furthermore, if it behaved similarly to the examples above with 'think', when fronted there would be no copy in the relative pronoun position. In conclusion therefore, either of the fronted or post-verbal positions, or both, of the wh-item in FS is equally compatible with a biclausal as a monoclausal structure.

4.2.5 Focalization of wh-PV with *po*

As described in the preceding sections, to emphasize a wh-item in the discourse, the speaker may front it (including by doubling). Alternatively, as shown below, they may add a focalizer to this constituent, of which *po* is the most common. Pragmatically, these sentences draw attention to the possible value of the wh-item and, in some instances, question whether it has a value at all. Section 4.1.2 provided numerous examples of how, even in a wh-question, *po* could be applied in verb-phrase scope to add emphasis to the

question. This section will instead show how *po* can scope over the focalized constituent, including when that constituent is a *wh*-item. It provides additional evidence that the post-verbal position of the *wh*-item represents an *almost-in-situ* location and is not derived by remnant movement of the rest of the sentence over a fronted *wh*-item.

In these instances of *po* with constituent scope over the focalized, post-verbal constituent, it precedes the focalized constituent, resulting in an order of *po*-FCON (86). In contrast, in (87), when *po* takes verb-phrase scope, it follows the verb as *Vfin-po*. In the absence of an intervening infinitive (as in SCI with no auxiliary verb), the two positions may then look similar in the transcriptions even if, when spoken, they are distinguished by the intonation, as here denoted by a comma.²⁶

(We'd like to know when to hold the party and we've ruled out weekdays and Sundays. It seems Maria is always at work.)

86. a. Laùre=la, **po** [_F 'L HABET]? (DP-constituent focus)
works=SCL.3F.SG *po* [the saturday]
- b. Fa=la laurà, **po** [_F 'L HABET]?
does=SCL.3F.SG work.INFIN *po* [the saturday]
'Does she work, even on Saturday, then?'

(A colleague is anxiously awaiting Maria's decision on taking the library shift at the weekend. She asks her manager.)

87. a. **Laùre-la po**, 'l habet? (verb-phrase focus)
- b. **Fà-la po** laurà, 'l habet?
'Is she working, then, on Saturday?'

A *wh*-question with *quando* 'when' (88) (provided it is not clefted) would be similar in word order and intonation to the yes/no-question with DP 'l habet above. This is not the order reported for the Veneto dialects (Munaro & Poletto 2002).

(Everyone seems to have a different idea about Maria's schedule and this is making it difficult to organize the party.)

88. a. Laùre=la, **po** [_F QUANDO]? (wh-PV, constituent focus)
works=SCL.3F.SG *po* [when]
- b. Fa=la laurà, **po**, [_F QUANDO]?
does=SCL.3F.SG work.INFIN *po* [when]

²⁶ The order *Vfin-Vinfin-po*-XP can also be due to focus of the preceding infinitive and would be distinguished by the intonational stress on the infinitive. This is not discussed further.

‘When, exactly, does she work, then?’

The *wh*-item may also be sentence initial. However, note that in this case the opposite order of *wh-po* pertains (89). This suggests that the *wh*-item and *po* are not forming one constituent. The fronted *wh-po/pa* order is as reported for other dialects in which *wh*-fronting is the only option available (e.g. Rhaetoromance dialects: Hack, 2012; Veneto dialects: Munaro & Poletto 2002).

89. a. [_F **QUANDO**] **po** laùre=la? (wh-front, constituent focus)
[when] *po* works=SCL.3F.SG
- b. [_F **QUANDO**] **po** fa=la laurà?
[when] *po* does=SCL.3F.SG work.INFIN
- ‘When does she work, then?’

Interestingly, unlike in Camuno, with its different, post-verbal *po-wh*, but fronted *wh-po*, the Bellunese Veneto dialects with *wh-“in situ”* (Munaro, 1997) show the same, *wh-po* order, when the *wh* is clause final. This has been explained by the fronting of the rest of the clause over an initially fronted *po* (Munaro et al., 2001) so a *wh-po* position is actually a case of *S-po*. This is further evidence, corroborating the discussion on *wh-“in situ”* in the Lombard versus the Veneto dialects that there are significant syntactic differences. Thus in Camuno, the position of *po* when taking constituent scope of a *wh*-item that is focused post-verbally further confirms that the *wh*-item is not treated differently from any other item that is the focus of the question.

Additional examples (90) to (93) serve to demonstrate that this difference in order of post-verbal *po-wh* and fronted *wh-po* is systematic. The meaning is largely the same except that when fronted, there is additional emphasis on the *wh*-item.

(Christmas is coming up the brothers are discussing their problems in choosing gifts.)

90. a. Fé=t dà=ghe=i, **po CHÉ** a la tò murùda? (wh-object)
do=SCL.2SG give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3DEF *po* what to the your girlfriend
- b. **CHÉ po** fé=t dà=ghe=i a la tò murùda?
‘What (on earth) are you giving to your girlfriend?’

(Shy Lorenzo is seen carrying some roses.)

91. a. Fa=l dà=ghe=i, **po A CHI** chèi fiùr? (wh-indirect object)
do=SCL.3M.SG give.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG *po* to whom those flowers
- b. **A CHI po** fà-l dà-ghe-i, chèi fiùr?

‘Who (on earth) is he giving those flowers to?’

(Tonino’s mother is surprised to see him heading out at 10 in the evening. She asks him:)

92. a. Fé=t nà, **po** ’NDÓE? (wh-adverbial)
go=SCL.2SG go.INFIN *po* where

b. **ANDÓE po** fé-t nà?
‘Where (on earth) are you going?’

(There’s a transport strike, and you don’t have a car. A friend asks you:)

93. a. Fé=t nà, **po CÓME** a Milà? (wh-adverbial)
go=SCL.2SG go.INFIN *po* how to Milan

b. **CÓME po** fé-t nà, a Milà?
‘Just HOW are you getting to Milan?’

4.3 Syntactic structures of SCI and FS

To summarize the above discussion: using the Lower adverbs, in the declarative, the finite verb has been shown to raise out of the verb phrase to an Asp head and the same position as it occupies in standard Italian. By employing *po* as a marker, there is evidence that, in the interrogative, the finite verb is always in the C-domain, irrespective of what kind of verb it is: main/lexical, or auxiliary/functional. The two synthetic interrogatives, SCI and QDec are then assumed to have the monoclausal structure (94), allowing a position for the subject clitic either preceding or following the lexical verb. (All structures drawn here represent the simplest case of an interrogative in verb-phrase focus based on a transitive verb, with no additional infinitives or adjuncts.)

94. [_{CP} (SCL)-Vlex-SCL [_{IP} <Vlex> DP] (SCI, QDec)

At this point in the discussion, no evidence has been advanced to establish whether the support verb *fa* is an auxiliary or a main verb so two alternative structures are provided. Both take into account that the support verb has never been observed in the declarative, so the simplest structures would merge it straight into a C-head.²⁷

²⁷ The reader might consider that, even if there is no evidence for *fa*-support in the declarative, it is premature to reject structures where *fa* is merged first in the IP and then moved to a C-head. For obligatory FS in Monno/Prestine, there would be no problem in merging *fa* in a head high in the IP, higher even than *potere* when used for possibility, and therefore to treat *fa* as an epistemic modal. However, in

When an obligatory phenomenon used with (almost) all verbs, as in the Monno dialect, the simplest structure is monoclausal as in (95). *Fa*-support would then be directly comparable with English *do*-support.

95. [_{CP} *fa*func-SCL [_{IP} Vlex.infin DP] (Obligatory FS)

However, for dialects where FS is optional, evidence will be presented in Chapters 6-8 to support the suggestion that *fa* has lexical content. The most likely structure for optional FS is considered to be the biclausal structure (96). It requires that a portion of the CP structure is repeated, even if there is no overt representation of the repetition.

96. [_{CP2} *fa*lex-SCL [_{CP1} ∅ [_{IP1} Vinfin DP] (Optional FS)

Note again that the preferred, and in some dialects, obligatory, post-verbal position of a *wh*-item is compatible with both of these models for FS. When the *wh*-item is fronted, if the structure is biclausal then *fa* would be acting as bridge verb. This is to be expected, given its highly generalized semantics.

The next chapter, Chapter 5, will discuss the marked and unusual meaning of the FS question when an SCI question is available for comparison. This will provide evidence in favour of a biclausal structure for optional FS and location of the propositional material in a separate clause.

optional FS, when *fa* has lexical content, there are problems in merging it in the lower clause. As a manner verb rather than result verb, it should probably be merged in the VP (a point to be amplified in Chapter 10). The double VP structure would then be as in (97). This is similar to that suggested by Wurmbrand (2004) to explain scopal effects with some German functional verbs which, she argued, have lexical content and assign the subject theta role, but which are still monoclausal structures.

97. [_{CP} *fa*lex-SCL [_{IP} Vlex.infin <*fa*lex> <Vlex> DP] (Optional FS) (rejected)

The main problem with this structure is that, assuming Cinque (1999, 2006a,b,c) is correct and that verbs such as *finire*, *riuscire*, etc. are functional/auxiliary verbs merged in the clausal spine, *fa* would then be merged below these verbs. Yet in dialects with optional FS it is possible (to varying extents) to support these verbs and the FS/SCI difference in question meanings is apparent. The model of (97) would predict that instead it would be *finire*, as the highest verb of the sequence, that would raise to C, not *fa*.

Chapter 5: Semantic and pragmatic meanings of FS

This chapter discusses the semantic and pragmatic meaning of the unique Camuno *fa*-support (FS) question. It provides evidence for the suggestion made in Chapter 4: Clausal syntax, that the *fa*-support (FS) interrogative could have an embedded structure. The FS question would then be an “embedded question” and the interrogative with subject clitic-lexical verb inversion (SCI) would be the default, matrix question.

Section 5.1 provides a general review of the semantic properties of matrix questions. They are first divided into yes/no-questions (y/n-Qs), wh-questions (wh-Qs) and the material separated into focalized and ‘given’ components. In a wh-Q, the wh-item is normally the question focus and the given material is at least assumed to be true. With a positive y/n-Q, there are pragmatic reasons for assuming a slight positive bias and a mild expectation of a positive answer.

Section 5.2 addresses the semantics and pragmatics of so-called embedded questions. An embedded question is also called an ‘indirect’ question and has several semantic and pragmatic traits that distinguish it from the ‘direct’ question. Notably, a wh-item originating in an embedded clause, whether as an interrogative pronoun or indefinite pronoun, must have specific reference and an impersonal pronoun with arbitrary reference is not allowed.

Relevance of ‘verum focus’, a property of Germanic languages, and use of English declarative DO is discussed in **Section 5.3**. This could also account for several of the properties of FS and would not require an embedded structure.

The various predictions for the different semantics and pragmatics of an embedded versus a matrix question are summarized in **Section 5.4**. The predictions are then tested against informants’ explanations for the meaning of the FS versus SCI question in **Section 5.5**.

5.1 Matrix questions

The following account of the semantic and pragmatic meaning of questions draws on the review papers by Onea & Zimmermann (2019) (O&Z), Sadock & Zwicky (1985) (S&Z), König & Siemund, (2007) (K&S), Wisniewski (2015), and Siemund (2001). Original references are cited for observations that were ground-breaking, have not made the general literature, or are controversial.

5.1.1 Speech acts and sentence types

Speech acts fall broadly into three categories: assertions, which are informative; questions, which seek information¹; and imperatives, which indicate the speaker’s desire to influence future events. In a discourse, a question is a means of obtaining

¹ The informative/inquisitive division is a founding principle of the research program of inquisitive semantics (Wisniewski, 2015: 288)

information, and only the answer, an assertion, provides information. Thus an assertion updates the shared beliefs or, 'Common Ground', that pertains between two interlocutors.

Speech acts are codified syntactically, morphologically and prosodically through distinct **sentence types**. Cross-linguistically, three are most prevalent: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. It is generally agreed that there is not a neat 1:1 correspondence between a speech act and a sentence type, so the precise function of an utterance may be partly the result of the conversation dynamics and negotiated between speaker and hearer (K&S: 227).

In Camuno, truly inquisitive questions are made using the three distinct interrogative forms described in Chapter 3: FS (*fa*-support), SCI (verb – subject clitic inversion) and, more rarely, QDec (declarative form with question intonation). As no semantic/pragmatic differences have been found between between SCI and QDec, in this chapter, all remarks pertaining to SCI can be assumed to be also relevant to QDec. Assertions (other than rhetorical questions) all have declarative forms.

5.1.2 Yes/no and Wh-questions

Following Hamblin (1973) questions can be defined by the set of propositions that constitute possible answers, with the additional specification, following Karttunen (1977), that they are possible and true answers.

A basic division between types of questions according to the type of information they seek is into yes/no questions (y/n-Qs) (also known as polar questions) and wh-questions (wh-Qs) (also known as informational questions). In Camuno, both the two main interrogative types, SCI and FS, can express either semantic option (y/n, or wh-Q).²

O&Z (p7) define the two basic question types thus:

- **Yes/no-questions (y/n-Qs)** request information about whether a particular state-of-affairs obtains in the world.

² No measurements were made of the relative uses of FS with a wh-Q vs a y/n-Q in natural speech.

- In **wh-questions (wh-Qs)** the speaker is not only interested in whether or not a certain state of affairs happens to be true in the evaluation world, but wants to know which of a set of alternative propositions are true. The alternative propositions are formed by assigning alternative values to the indefinite (wh-) pronoun.

Cross-linguistically, y/n-Qs are almost always distinguished from a corresponding assertion by a rising intonation (Ultan, 1978), and this is also true for Camuno. Wh-Qs may, however, have either a rising or a falling intonation; both are found in Camuno and it seems to vary by speaker and context.

The definitions above give the appearance of a sharp division between the two types of questions. However, an alternative approach is to view the two types of questions as intrinsically the same in that they both introduce the idea of a variable (Wisniewski, 2015: 280-1; 286³). What distinguishes the y/n-Q is that the questioner is, in addition to introducing a variable, providing their suggestion as to its value and requesting confirmation or denial of that suggestion. A wh-Q, in contrast, provides no such starting point and the choice presented to the addressee is open, at least on semantic grounds. (In addition, on pragmatic grounds, both a y/n- and wh-Q are only asked if the answer is likely to be relevant to the discourse (Grice, 1975).)

The above discussion leads to the following definition (1) for a basic, 'simple' question that works for both the wh- and y/n-Q variants. It is suggested that this is representative of a matrix question, which in Camuno would be a (non-embedded SCI) question.⁴

1. A matrix question (SCI) is: a request for the value of 'x', where 'x' is a variable that is either a wh-item (where all options are potentially available); or the speaker's suggestion for the value of 'x' that requires confirmation or denial.

Note that, as only propositions can be assessed truth conditionally, it is not the question itself that is subject to the truth conditions, it is only the full(-sentence) answer to the

³ The logical space is partitioned, either in two ways or many ways. The "partition" approach to questions is currently among the most widely adopted (cf. Dekker, Aloni, & Butler, 2007).

⁴ All further references to SCI assume that this is refers to an SCI matrix, not embedded, question.

question. Paraphrases for each of the SCI y/n-Q and wh-Q separately that incorporate this would be as in (2) and (3).

2. SCI y/n-Q: Is my suggestion for the value of variable 'x' correct, thus making the full answer 'X' a true proposition?
3. SCI wh-Q: What is the value of variable 'x' that results in the full answer 'X' being a true proposition? (to be slightly revised)

The nature of the variable 'x' (the focus), and the material that accompanies it (the 'given' material) are addressed in the next section.

5.1.3 Focus and given material

5.1.3.1 Question focus

The question material can be divided into the **focus**, or the locus of the variable sought in the question ('x' in (1-3) above) (although it is also "what the question is about" (S&Z: 185), a description normally reserved for the topic), and the rest, which is background or **given** material. How best to define its "givenness" is discussed in Section 5.1.3.2 below. As noted above, most semantic analyses of questions assume that the question itself does not provide new information in either the focus or given material.

As regards focus, if the unknown item is a constituent such as an argument or adverbial, the sentence is said to be in **constituent focus**. Thus in (4-6) below, given the context, the question would have the focus as indicated [_F in square brackets], either the adverbial 'to Milan' (4), or its substitute, the wh-item 'where' (5). In languages such as English, Camuno and Italian, the constituent that is focused receives intonational stress, except when it is a sentence-initial wh-item. It is generally assumed that wh-Qs are in wh-constituent focus (e.g. Haida, 2007), and that assumption is not challenged here. (However, whether or not Camuno post-verbal wh-items are in fact indefinite pronouns and so these sentences could instead be in VP-focus, rather than focused on the wh-item, is discussed below.)

If what is unknown is the entire verb phrase, the question can be said to be in neutral focus, or **verb-phrase (VP-) focus** as in (6), and it would have a different context and different answer. The term 'constituent' focus as used here refers to a constituent that is less than the verb phrase in size.

(I meet you on the station platform.)

4. Q: Are you going [_F to Milan]? [PP-constituent focus]

A: Yes, that's right. (I'm going to visit my friend.)

5. Q: [_F Where] are you going? [Wh-constituent focus]

A: Milan. (I'm going to visit my friend.)

(What are you doing with your coat on?)

6. Q: Are you [_F going to Milan]? [VP-focus]

A: Yes. (It's more fun than sitting around here.)

Included with these sample questions are both a context and probable answers. An answer may have two parts: the basic answer expected on semantic grounds, and then, (in brackets), any additional information that might be supplied for pragmatic reasons in accordance with the conversational maxim of cooperation (Grice, 1975). In later sections, it will be suggested that in providing the informative answer, this makes the literal answer redundant, and in those cases the literal answer is ~~struck out~~.

Irrespective of the size of the unit that is focused, all three questions above can be said to have **new-information focus**.⁵ When the information is required to make a comparison or contrast to other specified information, the question is in contrastive focus.

(Questions with contrastive focus do not form part of this discussion.)

The situation of **sentential focus**, where the entire sentence is new 'information' and not previously mentioned in the discourse, seems intrinsically unlikely, as in natural discourse, the question would then appear to violate Grice's conversational maxim of relevance. There is therefore normally one element that provides a link to previous discourse. It will be claimed that, with the FS question, the embedded clause is new information in the sense that what has not yet been established is its truth value, but that it contains old information that makes it relevant to the discourse.

⁵ The term is somewhat misleading because the questioner is not providing new 'information' (i.e. material that is generally agreed to be true), but introducing material about which truth verification is required.

5.1.3.2 Status of given material

Material other than the focus is regarded as given material, or the premise of the question. It is material the existence of which is entailed by previous discourse (O&Z: 98) and so part of the so-called Common Ground that exists between the interlocutors. In the literature it is frequently assumed that its givenness ranks it as material **presupposed** by the questioner to be true (O&Z), or that there is an **existential presupposition**, a concept most commonly applied to wh-Qs. For instance, in (7) it would mean that there exists a place to which you are 'going' (with all possibilities of exactly where, still available).

7. Q: [Where] are you going? [Wh-focus]

A1: Milan / I'm going to Milan.

A2: Nowhere / I'm not going anywhere.

This effect can produce a question sometimes referred to as a "loaded question", the classic example of which is: 'When did you stop beating your wife?'. In most cases the addressee would accommodate to this. If egregious, the premise would be challenged: 'Hey, wait a minute! I've never beaten by wife.'⁶

O&Z (p. 24-28) argue that the level of pre-knowledge in a matrix question does not rank as high as presupposition and instead suggest that the non-focalized material is merely **supposed, or assumed**, but not known for sure, to be true. Their argument against an existential presupposition is that, at least in English, a wh-Q can be **feliciously answered by invoking the empty set** (e.g. 'nowhere' in (7)) without the addressee having to resort to stronger devices to counteract the presupposition.⁷ (Note, however, that it is generally agreed (O&Z: 25) that a cleft question comes with an existential presupposition.)

In Section 5.5.2.3 by comparing wh-Q question forms that are: clefted, non-clefted SCI (i.e. matrix questions) and FS (i.e. probably embedded questions), that the requirement for the existence of a referent for the wh-item is least strong for the SCI question, and

⁶ This way to challenge a presupposition was suggested by von Stechow (2004)

⁷ Other authors (e.g. Karttunen, 1977; Hintikka, 1978; Haida, 2007, all cit. O&Z) have suggested that instead the negative answer is simply a rejection of the question as inappropriate given the discourse.

stronger in the FS question and cleft question. So while a **existential presupposition** may hold for the cleft and FS versions, in a matrix, SCI question, there is only an **existential assumption**, or **expectation**.

5.1.3.3 Wh-Qs in VP focus?

In a language where the wh-item is not fronted, such as Camuno, whether (in a matrix question) it is identified as an interrogative pronoun or an indefinite pronoun depends on whether or not it is perceived as the focus of the question. This, in turn, is dependent on the interpretation of the question: the degree to which the speaker considers the pronoun to have an identity (or existential reading), and upon the strength of requirement to identify its reference.

For example, if the pronoun is assumed to have a reference, then the negative answer (A2) for question with interrogative pronoun, such as the wh-Q (7) above, is slightly unexpected, although permissible. In comparison, in question (8) below, with an indefinite pronoun, the negative answer (A1) is entirely reasonable. Thus while the wh-Q (7) above includes the idea that you are 'going somewhere' as an assumption (unless there is an objection), there is no such notion behind (8).

8. Q: Are you [_F going anywhere/somewhere] right now? [VP-focus]
A1: No. I'm not going anywhere.
A2: Yes. (I'm going to Milan).

Furthermore, if the answer to the question with indefinite pronoun (8) is positive, as in (A2), to conform to the pragmatic maxim of cooperation it should also be maximally informative (while staying relevant), so the identity of the indefinite pronoun is revealed. Thus overall, the answers to (7) with the interrogative pronoun, and (8) with the indefinite pronoun would not differ much but the nature of the requirement does; with (7) it is semantic, with (8) it is pragmatic.⁸

⁸ O&Z (p 26) resolve this by treating the wh-Q as effectively bi-partite with an initial y/n-Q part. Thus 'where are you going (right now)' becomes 'Are you going anywhere (right now), and, if so, where?' By addressing the wh-part, the y/n answer then becomes redundant; addressing the y/n part allows for the negative answer. (Note that the explanation given above instead interprets the y/n-Q as a sub-type of a wh-Q.)

In English it is both the fronting of the variable, and its different morphology, that distinguishes the interrogative pronoun (in a *wh*-Q) and from the indefinite pronoun (in a *y/n*-Q). However, in Dutch, the two types of pronouns may be also morphologically identical and their interpretation relies solely on their position in the sentence and whether or not they are accented.⁹ The following examples (9-11) (from den Dikken, 2003: 79) demonstrate how unaccented *wh*-words have an indefinite interpretation whenever they are not clause-initial.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| 9. | Wat is er gebeurd?
what is there happened
'What happened?' | (interrogative pronoun) |
| 10. | Er is wat gebeurd.
there is what happened
'Something happened.' | (indefinite pronoun) |
| 11. | Is er wat gebeurd?
is there what happened
'Did something happen?' | (indefinite pronoun) |

As shown in Chapter 4: Clausal syntax, Section 4.2, in Camuno, a non-fronted *wh*-item in a matrix question is commonly located in a post-verbal focus position and as such is the intonational focus of the sentence. The requirement to identify it is relatively strong, so appears to be semantic. Note that there are also dedicated indefinite pronouns in Camuno, e.g. (Esine forms) *argòta* 'something', or quantifier phrases, e.g. *de quacc bande* '(lit:) to some place, somewhere'.

Although the most likely answer is that the Camuno *wh*-item is an interrogative pronoun, in the discussion on pronoun specificity in matrix and embedded clauses both options, interrogative or indefinite pronoun, are included. In fact the same conclusions are reached with either.

⁹ In Chinese, a language with *wh-in situ*, all *wh*-elements are considered to be indefinite pronouns and the quantificational force is determined by the sentential context (Cheng, 1991, cited in Zavitnevich-Beaulac, 2005).

5.1.4 Speaker attitude and biased questions

5.1.4.1 Encoding speaker attitude

Questions may also encode a **speaker attitude** towards the expected answer, that may be logical (a particular answer would be unlikely) or emotional (a particular answer would be disliked). Cross-linguistically, opinion, or attitude, may be codified in morphological or intonational markers among which **expression, doubt, or emphasis**, are among the more common. Dubitative markers in an assertion are frequently clause-external and indicate speaker attitude towards an embedded proposition (S&Z).

The following discussion will demonstrate how, effectively ‘too much’ speaker attitude in a question may tip the balance from it being inquisitive and a genuine request for information, to it being informative and an expression of speaker emotion or opinion. Thus at one extreme, interrogative form is being used for an entirely ‘open’ question, and at the other for an assertion. In the middle are questions where the speaker seeks information, but which come with a bias. Explored in this section is the possibility that one function of *fa*, which is always clause initial and so scoping over the rest of the sentence material, could be to encode speaker attitude and bias.

5.1.4.2 Special ‘questions’ that are primarily assertive

A question with extreme bias to the extent that it is actually an assertion, is known as a **rhetorical question**. It is used when the speaker wants to bring the listener up to speed with what they judge is the Common Ground, e.g. (12). Or, more precisely, according to Rohde, (2006: 136): rhetorical questions are a strategy “to synchronize discourse participants’ beliefs and commitments”. For Siemund (2001: 1026) negative rhetorical Qs imply a positive answer whereas those with positive polarity imply a negative answer. Thus (12) implies that the addressee should not be going anywhere.

12. Where do you think you’re going?!¹⁰

¹⁰ In reference to the discussion in Section 5.2.2, note further that with the rhetorical reading it is quite clear that in the mind of the speaker there exists a place to which this person is ‘going’!

In Camuno, as in English and Italian, there is no special interrogative form for a rhetorical question. Such an interpretation may be made with FS, SCI and QDec question forms. It is an assertion that has ‘hijacked’ an interrogative form.

A question, still to some extent with an assertive function, is a confirmational question, and, according to S&Z, most languages have these. However, the term ‘**confirmational question**’ covers a variety of uses ranging from those that are largely assertive, to those that are inquisitive but have a degree of bias. Representing the assertive extreme is the English tag question when a falling intonation is used (13). The form consists of an assertion accompanied by a separate question: in this case by a request that the speaker agree. There is no formal equivalent of this assertive confirmational question in Camuno.

13. You’re going to Milan, aren’t you [falling intonation]? (speaker asserts)

Confirmational questions that are genuine questions, but biased, and which do exist in Camuno, are described below.

5.1.4.3 Biased questions and answer expectations

Biased questions are truly inquisitive speech acts but encode a speaker attitude towards the answer, or an expectation of the logical content of the answer. For a y/n-Q, they indicate that, in the speaker’s mind, the chance that the proposition being evaluated is true, versus that it is false, is not an even 50-50 split. According to S&Z (citing Moravcsik 1971), most languages have y/n-Qs that are biased; some may even have a three-way division of questions: neutral questions, those biased in favour of a positive answer, and those biased negatively. These may be encoded through morphosyntactic means in distinct interrogative types, as well as through prosody. English tag questions, with positive/negative tag in opposition to the polarity of the preceding declarative sentence and with rising intonation on the tag, present one such pair (14-15).

14. You’re going to Milan, aren’t you [rising intonation]? (speaker expects ‘yes’)

15. You aren’t going to Milan, are you [rising intonation]? (speaker expects ‘no’)

It is unclear if the bias is determined by the first, assertive part of the utterance, as suggested by Ultan (1978), or by the second part, the tag question. It could be argued that the positively biased question (17) makes use of, what seems to be a common, if not universal, cross-linguistic observation (O&Z: 23) that a negative question (as in the tag

‘aren’t you?’) comes with the expectation of a positive answer. It would therefore be appropriate in a situation such as indicated by the context in (16).

(Your friend is waiting on the northbound platform, not the southbound. Strange. You were sure he had a meeting today in Milan [which is to the south].)

16. Q: Aren’t you going [F to Milan]? (Speaker expects ‘yes’)

Authors are divided as to whether a positive question also comes with, at least an expectation of a positive answer (no – O&Z: 23; yes – S: 2011). However, such a case can be made on pragmatic grounds, as demonstrated in (20), with a relatively neutral context. Had the questioner had no such expectation, they would instead have asked the wh-Q with ‘where’.

(You see your friend heading for the train station.)

17. Q: Are you going [F to Milan]? (Speaker most likely expects ‘yes’)

The pragmatic grounds for an expectation of a positive answer for (17) are that the questioner is likely to attempt to ‘relate’ to the addressee and show cooperation by suggesting the correct answer. If instead they were suggesting an incorrect answer and leaving the addressee to correct it, this could after a while get irritating, and cause conversation breakdown through non-adherence to the cooperation maxim. Even without cooperation and no extra ‘help’ given by the addressee, the questioner would learn more if the answer were ‘yes’ than if the answer were ‘no’ (because in that case they would simply have to ask another question).¹¹ There is also evidence that simple positive questions may be infelicitous in contexts where there is ‘compelling contextual evidence’ against the proposition questioned (Büring & Gunlogson, 2000).

In summary: in asking a ‘simple’ (positive) question, such as is suggested for Camuno SCI, the speaker probably has a mild expectation of a positive answer. (If they were more sure the answer was ‘yes’, they would probably ask a negative question.) With a choice of two forms, SCI and FS (and both without negation), if SCI has a slight positive bias, to provide a pair of questions with opposite biases, the other, FS, would be likely to have a negative bias.

¹¹ This is employed in the classic English party game ‘Twenty Questions’.

Speaker expectations for the answer to a Camuno y/n SCI versus FS questions are discussed in Section 5.5.2.1 and 2.

5.2 Embedded questions

5.2.1 Information status

5.2.1.1 Embedded clause as an assertion and old information

To recap from above: this thesis is primarily a study of FS, compared to possible alternatives, SCI and QDec. As none of these question types has a complementizer between the finite and any infinitival verb, they all appear, at least at first glance, to be matrix questions. However one explanatory hypothesis being pursued is that FS, when present in the language alongside SCI (i.e. in optional FS), it differs in that it is biclausal: *fa* represents the matrix verb, and all of the rest of sentence is a clause embedded under it, a type of utterance generally referred to in the literature as an “embedded question”. The term is slightly misleading, because the embedded clause is not itself a question, but (as will be demonstrated shortly) an assertion, as represented by its declarative form, (and can be interpreted as the answer to a previously asked question). The term “embedded question” is adopted here but as a shorthand for “a question with an embedded proposition”.

If optional FS were biclausal, its focus would be the entire proposition of the subordinate clause. Thus the focused proposition as a whole would be the variable and ‘new information’, but only in the limited sense that what is unknown and would in that sense be ‘new’, is its truth value. It is suggested that the proposition embedded in the FS question represents an existing issue that is part of the Common Ground within the speech community,¹² and is probably not the speaker’s opinion. The issue has not recently been raised with the immediate addressee.

In Sections 5.5.2.4 to 6, it will be demonstrated how an FS question in the present tense can refer to an event already in progress; an issue already contemplated; and the

possible consequences of the event being described; in contrast the SCI question refers to an activity in the ‘now’ present, an issue just raised, or speculations on the outcome of an event. This is commensurate with a division of FS as an interrogative with embedded ‘pre-formed proposition’ and SCI as a matrix interrogative containing only ‘propositional material’.

5.2.1.3 Similarity to an echo question

There are some semantic similarities between a Camuno FS question and a Romance/Germanic **echo question** in the status of the propositional information.

An echo question expresses surprise and disbelief at a preceding utterance to the extent that many authors even consider it as a type of assertion (K&S: 318). The speaker is using it to comment on, or express their attitude towards, an existing part of the discourse. Pragmatically, the echo question does not represent the opinion of the speaker but ‘echos’ the previous assertion of the addressee. It represents a refusal by the addressee to update the Common Ground using the answer just supplied.

This status as ‘old information’ in the echo question may have its expression in the syntax. For example, in German, in contrast to the non-echo matrix equivalent (18), an echo Q given in response to a polar interrogative obligatorily takes a particle (i.e. complementizer), is verb-final (19a) and syntactically resembles an embedded question (Siemund, 2001: 1026). A *se/he* ‘if’ complementizer for such questions would also be present in Italian (19b).

18. Hast du dieses Buch gelesen? (German)
 have you this book read.PTCP
 ‘Have you read this book?’

19. a. Ob ich dieses Buch gelesen habe? Ja.
 if I this book read.PTCP have? Yes

b. Se ho letto questo libro? Certo. (Italian)
 if have.1SG read.PTCP this book certainly
 ‘(Lit:) if I’ve read this book? Yes.’ (Effectively:) ‘[You want to know] if I’ve read this book? Yes/certainly.’

The echo question therefore seems to be using an embedded clause to refer back to a previously considered proposition, in a way similar to what is suggested for an FS

question. Pragmatically, the FS question differs in that, unlike the echo question, it is not a comment reflecting the assertion just made (hence the term ‘echo’), but refers to some other, less salient, part of the Common Ground.¹⁴

5.2.2 Semantic effects of specificity/referentiality

5.2.2.1 Specificity of an embedded wh-item when a relative pronoun

Use of an embedded clause as a proxy for a matrix question (and where the overall speech act is an assertion) is a commonly used semantic tool to allow the extension of truth-conditional semantics to questions. Following Hamblin (1973), the embedded clause is interpreted as representing a set of propositions equivalent to possible answers to the matrix question. Following Karttunen (1977) comes the added stipulation that they must be the set of possible, and true, answers. Thus the set of answers to the question with **interrogative pronoun** ‘where’ in (20), is analyzed by considering referents of the **relative pronoun** ‘where’ (I put the keys) attested by (21).

(A asks B:)

20. Q: **Where** did I put the keys? As: They’re in the kitchen/bathroom/hall.

21. (Ah, ha. You saw me.) You know **where** I put the keys.

An embedded clause in Camuno (introduced by a complementizer or relative pronoun), as in English, is in declarative form (except when the material is being directly quoted) and represents (the matrix version of) either an assertion or a question.

It is generally agreed that one consequence of **embedding** (what would otherwise have been) a question, is that any wh-item it contains is then a relative pronoun and must be definite (‘the place where...’) and therefore, according to Table 5.1 below, **specific** (a term for which definitions follow). In contrast a wh-item in a **matrix** question, an

¹⁴ Echo questions are notable syntactically for the *in-situ* position of a wh-item. However, the resemblance to the Camuno post-verbal position of the wh-item is merely fortuitous. As described in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1, the wh-PV position is available for almost all wh-Qs, FS and SCI, and they cannot all be echo questions. Secondly, echo and non-echo questions can be distinguished by the strength of the intonational stress (much stronger with echo question), and syntactically by non-inversion of the echo, but usual inversion (SCI) or presence of *fa* (FS), with the wh-non-echo question. The relevance of echo questions to this discussion is then limited to the observation that, syntactically, the ‘old proposition’ (that is being echoed) resembles an embedded clause.

interrogative pronoun, may be (or even, as will be argued, must be) **non-specific**.^{15,16} As forms of interrogative pronouns and relative pronouns are identical in many European languages, this difference in specificity between matrix and embedded clause is not immediately apparent.

This **specificity effect** was the basis of Karttunen's (1977) modification of the definition of a question to make it the set of possible true answers, rather than just possible answers. Karttunen's intuition is best explained by O&Z using Karttunen's example (22).

22. [Whether Mary comes to the party] depends on [who invites her].

"The crucial observation here is that Mary's coming to the party in a given world depends only on who actually invites her in that world, and not on who could invite her in principle." (O&Z: 16). Thus specificity describes the actual existence of, for example, an entity ('what'/'who'), place ('where'), or manner ('how').

Specificity for Karttunen meant that the wh-item could be described through use of an **existential quantifier** (Karttunen 1977), or that it had a referent somewhere in the discourse (Karttunen, 1976). Von Heusinger (2001) recommended a definition for specificity where "the referent is fixed/determined/not depending on the interpretation of the matrix predicate". He preferred this to another definition commonly used in the literature, "the speaker has the referent in mind", on the grounds that the latter is a purely pragmatic concept, difficult to work with in a semantic framework. He also noted the commonly used definition "the referent of the specific NP is fixed or determined before the main predication is computed".

Another test for the specificity of a pronoun is that any descriptive material uniquely describes one 'object' (Schwarzschild, 2000, ref. in von Heusinger, 2001). This is

¹⁵ A caveat is added that the non-specificity of the wh-item in a matrix question refers to its occurrence as the only wh-item, not in the unusual situation when there is more than one.

¹⁶ This difference in specificity between matrix and embedded question is unclear in the literature partly as a consequence of the different definitions of specificity being used. According to Kiss (1993), interrogative phrases with determiner-like wh-items, e.g. 'which book' are inherently specific if they refer to a limited, and known, set; other single-word wh-items have a specific reading if previous discourse has indicated they are part of a limited set, e.g. the possible reasons 'why' something might happen. Kiss's concept of specificity is not followed here. However, it is recognized that, if the set is delimited, it is more likely that the wh-item is specific, or that it "exists in the mind of the speaker" (as in the definition used here).

particularly relevant to relative pronouns such as ‘where’ as in ‘Do you know where I left my keys?’ as it is uniquely described by where ‘I left my keys’.¹⁷

Specificity is frequently confused both with the concept of definiteness and whether the referent is known or unknown to the speaker. These distinctions are summarized in Table 5.1 from Haspelmath, 2001. The cells on the ‘indefinite’ side of the table are relevant to this discussion.

TABLE 5.1: (IN-)DEFINITENESS, (NON-)SPECIFICITY AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE SPEAKER (HASPELMATH 2001)

indefinite		definite
non-specific	specific	specific
unknown to speaker		known to speaker and hearer

The English example above (21) with ‘know’ is repeated below with the embedded clause part of a question rather than assertion. In the corresponding matrix question (23), the speaker is not imagining anywhere in particular, and does not know for sure such a place exists (even though they may assume that it does). In contrast, in an embedded clause (24) ‘where’ refers to a specific place with reference in the real world. The questioner presupposes such a place exists, even though they are unaware of its identity.

The strict answer to (24) would be ‘yes’, but as this is not helpful to the speaker, the conventional answer is to identify the wh-item.

23. Q: Where did I put the keys?

A: The’re in the kitchen.

24. Q: Do you know **where** I put the keys?

A. (Yes.) The’re in the kitchen.

¹⁷ This would allow for a plural ‘object’ in case different keys were scattered in different places. Hence the reference to a set of possible true answers.

5.2.2.2 Specificity of an wh-item when an interrogative pronoun with argumental position in an embedded clause

While example (24) above uses the **non-bridge verb** ‘know’ and ‘where’ is embedded as a relative pronoun, (25) uses ‘think’ as a **bridge verb** and the wh-item is a sentence-initial interrogative pronoun (and the question is meant in a non-rhetorical sense).

25. **Where** do you think I put my keys last night?

Wh-raising from an embedded clause with a bridge verb, versus lack of raising with a non-bridge verb, is generally regarded as a pragmatic phenomenon due to the semantic focus and informational status of the material in the embedded clause (see Ambridge & Goldberg, 2008: 356, and references therein). More precisely: “Relative clauses are also not part of the focus domain of the clause and are therefore backgrounded” but “[c]omplements of semantically “light” bridge verbs (e.g., say, think) ... are generally used to introduce a complement clause containing the foregrounded information.” Or, alternatively, the distinction is that the relative clause contains material than is presupposed (‘Do you know [where I put the keys]?’) but in the embedded clause with the ‘gap’ for the fronted wh-interrogative pronoun, the content is part of the utterance that is asserted (Where do you think [I put the keys <where>]).¹⁸

Bridge verbs, of which ‘think’ and ‘say’ are most common, are relatively semantically bland (as well as short), and so the semantic focus is on the content of the embedded clause, i.e. what is ‘thought’, ‘said’. With a non-bridge verb, the factive verb ‘know’, other uses of ‘say’ or more specific verbs such as ‘shout’, the focus is more on the matrix verb, and what is indicated is that the content is ‘known’, or ‘said’ rather than ‘shouted’.

According to Ambridge & Goldberg, it is generally agreed in the semantic literature that there is no syntactic difference in the complements selected by a verb acting as a bridge verb or non-bridge verb: both are selecting CPs. Furthermore, as is clearly evident in Camuno, in both cases the wh-item originates in the embedded clause and can remain there, focused after the verb. This is demonstrated by the following examples (26) and

¹⁸ Presumably this is the distinction between (presupposition) ‘we all know I put the keys in a particular place’; and (assertion) ‘I’m reminding you there is a particular place where I put the keys.’

(27) (originally shown in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4 with glosses). The examples come from two different speakers translating the same Italian sentence.

26. a. Pènhet che Giovanni i aeh metide **'ndòe** le ciaf? (36. Esine)¹⁹

b. **Andó** pènhet de i aeh mitide (**ndòe**) le ciaf?

27. Penhe-t **ndo** che l-ai metit **ndòe** le ciaf, Giuan? (80. Malegno)

'Dove pensi che abbia messo le chiavi Giovanni? / Where do you think Giovanni put the keys?'

These two sentences then demonstrate that out of the three possible positions for the wh-item in (28), the argumental position (1) plus one, but not both, of (2) or (3) is possible.²⁰

28. **Where₃** do you think <**where₂**> I put my keys <**where₁**> last night?

Given the discussion above, the relative pronoun, where₂, is specific, so the copy, where₁, must presumably also be specific – provided that specificity is a property that belongs to the word itself (as used in a certain context) rather than an interpretation of the syntactic structure. Then, as sentence (26) and (27) are translations that, it must be presumed, mean the same thing, if the wh-item in the post-verbal position in the embedded clause, where₁, is specific, then the copy at the front of the sentences, where₃, must also be specific.

Support for the specific nature of the wh originating from an embedded clause when fronted as an interrogative pronoun comes from Rizzi, (1991), who argued that only constituents with a “referential” (i.e. specific) theta role, i.e. those referring to a participant in the event described by the predicate, can undergo long-distance movement.

Furthermore Kiss (1993) showed that in sentences with two wh-items (or more generally, two ‘operators’) the initial one (or in English the only fronted one), which takes wider

¹⁹ Numbers refer to the 100+ informants who provided data for this study, together with their community of origin.

²⁰ It is generally agreed in the generativist literature (e.g. Adger, 2003: Chapter 10) that a wh-item, as in (31) raises from its Merge position (1), through the specifier of the CP in the lower clause (2) to the sentence front (3), even if its final destination is (3). However, in Camuno (or surrounding Lombard dialects) a copy does not remain in position (2) (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4)

scope, must be specific. (As noted above, specificity for Kiss required that the wh-phrase is a member of a set which is already familiar to participants of the discourse.) When both wh-items originate in an embedded clause, the narrow scope wh-item remains in the lower clause as a relative pronoun, so is presumably also specific.

The case for any wh-item originating in an embedded clause being specific can also be argued on an intuitive basis: if an embedded clause represents the possible answers to what would be the corresponding matrix question, then (at least when the clause is in *realis* mood), the question must already have been asked and answered, at least in the mind of the speaker. There is then, already in existence (in the speaker's mind), one true answer and one unique referent for the wh-item (including plural referent, or set of referents), which qualifies it as 'specific'. If, however, the question is 'new', as would be the case with a 'simple' matrix question, no referent for the wh-item exists at the time of speaking, and the wh-item must necessarily be 'non-specific'.

With an embedded clause in the past in indicative mood (therefore a *realis* context), both the questions above 'where do you think...' (25) and 'do you know where...' (24) are asking the addressee to recall a fact stored in memory (so it is relatively easy to argue that the wh-item must have specific reference). If the embedded clause is in the present indicative as in (29) below, it asks for the logical inference given world knowledge (and the specificity of the wh-item is then debateable). However, whether the logical answer to (29) is 'yes' (the person does know what's happening) or 'no' (they don't), it is assumed that this inference has already been made and they know that something is happening. In the corresponding matrix question (30), there is no assumption that the addressee has formulated an answer to the question of what is happening. The interrogative pronoun in the matrix clause (30) therefore be non-specific (nsp), but in the embedded clause (29) must be specific (sp).

29. Do you know **what_{sp}**'s happening?
30. **What_{nsp}**'s happening? (SCI-type question)

This concept can be extended to the embedding phrase ‘is it true that’ (31) which, it will be claimed in later sections, mimics the function of *fa* in Camuno FS questions.²¹ A relatively semantically bland verb such as *fa* (which, it will be shown in Chapters 6 & 7, when used in optional FS, means ‘do’), if it embedded a clause, would be expected to act as a bridge verb and the wh-item would be sentence initial, post-verbal, or both but not between *fa* and the infinitival verb (and leaving no copy there). Semantically (30) above is then an example of an SCI question, but (31) is an FS question.

31. Is it true **what_{sp}** (we think) is happening? (FS-type question)

It will be shown in Section 5.5.2.3 the specificity effect of the wh-item in an FS question in an optional FS dialect (that is revealed by considering the meaning of the SCI (matrix)/FS (embedded) pairs of wh-Qs), reverts to Karttunen’s original logical concept of the existential presupposition and there already being a true referent for the wh-item (allowing for a plural referent). Unlike the concept of specificity employed by Kiss (1993), delimiting the set of possible answers in prior discourse does not seem relevant, nor does the desired state of knowledge about that referent (exhaustive/non-exhaustive). The following definition of specificity (32) is therefore used here:

32. A specific wh-pronoun refers to a unique referent (whether of an entity ‘who’/‘what’, place ‘where’, or manner ‘how), the existence of which is presupposed by the speaker.

5.2.2.3 Specificity of an embedded wh-item when an indefinite pronoun?

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, a wh-item in Camuno may always occupy a post-verbal position. The distinction between it and an indefinite pronoun then becomes at most, fairly minor, and relies on whether the obligation to identify the wh-item is semantic, or pragmatic.

In fact, even if the post-verbal wh were re-classified as an indefinite pronoun, this would not affect the specificity effect as, following Haspelmath, 2001, the difference in

²¹ As there is only one expression of finiteness in an FS question, there is no way to express a temporal difference between the embedding and embedded clauses. Furthermore, as there is no syntactic ‘space’ for a relative pronoun, or complementizer, there is no way to convey a difference in modality and no correspondence to an expression such as: ‘Do you know if X?’. For this reason, and also that the a question must be clearly defined to receive an answer, the embedded clause must be in *realis* mood.

specificity between a matrix (non-specific) and embedded clause (specific) (if *realis*) would also pertain with an indefinite pronoun. Haspelmath argues it in the following way:

In an **assertion**, an indefinite pronoun may be specific or non-specific. However, if it refers to an event that describes the ongoing present, or the perfective past, using indicative mode (*realis* context), it refers to some thing/place/manner that exists and so **must be specific**. Otherwise, for example, in the habitual present, future, in conditional mode, it may be also non-specific.

Haspelmath further reasons that, in a (matrix) **question** (or conditional clause), an indefinite pronoun **must be non-specific**. This is because, had it been specific, for pragmatic reasons of being maximally informative, the identity of the pronoun would have been revealed in the question.²² This is summarized in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2: (NON)-SPECIFICITY OF INDEFINITE PRONOUNS IN QUESTIONS AND AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENTS (ADAPTED FROM HASPELMATH 2001)

affirmative: perfective past, ongoing present	affirmative: 'want', future, distributive (incl. habitual)	[matrix] question, conditional
specific possible		(specific impossible)
(non-specific impossible)	non-specific possible	

Uses of indefinite pronouns in matrix questions and assertions will be illustrated in English using the indefinite pronouns 'someX' and 'anyX', specifically with X=where, and extended to embedded clauses.

Indefinite pronouns, 'anyX', are used in questions and in negative statements; 'someX' is normally restricted to in affirmative statements but it may also be used in questions. It is contended that 'anyX' must be non-specific; 'someX' is normally specific, but may also be

²² Note that it is argued above that even if the interrogative pronoun is specific, in that the speaker knows such an identity exists, they do not know what that identity is (which is why the wh-word is the focus of the question), so are unable to explicitly name it. With an indefinite pronoun, if the speaker knows an identity exists, they must presumably know what it is (or they would be asking with a wh-Q for it to be revealed), and so, for pragmatic reasons would name it.

non-specific, uses that will be distinguished in the following examples with the subscripts 'sp' and 'nsp'.

Adapting the example above slightly and using indefinite pronouns, this yields (33). Only the non-specific pronouns are permissible as the specific 'somewhere_{sp}' is ruled out on pragmatic grounds because a maximally informative NP would be preferred (e.g. 'in the kitchen'). Significantly, 'anywhere' is permitted.

33. Did I leave the keys **anywhere**/somewhere_{nsp}/#somewhere_{sp} last night?

Alternatively, the situation might be described using an assertion followed by the question as in (34). In the assertion 'anywhere' is not permitted.

34. (To self) I left the keys ***anywhere**/*somewhere_{nsp}/somewhere_{sp} last night.
Where was that?

Relying on the restriction of the distribution of 'anyX' to matrix questions, this is then extended to embedded "questions" that are *realis*, i.e. 'that'-clauses (and avoiding conditional 'if'-clauses). In such a *realis* clause 'anywhere' is not permitted (35).

35. He knows (**that**) he left his keys ***anywhere**/*somewhere_{nsp}/somewhere_{sp} last night.

The embedding verb used so far has been 'know'. If instead the bridge verb 'think' is used, this produces the same type of contrasting pair (36, 37) as demonstrated by the permissibility or otherwise of 'anyX'.²³

36. Did I leave my keys **anywhere**/somewhere_{nsp}/#somewhere_{sp} last night?

37. Do you think (that) I left my keys ***anywhere**/#somewhere_{nsp}/somewhere_{sp} last night?

Thus in conclusion, irrespective of the interpretation of the wh-item as interrogative pronoun or indefinite pronoun, in a **matrix question** it **must be non-specific**. In the corresponding **embedded clause**, whether relative pronoun or indefinite pronoun, it is argued here that, at least in a clause with a *realis* interpretation, it must be **specific**. Under those circumstances, if the syntactic interpretation of FS as an embedded question is correct, in a *realis* context, there should be a detectable change in specificity between

²³ A pronoun in a conditional 'if'-clause, can be non-specific, e.g. (I was so drunk.) Do you know if I left my keys anywhere last night?

an SCI/matrix question (non-specific) and an FS/embedded question (specific). Examples in Section 5.5.2.3 show that this can be the case.

5.2.2.4 Ban on impersonal subjects in embedded clauses

The effect described above, of a *wh*-item originating in an embedded clause being necessarily specific, must somehow be part of a larger generalization about the specificity of quantified elements in an embedded clause – a discussion which is outside the scope of this work. Instead, the following argument is advanced for the limited case of Italian impersonal-*si* and English *one*, a subject with arbitrary, i.e. non-specific, reference, and why it cannot have such a reference in an embedded non-tensed clause. Example (38) is of a matrix question with impersonal subject (the same as in Chapter 3, Section 3.5). The subject has a generic reference, meaning ‘everyone’ but not pointing to anyone in particular (referred to by Cinque, 1998, as a “quasi-universal” meaning). It is also not specifically excluding anyone, and it is possible that there is no referent. The questioner is asking what is characteristically true for each instance of this ‘giving’ and it is quite possible that neither the questioner, respondent, nor anyone they know, has ever met such a lady, and that such a person does not exist in their community. (In this sense, it could be considered a hypothetical question but without an ‘if’-clause, or qualification of the conditions under which the question pertains.)

38. a. Cosa si dà ad una signora per il suo centesimo compleanno? (Italian)
b. What does one give to a lady for her 100th birthday?

It would not be possible to answer the embedded version (39) in English because the subject *one* is not defined or delimited, so there are no actual examples of such gifts.²⁴ (Note that in Italian, as *si* could have the passive reading, ‘is it true what is (usually) given to a lady...’ the example is possible, but would refer to unnamed (but presumably specific) givers. This would be Cinque’s “quasi-existential” reading of *si* - see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.)

39. #Is it true what one gives to a lady for her 100th birthday?

²⁴ It would be possible to answer it by adding ‘normally’ and meaning ‘one’ as everyone taken together.

The assertion (40) would also be meaningless.

40. a. #(Ah I see,) it's true what one gives to a lady for her 100th birthday!

The inadmissibility of a non-tensed clause with impersonal subject, when embedded – at least beneath this truth operator – could then be attributed to the fact that it is not possible to comment on, or question, the truth or falsity of a hypothetical situation if the conditions under which it pertains are not defined.

Yet it seems to be more generally true with any kind of embedding clause that an entirely arbitrary interpretation of 'one' is not possible. In instances where 'one' is grammatical in an embedded clause, it must have the same reference as 'one' in the embedding clause, and thus be anaphoric. Thus in (41), whoever is asking for an icecream (presumably by saying 'please') is the same as the one who wants to have an icecream.

(To a child:)

41. What does **one₁** say when **one₂** wants (to have) an icecream?

The same must pertain when the sentence subject controls the subject of the infinitival clause. In (42) whoever is doing the planning is the same as the person doing the writing. Thus although one_2 is variable, it does not vary freely, but is "specific" in that it bears whatever reference is intended for one_1 .

42. Does **one_{1(nsp)}** ever plan to [PRO=**one_{2(sp)}**] write a bad book?

The case at issue here, of embedding beneath *fa* 'do', must be slightly different to the situation of embedding beneath a verb such as 'plan' in that the subject of *fa* would be effectively the same as the subject of the lower verb there being only one activity described (whereas 'planning' and 'writing' are temporally distinct).²⁵ The problem must be in requiring specificity for the subject of the lower clause if the meaning desired is a non-anaphoric, arbitrary/generic *one/si*. This could also be the reason for the ban on impersonal *si* in Italian in untensed control clauses mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.²⁶

²⁵ Syntactically, the relationship is therefore not a typical control relationship, but neither is it a raising one.

²⁶ Note however, that, as Cinque (1998) comments, almost all explanations in the literature are from authors who are searching for a syntactic rather than semantic reason.

To conclude: for reasons that are almost certainly part of a broader generalization about a requirement for specificity of certain quantified elements in embedded clauses, impersonal pronouns such as Italian *si*, Camuno *he/se*, and English *one* cannot have a non-specific (including non-anaphoric) interpretation in an embedded clause.

5.2.3 Pragmatic effects

5.2.4.1 Pragmatic ‘softening’ effect of an indirect question

As a general property, embedding in a separate clause, in a so-called ‘**indirect question**’ can also have the pragmatic effect of ‘softening’ the impact of the matrix question, or ‘**direct question**’, and making it seem less aggressive. The ‘know’-embedded question is one such indirect question form used sufficiently often in English, Italian and Camuno that it has become conventionalized.

This same effect is apparent in a request by employing a gentler question form and modal verb, rather than an abrupt imperative, for example: ‘Could you open the window?’. In American English the main verb ‘want’ is also possible: ‘Do you want to open the window, (please)?’. These two options replace a more abrupt imperative ‘Open the window!’. The introductory phrase with ‘want’ ensures that attention is paid to the addressee’s needs. Such phrases may be increasingly elaborate as in: ‘Do you mind if I open the window?’.

If it is an indirect question as proposed, FS would lack the bluntness associated with the direct informational request of SCI. It would make it more ‘friendly’ and ‘engaging’ and appropriate for use with valley insiders with which there is an established relationship. FS would then be a more ‘subjective’ question (taking feelings into account), while SCI could be regarded as ‘objective’ (purely informational). Examples of this kind of effect are listed in Sections 5.5.2.7 to 9.

5.2.4.2 Questions that are conventionalized

Embedding under ‘know’ is a common strategy not only in English, but also in Camuno and Italian, and is conventionalized for the 2nd person ‘do you know’. This accounts for the normal interpretation of (43) as a request for information, not a y/n-Q about the knowledge of the addressee.

43. Q: Do you know where I put my keys? A. (Yes.) They're in the kitchen.

However, if the question is further embedded, as in (44), the convention is broken, as the introductory phrase 'do you know' is then in declarative form as 'you know'. The question is then asking about the addressee's knowledge and it seems an odd question, as if the addressee was purposefully withholding information from the speaker.

44. Q: Is it true that you know where I put the keys? A. Yes. (I do.)

It is suggested below that the introductory and embedding phrase 'is it true that' is the essential function of *fa* in a question. As use of *fa* as an embedding phrase is conventionalized in Camuno, it is expected that the addressee will answer the next part of the question. However, as an introductory phrase must be in interrogative form and only one such phrase is therefore possible, if *fa* embeds 'know', the 'know' convention is destroyed. An example of this kind of effect in Camuno is shown in Section 5.5.2.10.

5.3 Verum focus and dubitative questions

In Section 5.5, the reader will see that informants often noted that FS questions expressed 'doubt' towards propositional information contained in the question and '**really**' is used in the English translations. In using 'really' in English (45), it is as if, semantically, what is being asked is (46), with the 'doubt' external to the proposition about which the question is formed.

(You've always said you'll never leave the village.)

45. Are you REALLY [going to Milan]? (questioner doubts positive value of VP)²⁷

46. REALLY? You are going to Milan? (questioner doubts an existing proposition)

There are two likely positive replies to a **dubitative question** such as this and in both cases 'really' is an intensifier and **provides confirmation**. The confirmation is either of the speaker's suggestion for the verb phrase 'going to Milan' (rather than an alternative activity) (47), or of the positive (rather than negative) value of the proposition (48).

47. (Yes.) I am REALLY [going to Milan]. (addressee confirms the VP)

²⁷ With stress on REALLY, it is not the identification of Milan as the destination that is in doubt, but the entire VP [going to Milan].

48. (Yes.) I really AM [going to Milan]. (addressee confirms the (positive) proposition)

English 'really', is derived from 'real' and relates to the concept of truth. For this reason it has been included by some authors (e.g. Gutzmann & Miró, 2011 (G&M); Lohnstein, 2016; Romero & Han, 2004) in the concept of **verum focus**, a concept that also covers **emphatic focus** in Germanic languages (including use of emphatic 'do'). Verum focus is a concept that originated with Höhle (1992: 114) and involves a verum operator that somehow puts emphasis on the truth of the proposition it scopes over. In a question, both 'really' in (45) above, and emphatic focus in (49) below suggest doubt, indicating that the speaker believes the opposite to be true. In an assertion they produce strong confirmation, but are only suitable when a doubt has been raised in the context.

(Someone said you really want the new job, but I know you hate Milan.)

49. Q: ARE you going to Milan? A: Yes, I AM going to Milan.

Note that, in comparison to *really*, there is nothing inherent in the semantics of *fa* why it should encode doubt. And, as in most Romance languages, in Camuno an auxiliary cannot take stress, so *fa* does not provide a place for emphasis. Interestingly, in English too, it may be more the presence of *do* in an affirmative sentence when there is no syntactic requirement, not so much the emphasis on it, that is critical. This is shown in (50), in use of *do* as an intensifier, as there is no suggestion that the hat is not liked. The emphasis is not specifically on the *do* but either on the combination *do-like* or even on *hat*.

50. Wow, I do like that hat.

Furthermore in German, a V2 language, verum/emphatic focus is covered by the general rule that emphasis is given to whatever constituent occupies the C head – and it is not restricted to being an auxiliary, or even finite verb; in a matrix interrogative or declarative it may also be a lexical verb and, in an embedded clause, a complementizer or relative pronoun (e.g. Lohnstein, 2016:2). The rule for English, a non-V2 language, is similar though more restrictive: the emphasized component is in T for declaratives and embedded clauses, and C for interrogatives: it must be a verb, and, (because in English a main and lexical verb must remain in the VP), can only be an auxiliary.

Camuno is a non-V2 language like English, but a Romance language with a rich left periphery and several C-heads, and in a question (in dialects with optional FS) a main and

lexical verb is allowed in a C-head.²⁸ It is also possible that in Camuno it is the mere presence of a component in a certain C-head when not necessary for syntactic reasons, that provides this effect – and this component is restricted to being a finite verb.²⁹ If this reasoning is correct, *fa* could convey ‘doubt’ as a consequence of its presence in that position (when followed by a main and lexical verb) not a semantics of ‘do’. *Fa* can then be considered a truth operator, but also raising doubt and so requiring emphatic confirmation.

Thus both with English *really* (which conveys doubt through the lexical meaning of the adverb) and emphasis on the auxiliary (which, it is suggested, conveys doubt through the syntax), the question is usually uttered in a context where there is evidence that the propositional material is untrue and a negative answer is expected. If the latter, as suggested, represents the FS question, then together with the SCI question, this produces a pair of questions with opposite biases.

5.4 Distinguishing properties of an embedded ‘question’

5.4.1 Predicted properties

Given the above discussion, Table 5.3 summarizes the differences in meaning and interpretation predicted for an embedded (and verum-focus) question, as proposed for FS, compared to a ‘simple’ matrix question, as suggested for SCI. Also included are references to sections in the following text that will provide evidence from Camuno to demonstrate the predictions are correct. All properties, except specificity of the wh-item, apply to both y/n-Qs and wh-Qs. Presupposition of the answer, when applied to a wh-Q, means that there is an existing referent for the wh-item in the mind of the speaker.

Although syntactic embedding does not seem to be a necessary requirement for the first two features, confirmation and answer expectation/presupposition (as attested by English *really*), it is, however, entirely compatible with such a structure.

²⁸ The possibility of a main/lexical verb in C, although not to form an interrogative, is also available in dialects with obligatory FS, for example, through conditional inversion.

²⁹ Even if this is true, the reader is reminded that in Chapter 4, it was concluded that there was no available syntactic marker that could distinguish the position of *fa* and a lexical verb in the C-domain.

TABLE 5.3: SUMMARY OF PREDICTED DIFFERENCES IN MEANING FOR AN SCI AND FS QUESTION (IN OPTIONAL FS)

Category	Evidence	SCI	FS (when optional)
<u>Semantic criteria</u>			
Confirmation	5.5.2.1	mild request for confirmation of speaker's suggestion	forceful request for confirmation of speaker's embedded proposition
Expectation of the likely answer	5.5.2.2	mild speaker expectation of a positive answer	conveys speaker presupposition of the likely answer, and (most likely) a doubt that the embedded proposition is true
Wh-specificity	5.5.2.3	wh-item must be non-specific	wh-item must be specific if the context is <i>realis</i> (present tense referring to either 'now' or the 'future', but not habitual)
<u>Semantic/pragmatic criteria</u>			
Information status	5.5.2.4 & 5	question focus is new information not part of the Common Ground	proposition is old information and an existing issue part of the Common Ground
	5.5.2.4	question requests prediction of the outcome of an ongoing event	question concerns present relevance of the event
	5.5.2.5	speaker is reacting to an unfolding event or ongoing state about which there was no prior consideration	speaker is considering the consequences of a situation of which they are already aware
<u>Pragmatic criteria</u>			
Pragmatics	5.5.2.6 5.5.2.7	direct question: addressed to the person able to supply the information	indirect question: soliciting an opinion on the issue
	5.5.2.8 5.5.2.9	direct question: aggressive, blunt	indirect question: gentle, engaging
<u>Semantic/syntactic criteria</u>			
Conventions	5.5.2.10.	matrix part of an embedded 'question' such as 'do you know (X)?' may be treated as a convention and the embedded part (X) answered	convention is destroyed and matrix part must be answered

The embedded structure and reference to existing situation inherent in FS would, however, strengthen the expectation of the answer to the status of presupposition (i.e. it is a situation of pre-existing knowledge rather than a default assumption). The other properties are all natural consequences of an embedded structure.

5.4.2 Paraphrases for the FS and SCI questions

Paraphrases for the FS questions are given below alongside those for SCI questions copied from above, but with the SCI wh-Q paraphrase modified to reflect the non-specific reference of the wh-item.

With a y/n-Q the semantic difference between SCI (51) and FS (52) is clear. What is requested by the speaker in an SCI question is truth verification, or confirmation, of the constituent that would make the full answer a true proposition. In FS, what requires truth verification is a proposition that is embedded in the question. In this regard, an FS question more closely merits the attribution of being called a confirmational question. Furthermore, with SCI the suggestion for the value of the variable comes from the questioner, with FS the content of the proposition is probably not the questioner's opinion, and either reflects the opinion of a third party, or what is generally held to be true within the speech community.

51. SCI y/n-Q: Is my suggestion for the value of the variable 'x' correct, thus making the full answer 'X' a true proposition?

52. FS y/n-Q: Is this pre-existing proposition 'X' really true? OR: Is it really true that 'X'?

Using the question 'Are you going [_F to Milan]?', this produces (53), (54) for the y/n-Qs:

53. SCI: Is 'Milan' the correct suggestion, thus it would be true that 'you are going to Milan'?

54. FS: Is it really true that "you are going to Milan"?

With wh-Qs the semantic difference is more subtle. In the SCI question, the wh-item must be non-specific. With an FS question, at least in *realis* mood, the wh-item must be specific and refer to an item that already exists but which requires identification. A *realis* context is achieved through use of the present indicative and reference to a single event.

It is less clear what happens with an *irrealis* context, such as when the tense is future or present-habitual. This depends partly on whether the Camuno wh-item is truly an interrogative pronoun (with a semantic requirement to identify it) rather than an indefinite pronoun (with only a pragmatic requirement). Using the evidence that informants, when asked a wh-Q, although they usually also identified the referent to the wh-Q, indicated that a yes/no answer was never appropriate, it is most likely to be an interrogative pronoun.

That the specificity effect also applies in these instances can then be reasoned in the following way. As a question is only inquisitive, not informative, the focus of the question ('what the question is about') must be well defined (Bertinetto, 1979), a stipulation that also applies when an embedded clause is the focus. Part of being clearly defined, in the case of an entire proposition, is that the wh-item (which is a component part of the embedded clause) must be specific (e.g. 'where I left my keys'). Thus by that reasoning, whether the embedding part *fa* describes a *realis* or an *irrealis* situation is largely irrelevant: what counts is the 'concreteness' or precise definition of the embedded portion, or the focus.

Incorporating this slight nuance, the paraphrases become (55) and (56), of which (56) will be revised again in the conclusions.

55. SCI wh-Q: What is the value of the non-specific variable 'x' that results in the full answer 'X' being a true proposition?

56. FS wh-Q: What is the value of the specific variable 'x' that results in the proposition 'X' really being true? OR: Is it really true that 'X'? (to be revised)

Similarly, based on the question in the present tense 'Where are you going?', this produces (57) and (58) for the wh-Qs.

57. SCI: What is the value of '(any_{nsp})where' such that 'you are going there'?

58. FS: What is the value of '(some_{sp})where' such that it is true that 'you are going there'?

5.5 Semantic and pragmatic properties of the FS question

5.5.1 Dataset

Among the informants interviewed for this research few had a conscious understanding of why they used the FS form over the SCI form if both were available. Of the direct

explanations that refer to the logical meaning, the one that stands out is surprisingly simple (in Italian): *'Si sa già'* 'you already know', meaning that you already have an expectation, even presupposition, of answer.³⁰

Other informants described the emotional meaning of FS. Several people referred to it as the more intimate form, used with valley 'insiders'. The idea of intimacy was also conveyed inadvertently. For example, in re-interviewing a lady I had not seen for a year, and when I, the interviewer, was late for the interview, the informant was naturally, annoyed. She then failed to produce any examples of FS, although she had produced many in the first interview. Another informant commented that because he did not know them personally, he would not use FS to speak face-to-face to any of the women whose voices were used in the recordings.

During the qualitative phases of the research that relied on oral translations from Italian, informants were asked directly about the difference in meaning of FS and SCI, specific to the question.³¹ If the informant provided only one form of question, FS or SCI, they were asked if changes to the context would make the other possible. Their responses have been compiled into the dataset of 72 y/-n Qs and 14 wh-Qs included as Appendix 5 and from which examples have been chosen to illustrate the text below.

Each example consists of an English translation of an originally Italian question, accompanied by a context under which it might be uttered. There follows two Camuno translations, one using SCI and the other FS, each accompanied by an English paraphrase of the informant's Italian explanation for the meaning of each variant [and where I have interpreted their words, this is done in square brackets]. The informant's choice was limited to FS and SCI, as any QDec responses were semantically equivalent to SCI and, for most informants, could be used interchangeably. For a few wh-Qs a clefted response is also included. For consistency, in this dataset the SCI example is presented first followed

³⁰ Although this explanation is tenable for the y/n-Q, for the wh-Q it must refer to the fact that you know that the wh-item has an identity, not you already know what that identity is.

³¹ In the qualitative as in the quantitative phase of data gathering, y/n-Qs in the present habitual were the main type investigated and so account for the majority of the examples. This is because of the possibility that a speaker when translating a question in the present describing a single event would use a progressive form with 'be' that did not use FS.

by the FS example, although this may not represent the order of likelihood of production of the two variants (a topic which is left to the quantitative analysis in Chapters 6 to 8).

There is no apparent relationship between the explanation of the SCI versus FS question and the type of verb (main/auxiliary; manner/result/stative) on which it is based (and the interested reader is referred to the full list in Appendix 5 to verify this for themselves).

Assuming that the unique properties of FS are a result of a biclausal structure, this confirms the hypothesis advanced by Cinque (1999) that the structure with an verb such as *finire* 'begin' is monoclausal: Had a question with *finire* already been biclausal with an SCI question, then being further embedded and tricausal with FS, would not have made much difference.

Note also that there is no significant difference between informants in the set of meanings attributed to FS. Importantly, the interpretation is the same for informants who use the *fa* and who those who use the *ha* pronunciation, showing that for these speakers the same construction (and probably the same verb) is being used, a topic returned to in Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant.

5.5.2 Points of evidence

5.5.2.1 Confirmation of a preexisting proposition

One of the most frequent explanations given by informants was that the purpose of an FS *y/n-Q* was to obtain confirmation of a fact, while the SCI question was a relatively open question. This can be taken as a representation of FS as asking for confirmation of the truth of an existing proposition but in SCI in there being, at the time of speaking, no proposition or 'fact' available to confirm. In the following four examples (59-62), three different informants used the word 'confirm' to describe the FS question. In three cases the context is also counter-expectational (elaborated in the following section). In (62) the informant noted that no answer was even required and so the question is 'rhetorical' and confirmation is required of what the speaker already, in effect, knows.

meaning. In addition, in this community the aspirated *ha* pronunciation is used, demonstrating that this has the same semantic/pragmatic value as the *fa* variant.

(You are in a bar. Some people are beginning to have a big argument and fists are drawn. You ask your friend:)

Do you think it's best [lit. right] to leave?

61. a. Te homée=l giüht nà=la? (33. Berzo)

DAT.2sg seems=SCL.3M.SG just go.INFIN=there

SCI: Neutral [Should we go? (I'm not sure)]

b. Ha=l homeà=t giüht nà=la?

does=SCL.3M.SG seem.INFIN=DAT.2SG just go.INFIN=there

FS: Asking for **confirmation** from the other person. [We should go, shouldn't we.]

Example (52) comes from the Upper Valley community of Monno and is one of the few examples of FS use with *volere* 'want', which one of the last two verbs to be made available for FS. The example provides evidence that, even in the final stages of grammaticalization, with the few remaining verbs for which there is a SCI alternative, the FS question is still a special question in addition to pure information seeking.

(The grandparents seem to me to be too tired to go out but they're not saying anything. Anyway, in your opinion...)

Do they want to come with us?

62. a. I noni, öl=i vignì ansem a no? (67. Monno)

the grandparents want=SCL.3M.PL come.INFIN together to us

SCI: Direct, short. Shows uncertainty (that they want to come with us). [genuine question]

b. Fa=i olé vignì ansem a no?

do=SCL.3M.PL want.INFIN come.INFIN together to us

FS: Rhetorical question and expects an answer 'yes'. Speaker wants **confirmation**. [i.e. despite the fact they are tired, this speaker is sure the grandparents would want to come]

5.5.2.2 Expectation/presupposition of the answer

The concept of confirmation elaborated above is closely related to the idea of an expectation or presupposition of the answer. In each of the following examples the informant's interpretation of the speaker's thinking is revealed in explanations involving terms such as 'doubt' or 'disbelief', or 'surprise'. Some informants even use the word 'presupposition'. FS questions attributed a negative presupposition by the speaker are illustrated in examples (63) to (70) below. In three, (64), (67) and (69), the SCI question is attributed a contrasting positive expectation. One example of a positive presupposition

The following example (67) is of a causative verb, which, in the Esine dialect usually uses SCI by inverting the clitic on *fa* 'cause' but in certain circumstances may use FS by the addition of interrogative *fa* 'do'. The same, opposing answer expectation/presupposition are apparent.

(Your friend wants to see the garden.)

Will you show it to him?

67. a. Ghe 'l fé=t 'idì? (36. Esine)

DAT.3 ACC.3M.SG cause=SCL.2SG see.INFIN

SCI: "Presupposes" yes.

[+ve]

b. Fé-t fà=ghe=l 'idì?

do=SCL.2SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG see.INFIN

FS: The addressee might also say 'no'. I have a **doubt**.

[-ve]

The next example (68) is one where both the SCI and FS question express doubt, but the FS version, more so.

(How's Andrea doing with the new twins?)

Does he manage to stay sane?

68. a. Ghe rùe=l a mantignì 'nna 'ita a möt? (36. Esine)

DAT.3 arrive=SCL.3M.SG to maintain.INFIN a life in.this.way

SCI: Expresses doubt.

[-ve]

b. Fa=l rüà=ga a mantignì 'nna 'ita a möt?

does.SCL.3M.SG arrive.INFIN=DAT.3 to maintain.INFIN a life in.this.way [-ve (more)]

FS: Expresses **astonishment** that he succeeds because the presupposition is no, and that he doesn't.

The next example (69) brings out the positive answer expectation for the simple, SCI question, and the doubt carried in the FS question.

(The boyfriend wants to get married and asks the girlfriend:)

Do you love me [lit: want me well]?

69. a. Me óle=t bé? (70. Cividate)

DAT.1SG want=SCL.2SG well

SCI: Almost a rhetorical question. Gentle. The reply would be 'yes'. [+ve]

b. He=t vulì=m bé?

do=SCL.2SG want.INFIN=DAT.1SG well

FS: Shows uncertainty about the reply: she might **not** love him. [-ve]

A rarer example of where the FS question is associated with a positive presupposition is in (70). The questioner could be said to be bringing to the attention of the addressee what is generally recognized in the community: that Elisabetta is still smoking.

‘Does Elisabetta still smoke?’

70. a. Fùme=la amò Elisabeta? (70. Civate)

smokes=SCL.3F.SG still Elisabeta

SCI: I’m not investigating her! There were no preconceived ideas. It’s an open question.

b. Ha=la fümà amò Elisabeta?

does=SCL.3F.SG smoke.INFIN still Elisabeta

FS: **Presupposes** that there is already an understanding that she still smokes. [+ve]

In summary, Table 5.4 shows that, among pairs of questions where the informant indicated the reason for their choice of question form, the following are true:

- Overall, FS Qs (35%) were more likely than SCI Qs (19%) to carry answer expectations/presuppositions (or alternatively, they are just more obvious with FS Qs).
- A negative expectation/presupposition was more likely to be suggested by an FS Q (25%) than an SCI Q (5%).
- A positive expectation/presupposition was equally likely to be suggested by an FS Q (13%) and an SCI Q (10%).
- Of the 35% of FS Qs carrying presuppositions, it was more likely that these were negative (25%) than positive (10%).
- Of the 19% of SCI Qs carrying answer expectations, it was more likely that these were positive (13%) than negative (5%).

TABLE 5.4: EXPECTATIONS/PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE ANSWER INDICATED IN FS AND SCI QUESTIONS

	SCI%	SCIToks	FS%	FSToks
Total expect/presup	19%	15	35%	27
neg expect/presup	5%	4	25%	19
pos expect/presup	13%	10	10%	8
Total Qs n = 77				

This data supports the notion that both types of question, SCI and FS, are correlated to some extent with speaker expectation of the answer.

The slight positive bias with the ‘default’ SCI question can be attributed to the pragmatics and that questions are more commonly helpful and cooperative, with the questioner trying and usually succeeding in phrasing the question to obtain a positive answer.

With FS, not only was a speaker expectation of the answer more commonly noted but it was also stronger (in linguistic terms rising to the level of a presupposition) and indicating preceding knowledge rather than just slight suspicion. This is commensurate with an interpretation of FS as an embedded question as it is incorporating a preconceived idea. The connection with doubt and negative presupposition is linked to the idea of the verum focus function of FS, as it is intended to generate a strong positive confirmation. As such it also contrasts with the normal positive expectation of the SCI question and makes a pair of questions with opposite biases.

5.5.2.3 Specific reference for wh-item pronoun

With wh-Qs, if the wh-item is syntactically embedded, as suggested for an FS question, it must have specific reference but in an SCI question it is a non-specific variable. Thus in two different informants’ explanations (71) and (72), with SCI it could be any tie, but with FS, it refers to a specific, if unknown, tie. Note further that in (72) the informant finds the same difference regardless of whether the wh-item is fronted or post-verbal (and this wh-item would not be doubled).

(They tell me that you've got a lovely collection of ties.)

Which one will you wear to the wedding?

71. a. Mete=t chela a hpude? (33. Berzo Inferiore)

put-on=SCL.2SG which/that.one at wedding

SCI: You're asking **which one**.

- b. He=t meté chela (a hpude)?

do=SCL.2SG put-on.INFIN which/that.one (at wedding)

FS: It's **already decided**.

[Are you wearing the one we talked about?]

72. a. (Quala) meteré=t=hó quala a hpùde? (36. Esine)

which/that.one put=SCL.2SG=up which/that.one at wedding

SCI: Whatever A [questioner] is thinking, he's not expressing it to B [man with tie collection]. There is no obvious presupposition as to which and **the choice is still open** but he will certainly wear one or another.

- b. (Quala) faré=t mitì=ho quala a hpùde?

which/that.one do.FUT=SCL.2SG put.INFIN=UP which/that.one at wedding

FS: A is already thinking of the result and **in his mind sees B already wearing a tie**, probably the one A has in mind (because that's why he's asking the question). On the basis of the choice, B will have the means to think of the consequences. If he wears the one that B's girlfriend gave him (A's ex-girlfriend), things will change and B will have a reason to argue.

The question, although it describes a future event is in the present tense and *realis* mood, indicating certainty that the event will happen. There is also some overlap with the idea of anteriority of the embedded proposition – see the section below.

Significantly, although the same set of possible ties is presumably available for both the SCI and FS question, this is not apparently relevant (contrary to Kiss' 1993 notion of specificity): what counts is the prior choice and therefore existence of the referent in (at least) the speaker's mind.

The following example (73) describes an event in the present and uses an achievement/result verb. The pronoun *che* 'what' in (73a) is non-specific, because the speaker doesn't necessarily know what to attribute the noise to, so is frightened; but is specific in (73b) because the speaker knows something is going on, although not precisely what.

(You hear a noise and wonder: Has there been a goal?)

What's happening?

73. a. Che hücéde=l? (54. Astrio di Breno)

what happens=SCL.3M.SG

SCI: You are frightened [by the ongoing noise]. [You don't know if it was a goal or something else. You want to know what is happening.]

b. Che fa=l hücedé? / Fa=l hücedé che?

what does=SCL.3M.SG happen.INFIN / does=SCL.3M.SG happen.INFIN what

FS: This presupposes you have **already heard** the noise. [You have interpreted the noise. You know that something has happened.]

In the next example (74), the question is based on the (unaccusative) subject 'who'. In the SCI question, it is a general notion about the magnitude of 'who' and so is not concerned about anyone in particular, but in the FS question, it is about the specific reference of 'who'.

(You've invited the entire neighbouring family to the birthday party. Ask the mother:)

Who's coming to the party?

74. a. 'ègne-l chì a la fèhta? (36. Esine)

come=SCL.3M.SG who to the party

SCI: A is casually interested in the number and who the guests will be [i.e. not specifically in any of them], probably for organizational reasons.

b. Fà=l 'gnì chì, a la fèhta?

does=SCL.3M.SG come.INFIN who to the party

FS: A is not so interested in the number of people (for the sake of the organizing) but in the **people who will attend**. A is revealing a general interest in **someone, but it's not clear who**. It's understood that A has a preference [or hope that someone in particular might attend] and might then buy something special [for the party].

The following example (75) demonstrates a perceived difference in likelihood that there exists a referent for the wh-item 'what', or in an existential presupposition (Section 5.1.3.2). With the SCI question, it is only likely, but with the FS and cleft question, it is certain.

(You want to know that elderly Maria is being taken care of. You ask the carer:)

What's Maria eating for dinner?

75. a. Màngè=la chè, Maria, de héna? (36. Esine)

eats=SCL.3F.SG what Maria for dinner

SCI: The questioner is interested in *che* 'what' Maria is eating [because it's still possible that she's not eating anything and is skipping dinner.]³⁶

b. Fa=la mangià chè, Maria, de héna?

does=SCL.3F.SG eat.INFIN what Maria for dinner

FS: It is **certain that Maria is eating something**, and more certain than the [SCI] example. It's now time to know **exactly what** Maria wants to eat, so as to procure it. The viewpoint is 'perfective', enabling the speaker to think of the shopping.

c. È=l chè che la mângia de héna, Maria?

is-SCL.3DEF what that SCL.3F.SG eats for dinner Maria

Cleft: The focus is on the reference of *chè* that B will reveal in their reply.

Presence of existential presupposition for a wh-item in FS, but only weak supposition in SCI, is also indicated by example (60) above.

5.5.2.4 Anteriority of the embedded proposition

Several examples in the previous section of FS questions also reveal a slight temporal offset between the proposition that is the focus of the FS question, and the time of speaking, even though there is only one finiteness marker and that is for the present tense. In (71b, 72b), speaker imagines the answer to the question about which tie will be worn to the wedding prior to the question being asked. In (73b) the noise has already been registered and interpreted although the situation of there being 'something

³⁶ The informant added: Had the question about whether she will eat, or not it would have been *Màngè-la argóta, Maria, de héna?* 'Is Maria eating anything for dinner?'

happening’ is still regarded as ongoing. In both examples, with the FS-Q, it is as if an embedded event was being viewed perfectly, even though the tense used on *fa* is present, not present perfect.³⁷

5.5.2.5 Consequences of the answer

With a temporal separation perceived between the event under consideration and the speaker’s question, the speaker has essentially ‘moved on’ to assess the likely consequences of any answer. This can also give rise to the sense that the speaker is emotionally involved, or engaged, in the subject matter. In contrast the SCI question is relatively spontaneous, without pre-thought. This is illustrated in (76) and (77) below.

‘Does this beautiful lake freeze in winter?’

76. a. Chèhto bel laghèt zèle=l ann inverno? (36. Esine)

this beautiful lake freezes=SCL.3M.SG in winter

SCI: Neutral question, driven by curiosity.

b. Fa=l zelà chèhto bel laghèt ann inverno?

does=SCL.3M.SG freeze.INFIN this beautiful lake in winter

FS: The person asking the question is expressing a) the hope it will freeze so they can skate on it or b) the fear that it will freeze (because the ducks can’t swim in it or because they can’t fish in it). [The speaker is assessing the **consequences**.]

(The dog is on its last legs. How sad for the family!)

Will it die soon?

77. a. Murirà=l de ché a mia tat? (36. Esine)

dies.FUT=SCL.3M.SG of here to not long

SCI: Simple request for information

b. Farà=l murì de ché a mia tat?

does.FUT=SCL.3M.SG die.INFIN of here to not long

FS: Also expresses worry for its death or for the pain of losing it. There are **consequences** for the speaker.

5.5.2.6 Role played by addressee

The next four effects: role played by the addressee; speaker orientation/subjectivity; speaker and addressee orientation; engagement of addressee in conversation are interpreted as consequences of the differences between a direct and indirect question.

³⁷ An understanding of the focus of the question being viewed in a “perfective” versus “imperfective” viewpoint is the insight of Vittorio Volpe (36. Esine), with whom I discussed the interpretation of numerous such pairs of questions.

These concepts generally regarded as pragmatic and would be secondary effects resulting from the primary semantic/syntactic effects.

In the FS question, the indirect question, the speaker has already formed an opinion about a situation or event and they are testing that opinion on another person; in contrast, the SCI question, the direct question, is purely informational. As a result of this the SCI question must be addressed to the person in a position to provide the information, while in the FS question the material can form a basis for discussion with another party, or even internally within the speaker's thoughts.

The following examples (78) to (80) show interpretations from three different informants of the SCI/FS translations of the same Italian question (context given only once). In each case, the informant has noted a difference in the identity of the interlocutor between the SCI/FS variants.

(In the shop:)

Is this nice fish expensive?

78. a. Còhte=l tant chel peh ché bel? (33. Berzo)

costs=SCL.3M.SG a.lot that fish here beautiful

SCI: Said to the **shopkeeper**.

b. Harà=l cohtà tant chel peh ché bel?³⁸

does.FUT=SCL.3M.SG cost.INFIN a.lot that fish here beautiful

FS: Said to **someone other** than the shopkeeper, who can't answer the question.

79. a. Còste=l tàant chèl bèl péh ché? (50. Bienno)

costs=SCL.3M.SG a.lot that beautiful fish here

SCI: With the **shopkeeper**. I want to know right now.

b. Hè=l cohtà tàant chèl bèl péh ché?

does=SCL.3M.SG cost.INFIN a.lot that beautiful fish here

FS: To my **husband**. We're not sure about [buying] it. [We suspect it costs a lot.]

80. a. Còhte=l tant chèl bel pèh ché? (36. Esine)

costs=SCL.3M.SG a.lot that beautiful fish here

SCI: Neutral question

³⁸ In this instance, the informant has also made a tense distinction between the present (SCI) and future (FS) conveying more 'uncertainty' with the FS-Q, as if the cost of the fish is only relevant if they decide to buy it. However, it makes no difference to the main point: that the questions are directed towards different people. The other two informants have not changed the tense.

- b. Fa=l cohtà tant chèl bel pèh ché
 does=SCL.3M.SG cost.INFIN a.lot that beautiful fish here
 FS: Be careful. I don't have much money. [Said to wife/husband.]

In (81) below, the informant also notes that there is a difference in interlocutor but the situation is reversed: the SCI version is the simple question addressed to anyone present, but with FS, because the topic (of the broken arm) has already come up and it has been suggested that it's broken, the speaker is now seeking an opinion from someone in authority.

(The arm is very swollen.)

Could it be broken?

81. a. Pöde=l èser ròt? (39. Malonno)
 could=SCL.3M.SG be.INFIN broken
 SCI: Normal question.

- b. Fa=l podé eser ròt?
 does=SCL.3M.SG to.be.possible.INFIN be.INFIN broken
 FS: Said **to the doctor** [because you want an authoritative answer of whether or not it could be true that it's broken.]

5.5.2.7 Speaker orientation (subjectivity)

As in the FS question the embedded proposition is an idea that has been floated prior to the immediate conversation, the speaker may be bringing it to the fore because they have an attitude towards it or feeling about it that they want to express. The FS question could then be regarded as 'subjective' compared to the SCI question, which is 'objective', as in the informant's explanations for (82). (There is also an overlap with Section 5.5.2.5 as regards consideration of the consequences.)

(That chair seems a bit fragile to me.)

If I sit on it, will it break, in your opinion?

82. a. Hè me he hènte=dó, he romperà=la, hegónt té? (36. Esine)
 if REF.1SG REF.INV sits=down 3MV breaks=SCL.3F.SG in.opinion yours
 SCI: The question is asking about **a possibility** as regards the chair. The question is objective.

- b. Hè me he hènte=dó, farà=la rumpì=h, hegónt té?
 if REF.1SG REF sits=down does.FUT=SCL.3F.SG break.INFIN=3MV in.opinion yours
 FS: The question is being asked because of the **consequences for the speaker**. The focus of the question is different. The question is subjective.

By using the SCI question in (83a) below, the speaker genuinely wants to know 'what' (the people concerned think about them) whereas with the FS question in (83b), the

speaker is indicating their own annoyance and is not really concerned with ‘what’. The FS question is then largely rhetorical.

(Why don't they want to spend time with us?)

What do they think (of us)?

83. a. Pènhale=i ché de notre? (50. Bienno)

think=SCL.3M.PL what of us

SCI: I can't understand their reaction and I really don't know what they're thinking (about us).

b. eh ma...He=i penhà ché de notre?

eh but... do=SCL.3M.PL think.INFIN what of us

FS: **I am annoyed.** [So this is a rhetorical question.]

With (84a), the SCI question is neutral as regards the speaker's opinion on the dinner invitation but with the FS question (84b), they are expressing their own (positive) feelings on the matter.

Would your mother like to eat with us this evening?

84. a. Ala to mare ghe piaderéhe=l mangià con nòtre hta hera? (36. Es)

to.the your mother DAT.3 please.COND=SCL.3M.SG eat.INFIN with us this evening

SCI: Neutral invitation because I'm only asking **if it will please her.**

b. Faréhe=l piadìga ala to mare mangià con nòtre hta hera?

does.COND=SCL.3M.SG please.INFIN to.the your mother eat.INFIN with us this evening

FS: I am concerned for your mother's well-being and **we'd both** [speaker and family] **be pleased** if she'd come.

5.5.2.8 Speaker and addressee orientation

The topic, and answer to the FS question, may be important not only to the speaker but also to the addressee as indicated in (85).

Do you begin preparing supper only after 8 o'clock?

85. a. Comincie=t (te) a fà=ha la hena dopo le ot? (55. Bienno)

begin=SCL.2G (you) to do.INFIN=TOWARDS the dinner after the 8

SCI: Surprise

b. Fet comincià te a fà=ha la hena dopo le ot?

do=SCL.2SG begin.INFIN you to do.INFIN=TOWARDS the dinner after the 8

FS: Ok, but it's **important we both know** this. [i.e. you, too, need to think of the consequences of the answer]

Attention to the ‘face’ of the addressee is also a form of courtesy and provides a more delicate form of expression suitable for intimate topics as in (86).

(Now they work in Switzerland...)

Does Teresa miss her children?

86. a. Ghe manche=i i ho fiöi a Teresa? (70. Cividate)

DAT.3 miss=SCL.3M.PL the her children a Teresa

SCI: If you know the addressee well.

b. Ha=i manca=ga i ho fiöi a Teresa?

do=SCL.3M.PL miss.INFIN=DAT.3 the her children a Teresa

FS: If you don't know the addressee particularly well this longer form is better.

Similarly, in (87), indirectness, or tact, as indicated by FS, would be inappropriate given the fact that the question is, by its nature, fairly rude.

(She leaves that poor animal at home all day!)

Does Valentina love [lit. want well] her dog?

87. a. Valentina, ghe óle=la bé a so ca? (50. Bienno)

Valentina DAT.3 wants=SCL.3F.SG well a her dog

SCI: Spontaneous question

b. #He=la olé=ga bé a so ca?

does=SCL.3F.SG want.INFIN=DAT.3 well a her dog

FS: What an attitude! (Unsuitable given the context.)

In (88), the indirectness is also inappropriate, but for the opposite reason, that it indicates too much reliance on the speaker attitude when in fact the situation is objective, as every normal person is expected to have the same attitude to the situation described.

(Their aunt died recently and today is the village festival.)

'Does(n't) it seem right to you too, to stay at home?'

88. a. Te homèe=l giüht anche a te de htà a ca? (36. Esine)

DAT.2sg seem=SCL.3M.SG just also to you to stay at home

SCI: The only appropriate way to make this question.

b. #Fa=l homeà-t giüht anche a te de htà a ca?

does=SCL.3F.SG seem.INFIN=DAT.2SG just also to you to stay at home

FS: The question with *fare* seems artificial, insistent, and to be avoided because it presupposes an attitude (such as exaggerated concern or excessive tact) which isn't appropriate in the situation.

5.5.2.9 Engagement of addressee in conversation

Several responses such as (89) and (90) described FS as a device to engage the interlocutor. A similar effect can be obtained with English 'really' with falling then rising intonation.

Do you usually do the shopping on Saturday?

89. a. Fe=t la spesa al habet? (70. Civate)

do=SCL.2SG the shopping the saturday

SCI: Direct Q. Just wants a brief answer. Only need confirmation.

- b. He=t fà la spesa al habet?

do=SCL.2SG do.INFIN the shopping the saturday

FS: The **start of a conversation**. Curiosity and surprise has been induced. [Do you really go shopping on Saturday?!]

Does it always rain on Sunday?

90. a. Pióe=l hemper la dumenica? (50. Bienno)

rains=SCL.3M.SG always the sunday

SCI: Relaxed question.

- b. He=l hemper pioé la dumenica?

does=SCL.3M.SG always rain.INFIN the sunday

FS: A little annoyed at this. Someone might reply and **start a conversation**.

5.5.2.10 Destruction of a convention

If *fa* is part of a separate clause, any subsequent clauses would be embedded and in declarative form. Thus if the question already has an embedding phrase and this is conventionalized in interrogative form, the convention is destroyed when the phrase is transformed into a declarative. Such an effect would explain the following informant's interpretation of the question already embedded under 'do you (sg: 91) (pl: 92) know'.

Do you know where I've put the keys?

91. a. Al sé=t ando o mès le cïaf? (39. Malonno)

ACC.3DEF know=SCL.2SG where have.1SG put.PTCP the keys

SCI: The other person has seen you put the keys somewhere and you are asking them for help [locating the keys].

- b. #Fe=t saé=(l) ando o mès le cïaf?

do=SCL.2SG know.INFIN=(ACC.3DEF) where have.1SG put.PTCP the keys

FS: This is inappropriate, because If you DO know, then why don't you tell me?

[Is it true (given what I've heard/suspect), that you know where I've put my keys? i.e. I would have used the SCI-Q, if I had wanted an answer to 'where'.]

92. a. Al he=f che 'l rùà la nona ancö? (80. Malegno)

ACC.3DEF know=SCL.2PL that SCL.3DEF arrives the grandmother today

SCI: Genuine question. I know this [that your grandmother is coming today], but do you? [i.e. are you aware of this?]

- b. #He=f hai che 'l rùà la nona ancö?

do=SCL.2PL know.INFIN that SCL.3DEF arrives the grandmother today

FS: The person asking the question is not sure that the grandmother is coming.
 Inappropriate. [Interpretation: Is it really true that (you know that) your grandmother is arriving today?]

The informants' reaction to the inadmissibility of the FS question are readily explainable if the paraphrase is as indicated after the question. The result is that the conventional use of *(al) sét/f* 'know-you?' has been destroyed by the embedding as it has become 'is it true that you know?'

The effect apparently goes away with the 3rd person question as in (93), because there is no similar convention for 'knows-she?' and both questions, although slightly odd, are equally acceptable.

(Your mother knows everything. Oh yes?)

Does she know where I've put the keys?

93. a. La 'I sa andò o mes le ciáf? (42. Malonno)
 SCL.3F.SG ACC.3DEF knows where have.1SG put.PTCP the keys
 b. Fa=la saé andò o mes le ciáf?
 does=SCL.3F.SG know.INFIN where have.1SG put.PTCP the keys

The embedding effect may, however, be only part of the explanation for the difference in degree FS use between 2nd and 3rd person questions for verbs with CP/propositional complements, as it is also found with other cognitive/emotional stative verbs with DP complements (see Chapter 7: Factors determining optional FS; Section 7.5). Not only was a large difference found with 'know', but also, a smaller difference was found with 'like', and 'miss'.

In contrast, the difference in FS use with non-stative verbs between 2nd and 3rd person questions was relatively minor and slightly favoured the 2nd person question, a finding which fits with an explanation that the 2nd person question is more intimate and relates more closely to the addressee.

An explanation that covers both the 2nd/3rd person difference for all cognitive/emotional states, is that the 2nd person FS question can be regarded as too invasive and confrontational: It is one thing to doubt, and therefore question, an objective fact, but another to doubt and question, to someone's face, that person's professed cognitive or emotional state. In contrast, there is less of an issue in asking about a third person because what is being asked is for objective evidence about someone else's cognitive/emotional state.

5.6 Conclusions on the meaning and probable syntactic structure of the FS question

Properties expected, or commensurate with, a question that is syntactically embedded were predicted in Table 5.4 above. In accordance with this, the foregoing sections have revealed the following **semantic traits** of an FS question in dialects with **optional FS**:

- An FS y/n-Q represents a **strong request for confirmation** for the truth, or denial, of an embedded proposition. The questioner already has a **presupposition** of the likely answer and that it is most likely to be **negative**. (These properties are also typical of verum focus so although they fit with an embedded structure, they do not require it.)
- In an FS wh-Q, the request is for **verification** of the presupposition of **existence of a referent to the wh-item**, by identifying that item. The **existence** in the speaker's mind prior to the moment of speaking of a **referent** to the wh-item, gives rise to the specificity effect.

One additional point of evidence was introduced in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.

- An FS question in a dialect with optional FS must have a **referential subject** (but a non-referential impersonal subject is possible in a dialect with obligatory FS). This is another indication of the presence of an embedded proposition that can only be referential, or specific.

The following **semantic-pragmatic** traits connect the idea of an embedded clause to that of information structure within the sentence and discourse:

- In FS questions the **embedded proposition is old information** and it refers to the description of an event that took place, or situation pertaining, before the utterance time. As such the speaker has already formed an opinion on the questioned issue and 'moved on' to assess the consequences of the answer.
- The **propositional content of a FS question** is **not** necessarily the **speaker's opinion** but is more likely that of a third party. The speaker is then testing an idea generally held to be true within the speech community.

Lastly, the FS question as an **indirect question** is associated with certain **pragmatic** traits as it enables expression of speaker attitude towards the embedded proposition:

- Similar to the functions of English *really* a variety of **attitudes may be conveyed** depending on the intonation, with 'doubt' and 'engagement' being most common.
- FS is subjective, often reflecting **intimacy of interlocutors**, expressing warmth, and taking into account the 'face' of the addressee and their feelings on the subject matter.

One **syntactic** trait of FS is present:

- As FS embeds the following material, **conventions** that are based on an inverted interrogative order of Vfin-SCL are **destroyed** and the question must be answered literally.

Using a possible model of a matrix question for SCI and embedded question for optional FS, metaphrases were suggested above. These are repeated as (94) to (97).

As regards the y/n-Qs:

94. SCI y/n-Q: Is my suggestion for the value of the variable 'x' correct, thus making the full **answer 'X' a true proposition**?
95. FS y/n-Q: Is this **pre-existing proposition 'X'** really true? OR: Is it really true that 'X'?

As regards the wh-Qs (incorporating additional pragmatic information for (96)):

96. SCI wh-Q: What is the value of the non-specific variable 'x' that results in the **full answer 'X' being a true proposition**?
97. FS wh-Q: Using my previous knowledge to provide a value for specific variable 'x' in the pre-existing proposition 'X', **can you confirm that proposition 'X' is true by confirming the general assumption (prevalent in the speech community) of the value for 'x'**? OR: Is it really true that 'X'?

Part of the meaning of *fa* in optional FS is then as a truth operator and it scopes over an entire, pre-existing proposition. Other semantic components of the morpheme, as used in optional FS, will be discussed in Chapters 6-8.

Chapter 6: Supported verb aspect and manner/result as optional FS determinants

This and the next chapter describe how the main factors determining FS use is the semantics of the verb it supports. This is demonstrated through the results of the elicitation experiments of which the methodology was described in Chapter 2.

Verbs used in the test questions are categorized using two slightly different systems. In **Section 6.1** they are discussed from the point of view of their internal aspectual properties, using the decomposition system of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), as laid down in Van Valin, 2005. There is shown to be a reasonable correspondence between highest probability of FS use and the presence of activity in the supported verb, described in the decomposition by predicate component **do'**, but that this slightly overestimates the verbs included in the highest category. Note that in this system, by definition subject assignment is dependent on the verb semantics.

In **Section 6.2** verbs are instead analyzed using the system of Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998, (RH&L) whereby verbal aspect is expressed through manner and result. Greatest correspondence is found between high FS and manner verbs, or those that have a component ACT<manner> in the root of the verb. This division provides a better fit than the RRG system but slightly underestimates the included verbs. The addition of subject type as a factor improves the correlation.

6.1 Aspect of supported verb

6.1.1 Feature-based aspectual divisions

A basic semantic division of verbs according to the way they portray an event is by their aspect. The classification used here is a slight modification of the system of Van Valin (2005; 2018) (VV) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) (VVL), and part of the more general framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG). The VV/RRG system is itself based on Vendler's (1967) original four-fold feature system of *Aktionsart*, as shown in Table 6.1. It uses Vendler's four primary categories of activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, together with one secondary category of active accomplishments, to categorize all the non-causative verbs. (VV's category of semelfactives are omitted here). Lexical causatives, which according to VV can potentially be formed out of any combination of these, are covered in Section 6.1.7 on lexical decomposition.

TABLE 6.1: ASPECTUAL CLASSES AND FEATURES OF VAN VALIN (2005)

	[± static]	[± dynamic]	[± telic]	[± punctual]
state	[+ static]	[- dynamic]	[- telic]	[- punctual]
achievement	[- static]	[- dynamic]	[+ telic]	[+ punctual]
accomplishment	[- static]	[- dynamic]	[+ telic]	[- punctual]
active accomplishment	[- static]	[+ dynamic]	[+ telic]	[- punctual]
activity	[- static]	[+ dynamic]	[- telic]	[- punctual]

The system used in this work is a minor modification of the VV system and is shown in Table 6.2. It omits the features [± punctual], so conflating VV's (non-active) accomplishments and achievements, and [± telic], conflating active accomplishments and activities.¹

TABLE 6.2: ASPECTUAL CLASSES AND FEATURES USED IN THIS WORK

	[± dynamic]	[± eventive]
state	[- dynamic]	[- eventive]
non-active eventive	[- dynamic]	[+ eventive]
activity	[+ dynamic]	[+ eventive]

By employing only a two-feature system, this reduces the five categories to three. As will become apparent, the three categories are apparently all that is required to capture the behaviour of verbs with respect to their use with *fa*-support (FS). The division is described with two relevant features: [± eventive] and, (applicable only to eventive verbs), [± dynamic]. The feature [± eventive] is simply a renamed version of Vendler's

¹ Achievements and (non-active) accomplishments were already conflated in Foley & Van Valin, 1984, as achievements that could be punctual or durative. This is also the approach of Verkuyl (1972, 1973) who considered the distinction primarily a pragmatic one or one dependent on the perfective/imperfective viewpoint. Dowty (1981) called the durative verbs based on gradable adjectives 'degree achievements' to emphasize that telicity could be encountered 'along the way'. Rothstein (2004: 193) emphasized the commonality between the categories in this way: 'The crucial thing about both achievements and accomplishments is that their stopping points have complementary properties to their starting points.'

As telicity is not used as a definitive criterion here, the question of whether the durative non-active eventive verbs are in fact telic (and several authors have suggested that they are not necessarily so, e.g. Dowty, 1979, RH&L, 2010), is then not relevant.

(and VV's) [\pm stative] with the definition that [+eventive]=[-stative], so that both features are named by what is perceived to be the marked variant.

Table 6.3 relates together the original Vendler classification system, modifications of Van Valin and further modifications used here.

TABLE 6.3: COMPARISON OF ASPECTUAL DIVISIONS

Vendler, 1967	Van Valin, 2005, 2018	This work
state	state	state [-eventive] [-dynamic]
achievement	achievement	non-active eventive
accomplishment	(process) accomplishment, process, achievement	[+eventive] [-dynamic]
	active accomplishment	activity
activity	activity	[+eventive] [+dynamic]

6.1.2 Application of tests

In the following sections, the verbs tested for the probability of their use with FS (in dialects where it is optional) are categorized according to their aspect by applying a limited number of fairly well known tests. Ideally the tests should be applied to the verb in the language under consideration, Camuno, but realistically, if the Italian verb is a cognate (and uses the same auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* tense) it is considered acceptable to use Italian. In fact, most of the verbs chosen represent basic concepts with little dispute as to their classification and the same results are obtained for English. For example: English *know*, Italian *sapere*, or Camuno (Esine form) *hai* are stative verbs; *fall*, *cadere*, *gnì-do* (literally 'come down') are (non-active) accomplishments; *work*, *lavorare*, *laurà* are activities.

In some instances, languages use verbs from different aspectual categories for what appears to be the same concept, reflecting a difference in the cultural perception of an

event². In Italian, the choice of whether the verb uses a ‘have’ or a ‘be’ auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* tense is taken as an indication of its internal semantics and the extent to which the subject is an ‘effector’ (or instigator of an action, and potentially agentive), or should be regarded as a ‘theme’ or ‘patient’ (i.e. an undergoer of the action). This correlates with the syntactic interpretation of the ‘have’ intransitives as unergative, and the ‘be’ intransitives and unaccusative. Note that with all the verbs categorized, the choice of ‘have’ versus ‘be’ in Camuno was the same as in Italian.

If a verb describes an event perceived as requiring an external cause, e.g. *rompere* ‘break’ (*ho rotto la sedia* ‘I broke the chair’), there is, in most cases, an anti-causative version where the external causer is assumed but not named (*la sedia si è rotta* ‘the chair broke’). In both Italian and Camuno, the causative uses a ‘have’ auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* and the anti-causative uses a *si* clitic and a ‘be’ auxiliary. The anticausative is therefore morphologically more complex, which is one reason for supposing that the causative is more primitive. Centineo (1995) also noted that most speakers of Italian she consulted regarded the causative use as more typical, therefore more basic, for *rompere* ‘break’ and *sciogliere* ‘melt’.

There are also verbs that use a ‘be’ auxiliary but no reflexive clitic and where there is normally no causative counterpart (so these cannot be described as anti-causatives), of which *cadere* ‘fall’, *andare* ‘go’ (as well as *arrossire* ‘blush’) are examples.

If an event is perceived as internally caused (and in this system is describing a process as well as the result of that process), the verb is more likely to use the ‘have’ auxiliary. One such verb employed in the elicitation experiments with FS, is *maturare* ‘ripen’.

Both types of verbs taking a ‘be’ auxiliary, anti-causatives with *si* and non-causatives without *si*, are classified as non-active eventives. The internally driven process that takes ‘have’ is a special case, also placed with the non-active eventives using the tests below.

² Notable is how much a verb describes an event that is perceived to need an external cause, one that is internally caused, or one that ‘just happens’ on its own and any cause is not relevant. The much-cited example of this is in the lexicalization of ‘blush’ with Dutch *bloezen* that describes an internally driven process versus Italian *arrossire* ‘become red’ which ‘just happens’, and the verb would be a non-active eventive.

(However, the subject and decomposition would be different: the non-active eventive with a theme subject, the process with an inanimate effector.)

The tests below are somewhat crude and are also probably failing to diagnose potentially agentive, and therefore, under this system, activity, uses of some stative verbs, which has been suggested by various authors (e.g. McClure, 1994, Sorace, 2000). This seems possible with verbs such as *fidarsi* 'trust' and *credere in* 'believe in' (judging by the results of the experiments with FS and of ones using the pro-verb 'do'). The degree to which 'trust' and 'belief' are states that simply exist, versus activities requiring effort to achieve or sustain, probably varies according to the contexts in which the verbs are used and the cultural understanding of those situations.

These tests are best used in the simpler cases where there is a single, syntactically main and semantically lexical verb and it is a non-causative. Lexical causatives are diagnosed first by a separate test for causatives and then by applying other tests, cautiously, to detect the presence of various parts.

In this work, the idea of classifying the aspect of the parts of a complex predicate is also applied to the series of modals, aspectuals, 'succeed', 'try' and the causative and andative verbs which, following Cinque (2006a) are analyzed as functional verbs (and therefore auxiliaries). Rather than testing them in the complex test sentences in which they are used, they are instead allocated an aspect by substituting a DP (in some cases an event nominal) for the vP complement (e.g. I finished [_{vP} eating my sandwich]/[_{DP} The match] finished)). Any difficulties encountered are noted. Classification of the aspectual contribution of just the auxiliary, rather than of the entire complement is controversial and justifiable on empirical grounds (as will become apparent): that it is only the first verb of the sequence that determines FS use.³

³ For the modal auxiliaries, it would anyway make no difference whether just the modal or the entire predicate is used as addition of the modal 'swamps' any signal and renders the entire predicate stative. For the non-modals, for speakers with least grammaticalized FS use, FS is highly likely with an activity verb such as *mangiare* 'eat', but much less likely with *finire di mangiare* 'to finish eating'. This is despite the fact that both predicates would be decomposed under the VV/RRG system by including a **do** component. In fact the pure aspectual division of non-stative verbs into activity/active accomplishment versus achievement/non-active accomplishment has been rejected in favour one based on manner versus result. Therefore the same issue – classification of just the supported verb, or of the entire predicate – but instead by manner/result, becomes relevant for Section 6.2.

In each section, the tests are presented first, followed by a list of verbs representative of that category used in both the fourth and third experimental phases (P4, P3, respectively), then any just used in P4, or just used in P3. Verbs are listed by their Italian form and Camuno form from the Esine dialect (the Camuno version recognizable by the accent on final syllable) together with English translation, e.g. *lavorare/laurà* 'work'. (However, in the tables describing FS use by verb, only the Italian form is used for space reasons and because the Camuno forms are regionally variably.) For a full list of the questions actually used, the reader is referred to Appendix A2b (P3) and A2c (P4).

All test questions designed to test the use of FS by verb are in the present tense with habitual meaning (PresHab). In most cases the external aspect (habitual) does not seem to have affected the internal aspect of the verb (so the tests could actually be applied in the past tense, which is often easier). However, in a couple of cases, the habitual and/or generic use of the verb has brought out a different sense. External aspect and tense are discussed briefly in Chapter 7, Section 7.5.

Tests are taken from Van Valin, 2005, with additions as noted.

6.1.3 Activities (dynamic eventives)

6.1.3.1 Tests for activities versus non-dynamic eventives

To be considered dynamic, the verb must pass test (1).

(1) As dynamism typically describes movement, manner adverbs describing the kind of movement can be added (e.g. *violently, vigorously, actively, strongly, energetically*). Adverbs that imply the action is somehow controlled by the subject (e.g. *deliberately, carefully*) must be avoided or what is being tested is agentivity.

Most dynamic verbs will also pass (2).

(2) To indicate an ongoing activity (rather than habitual), the verb would be used preferentially in a progressive tense. (In English this test is considered diagnostic; in Romance it can only represent a preference, albeit in Italian and Camuno, a fairly strong one.)

Test (2) is a common test for an eventive rather than stative verb. However, as most non-dynamic eventives are punctual (achievements) rather than durational (VV's non-active

accomplishments), and use of a progressive tense is rarely compatible with a punctual event (except to describe its future start), it is also helpful.

In VV's classification, only an activity can have an agentive subject (although this is not required), so if a verb passes most or all of the following three tests for agentivity (originally from Lakoff, 1965), it must be dynamic.

(3) A subject-oriented adverb such as 'intentionally', or 'carefully' can be used.

(4) The verb can be embedded under 'force' or 'persuade'.

(5) The verb can form an imperative.

6.1.3.2 The 'activity' ('dynamic eventive') category

Activity verbs are typified by those that are syntactically unergative or transitive and with effector subjects. Furthermore, most describe movement. However, there are exceptions to all of those generalities.

Clearly there are transitive verbs that are not activities. Firstly, many stative verbs are transitive, e.g. *volere/vuli* 'want'. Secondly, many lexical causative verbs are transitive. These would first be diagnosed by using the causative test. However, they may also pass the manner-adverb test for activity, most commonly indicating an activity component the causing act. The clearest example of this is with lexical causative *rompere/rumpì* 'break' and use of adverb 'violently'. In contrast, the other lexical causative considered here, *dare/dà* 'give', a verb describing transfer of possession, does not readily accept any adverbs to describe the manner of 'giving'.

Attribution of the causative verb *fare/fà* 'make, let, cause' is discussed in Section 6.1.7 in lexical decomposition where it is concluded that, under the VV system, it must be an active accomplishment, and so group with the activities. If the main and lexical verb describing the creative act, *fare/fà* 'make' is used as a proxy, this would support that classification. There is, however, reason to suppose the Italo-romance causative verb has a different semantics than the main (active accomplishment) verb. Firstly, it is rarely used in a progressive tense. Secondly, uses of causative *fare* 'make, let' with effector-cause subject, such as those in the test sentences, do not seem to suggest a causing activity to which a manner adverb could be applied.

The transitive verb *trovare/troà* 'find' is difficult to classify. Although it refers to a concept that includes activity, an adverb of manner cannot be applied unless what is being described is 'search and therefore find'. In some uses 'finding' seems inherently non-volitional therefore non-agentive, yet the verb would pass tests for agentivity such as the complement of 'persuade' or 'force' and use of an imperative, so probably should be included here with the other activities.

Although most activity verbs have animate, and usually human, subjects, VV's category allows for inanimate subjects. It could be argued that this is by extension of the notion originating from human subjects to describe activities where the cause is a force of nature. Van Valin (2005) includes both 'spin' and 'shake', two verbs with inanimate subjects, as activities. He gives the example that 'shake', as applied to a dog or to a house in an earthquake as these events can be described by an adverb such as 'violently'.⁴ However, in test questions, *girare/girà* 'turn, spin' describes regular mechanical motion of the turning of clock hands and of a water wheel and are uses incompatible with the manner adverbs suggested. For this reason, this verb is classified as a non-active eventive (and process verb).

Other verbs describing motion but not considered activities, are where the motion is not self-generated, e.g. *cadere/gnì-do, crollà* 'fall'. This facet is reflected in its syntactic unaccusative status. The status of *andare/nà* 'go', another unaccusative verb, is less clear. Van Valin includes English *go* as an active accomplishment (VV, 2005: 66), presumably acknowledging that at least in English, it can be agentive. In the main P4 and P3 experiments, *andare/nà* 'go' was used as the andative auxiliary where it describes an intention to carry out an activity that is located in a different place (a sense that gave rise

⁴ Although inclusion of motion verbs with inanimate subjects is common practice in recent literature, it has not always been so. Notably Ross (1972) in his celebrated work, 'Act', on the subject of 'do', as exemplified in the pro-verb 'do' and as used in generative semantics, conflated dynamism, or activity (an aspectual notion) with agentivity (concerned with subject volition or intention). Ross' operator DO implies agentivity. This assumption is challenged by Dowty (1979) and his lexical decomposition system makes it clear that, unlike in Ross' system, his operator DO encodes activity but does not imply agency. Dowty (1979: 67), included as activities several with inanimate subjects. Among these 'vibrate' has a machine subject; intransitive 'roll' acts under gravity; and 'rumble' has a force-of-nature subject, as do meteorological verbs 'rain' and 'snow'. By doing this Dowty therefore clearly includes among activities verbs that have inanimate subjects and would fail the three tests for agentivity.

to its use as a future auxiliary in other languages, but not in Italo-Romance (Fleischmann, 1982; Heine, 1993).⁵ Although addition of a manner adverb seems inappropriate, it would pass the tests for an agentive subject, so under the VV/RRG system an activity classification is the only one possible.⁶

6.1.3.3 P4 and P3 activity verbs

Lexical verbs

lavorare/laurà 'work', *leggere/lidì* (intrans) 'read', *mangiare/mangià* 'eat', *lavare/laà-do* 'wash', *aggiustare/giühtà* 'fix, repair' (P3), *nuotare/nudà* 'swim' (P3)

trovare/troà 'find' (P4)

dare/dà 'give', *rompere/rumpì* 'break (trans) (both causative – see below),

Functional verb

andare a/nà a 'go' (P4)

fare/fà (animate subject) 'make, let, cause'

6.1.4 Non-active eventives

6.1.4.1 Tests for eventives versus states

If a verb fails the tests for dynamism above, it may still be eventive; alternatively, it may describe a state. To discriminate between these two possibilities the following tests should be applied. If a verb passes any one of the following, it must be eventive; if it fails all, it must be stative. Tests 2 & 3 are the positive equivalents of tests for stative verbs (see below) derived from Rothmayr, 2009.

(1) The sentence (in the past tense) would be an inappropriate response to the question 'what happened?'

⁵ The status of the andative auxiliary as a functional verb, therefore an auxiliary, is following Cinque, 2006a, and the fact that, in Italian, it may allow clitic climbing, demonstrate auxiliary shift, and form a 'long' passive.

⁶ The verb *andare/nà* 'go' was also tested as a main verb in some additional experiments both with a locative/goal complement 'go to the park' and as an intransitive verb 'my car goes [=runs] even in the cold'. Both senses produced highly comparable results and the most FS of all verbs.

(2) An adverb describing time or place where the event occurred can be used (a manner adverb being already ruled out if the verb failed the dynamism test above).

(3) The verb may be a complement to a verb of perception.

(4) Either of the phrases 'for an hour' (indicating an atelic event of fixed duration) or 'in an hour' (indicating the time to complete a telic event, or the start of a telic/atelic event) may be used.

6.1.4.2 The 'non-active eventive' category

The majority of the verbs in this category are the anti-causative versions of verbs with a causative alternation, as typified by *rompersi* 'break (intransitive)'. They take a 'be' auxiliary, have a reflexive *si/h* clitic and so are regarded as syntactically unaccusative with a theme subject (Perlmutter, 1978; Burzio, 1986; Sorace, 2000). In addition, there is one example of verb which takes a 'have' auxiliary and is seen as internally caused, *maturare/marudà* 'ripen'.

As discussed above, although this category is called 'non-dynamic', it includes some verbs that describe motion, although without internal cause and so have a theme subject, notably *cadere/gnì-do, crollà* 'fall'.

The use of *girare* 'turn, spin' to describe regular mechanical motion is included here as a non-active eventive. In the test questions it does not seem to be being used telicly as there is no point of reference to indicate whether a full 'turn' has been accomplished. According to VV's definitions it would therefore be a process verb, rather than a non-active accomplishment, a category grouped above with the non-active eventives. (This is because a process verb is not attributed the all-important **do'**, activity component, as will be explained in Section 6.1.7 under lexical decomposition.)

The three aspectual verbs, *finire di/finì de* 'finish'; *cominciare a/cumincià a* 'begin' and *smettere di/dehmitì de* 'stop' are classified as non-active eventives as they modify larger events and compositionally would be viewed as operators. When used with an event nominal DP, they all take a 'be' auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* (e.g. *è cominciata/finita/smessa la partita* 'the game started/finished/stopped'). *Riuscire a/rüà-ga a* 'succeed' in Camuno is lexicalized by the verb 'arrive' (+ there), a classic achievement verb, and using a 'be' auxiliary even with a vP complement and effector

subject. The verb *provare a/proà a* 'try' is problematic as it is commonly used in the progressive tense, a characteristic of activities, and takes 'have'. The best explanation for use of the progressive is that it appears to be being used iteratively and that many 'tries' precede 'success'. It is classified here as a non-active eventive only due to its close relationship to its counterpart 'succeed'. As regards *fare* 'make, cause', this is included in the section on decomposition, which discusses why, under the VV/RRG system, it must be interpreted as an activity verb.

Somewhat more controversially, included with the non-active eventives are the verbs of measure. In other classifications these are stative verbs but anomalous in having patient rather than experiencer subjects. In this work they are interpreted as basically activity verbs but being used without the external argument. This would mimic the 'middle voice' reading of an activity, e.g. *Questo libro si legge bene* 'This book reads well', although without the clitic (see discussion in Cinque, 1998). Some verbs of measure may also have the activity reading, e.g. *pesare* 'weigh' as 'I weighed x' as well as the 'middle voice' reading 'x weighed (quantity) y' (a contrast utilized in one of the minimal pair experiments). The primary justification for the classification of verbs of measure as eventive verbs is empirical. In all the P4 and P3 experiments, they patterned with non-active eventives and not with states.⁷ Additionally, with *durare* 'last' the event reading is justified on the grounds that speakers preferred to use it with the future rather than present tense, indicating that 'last' is relevant when applied to an event of limited duration, not an ongoing state.⁸

6.1.4.3 P4 and P3 non-active eventive verbs

Lexical verbs

cadere/gnì-do, nà-do, crödà 'fall' (P4)

⁷ As noted by Rothmayr (2009) and Maienborn (2005), other stative verbs, notably posture verbs 'stand', as well as 'sleep' and emitter verb 'gleam', may have event uses. One of the tests for the event use is the possibility of embedding under a verb of perception. The event use of a basically stative verb is an alternative interpretation of the verbs of measure but would be hard to portray in the VV/RRG lexical decomposition system.

⁸ In the case of *durare/dürà* 'last', all the test questions clearly used event nominals as subjects 'the film', 'the visit', 'winter', but as Higginbotham (2000: 55) points out, even when the syntactic subject is an entity, it may still refer to an event, or state of affairs.

rompersi/rumpìh 'break (intrans.)', *scadere/hcadì* 'expire' (P3), *congelare/zelà* 'freeze' (P3)

trovare/troà 'find' (P4)

pesare/pedà 'weigh' (P4), *costare/cohtà* 'cost' (P3), *durare/dürà* 'last' (P3)

Functional verbs

finire di/finì de 'finish'; *cominciare a/cumincià a* 'begin', *smettere di/dehmitì de di* 'stop';

provare a/proà a 'try'; *riuscire a/rüaga a* 'succeed', *fare/fà* (inanimate subject) 'cause'

6.1.5 Statives

6.1.5.1 Tests for stative verbs

Stative verbs fail all the tests above so must pass all of the following negative versions of the same tests:

- (1) Non-use with adverbs of manner, time, or place (except as framesetters or degree modifiers) (Rothmayr, 2009)
- (2) Non-use as the complement to a verb of perception (Rothmayr, 2009)
- (3) In present tense, use with the simple present in a non-habitual reading, and non-use with continuous tense
- (4) The sentence containing the verb in the present tense would be an inappropriate response to the question 'what's happening?'.

6.1.5.2 The stative verb category

All the verbs tested in the stative verb category describe (human) cognition or emotion and have experiencer subjects. There was no *a priori* evidence that any were being used agentively and referring to events under voluntary control.

Both modals evaluated are considered to be functional, stative verbs (and, in addition, they render the entire predicate stative). The verb *potere/pudi* 'can, could', is used in three different ways: for ability, to make a request, and to express possibility.

6.1.5.3 P4 and P3 stative verbs

Lexical verbs:

sapere/hai 'know', *pensare/penhà* 'think', *piacere/piadi* 'like, please', *credere in/cridìga* 'n
'believe in', *fidarsi/fidàh* 'trust', *mancare/mancà* 'miss, lack' (P3), *sembrare/hembrà*
'seem' (P3); *volere bene/(v)ulì bé* 'love' (P3), *volere/(v)ulì (+DP)* 'want X' (P3)

Functional verbs

volere/(v)ulì 'want', *potere/pudì* (1. ability; 2. request; 3. possibility) 'can, could'

6.1.6 Lexical causatives

6.1.6.1 Tests for lexical causatives

VV's test for a (transitive) lexical causative is as follows:

- It can be paraphrased as follows: 'subject' caused 'object' to 'verb', e.g. *I broke the vase = I caused the vase to break*. None of the arguments can be repeated in the paraphrase.

6.1.6.2 Lexical causatives as a general category

Two causatives, lexical *rompere/rumpì* 'break' and *dare/dà* 'give', are among the P4 and P3 verbs. While 'break' is obviously a causative, 'give' is generally classified as a causative verb describing change of possession. They are different in many ways, notably in that *rompere* 'break' has a non-causative counterpart (anti-causative) with reflexive clitic, but *dare* 'give' does not. Furthermore, in applying the manner-adverb test 'break' is compatible (violent 'breaking') but 'give' is not.

6.1.6.3 P4 and P3 lexical causatives

Lexical verbs

rompere/rumpì 'break', *dare/dà* 'give'

6.1.7 A lexical decomposition based on aspect

6.1.7.1 Relating subject and aspect

The VV/RRG system of classification of verbs based on their internal aspect is also reflected in a system of lexical decomposition. In this system, arguments are related to

the verb by having fixed positions within the decomposition, as described below for the simplified case where the predicate consists of one verb, without adverbial modifiers. Non-causative verbs are considered first.

A lexical verb consists of one or two predicate components, which are constants, each written in lower case, bold, with a prime: a stative component, **pred'**, that in most cases bears the name of the verb root, and for activity verbs an additional activity component, **do'**. Each component takes arguments, which are variables, x, y, z, written after the predicate component. An activity verb is therefore represented in this system as a verb where the stative component is the complement to the activity portion (although VV emphasizes that there is no necessary implication that the stative part could exist in isolation).

There are also various operators, which are descriptors or modifiers of the predicate, and, unlike the predicate components, do not (with one exception) take their own arguments. These are written in small caps. An operator is used for each of the non-active eventive classes, achievements (instantaneous) and accomplishments (durative). Thus the operator INGR (ingressive) describes the onset of an instantaneous change-of-state in an achievement verb. BECOME is used for a gradual change of state in an accomplishment but in fact could equally well be notated using an operator PROC for a (non-active) process component operating concurrently with INGR (Van Valin, 2018). However, that is usually only done in more detailed representations than are required here.

The breakdown is presented for the verb in its original language, but the components are in English so that verbs can be compared cross-linguistically. Representative non-causative verbs are represented generically below in (1) to (3):

1. **pred'** (x, (y)) – stative
2. **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x, (y))]) – activity
3. BECOME **pred'** (x) – non-active accomplishment

The representation for the telic use of an activity verb is as in (4) below. (However, the second part of (4) will be shown not to be relevant for this study.) VV notes that few English verbs are inherently telic (so presumably 'find' would be an exception).

4. **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x, y)] & BECOME result-state' (y) – active accomplishment

Relatively uncommon, but relevant here, are process verbs, both atelic (*girare* 'turn, spin' in the test questions) (5) and telic (*maturare* 'ripen') (6).

5. PROC **pred'** (y) – atelic process
6. PROC **pred'** (y) & INGR **pred'** (y) – telic process

An operator DO, used sparingly for English verbs (Van Valin & Wilkins, 1996), describes predicates that are marked for agentivity, or where the subject is acting volitionally and intentionally. It is the only operator to also have arguments (although the agent argument is also the subject of **do'**). In Camuno, as in English, agentivity with a human subject is normally assumed, but for most verbs can be cancelled by the addition of 'accidentally'.

Causative predicates, both analytic and lexical, have bi-partite representations, each part drawn from one of the simple aspectual classes (activity, active accomplishment, achievement, accomplishment, state) and connected via a CAUSE operator. In general terms the representation is (7).

7. [A] CAUSE [B]

In this, the causing part is considered an event not simply an argument, an interpretation that is also included in the other decomposition used here (RH&L: Section 6.2.4). It is justified by the general observation (e.g. Dowty, 1979) that certain adverbials (e.g. again, almost, nearly) may apparently take scope over either the entire event, or only over the embedded event. Under the VV/RRG system, if the verb has an effector (human) subject (see next section) then [A] must be either an activity or active accomplishment and so it must contain a component **do'**. Representation (8) would therefore be appropriate for a verb such as lexical causative 'break' with an activity causing a change of state. In this '∅' stands for 'something'.

8. [**do'** (x, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **result-state'** (y)] - activity causing change of state

If the decomposition of anti-causative *rompersi* 'break' suggested by Centineo (1995) is correct, it would also contains **do'** but null arguments (9).

9. [**do'** (∅, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **result-state'** (y)] – anti-causative

Using this system, representations can also be provided for the various different meanings of *fare/fà*. Example (10) is the active accomplishment use of the main verb that describes a creative act in English lexicalized by *make*. The causative auxiliary would presumably have the same semantics to allow for a causer-effector 'x' in addition to the result state 'y' in the representation.

10. lexical verb *fare/fà* 'make' and functional verb *fare/fà* 'make, let, cause'
 = [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **result-state'** (y)]

Representation (11) is of *fà* when it has the same meaning as English *do* used as a pro-verb, or the generalized activity verb that can substitute for verbs of which it is a hypernym. Using the results on use of FS to be presented in the next section, it will be suggested that the semantically rich and selective *fa* used in optional FS, has the same semantics as the pro-verb.

11. lexical verb (pro-verb) *fare/fà* 'do' and functional verb, in optional FS *fa*
 = **do'** (x, y)

6.1.7.2 Subject definition from the representation

In the VV/RRG system, the arguments are derived directly from the representation and they are assigned a thematic role on that basis. They depend only on the predicate components and are irrespective of the operators (with the exception of DO), as in (12) to (16) (from VV, 2005: 58). Thematic roles include not only the most generalized roles in common use: effector (which may, or may not be, an agent), theme/patient, experiencer, but also more specific roles based on the verb.⁹ From the generalized representations, argument 'x' takes an 'actor' macro-role and becomes the subject and 'y' the 'undergoer' macro-role and is an object or oblique.

12. 1st argument of DO is an agent
 13. 1st argument of **do'** (x, y) is an effector, but can also be a mover, emitter, performer, consumer, etc.
 14. 1st argument of **pred'** (x, y) can be an experiencer, but can also be a cognizer, wanter, emoter, etc.

⁹ It can be claimed that by using the verb names to describe the theta role leads to a circular argument, as it fails to adequately predict the identification of 'x' and 'y' using independent criteria.

15. 2nd argument of **pred'** (x, y) can be a theme, but can also be a stimulus, desire or what is possessed, consumed, etc.
16. Argument of a state **pred'** (x) can be a patient or entity.

A consequence of a dependence of the argument identification on the predicate component is that an exercise in classifying the P3/P4 verbs by subject effectively becomes one of attribution to an aspectual class. Significantly it relies on the presence or absence of a **do'** component in the decomposition.

Although the English word 'do' is used as the predicate component **do'** to indicate an activity component, there is no necessary relationship, as VV is at pains to point out (VV, 2005: 45). Despite that, the choice of this component is reminiscent of the use of 'do' in generative semantics in the 1960s, as in the seminal paper by Ross (1972). Based on the observation that the 'do' pro-verb in English could replace an activity verb but not a stative verb, 'do' was included as a fundamental component in the verb breakdown and the one that determined the subject. (It was later removed in the derivation by a rule of 'do-gobbling'.) While Ross' 'do' component was associated with both activity and agency, RRG has separated these two notions, indicating **do** for agency (although it is rarely necessary) and **do'** for activity. In looking at the subject of the VV/RRG predicate component **do'**, with its historical links to English 'do', and assessing whether it is only these subjects that are compatible with a semantically rich auxiliary verb *fa*, it appears that a very similar exercise is being undertaken, some 50 plus years later!

The degree to which it is possible to substitute the pro-verb 'do' plus pronoun, for various types of events or situations based on a variety of verbs used in the P4 experiments, will also be tested in Chapter 7, Section 7.2. (Note that this has not also been used as a test of verb aspectual class.)

6.1.8 do' activity component as factor determining FS

Figure 6.1 lists the names of verbs used in the P4 experiments, noting whether or not, given the above classification, they would contain the component **do'**. The columns on the right show the degree to which FS was used in the responses to the test questions (4 per verb) in a dataset of 4 informants from Esine in the Middle Valley. (The Esine dialect

is considered to be one where FS is least grammaticalized, as will be explained in Chapter 8: Generalization of Optional to Obligatory FS.).¹⁰

FIGURE 6.1: USE OF FS BY VERB IN P4 FOR 4 ESINE INFORMANTS AND RELATIONSHIP TO RRG **do'**

Verb	do'	%	FS	Tot
volere 'want'		0%	0	15
potere (abil) 'can, be able to'		0%	0	16
potere (req) 'could'		0%	0	16
potere (pos) 'could, might'		0%	0	16
sapere 'know'		0%	0	16
piacere a 'please, like'		6%	1	16
rompersi (intrans) 'break'	??	6%	1	16
pensare 'think'		13%	2	16
riuscire a 'succeed'		19%	3	16
fare - inan 'make, let, cause'		19%	3	16
fare - anim 'make, let, cause'	do'	38%	6	16
dare 'give'	do'	38%	6	16
provare a 'try'		44%	7	16
credere in 'believe in'		44%	7	16
fidarsi 'trust'		50%	8	16
pesare 'weigh'		44%	7	16
maturare 'ripen'		44%	7	16
cominciare a 'begin'		47%	7.5	16
finire di 'finish'		47%	7.5	16
smettere di 'stop'		53%	8.5	16
cadere 'fall'		56%	9	16
girare 'spin, turn'		56%	9	16
trovare 'find'	do'	56%	9	16
mangiare (trans) 'eat'	do'	63%	10	16
lavorare (intrans) 'work'	do'	66%	10.5	16
rompere (trans) 'break'	do'	69%	11	16
lavare (trans) 'wash'	do'	72%	11.5	16
leggere (used intrans) 'read'	do'	81%	13	16
andare a (+vP) 'go'	do'	94%	15	16

As the reader can immediately see, there is a strong correspondence between presence of *do'* and use of FS, although it is not perfect. Very high use of FS is associated with all of the activity verbs, which are all at the base of the figure. It could therefore be concluded that use of *fa* in FS is somehow determined by the presence of a component of *do'* in the supported verb semantics, and that *fa*, at least in its least grammaticalized state, has the meaning 'do'.

¹⁰ The full dataset is n=16; one answer is missing for *volere* 'want'. Note also that although there are only 2 different questions for *girare/girà* 'spin, turn', there are duplicate results for all 4 Esine informants.

Note that functional verbs such as the aspectuals pattern outside this core group, despite the fact that they have effector subjects and the rest of the predicate contains activity. This indicates that taking only the first verb of the sequence, or the immediately ‘supported’ verb, rather than the entire predicate, was appropriate as the primary determinant in use of FS.

Classification of the andative auxiliary *andare a* ‘go to/and’ as an active accomplishment, and so with **do**, seems justified in that it takes the most FS of all the verbs and is at the base of the figure. In addition to the activity verbs, causative *rompere* ‘break’, which must have an activity component in the first part of its semantics, also patterns very low and with high FS, and is intercalated in the activity verbs. Note in addition that within the activity verbs there is no relationship to verb syntax in terms of which are being used transitively or intransitively, so presumably whether the vP is telic or atelic confers no additional advantage.¹¹ The lack of relationship to the syntax, which is also the case with the stative and result verbs, is demonstrated more fully in Appendix 6c.

Lower use of FS with *maturare* ‘ripen’, and to a lesser extent (at least from this dataset), *girare* ‘spin, turn’, is interpreted to mean that their classification as non-active eventives is correct, and neither contains **do**.

Certain verbs, however, that should contain **do** under the above classification, pattern too high and use FS less than would be expected. Most notable are the lexical causative *dare* ‘give’ and causative functional verb *fare* ‘make, let, cause’ and, (more so in other datasets), *trovare* ‘find’. With *dare*, although a causing activity is taken to be part of a ‘giving’ event, this does not apparently confer a strong advantage to the verb in its terms of its selection of FS, unlike with the other lexical causative *rompere* ‘break’. Similarly, *fare* ‘make, let, cause’ is characterized by relatively low FS use among the Esine speakers. The verb *trovare* ‘find’, which under VV’s scheme would be an active accomplishment,

¹¹ It should be noted that these test questions are in the present tense with habitual meaning and it is unclear how habituality or iteration affects the telicity. A separate experiment carried out in the future tense describing a single event showed no difference in telic versus atelic uses of *mangiare/mangià* ‘eat’ and *andare/nà* ‘go’. The experiment is not however regarded as definitive as the future tense increased FS use with all verbs so there was little room for discrimination between telic and atelic uses. The preferred explanation is that FS use is already at a maximum with activity verbs and telicity appears to have no additional effect.

although it is located at the top of the activity verbs in this Esine dataset, in other datasets, it patterns higher and takes less FS than the other activities. These three verbs demonstrate that using presence of **do'** as a predictor, although it is clearly relevant, overestimates a verb's compatibility with FS.

Finally, the very low FS use with non-causative, *rompersi* 'break' suggests that, contrary to Centineo (1995), no causing component is present, at least for these speakers.

6.2 Manner and result encoded in supported verb

6.2.1 The manner-result complementarity

In their assessment of the internal semantics of a lexical verb, Rappaport Hovav and Levin (RH&L/L&RH) (e.g. RH&L, 1998, 2010, 2015, L&RH, 2005, 2014, and summary in Levin, 2009) make an important distinction that is not part of the VV/RRG system: a division of non-stative verbs into manner or result according to what is lexicalized in the verb root. Thus, what their system stresses is the organization of the components, rather than their presence/absence. This distinction is codified in a lexical decomposition system that is otherwise very similar to the VV/RRG system.

Associated with the manner-result division is the concept that result verbs describe scalar changes, or changes that can be measured according to one property and along one axis, while manner verbs describe ascalar changes. This distinction between scalar and ascalar change is a fundamental distinction. It can explain why most manner verbs have animate subjects (as animals/humans tend to act in a complex and somewhat unpredictable way), but most result verbs have inanimate subjects (and any change is mechanical and predictable). The exception to this is when the human is an unwitting participant, such as in 'faint' or 'die'.

The scale by which a result is measured may be a two-degree scale, such as with the verb *arrivare* 'arrive' (before arriving/after arriving). Alternatively, the scale may have a range of values but still measurable on one axis, as with *maturare* 'ripen' (in the case of a tomato: unripe, semi-ripe, ripe, over-ripe). Although manner verbs are also associated with change, this change is complex. The classic example is 'run', which describes change through legs going up and down, and presumably the increasing tiredness of the runner.

The manner/result division is, strictly speaking, superimposed on the Vendlerian tradition of internal aspect, although in practice, there is a strong overlap. All but one of the verbs classified using the aspectual tests above as non-active eventives (VV's achievements and non-active accomplishments), are also result verbs, the exception being *girare* 'spin, turn', which must be a manner verb. Among the activity verbs (VV's activities and active accomplishments), most, but not all, are manner verbs. Notable result-activities are *trovare* 'find', *dare* 'give' and *fare* 'make, let, cause'. These are key to discriminating between the two classification systems and showing with which there is a better correspondence.

One further notion of manner/result is important syntactically: the idea that the root of a verb can lexicalize either the manner of an event, or its result, but not both.¹² This principle is known as the so-called 'manner-result complementarity' (e.g. RH&L, 2010: 22). Although the manner by which the result comes about may be suggested by the verb and its use in context, a specific manner is not entailed. Syntactically, if manner is described, it must be present in a separate adverbial phrase, e.g. with result verb 'find': 'I found the book by hunting through every corner of the library'.

Vice versa, the result of a manner verb, although it may be implied, is not entailed. It would be measured by a scale that is external to the verb and in a syntactically separate result phrase, e.g. with manner verb 'run': 'He ran to the park' or 'She ran him into the ground'. Only a very few verbs (e.g. 'clean' and 'climb') are recognized as being polysemous with both a discrete manner and a result sense (L&RH, 2014)). (It will be contended here that *fare/fà* 'make, let, cause' and *andare/nà* 'go' are similarly polysemous and two entirely separate senses exist.)

6.2.2 Tests for manner and result verbs

The definitive test for a result verb is that it must express the theme of the lexicalized scalar change. In a transitive verb, the theme is the direct object (RH&L, 1998, L&RH, 2005). Thus, with a prototypical result verb such as the causative *rompere* 'break', as in

¹² However, in agglutinating languages (i.e. not Camuno, Italian or English) the additional component can be expressed in an affix.

'The customers usually break the glasses', the theme (object) cannot be deleted (*The customers usually break.). Similarly with anti-causative *rompersi* 'break', in 'The coffee machine usually breaks (down)', the theme (unaccusative subject), i.e. whatever thing 'breaks', must be overtly expressed. This contrasts with a manner verb, which may or may not be transitive, but in many instances could easily be used without the direct object, as in 'Giovanna reads without glasses.'

Another characteristic of a result verb is that its past participle may have an adjectival use and describe a state. Instead, the past participle as used in a passive construction is possible with both result and manner verbs and describes an event. In Italian (and presumably Camuno) and English the adjectival use can be distinguished from passive use by different verb/auxiliary used, e.g. *Le chiavi [sono perse]/[sono state perse]* ('the keys [are lost] (state)/[have been lost] (event)'); *La finestra [è rotta]/[è stata rotta]* (the window [is broken] (state)/[has been broken] (event)).

Additionally, in English only, the past participle of a result verb can be modified by 'very', as with other adjectives (a very [broken person]/[white wall]), while the past participle of manner verbs cannot have this use (a very *[read book]), but can be modified by 'much', which is not possible with result verbs (a much [read book]/*[broken person]).

RH&L divide result verbs into two groups: those associated with a change-of-state; and directed motion verbs. Most, but not all, change-of-state verbs show a causative alternation. Of these *rompere* 'break' and *scadere* 'expire' (P3 only) are typical. Also describing a change-of-state, is the (de-adjectival) *maturare* 'ripen'. This is less typical in that it is unergative (taking 'have' in the *passato prossimo*) and has no causative alternation, suggesting that the change it describes is internally, rather than externally, caused.

Use of the term 'change-of-state' invokes a clear image of a situation of 'before' and 'after' or 'without' and 'with', e.g. with *trovare* 'find', 'before/without finding' and 'after/with finding'. *Trovare* 'find', was tentatively classified above as an active accomplishment, therefore activity, (although it was not a good fit with any adverb of manner as this seemed to suggest 'looking for'). Under all the tests here, 'find' would be clearly a result verb. Unlike with *aggiustare* 'fix, repair' and *lavare* 'wash', the result sense of *trovare* 'find' is apparently maintained with the habitual use of the verb (e.g. 'Do

you always find your keys in your pocket?'). Likewise, the two lexical causatives *dare* 'give' and *rompere* 'break' (as well as anticausative *rompersi* 'break (itself)') when used habitually intuitively do not seem to become activities, but remain as events where the result is described.

The process verb, *girare* 'spin, turn', could be seen a verb of directed motion allowing for the constant change of direction. Yet as the test questions that make no mention of a point of reference, it seems better to classify it as a manner verb. As mentioned above, the other process verb, *maturare* 'ripen', would be a result verb.

Of the result verbs that are verbs of directed motion, relevant here are *cadere* 'fall' and *andare* 'go'. The verb *andare* 'go', was used in the main by-verb P4 experiments as the andative auxiliary, and in this sense was classified as an active accomplishment, therefore grouped with the activities. Under the manner/result division, it is result verb, so should be grouped with the achievements and non-active accomplishments. (Note that there is also a manner use for 'go' as 'work, function'.)

The concept that the verb often just describes two possible values of a state, 'before' and 'after', or 'with' or 'without' a certain attribute can be applied to the other auxiliaries when used with a DP complement (that takes the theme theta role). It would clearly diagnose each of the aspectuals *finire* 'finish', *cominciare* 'begin' and *smettere* 'stop' as result verbs. The concept is equally applicable to *riuscire* 'succeed', which in Camuno is lexicalized with the verb *rùà-ga* 'arrive there', a classic (achievement and) result verb (and due to their similarity is extended to *provare* 'try'). A similar case can be made for *fare* 'make, let, cause': 'The children made/caused a mess', 'The mother made dinner'. The result argument cannot be deleted and the sentence describes a situation with two possible values: with or without a mess/dinner.¹³ The difficulty encountered with classification by aspect alone – that this seemed to vary only according to the (first)

¹³ In extending this to the same verb used with a vP event complement, what has been 'sacrificed' is the stipulation that the complement takes a theta role. It connects the observation that auxiliaries seem to be either derived from stative verbs or from result verbs, but usually not manner verbs. In the transformation from main to auxiliary verb, the event nominal has become the argument of the root (a process described by Heine, 1993). In fact the only common auxiliary with a manner-verb root seems to be 'do', an observation that will be returned to in Chapter 10: Conclusions.

supported verb, not the entire predicate – is removed, as the entire event would receive the same ‘result’ classification, when the complement of *fa*.

In summary, the P4 and P3 verbs are classified in the following way by manner and result. The asterisc denotes those verbs that grouped differently than with the pure aspectual division.

Manner verbs: lexical

lavorare/laurà 'work', *leggere/lidì* (intrans) 'read', *mangiare/mangià* 'eat', *lavare/laà-do* 'wash', *aggiustare/giùhtà* 'fix, repair' (P3), *nuotare/nudà* 'swim' (P3)

**girare/girà* 'turn, spin' (P4)

Result verbs: lexical

cadere/gnì-do/nà-do/crödà 'fall' (P4), *rompersi/rumpìh* 'break (intrans.)', *maturare/marudà* 'ripen',

**rompere/rumpì* 'break', **dare/dà* 'give', **trovare/troà* 'find' (P4),

pesare/pedà 'weigh' (P4), *costare/cohtà* 'cost' (P3), *durare/dürà* 'last' (P3)

Result verbs: functional

finire di/finì de 'finish'; *cominciare a/cumincià a* 'begin', *smettere di/dehmitì de* 'stop'; *provare a/proà a* 'try'; *riuscire a/rüaga a* 'succeed', *fare/fà* (inanimate subject) 'make, cause'

**fare/fà* (animate subject) 'make, let, cause', **andare a/nà a* 'go' (P4).

6.2.3 A lexical decomposition based on manner and result

The RH&L decomposition system starts from the Vendler-Dowty aspectual classification (Levin, 2009) and incorporates the manner-result complementarity. Unlike in the VV/RRG system discussed above, in the RH&L system, the subject theta role is at least partially determined by factors other than the verb internal semantics.

The basic structure of each aspectual type starts from predicate components, which are notated in capitals: BECOME, CAUSE, STATE or RES(ult)-STATE, and ACT. (In RRG, only (RES)-STATE as **pred'** and ACT as **do'** are regarded as predicate components; BECOME and CAUSE are regarded exclusively as operators.) The root of the verb, which is the unique or idiosyncratic part that gives the verb its name, is written in angled brackets, capitals and italics. The root comes from one of a small number of categories: e.g. state,

result state, thing, stuff, location, manner. What is critical in the RH&L system is how the root is incorporated into the aspectual framework. A manner root is a modifier of ACT, and written as a subscript. A result root is an argument of BECOME. A stative root is an argument of STATE.

Inside each representation of a simple predicate is at least one 'structure participant', notated as 'x' and 'y' and reminiscent of RRG arguments. If a participant is present as a noun phrase in the syntax but plays no structural role (such as a direct object that does not representing a lexicalized result), it is included in the representation but underlined.

Generalized representations for each archetypal category, of state (17), manner-activity (18), and result-non-active eventive (19) are as follows. The less typical result-activity is listed below as (20).

17. [x <STATE>] – state

18. [x ACT _{<MANNER>}] – manner (and activity)

19. [BECOME [x <STATE>]] – result (and non-active eventive)

Following Dowty, (but differing from VV/RRG) RH&L assume a causative representation for an (active) accomplishment and result verb such as VV, *trovare/troà* 'find'.¹⁴ An activity component would be present in the verb, but, crucially, would be outside the verb's root.

20. [x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <RES-STATE>]] – result (and activity: VV's active accomplishment)

As with VV/RRG, a causative has a two-part representation combining two simple representations and, it is similarly assumed that the structure is event-CAUSE-event, not individual-CAUSE-event.¹⁵ In the analytic causative in (21) where causing part (A) and caused (B) parts are expressed by morphologically separate components, the

¹⁴ RH&L recognize only one joint category of accomplishments, as did Vendler, so in this discussion (active) accomplishment and (non-active) accomplishment are distinguished (in brackets) according to the VV definitions.

¹⁵ In the case of a container verb (not included in these experiments), the representation includes an argument of CAUSE: [x CAUSE [y BECOME AT <CONTAINER>]] (RH&L, 2010: 24). This is relevant because it shows these authors consider it possible that CAUSE could take an individual rather than event argument.

representation allows for more than one root so both manner and result can be expressed.

21. [A] CAUSE [B] – analytic causative

The VV/RRG and RH&L systems depart from each other in the restrictions placed on the lexical causative, at least in a language such as Camuno, where the causation is not an affix added to an otherwise non-causative verb. As with the (active) accomplishment above, lexical causatives such as *dare/dà* ‘give’ and *rompere/rumpì* ‘break’ are result verbs, so they have a result (state) as their verb root and, due to the manner-result complementarity, any manner component must be outside the root (22).

22. [x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <RES-STATE>]] – result (and lexical causative)

RH&L also take the causative representation as primary for *rompere* so the anticausative variant with reflexive clitic, *rompersi/rumpìh*, would presumably have a null participant (no ‘x’ before ACT) as in (23).

23. [ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <RES-STATE>]] – result (and anti-causative)

The different uses of *fare/fà* would be represented as in (24) and (25) and under the RH&L system.¹⁶

24. lexical verb *fare/fà* ‘make’ and functional verb *fare/fà* ‘make, let, cause’

= [x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <RES-STATE=*made*>]] – result verbs

25. lexical verb (pro-verb) *fare/fà* ‘do’ and support verb in optional FS *fa*

= [x ACT _{<MANNER=DOING>} y] – manner verbs

6.2.4 ACT<MANNER> component as factor determining FS

The focus of this section is the component ACT<MANNER>, the activity component in manner-activity verbs that has the verb root as its modifier. This component will be denoted as **ACT**. It will be distinguished from a component ACT, that is purportedly also part of the semantics of a result-activity verb, but not lexicalized in the root. The

¹⁶ If the requirement that the causative verb have an event subject is dropped on the grounds that, at least in the questions used in these experiments, an adverb of manner is, in no instances, appropriate, the ACT component could be omitted, leaving ‘x’ to be the argument of CAUSE (as shown by these authors for the representation for a container verb). It is harder to simply drop the **do** component from the VV/RRG causative representation as a causer-effector is only possible as a subject of **do**.

component ACT is a component of lexical causatives with animate subjects, and active accomplishments that are result verbs. The component BECOME, found in the non-active eventives, may be relevant to later stages of grammaticalization of FS and is discussed in Chapter 8: Generalization of Optional to Obligatory FS.

In Figure 6.2, which uses the same dataset with the 4 Esine informants as Figure 6.1 above, verbs are described by the presence of **ACT** and ACT in their semantics.

FIGURE 6.2: FS BY VERB IN P4 FOR 4 ESINE INFORMANTS AND RELATIONSHIP TO RH&L **ACT**

Verb	ACT/act	%	FS	Tot
volere 'want'		0%	0	15
potere (abil) 'can, be able to'		0%	0	16
potere (req) 'could'		0%	0	16
potere (pos) 'could, might'		0%	0	16
sapere 'know'		0%	0	16
piacere a 'please, like'		6%	1	16
rompersi (intrans) 'break'	??	6%	1	16
pensare 'think'		13%	2	16
riuscire a 'succeed'		19%	3	16
fare - inan 'make, let, cause'		19%	3	16
fare - anim 'make, let, cause'	act	38%	6	16
dare 'give'	act	38%	6	16
provare a 'try'		44%	7	16
credere in 'believe in'		44%	7	16
fidarsi 'trust'		50%	8	16
pesare 'weigh'		44%	7	16
maturare 'ripen'		44%	7	16
cominciare a 'begin'		47%	7.5	16
finire di 'finish'		47%	7.5	16
smettere di 'stop'		53%	8.5	16
cadere 'fall'		56%	9	16
girare 'spin, turn'	ACT	56%	9	16
trovare 'find'	act	56%	9	16
mangiare (trans) 'eat'	ACT	63%	10	16
lavorare (intrans) 'work'	ACT	66%	10.5	16
rompere (trans) 'break'	act	69%	11	16
lavare (trans) 'wash'	ACT	72%	11.5	16
leggere (used intrans) 'read'	ACT	81%	13	16
andare a (+vP) 'go'	ACT	94%	15	16

The figure shows the presence of the key component of activity as a modifier to the root of the verb (**ACT**) selects only those verbs that appear at the base of the figure and have the highest probability of use of FS. Verbs that semantically contain an activity component but outside the root (ACT) may, or may not be, associated with high use of FS. In Chapter 8, it will be contended that as FS use is extended outside its core group of

manner-activities, it is used first with verbs where manner is suggested by the context, not necessarily those where it is inherent in the verb. A verb such as causative *rompere* 'break' (but not anti-causative *rompersi* 'break') would therefore be among the first to which FS would generalize, but use with *dare* 'give' would not.

In the RH&L system, where the subject assignment is to some extent independent of the verb semantics, there can be an additional effect due to subject type, particularly whether animate or inanimate, an effector alone, causer-effector, or causer alone. This is discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.3.

6.3 Conclusions on factors affecting optional FS

This chapter has shown that, when optional, as in the most MV communities, the availability of FS varies according to the semantics of the (first) supported verb (and there is little effect according to the aspect of verb that is further embedded). The two ways in which the semantics of the supported verb were analyzed, aspect alone, or a manner/result/stative division seem to have produced very similar results.

In the VV/RRG system presence of the activity component designated as **do'** describes all verbs that use most FS, but is slightly over-inclusive as it necessarily includes all those with effector subjects.

In the RH&L system, the activity component when this forms the root of the verb, designated here as **ACT**, is the key determining component. The verb's idiosyncratic component describes the manner of the activity and modifies the root. The presence of **ACT** in a verb is slightly under-inclusive as a predictor of FS. The subject is an additional determining factor.

The following chapter applies the manner/result/stative division of verbs (which is equivalent to the presence or absence of the **ACT**, ACT and BECOME components) to different FS datasets to assess the degree of correspondence.

Chapter 7: Subject theta role, tense and person as optional FS determinants

This chapter follows on from Part 1 in Chapter 6 by utilizing the manner/result/stative division of verbs. **Section 7.1** summarizes the properties of the verbs used, introduces a colouring scheme and applies this to different datasets. **Section 7.2** notes that the verbs with high use of optional FS are also those that can be substituted by pro-verb 'do' in conjoined sentences, further suggesting that *fa* in optional FS has a 'do' semantics. **Section 7.3** presents a separate division of the test verbs according to their subject theta roles and suggests this is an alternative (although coarser) way to predict FS use, as all these verbs take effector subjects. The section then further refines qualities required in the subject (of both *fa* and the supported verb) by assessing, through experimental evidence based on minimal pairs, how much subject animacy and agency play a part.

The final two sections look at other factors that promote optional FS. **Section 7.4** considers the influence of tense showing FS is enhanced with the future tense. This effect is attributed to the greater subjectivity involved in answering a question about a future time compared to answering one about the present, and a function of the unusual pragmatics associated with the FS question. **Section 7.5** makes a quantitative assessment of the pragmatic factor of person (a 2nd versus 3rd person question) demonstrating slightly greater FS use, 2nd > 3rd, with a manner-activity verb, but 3rd >> 2nd with a stative verb. Both effects are attributed to the subjectivity of FS.

7.1 Degree to which FS use is explained by the manner, result, stative division

7.1.1 Summary of verb classifications and colour key

In the following figures, verbs used in P3 and P4 are categorized by their internal semantics using a consistent colouring scheme. This should enable the reader to perceive more easily the degree to which stativity, and the manner/result division of non-stative verbs, produces the pattern of FS use with different selections of verbs (and informants). Green indicates a stative verb, blue a result verb, and red a manner verb. A lighter shade of blue or green is used for functional verbs. There are no manner functional verbs.

Figure 7.1 reviews conclusions of Chapter 6 and the difference made by adopting a manner/result rather than activity/non-active eventive division of the non-stative verbs. Verbs that cut across the manner = activity and result = non-active eventive (nae) division, or are controversial, are bolded. These are of two types: result verbs with human, effector subjects, and so activities; and manner verbs with non-human subjects and therefore non-active eventive process verbs.

FIGURE 7.1: VERBS USED IN P4 AND P3 COLOURED ACCORDING TO MANNER, RESULT, STATIVE

Verb category	P4/P3 examples (Italian/Esine forms)	Lex / Func	Aspect	Man / Res
modal	volere/(v)ulì 'want', potere/pudì (1. ability; 2. request; 3. possibility) 'can, could'	functional	state	-
cognitive / emotional	sapere/hai 'know', pensare/penhà 'think', piacere/piadi 'like, please', credere in/cridiga in 'believe in', fidarsi/fidàh 'trust', mancare/mancàga 'miss, lack', volere bene/(v)ulì bé 'love', volere/(v)ulì (+DP) 'want X'	lexical	state	-
aspectuals	finire di/finì de 'finish'; cominciare a/cumincià a 'begin', smettere di/dehmiti de di 'stop'	functional	nae	result
conative / success	provare a/proà a 'try'; riuscire a/rüaga a 'succeed'	functional	nae	result
causative	fare/fà 'make, let, cause'	functional	anim subj: activity (?)	result
causative	fare/fà 'make, let, cause'	functional	inanim subj: nae	result
verbs of measure	pesare/pedà 'weigh', costare/cohtà 'cost', durare/dürà 'last'	lexical	nae	result
internal process with result state	maturare/marudà 'ripen'	lexical	nae	result
directed motion (unagentive)	cadere/gnì-do, nà-do, crödà 'fall'	lexical	nae	result
directed motion (agentive)	andare a/nà a 'go'	functional	activity*	result
activity (agentive?)	trovare/troà 'find'	lexical	activity	result
lexical causative	dare/dà 'give'	lexical	lexical causative	result
anti-causative	rompersi/rumpih 'break (itself)', scadere/hcadi 'expire', congelare/zelà 'freeze'	lexical	nae(?)	result
lexical causative	rompere/rumpì 'break'	lexical	lexical causative*	result
internal process without result state	girare/girà 'turn, spin'	lexical	nae (process)	manner
human activities	lavorare/laurà 'work', nuotare/nudà 'swim', leggere/lidì (intrans) 'read', mangiare/mangià 'eat', lavare/laà-do 'wash', aggiustare/giùhtà 'fix, repair'	lexical	activity*	manner

*=adverb of manner possible in the test question uses; nae = non active eventive

Representing the result-activities is *trovare* 'find', *andare* 'go', and two result lexical causatives *dare* 'give' and *rompere* 'break', of which at least the latter presumably has an activity component in its semantics. The one manner-process verb is *girare* 'turn, spin'.

7.1.2 Datasets available

The two separate phases of elicitation experiments, P3 and P4, differ in the informants who participated and dialects they represent, as well as in the verbs used and the number and variety of questions based upon them.

The P3 dataset covers both the Middle Valley (MV) and Upper Valley (UV), although in this chapter only the MV data is used. The dataset represents the results of interviews with two categories of informants: those who had already been interviewed in the P1/P2 phases; plus others being interviewed for the first time. With the latter group, a rapport had not necessarily developed, and, as use of FS depends also on the pragmatic circumstances (as described in Chapter 2: Methodology), some were reluctant to produce FS during the experimental conditions. Because of this, in the following results only the 7 informants who produced relatively high levels of FS, and one with lower FS (from Malegno), are included.

The 7 informants with high FS were re-interviewed during P4 together with one additional informant (from Esine) and are results shown in the next section. The P4 dataset covers only the MV including a more indepth coverage of the Bienno-Prestine area.

The focus of both P3 and P4 was on measuring FS use according to the verb semantics but there were also secondary focuses to both phases. P3 also investigated whether FS use with verbs that had human subjects varied due to the pragmatics, including whether the question was a 2nd person question (addressed directly to the interlocutor) or a 3rd person question (referring to a person other than the addressee). In fact this effect is quite small for non-stative verbs, but to minimize any contribution, the first P3 dataset presented below includes the results of both 2nd and 3rd person questions, where available.

The set of questions for each verb for P3 minimizes syntactic and lexical variation between the questions but maximizes the differences between the contexts (in a controlled way – see Chapter 2: Methodology). The questions in P4 instead allow lexical variation and some syntactic variation, with all contexts being either presuppositional or emotional. In addition, P4 included a rigorous investigation of the properties of functional verbs.

Despite differences in the datasets, the overall traits in FS use revealed in the sequences of verbs are remarkably similar.

In these figures the verbs are named by their Italian cognates because they are slightly variable between the different dialects. The right-hand columns indicate the percentage and number of responses for which the informant used FS rather than SCI in formulating the question, out of the total number of questions they were asked. If the informant changed

their mind and provided both responses, FS and SCI, this was counted as 0.5. With this dataset, no responses of QDec were provided where SCI could not be used instead.

7.1.3 P3 results

Figure 7.2 quantifies the relative use of FS with different lexical verbs from P3 using the dataset of 8 MV informants for whom FS use was optional. The informants are drawn from the following communities: Esine (3); Malegno (2), Cividate (1), Mezzarro (di Breno) (1), Biunno (1). The 8-informant dataset is shown together on the left, and a 3-Esine, 1-Malegno dataset on the right. In Chapter 8: Generalization of optional to obligatory FS, the characteristics of each of these informants will be defined for each of the P3 and P4 datasets by a metric. On the basis of this, they will be divided into groups according to the degree to which they have grammaticalized the FS construction. Informants from Esine, and one informant from Malegno, will be shown to represent the lowest stage of grammaticalization, and *fa* semantically closest to the verb 'do' from which, it is claimed, it is derived.

Because both 2nd person and 3rd person questions are included in this dataset, the number of questions, and so the relative accuracy of which the verb's position in the sequence can be established, varies by verb, but only those verbs represented by at least 2 questions are included.¹ One informant is represented by a dataset with a reduced number of questions, and, in addition there are a few results missing. For this reason, the 'Tot' column does not always add up to multiples of 8.

¹ No reliable measure is available by which to measure the error by verb. Instead the degree to which the manner/result/stative division accounts for the relative FS use should be assessed by the separation of the coloured categories. As, in this dataset, there is a complete separation, it seems reasonable to conclude this is not due to chance.

FIGURE 7.2: USE OF FS BY VERB IN P3 FOR 8 AND 4 MV INFORMANTS

P3: 8 MV informants

Verb	%	FS	Tot
sembrare 'seem'	0%	0	23
volere bene 'love'	0%	0	16
volere DP 'want X'	0%	0	14
sapere 'know'	3%	1	39
potere (abil) 'can'	4%	1.5	39
piacere a 'please, like'	8%	2.5	31
pensare 'think'*4	10%	3	29
mancare 'miss'*5	13%	3	24
credere in 'believe in'*3	25%	4	16
durare 'last'	35%	7	20
dare 'give'	35%	11	31
finire di 'finish'	37%	5.5	15
cominciare a 'begin'*1	43%	6	14
costare 'cost'	43%	10	23
fare - anim 'make, let'	46%	12	26
provare a 'try'	50%	11	22
maturare 'ripen'	56%	9	16
mangiare 'eat'	61%	19	31
leggere 'read'*2	68%	15	22
nuotare 'swim'	74%	23	31
lavorare 'work'	76%	23.5	31
aggiustare 'fix, repair'*2	77%	17	22
lavare 'wash'*2	78%	18	23

P3: 3 Esine, 1 Malegno informants

Verb	%	FS	Tot
sembrare 'seem'	0%	0	11
volere bene 'love'	0%	0	8
volere DP 'want X'	0%	0	7
piacere a 'please, like'	3%	0.5	15
fare - anim 'make, let'	5%	1	19
sapere 'know'	6%	1	18
pensare 'think'*4	8%	1	13
potere (abil) 'can'	8%	1.5	19
mancare 'miss'*5	8%	1	12
credere in 'believe in'*3	13%	1	8
durare 'last'	13%	1	8
dare 'give'	13%	2	15
finire di 'finish'	29%	2	7
cominciare a 'begin'*1	33%	2	6
maturare 'ripen'	38%	3	8
provare a 'try'	45%	5	11
mangiare 'eat'	53%	8	15
costare 'cost'	55%	6	11
leggere 'read'*2	55%	5.5	10
nuotare 'swim'	60%	9	15
lavare 'wash'*2	68%	7.5	11
aggiustare 'fix, repair'*2	80%	8	10
lavorare 'work'	80%	12	15

*1 cominciare a refers to an arbitrary beginning in P3 dataset, natural beginning in P4

*2 only 2nd ps forms available

*3 only 3rd ps forms available

*4 1/3 Qs with pensare is wh-Q

*5 1/3 Qs for mancare have dative argument

What is most apparent is the clear separation into the three groups, as indicated by the colours. At the top of the figure using least FS are the (green) stative verbs. In the middle of the figure are the (blue) result verbs. The (red) manner verbs are at the base and use most FS. As also noted above but most clearly visible here, the results support the validity of the approach that considers the semantics of the first verb in isolation, rather than that of the entire predicate. Thus, all result verbs pattern together regardless of whether they are functional (and there is a manner-activity verb in the vP complement) or lexical.

On the right, the subset of 4 informants thought to represent the least grammaticalized use of FS is very similar with the following exceptions. These informants have significantly lower use with *fare* 'make, let, cause' (1/19 responses), and to a lesser extent with aspectuals

finire, cominciare (2/7, 2/6), lexical causative *dare* 'give' (2/15) and verb of measure *durare* 'last' (1/8), although not *costare* 'cost' (6/11). The Esine informants therefore demonstrate a more primitive interpretation of FS and that it is used most with manner(-activity) verbs, and much less with both result and stative verbs.

7.1.4 P4 results

Figure 7.3 (overpage) quantifies the relative use of FS with different lexical verbs from P4 using a dataset of 8 MV informants for whom FS use was optional. The informants are drawn from the following communities: Esine (4); Malegno (1), Cividate (1), Mezzarro di Breno (1), Bienno (1). These are the same as produced the P3 dataset above with the substitution of an Esine informant for one from Malegno. On the left a subset of the results using just the 4 Esine informants is presented. (This is the same as used in Chapter 6, Figures 6.1 and 6.2.)

In the P4 experiments there are consistently four examples of the use of each verb for all verbs except *girare* 'spin, turn', for which there were only two. This accounts for a total of 32 (4 questions, 8 informants), except with two verbs that total 31 as one result is missing, and 16 for *girare*. In the Esine dataset the *girare* questions were used twice and duplicates counted, so all verbs (except *volere*) have 16 tokens.

Again, the verbs fall broadly into the same three groups: statives (green), result verbs (blue) and manner verbs (red), as shown with the P3 verbs. However, the inclusion in P4 of some result verbs that are activities, a manner verb with inanimate subject (process rather than activity), and some different statives, has disturbed the neat pattern. This dataset is also rigorously testing the relative behaviour of the different functional result verbs. In the larger dataset on the left, details of the pattern are more clearly demonstrated as there are more tokens, but this probably includes a small degree of generalization and grammaticalization in the use of FS.

Some separation of verbs within the blue block is apparent, notably within the functional result verbs (light blue). At the top are *riuscire* 'succeed' and, to a lesser extent, *provare* 'try' as well as *fare* 'make, let, cause' with inanimate subject.

FIGURE 7.3: USE OF FS BY VERB IN P4 FOR 8 AND 4 MV INFORMANTS

P4: 8 MV informants

Verb	%	FS	Tot
potere (req) 'could'	0%	0	32
volere 'want'	0%	0	32
sapere 'know'	0%	0	32
potere (pos) 'could'	3%	1	32
potere (abil) 'can'	6%	2	32
pensare 'think'	9%	3	32
piacere a 'please, like'	9%	3	32
riuscire a 'succeed'	22%	7	32
rompersi (intr) 'break'	31%	10	32
fare - inan 'make, cause'	35%	11	31
provare a 'try'	44%	14	32
pesare 'weigh'	50%	16	32
dare 'give'	56%	18	32
credere in 'believe in'	56%	18	32
cadere 'fall'	59%	19	32
girare 'turn, spin'	59%	9.5	16
maturare 'ripen'	66%	21	32
trovare 'find'	66%	21	32
finire di 'finish'	67%	21.5	32
fare - anim 'make, let'	68%	21	31
fidarsi 'trust'	69%	22	32
cominciare a 'begin'	70%	22.5	32
lavorare 'work'	72%	23	32
mangiare 'eat'	75%	24	32
smettere di 'stop'	77%	24.5	32
rompere (trans) 'break'	78%	25	32
lavare 'wash'	88%	28	32
leggere 'read'	88%	28	32
andare a 'go'	91%	29	32

P4: 4 Esine informants

Verb	%	FS	Tot
volere 'want'	0%	0	15
potere (abil) 'can'	0%	0	16
potere (req) 'could'	0%	0	16
potere (pos) 'could, can'	0%	0	16
sapere 'know'	0%	0	16
piacere a 'please, like'	6%	1	16
rompersi (intr) 'break'	6%	1	16
pensare 'think'	13%	2	16
riuscire a 'succeed'	19%	3	16
fare - inan 'make, cause'	19%	3	16
fare - anim 'make, let'	38%	6	16
dare 'give'	38%	6	16
provare a 'try'	44%	7	16
credere in 'believe in'	44%	7	16
pesare 'weigh'	44%	7	16
maturare 'ripen'	44%	7	16
cominciare a 'begin'	47%	7.5	16
finire di 'finish'	47%	7.5	16
fidarsi 'trust'	50%	8	16
smettere di 'stop'	53%	8.5	16
cadere 'fall'	56%	9	16
trovare 'find'	56%	9	16
girare 'spin, turn'	56%	9	16
mangiare 'eat'	63%	10	16
lavorare 'work'	66%	10.5	16
rompere (trans) 'break'	69%	11	16
lavare 'wash'	72%	11.5	16
leggere 'read'	81%	13	16
andare a 'go'	94%	15	16

The aspectuals *finire* 'finish', *cominciare* 'begin' and *smettere* 'stop' as well as causative *fare* with animate (human) subject pattern at the base of the result verb group. This pattern within the functional verbs will be addressed further in Chapter 8: Generalization of FS.

Under the hypothesis that verb semantics alone, particularly the presence of the **ACT** component in the root (red), the following verbs are exceptions and require additional explanation.

- *Girare* 'turn, spin', manner verb but with inanimate subject patterns lower than the other manner verbs, at least within the larger dataset, so subject animacy appears to be important.

- Even though the Esine dataset represents the least generalized use of FS, (blue) causative *rompere*, a result verb with animate subject, is very near the base, intercalated in the (red) manner-activity verbs. When using this verb speakers must be bringing the 'hidden' activity component to the fore.
- *Andare* 'go' is anomalous in that when used as an andative auxiliary and indicates directed motion, it must be classified as a (blue) result verb, yet it patterns highest of all verbs, even lower than the (red) manner-activities. Furthermore, despite the use of auxiliary 'be' in the *passato prossimo*, the subject seems to be agentive. Very high use of FS with *andare* could be due to the fact that it suggests the activity of motion, even if what is lexicalized by the verb is the result of that motion. It could also be due to agentivity of the subject. Both possibilities will be explored further.
- Supposedly stative (green), *fidarsi* 'trust', and to a lesser extent *credere in* 'believe in', pattern lower than the other statives and use FS more than expected. The effect with *fidarsi* is less apparent in the Esine dataset. As previously discussed, it is assumed that these verbs are being used to varying extents agentively (as activities). (*Fidarsi* was also found to be highly compatible with the pro-verb 'do' with one of these contexts, see Section 7.2.)

The Esine dataset on the right thought to represent a more primitive use of FS further points to the following effects of generalization.

- In the Esine dataset, (blue) *smettere* 'stop' patterns with the other aspectuals, as expected. In the more general dataset, it is intercalated with the (red) manner-activity verbs. It is suggested that use of *smettere* is strongly connected in the mind of the speaker with the activity that is abruptly 'stopped', and this is reflected in the use of the verb.
- As with the P3 results above, the Esine informants on the right show very low use with causative *fare* 'make, let, cause', both with animate and inanimate subject. The version with animate causer is close to *provare* 'try' in the Esine dataset but considerably lower and clustered with the aspectuals in the general dataset. There is

no such change in the position of *fare* 'cause' with an inanimate subject between datasets. This is noted and will be returned to in Chapter 8: Generalization of FS.

7.2 FS explained by compatibility between 'do' and supported or substituted verb

It is suggested that what is being tested in these experiments is the degree to which the semantics of *fa* is included within the semantics of the supported verb. Furthermore, it is contended that the interrogative support verb *fa*, when least grammaticalized, is equivalent semantically to 'do', as represented by the so-called pro-verb, or generic manner-activity verb.

Use of the pro-verb is demonstrated for Camuno, Italian, and English in (1) (first shown in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.4). It shows the possible substitution of 'do' + pronoun for (at least) manner-activity predicates, in a syntactic test known in English as the 'do-so/it' test. The 'do' component apparently picks out just the manner-activity component of the semantics and the pronoun represents the entire event.

1. a. **Mànge** hèmper **am póm** dopo dihnàt per netà-fo i décc e anche la mé hòcia **i la fà** anche lé.
b. **Mangio** sempre **una mela** dopo pranzo per pulire i denti e la mia amica **lo fa** anche lei.
c. I always **eat an apple** after lunch to clean my teeth and my friend **does it/so** too.

To demonstrate there is a correlation between verbs with high use of FS and those substitutable by the pro-verb, some of the same verbs as used in P4 were tested for their pro-verb compatibility in a brief experiment. This was carried out on 21 participants whose native language was English and 21 with native language of Italian. (For practical reasons it was not possible to do this in Camuno, so Italian is taken as a proxy.) This short experiment used only one question per verb with three manner verbs, four result verbs of which one was a verb of measure, and two stative verbs but with two versions of 'like' in the Italian test, making total of 9 (English) and 10 (Italian) sentences. Test sentences (which were necessarily declarative) were in the present-habitual tense and mimicked contexts used in the P4 test questions (which elicited interrogatives). Only a response of 'yes' or 'no' for the pro-verb sentence grammaticality was allowed. Questions are available in Appendix 7a.

Results for the percentage of the 21 participants in each of English and Italian, who judged the proverb as compatible with the predicate in the context used, are shown in Figure 7.4, alongside the dataset for FS use in P4 by the Esine participants.

FIGURE 7.4: ENGLISH AND ITALIAN VERB COMPATIBILITY WITH PRO-VERB 'DO', VERSUS USE OF SUPPORT VERB *FA* 'DO' IN ESINE

1. English pro-verb 'do' N=21		2. Italian pro-verb 'do' N=21		3. Camuno support <i>fa</i> (Esine) N=16	
Verb	%	Verb	%	Verb	%
like	0%	piacere/amare 'like/love'	0%	piadì 'like'	6%
weigh	0%	trovare 'find'	0%	rumpìh 'break' (intr.)	6%
find	0%	pesare 'weigh'	5%	pedà 'weigh'	44%
break (intr.)	14%	rompersi 'break (intr.)'	62%	marudà 'ripen'	44%
trust	24%	leggere 'read'	76%	fidàh 'trust'	50%
work	57%	maturare 'ripen'	90%	troà 'find'	56%
ripen	57%	lavorare 'work'	95%	laurà 'work'	66%
read	67%	fidarsi 'trust'	95%	laà 'wash'	72%
wash	95%	lavare 'wash'	100%	lidi 'read'	81%

Even this highly limited version of the test exemplifies the main characteristics (which are also generally recognized in the literature): verbs that are most likely to use 'do' are mostly manner-activities. However, it also demonstrates clearly that these are not the only verbs. It is also likely that a verb such as 'ripen', which, using the tests above is a result verb and process verb (therefore non-active eventive) unconnected to motion, can also be compatible with 'do' in both English and Italian. Thus, neither subject animacy (and therefore not agentivity) or activity, as interpreted as stochastic dynamism, are necessary requirements for substitution by 'do'.

Significantly, there is a difference between the uses of the pro-verb in seemingly equivalent sentences in English and Italian. Notably although, English *trust* is only marginally compatible with 'do', but with Italian *fidarsi* it is as compatible as the manner-activities, at least in this one sentence with a context referring to 'trusting politicians'. This tends to suggest that in some instances, the Italian concept of 'trust' may be more agentive than the English version, requiring effort to achieve.

Furthermore, English non-causative *break* was not generally compatible with 'do' but Italian *rompersi* was very compatible, at least with this mixture of speakers from all regions of Italy. The difference between the interpretation of *rompersi* in Esine with FS and of *rompersi* in

these mixed Italian speakers with *fare* 'do' may be due to different cultural perceptions of the concept (as suggested by Centineo, 1995).

The limited pro-verb experiment used one viable test sentence attempting to parallel a P4 FS test sentence. One reason for not performing a more elaborate experiment is that with some verbs it would have been possible to have purposefully biased the results. As noted by Ross (1972: Ex. 74b), 'do' is more likely if activity is suggested by the context, even if it is not lexically present in the verb, as shown with anti-causative 'break' (2). It is maintained that the same effect is at work in use of FS.

2. ?The **plank broke**, but it wouldn't have **done so/it** if you hadn't bounced on it.

7.3 Subject theta role

7.3.1 Subject as an additional determining factor

The strong semantic restrictions on use of FS demonstrated in the previous sections, particularly in the Esine dialect, are an indication that the *fa* used in optional FS has strong lexical content. This makes it more likely, although not definitive, that it should be considered a syntactically main verb rather than an auxiliary, and so the structure biclausal.² To this can be added the observation from Chapter 5: Meaning of FS, that FS has many semantic properties consistent with a biclausal structure, properties not observed when the finite verb is one of the auxiliaries such as causative *fare* or aspectual *finire*.

The most natural conclusion is then that, located in a separate clause, *fa* assigns the subject theta role and controls the subject of the lower clause. As a generic manner-activity verb, *fa* 'do' has a range of possible subjects that can encompass the subjects of all the more semantically specialized, lexical infinitival verbs. Therefore, asking which verbs can be supported with *fa* is equivalent to asking which subjects are appropriate subjects of *fa*.

² In Chapter 10: Conclusions, it will be contended that, even though an auxiliary verb may have lexical content, all of the better known auxiliaries in Romance or Germanic languages except 'do' are derived from result or stative verbs, not manner verbs. With a result verb, the event complement is the result (even if it does not carry a theme theta role). With a manner verb, the complement is a modifier and must be an adjunct. It is therefore argued that, a verb with a manner-activity semantics can only be a main verb, not an auxiliary.

More precisely, the issue is which subjects are appropriate, given the role they play in the event being described.

This question has already been answered with the first lexical decomposition system described in Chapter 6, the pure aspectual division of VV/RRG, as the type of subject is a natural consequence of its position in the lexical decomposition of the verb. As all the verbs that have the highest use of FS are activity verbs with a **do'** component, the elicitation experiments have measured directly the degree to which the subject of the supported verb is included within the set that describes the natural subject of *fa* 'do'. This situation is portrayed in (3), a sentence with two clauses (e.g. *Fet laurà* 'Do you work?'), where '>' indicates the control relationship. The subject, 'x' is both the subject of **do'** in the upper and lower clauses as well as the subject of **work'** in the lower clause.

3. $fa = \mathbf{do}'(x, y) > laur\grave{a} = \mathbf{do}'(x, [\mathbf{work}'(x)])$

In the division proposed by RH&L, also aspectually based but focused on the role that the root of the verb plays within the structure, the subject is, at least theoretically, independent. Again, assuming the subject of *fa* 'do' in the upper clause controls the subject of the lower clause, then what is being tested is the compatibility between (the more generic) 'x', the subject of 'do' and the (more specialized) natural subject of the complement verb 'x', as in (4).

4. $fa = [x \text{ ACT } <DOING >] > laur\grave{a} = [x \text{ ACT } <WORKING >]$

In fact, whichever representation system is used, the question that the experiments (both on FS use and pro-verb compatibility) are answering is: what is the range of possible subjects of *fa* 'do'?

7.3.2 Subject theta role definitions

The role that the subject plays in the event can be described independently with the following very limited selection of theta roles in relatively common usage: effector, causer,

causer-effector, theme, patient, and experiencer. The following definitions are applied ('participant roles' from VVLP)³ with examples drawn from the P4 test questions.

- **Effector:** the do-er of an action, which may or may not be wilful or purposeful. Agents, instruments, and forces are all subtypes of effectors. Effectors are also causers (but not all causers are effectors.)
 - **Agent:** a wilful, purposeful instigator of an action or event (necessarily animate and usually human), such as in Maria breaking the eggs with one hand.
 - **Instrument:** normally inanimate entities manipulated by an agent in the carrying out of an action, as in a rock breaking the window.⁴
 - **Force:** somewhat like instruments, but they cannot be manipulated, as in the water making the mill wheel turn.
- **Experiencer:** sentient beings that experience internal states, such as perceivers, cognizers and emoters, as in you thinking that Giovanni is never coming back.
- **Patient:** things that are in a state or condition, or undergo a change of state or condition, as in the fish costing a lot. For consistency, patients affected by the change are treated as a subcategory and so distinguished from a patient that is a stimulus for a dative experiencer. However, the stimulus of an accusative experiencer is treated as a type of causer - see below.
 - **Patient (affected):** things undergoing a change of state or condition and which are affected by it, as in the tomato ripening without the sun.
 - **Patient-stimulus:** the source of the sentiment in verbs which have a dative experiencer in Camuno/Italian, as in Teresa missing her children (*A Teresa mancano i figli.*). These are usually unaffected.
- **Theme:** things which are located or are undergoing a change of location (motion), as in you going to the market.

Effectors may or may not be agentive. Van Valin & Wilkins (1996) note that agency is mostly indicated by common knowledge, or the overt context (e.g. use of the adverbial 'on purpose'). In languages such as Camuno and English, where there is no morphological expression of agency on the verb, most human effectors are assumed to be agentive, although this assumption can be negated by contextual information (e.g. 'by accident').

³ VVLP make it clear these refer to 'properties of states of affairs of the world' and stresses that these roles should not be used to define the verb semantics, rather, vice versa, that the verb semantics should be used to define a set of thematic roles. In reality, however, the definitions of 'x' and 'y' in the decompositions reveal these generalized participant roles.

⁴ Based on the VVLP example, not a test question.

The VV/RRG system does not distinguish a separate causer role as it takes a cause to be a causing event or state rather than due to a participant. However, as this that has always been somewhat controversial (VVLP:107), where there is no lexicalization of a causing event, a separate causer role is added here. The following definition is used:

- **Causer:** an entity responsible for causing or allowing a resulting event or state. The following relevant subdivisions apply:
 - **Causer-human:** The causer is human and could potentially be agentive, as in the mother making the children eat their peas.
 - **Causer-stimulus:** The causer is either inanimate, or animate but a ‘passive’ participant, as in Marco (in the sense of his general appearance) frightening Lucia.

Of the two examples of causer-effectors with ‘break’ given above, one of these is acting agentively (i.e. intentionally and voluntarily): Maria breaking the eggs with one hand; the other non-agentively: the customers breaking the glasses when they are drunk. The causer-effector subject in these differs from the causer (but not necessarily effector) in, the mother making the children eat their peas, as in this it is much less clear what role the mother is playing, and she is not necessarily carrying out an activity (because her mere presence may be enough). The causer-stimulus role is required because these are not covered in the definitions of instrument and force (both treated as types of effectors). This role could also be taken by an event.

Reference will be made here to all four roles: effector, causer-effector, causer-human (but not necessarily effector), and causer-stimulus.

7.3.3 Most likely subjects of *fa* ‘do’

Figure 7.5 takes the lexical verbs (plus andative auxiliary *andare*) that used FS in more than 50% of the test questions in the P3, 4 Esine/1 Malegno, and P4, 4 Esine-speaker datasets. The column next to the verb name defines the theta role played by the subject (as used in the test questions) by applying the definitions above. These figures are representing the most likely subjects of *fa* when it most closely resembles ‘do’. The figures are reversed from the way they were shown previously, with the verbs most likely to use *fa* ‘do’ at the top.

According to the results of these experiments, the subject of primitive *fa* ‘do’ has by far the highest probability of being an effector, usually human, possibly agentive (although this will

be tested below). It is considerably less likely to be a theme or a patient. It very unlikely to be a causer that is not also an effector, or an experiencer.

FIGURE 7.5: SUBJECT TYPE IN LEXICAL VERBS THAT USED FS >50% IN P4 AND P3 4 ESINE/1 MALEGNO INFORMANT DATASETS

P4 (4 Esine informants)

Verb	Subject	FS%
andare a 'go'	effector	94%
leggere 'read'	effector	81%
lavare 'wash'	effector	72%
rompere (trans) 'break'	effector	69%
lavorare 'work'	effector	66%
mangiare 'eat'	effector	63%
girare 'spin, turn'	effector? (inanim)	56%
trovare 'find'	effector	56%
cadere 'fall'	theme	56%

P3 (3 Esine, 1 Malegno informants)

Verb	Subject	FS%
lavorare 'work'	effector	80%
aggiustare 'fix, repair'	effector	80%
lavare 'wash'	effector	68%
nuotare 'swim'	effector	60%
leggere 'read'	effector	55%
costare 'cost'	patient	55%
mangiare 'eat'	effector	53%

7.3.4 Most likely subjects of Italian *fare* and English *do*

In a similar way, the test sentences used in the pro-verb survey can be categorized by the subject theta role rather than the internal semantics of the verb. Figure 7.6 shows verbs (in their respective (single) test sentence) that were compatible with 'do' for more 50% of the participants (+ *trust* included for English for comparison).

FIGURE 7.6: SUBJECT TYPE IN VERBS ACCEPTING SUBSTITUTIONS BY PRO-VERB + PRONOUN IN ENGLISH (*DO IT*) AND ITALIAN (*LO FARE*)

English pro-verb 'do'

Verb	Subject	%
wash	effector	95%
read	effector	67%
ripen	theme	57%
work	effector	57%
trust	experiencer?	24%

N=21

Italian pro-verb 'do'

Verb	Subject	%
lavare 'wash'	effector	100%
fidarsi 'trust'	experiencer??	95%
lavorare 'work'	effector	95%
maturare 'ripen'	theme	90%
leggere 'read'	effector	76%
rompersi 'break (itself)'	theme	62%

N=21

In keeping with this general observation that an effector subject is most likely, in the test sentence, Italian *fidarsi* 'trust', but not generally English *trust*, is probably being used agentively with an effector rather than experiencer subject and so is questioned in Figure 7.6 (although *fidarsi* is kept as a (green) stative in the FS figures). In both languages *ripen/maturare*, was categorized as a process verb with result component, so in the

manner/result split is treated as a result verb. It most likely has an inanimate effector rather than theme subject.

As regards the non-causative *rompersi* 'break', although it is debateable whether this is an anticausative and there is an activity component within the verb semantics (although not in the root), there is no dispute that, syntactically, it has inanimate subject, yet for these Italian speakers, that subject could also be the subject of *fare* 'do'.⁵

7.3.5 Effects of external causation, subject animacy and agency

7.3.5.1 Minimal pair experiments

The P4 experiments included some minimal 'pairs' (most with more than one token) of sentences which differed in presence/absence of a causer subject, or contrasting an animate versus inanimate subject, or one explicitly agentive and the other non-agentive, as will be explained under each section below. Test questions are presented in (colloquial) Italian together with an English translation.⁶

Where the verb was included in the main questionnaire, there is some overlap between overall percentage use with that verb and results by informant for the minimal pair.

However, the minimal pair perspective enables the reader to assess how many informants made the contrast in a certain direction. Results by informant are also ordered from left to right in terms of the informant's perceived degree of grammaticalization of FS construction, although that is not defined until Chapter 8.

In each figure, 'p' refers to a positive contrast where, with two or more tokens for each variant, the first variant uses FS more than twice as much (percentage-wise) as the second variant, and 'p*' (* for weak contrast) when that contrast is less than twice. These cells are coloured yellow and brown-yellow respectively. Similarly 'n' and 'n*' reflect a negative contrast and are coloured orange and brown-orange, respectively. The number of contrasts

⁵ A possible explanation is that the verb is being used reflexively as 'break itself' personifying the subject and making it agentive in the *lo-fare* test.

⁶ The Italian version is the 'original' that was translated into a local dialect, and rephrased as a question request, for the recording. The question request (although not the context) was kept as close as possible to the Italian.

is summed on the left-hand side with strong contrast=1 and weak contrast=0.5. ‘f’ indicates all, or almost all (>75%) responses were FS, ‘s’ that they were SCI, ‘q’ that they were QDec and ‘e’ that the result was unclear.

7.3.5.2 Causative versus anti-causative

Contrast 1 compares the relative use by informant of the causative version of *rompere* ‘break’ (5)-(6) (3rd person questions only) with its anti-causative version *rompersi* ‘break (itself)’ (7)-(10). In each case the subject is underlined. There are two questions for the first member of this minimal pair, and four for the second.

1.1 rompere ‘break’ (external causation)

5. Giuseppe (3SG) rompe sempre il ghiaccio in quel modo lì (apposta)?
‘Does Giuseppe always break the ice [on the pond] [deliberately] like that?’
6. I clienti (3PL) rompono spesso i bicchieri (per sbaglio) quando si ubriacano?
‘Do the customers always break the glasses [by accident] when they get drunk?’

1.2 rompersi ‘break (itself)’ (internal causation)

7. Si rompono spesso queste macchine?
‘Do these (coffee) machines often break (down)?’
8. Di solito, quando si mettono le patate, si rompono, quei sacchetti?
‘When you put the potatoes in them, do those bags usually break?’
9. Si rompe sempre all'improvviso, la tua macchina?
‘Does your car always break (down) without warning?’
10. Si rompe solo quando c'è Marco, [la sedia]?
‘Does the chair only break with Marco [i.e. when Marco sits in it]?’

Results for the contrast *rompere-rompersi* are shown in Figure 7.7 (overpage), combined with those of the next section. They indicate that almost all informants who have a relatively ungrammaticalized FS construction make this contrast (yellow(er) cell with ‘p’), and none makes the reverse contrast (orang(er) cell with ‘n’), indicating greater FS use with the causative version of the verb with effector subject. With higher degrees of grammaticalization, speakers use FS with both members of the pair.

7.3.5.3 Effector versus patient subject

Contrast 2 looks at two 2nd person uses of the verb *pesare* ‘weigh’, one with an effector subject (11) and the other with a patient subject (12). In its more common version with patient subject, this was characterized as a result verb and used ‘in the middle voice’, or lacking the effector argument. The version with an effector subject is most likely also a result verb, thus the contrast is probably assessing just the contribution of the subject.

2.1 Effector subject

11. *Pesi [2SG] il pacchetto prima di andare in posta?*
 ‘Do you weigh the parcel before you go to the post office?’

2.2 Patient subject

12. *Pesi [2SG] più dell'ultima volta?*
 ‘Do you weigh more than you did last time [at the doctor’s]?’

Results for the *pesare* contrast are shown in Figure 7.7. Three of the four informants who made a contrast perceived the effector subject version as using FS but the theme subject version as not using it (yellow cell with ‘p’). One made the reverse contrast (orange cell with ‘n’).

FIGURE 7.7: EFFECTOR VERSUS THEME/PATIENT SUBJECT MINIMAL PAIR CONTRASTS

			Zone 1				Zone 2			Zone 3		
	Cn+	Cn-	112	120	36	58	78	104	97	50	123	55
1. rompere-3 vs rompersi	3.5	0	p*	p*	p*	p	p	f	f	e	f	q
2. pesare act vs non-act evt	3	1	n	p	f	f	p	f	f	f	f	p

7.3.5.4 Animate versus inanimate causer subject

Contrast 3 is of use of FS use with an animate (3rd person) causer subject (13)-(14) compared to its use with an inanimate causer subject (15)-(16).

3.1 fare (caus)-3rd ps animate

13. *Giuseppe fa andare la stufa solo quando nevicata?*

'Does Giuseppe only make the stove work when it snows?'

14. Ti fa spesso perdere il treno, il tuo capo?

'Does your boss often make you miss the train?'

3.2 fare (caus)-3rd ps inanimate

15. Fa girare il mulino, l'acqua?

'Is the water making the millwheel turn?'

16. Il vino ti fa sbagliare i conti?

'Does the wine make you get the accounts wrong?'

Results for Contrast 3 are part of Figure 7.8 (overpage). They show that there is considerably stronger use of FS with a human causer-effector compared with a force (the water) or stimulus causer (the [effect of] the wine) (yellower 'p*'). (In addition, shown in Appendix 6b of the two inanimate causers, overall the force (water) produced higher results than the stimulus (wine).)

7.3.5.5 Agentive versus non-agentive causer subject

Contrast 4 is of agentive, deliberate causation (17)-(18) versus accidental causation (19)-(20) in the lexical causative *rompere* 'break'. There are two questions for each pair (one 2nd and one 3rd person).

4.1 rompere 'break': deliberately

17. Rompi (2sg) sempre le uova con una mano sola (apposta)?

Do you always [deliberately] breaks eggs with only one hand?

18. Giuseppe (3sg) rompe sempre il ghiaccio in quel modo lì (apposta)?

Does Giuseppe always break the ice [on the pond] [deliberately] like that?

4.2 rompere 'break': accidentally

19. Rompi (2sg) spesso gli occhiali così (per sbaglio)?

Do you always break your glasses [accidently] like that [when you sit on them]?

20. I clienti (3sg) rompono spesso i bicchieri (per sbaglio) quando si ubriacano?

Do the customers always break the glasses [by accident] when the get drunk?

Results in Figure 7.8 below show that Contrast 4 is not convincingly present and use of FS when a causing activity is intentional is not much more likely compared to when it is accidental.

7.3.5.6 Human versus inanimate effector subject

Contrast 5 is for subject animacy in uses of support verb *andare* as result verb ‘go’ (21)-(22) with an animate subject, and as a main verb meaning ‘function, work’, which is a manner verb use and takes an inanimate subject (23)-(24).

5.1 andare-3rd ps animate

21. Va a caccia di anatre quando è il momento giusto, Edoardo?
Does Edoardo go duck hunting when it’s the (season) can [lit. when it's the right moment]?
22. Va spesso a correre la mattina presto, Matteo?
Does Matteo often go running in the early morning?

5.2 andare-3rd ps inanimate

23. Va la tua macchina col freddo?
Does your car work [go] in the cold?
24. Va ancora la macchina del caffè?
Does the coffee machine still work [go]?

Figure 7.8 below shows that Contrast 5 is not found. This is largely because most informants use FS at such high frequency with *andare* ‘go’ (in all uses, including as main verb with locative/goal complement) that there is no possibility for a contrast.

FIGURE 7.8: ANIMATE VERSUS INANIMATE AND AGENTIVE VERSUS NON-AGENTIVE MINIMAL PAIR CONTRASTS

	Con+	Con-	Zone 1				Zone 2			Zone 3		
			112	120	36	58	78	104	97	50	123	55
3. fare-caus anim vs inanim	2.5	0.5	p*	e	n*	p*	p*	p*	f	f	e	p*
4. rompere-int vs rompere-acc	1.5	1	p*	p*	n*	f	f	f	f	n*	f	p*
5. andare anim-3 vs inanim	0	0.5	f	f	e	f	f	n*	NA	f	f	q

7.3.5.7 Summary effects of external causation, subject animacy and agency

The following five statements reflect the conclusions for each of the contrasts. The significant component is highlighted.

1. **effector** subject > theme subject (causative/anti-causative)
2. **effector** subject > theme subject (result-activity/middle voice result)
3. **animate** effector subject > inanimate effector subject (causative)
4. agentive effector subject = non-agentive effector subject (*rompere* 'break')
5. animate effector subject = inanimate effector subject (*andare* 'go')

It is already known that the presence of activity in the root of the verb has the greatest controlling effect on use of FS. These results show that as a secondary effect, use of an animate, effector subject and either the presence of a component of activity outside the root of the verb, or perhaps even just the pragmatic suggestion of activity, also increases the chance of FS use. Agency is not, however, a critical factor.

7.4 Tense

7.4.1 Possible effects of habitual external aspect

This chapter concludes the discussion on factors that favour or disfavour the use of FS when it is optional, with a brief discussion on the contribution of external aspect and the verb tense. As the reader may recall, the P3 and P4 elicitation experiments that measured the relative use of FS by verb necessarily kept the tense constant and used the present tense. This meant that the non-stative verbs had to be examined in habitual contexts (PresHab); if the context described a single event (PresNow), there was a risk that the informant would prefer to use a progressive tense with a 'be' auxiliary, that did not use FS.

Of the possible disadvantages of using the PresHab in the FS-by-verb experiments, the most obvious one is that habituality could superimpose a different, external aspect, and the internal verb semantics would be no longer the relevant factor. It is, for instance, frequently suggested in the literature that habituality produces a state (e.g. Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012 (B&L) citing Boneh & Doron, 2010; Scheiner, 2003). That a generic sentence is rendered

stative is particularly likely with sentences that are ‘attitudinal’ (‘John smokes’) or ‘potential’ (‘John speaks French’) (B&L). Comrie (1985: 39) also hints at a possible ‘stativizing’ effect: “Sentences with habitual aspect may refer not to a sequence of situations recurring at intervals, but rather to a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times.”

However, not all authors agree that habituality turns an eventive predicate into a state. For B&L none of the various types of habituals are stative: this includes the more typical habituals with adverbs of frequency and the less typical, attitudinal and potentials. This research supports their conclusion, because if habituality had rendered all the eventive predicates into states, there would have been no manner/result/stative distinction in FS use.

As a further example of how even ‘attitudinals’, the habituals most likely to be stative, are compatible with FS for speakers for whom the construction is optional, is provided in (25). This question is a prototypical ‘attitudinal’ example (similar to B&L’s Example 12), and is entirely compatible with FS for informants for whom FS is largely not available for stative verbs. So, even though the property of ‘smoking’ characterizes the subject and suggests an individual-level state, the sentence is, (using FS as a test), definitely not stative.

25. a. Fé=t fümà i tohcàni? (Esine)
 does=SCL.2SG smoke.INFIN the cigars
- b. Fùme-t (i) tohcàni?
 smoke=SCL.2SG (the) cigars
- ‘Do you smoke cigars?’

Accepting that the external, habitual aspect may not entirely obliterate the verbal aspect, there are, however, some interference effects, as mentioned above. For instance, certain verbs that could have either a manner or result interpretation, when used habitually, appear, from the FS results, to activate the manner sense. An example of this is in *aggiustare/giùhtà* (Italian/Esine) ‘fix, repair’ which when used in the future with a definite object ‘Will he fix my car this afternoon?’ seems to refer to the result that a car would be ‘fixed’ (applying the test: ‘*He will fix.’). However, when used habitually (and generically) in ‘Do you fix cars?’ describes the manner-activity of car-fixing, and regards degree of use of FS, it patterned with the manner-activities.

With other result verbs no manner sense is created when used habitually even with indefinite object. The best example of this is with the result-activity *trovare* 'find', as in 'Do you always find a mess in Tonino's room?'. Had a manner sense been generated, the speaker would presumably have substituted *hercà/cercare* 'look for'. With the result verb *gnì-do/cadere* 'fall' in 'Do (the) leaves always fall in October where you live?', again, the result semantics apparently prevails, judging by the FS results.

Four different methods were used to establish habituality in the elicited question. These were: use of an adverb of frequency; reference to a regularly occurring period of time; specifying the repeating situation with a 'when X' clause; and leaving the habituality unspecified and indicating to a normal tendency. No significance difference was found in frequency of FS according to these various different methods. Results are included in Appendix 6e.

7.4.2 Tense contrasts: PresHab versus Future

As FS is available in all synthetic tenses: Present, Imperfect, Future, and Conditional, it is relevant to inquire if there is a difference in FS use depending on the tense used, and if so, which attributes of the tense are responsible. As the main focus of the experiments was to determine variation in FS according to the internal verb semantics, the effect of tense could only be tested in a limited manner. The most useful contrast was whether there was a difference in use between the PresHab and Future, or PreHab and PresFuture (present tense morphology for future time use), the Imperfect being considered too similar to the Present in terms of imperfectivity, and the Conditional too hard to test experimentally with the elicitation method used. These tenses differ in two significant ways: imperfectivity of the PresHab versus perfectivity of the Future/PresFut (at least in the single-event way used in these experiments); and in the time reference. The latter is likely the better explanation for the difference in FS use as will become apparent.

7.4.2.1 Characteristics of PresHab

The present tense, including both uses of PresHab and PresNow, is necessarily imperfective and describes an event 'from the inside' (Comrie, 1976). In fact, both uses refer to an event happening 'now' in the sense that the PresHab describes an event for which 'now' is part of the habitual nature of the event. Habituality conveys uncertainty. It differs from iteration,

which does not involve uncertainty, as the number of repetitions is specified: thus iterated, but not habitual, events may be also viewed as a whole, or 'from the outside', i.e. imperfectly (B&L).

In their survey of grammars, Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994) characterize habituality as "part of the meaning of" the imperfective. Carlson (2012:8) explains it like this: "The logical relation between an imperfective and the reference time is one of proper inclusion of the reference time within the time of the event imperfectly described. If we (intuitively) assume that the reference time (situation, etc.) provides a frame of reference regarding what we may "see", then an imperfectly described situation may only be "seen" in part – that portion that coincides with the reference time." In summary, most of the characteristics attributed to habituality, could equally well be said to be true of imperfectivity in general. Imperfectivity encodes the inherent uncertainty about the speaker's knowledge of any one particular event. In this it is similar to modality.

The following examples of test questions in the PresHab (26) to (28) (in Italian with English translation) illustrate the types of information sought by the questioner. Each of these constitutes one member of the pair for which the Future member is listed below. In the PresHab, the questions ask the addressee for a judgement of a situation based on the addressee's largely objective interpretation of the evidence available to them about the past, and, to a lesser extent, on their opinion of the likelihood that those same characteristics are maintained into the present.

(What a beautiful voice Mariangela has! You'd like to hear her. Ask her if she often sings in church.)

26. Canti spesso in chiesa?

'Do you often sing in church?'

(You're with Giuseppe, the forester. Ask him if he always finishes cutting the wood before it snows.)

27. Finisci sempre di tagliare la legna prima che arrivi la neve?

'Do you always finish cutting the wood before the snow comes?'

(Someone has given you some geraniums but you don't know how to take care of them. Ask your neighbour if geraniums die in the winter.)

28. Muoiono i gerani d'inverno?

'Do geraniums die in the winter?'

7.4.2.2 Characteristics of Future/PresFut

The concept of the future, a time period for which there can be no direct evidence, also involves an inherent uncertainty, or modality. A future tense may therefore incorporate uncertainty about an event, and/or the speaker's stance towards it, in what is known as an epistemic use. When the present tense is used to indicate future time (PresFut) with a future adverbial (e.g. 'tomorrow'), this normally indicates greater certainty than the Future the event will take place as planned.

In the history of Latin and Romance, there are numerous examples of modal expressions that gave rise to future forms, and vice versa, that once established as a future form, there may (still) be a modal use for that form (e.g. Fleischman, 1982, and references therein). Italo-romance is unusual among the Romance language group in that it does not in general have a future derived from the non-modal, locative verb 'go'. In languages with a 'go' future, the 'go'-future assumes more of the temporal function due to its basic aspectual quality while the synthetic future is even more likely to have an epistemic use (Fleischman, 1972; Bybee et al., 1994). In Italo-romance both functions, 'something will happen' (future time use) and 'something might/must happen' (epistemic use) must be supplied by the synthetic Future.

However, note that, even though a statement in the Future with an eventive verb and a (deictic) 1st or 2nd person subject may be epistemic (29), and indicate the speaker's opinion about whether the event takes place, the epistemic use cannot be a part of the question (30), as originally demonstrated by Bertinetto (1979) (my examples here).

(Mariangela sang for two masses at the weekend. Now is Monday. You comment:)

29. Avrà mal di gola!

'She must have a sore throat.'

(Epistemic use ok)

(Now is Sunday. You ask how she's likely to be on Monday:)

30. Avrà mal di gola?

'Will she have a sore throat?' / *'Must she have a sore throat?' (Future event use only)

The reason for this is because in asking a yes/no-question, the questioner is asking the addressee to evaluate the likelihood that the propositional material is true, so the question must include a clear statement by the questioner of the proposition requiring assessment.

This is the reason why adverbs such as *probabilmente* ‘probably’ cannot be used with sentential scope in a question.

It is also possible for the question to be based on a defined level of probability that the proposition is true, by using the appropriate modal, as in (31).

(On Monday you ask for verification about the situation with Mariangela:)

31. Può aver mal di gola?

‘Is it possible that she has a sore throat?’

(Q about a possibility)

Bearing in mind this restriction on absence of epistemic character in a question, questions in the Future then differ as to whether they are asking about the intention (if the subject is agentive and in control of the outcome of the event) or prediction (if the subject is non-agentive) of the addressee. This is illustrated with pairs to the test questions (32) to (34) that were presented above in the PresHab.

What a beautiful voice Mariangela has! You'd like to hear her. Ask her if she will sing tomorrow in church.

32. Canterai domani in chiesa?

‘Will you (i.e. do you intend to) sing tomorrow in church?’

You are with Giuseppe, the forester. Ask him if he'll finish cutting all that wood today.

33. Finirai di tagliare tutta la legna oggi?

‘Will you (i.e. do you intend to and do you think it is probable that you will) finish cutting all that wood today?’

The dog is on its last legs. How sad for the family. Ask the vet if it will die soon.

34. Morirà fra poco?

‘Will it (i.e. in your opinion, based on knowledge of these situations) die soon?’

Thus in the contrast Future versus PresHab shown below, the Future is measuring subjective intention/prediction, while the PresHab is asking largely for an objective judgement of the evidence of the past and a minor subjective opinion on whether the event continues into the present. Although it is possible to disagree on the evidence that an event took place (a ‘real’ situation), it is intuitively much easier to question the basis of an prediction (for an ‘unreal’ situation).

As discussed in Chapter 5: Meaning of FS, Section 5.5.2.7, one informant (36. Esine) described the function of FS with several questions as ‘subjective’ and that of the same question with subject clitic inversion (SCI) as ‘objective’. Due to this connection to ‘subjectivity’, FS might be expected to be more prevalent with the Future tense, and indeed, that is what is found.

7.4.2.3 Minimal pair contrasts

The following figures, Figures 7.9, 10 and 11. present the contrasts in FS use as assessed by series of minimal pairs from P4 (11 minimal pairs) and P3 (5 minimal pairs), respectively. For Figures 7.9 and 7.11, the coding used is the same as shown above in Section 7.3.5.1. Some contrasts were assessed more than once, hence use of double letters. ‘p’ is a positive contrast in the direction of Future > PresHab and is coloured yellow and ‘n’ is a negative contrast in direction PresHab > Future and coloured orange. Test questions are provided in Appendix 2d.

FIGURE 7.9: FUTURE/PRESFUT VERSUS PRESHAB FOR ACTIVITY & ACHIEVEMENT VERBS BY INFORMANT (P4)

			Zn 1				Zn 2			Zn 3
	Cn+	Cn-	112	120	36	58	78	104	57	50
<u>Agentive (Q based mainly on intention)</u>										
1. cantare	4	1.5	fn*	sf	fp	fn	fp	NA	pp	pp
2. parlare	3.5	1	fn	fp	fp*	ff	ff	NA	sp	pp
3: andare	1	1	fn	f	f	ff	f	f	s	pp
4: lavare i panni	2	1	ff	pf	fp	ff	f	NA	nf	ff
5: mangiare una minestra	1	1	sf	ff	fn	ff	f	NA	ss	pp
6: andare al mercato	1	0	ff	ff	ff	ff	ff	f	s	sp
7: rompere X (apposta)	1	0	f	NA	s	f	f	NA	s	p
<u>Non-agentive (Q based mainly on prediction)</u>										
8: finire di tagliare X	3	1	np	p	ps	np	f	n	s	pp
9: finire di raccogliere X	3	0	p	p	fp	ff	ff	NA	ns	ff
10: riuscire a cominciare X	2	0	s	s	ss	pf	ss	NA	ss	p
11: riuscire a camminare	4	1	ss	ss	ss	sp	p	n	sp	p

Both datasets demonstrate how any contrasts are overwhelmingly in the direction of greater FS use Future > PresHab. This is found both with activities, which are questions that concern the intention of the addressee (and subject is acting agentively), and achievements, which ask the addressee for a prediction, and either the subject either cannot be agentive,

as with *riuscire* 'succeed', or is faced with situations outside their control, as with *finire* 'finish'.

Figure 7.9 also brings out features:

- The contrast is not observable with verbs *andare* 'go' and largely not with *rompere* 'break' as these verbs have a particularly high use of FS in all tenses.
- With *riuscire* 'succeed', the contrast is only found with informants who have a more grammaticalized construction. With informants for whom it is less grammaticalized, both members of the pair are 's' – SCI. However, SCI is still possible with *riuscire* as used in the Future, so although Future generally increases use of FS, this is not to the point where the signal of manner > result is entirely neutralized.
- Not all informants perceive the contrast in the same direction. For example 112.Esine produced PresHab > Future for the questions on subject intention, and 104.Cividate for questions on subject prediction, yet 50.Bienno consistently saw Future > PresHab for all pairs.

Figure 7.10 provides a more 'standard' way to observe the contrast by totalling the number of tokens.

FIGURE 7.10: FUTURE/PRESFUT VERSUS PRES HAB FOR ACTIVITY & ACHIEVEMENT VERBS TOTALS (P4)

		Fut/PresHab	Future			PresHab		
activity - atelic			%	Tot	Toks	%	Tot	Toks
	cantare			14	12		14	7
	parlare			14	11.5		14	9
	andare* - aux			8	7		8	6
		1.4	85%	36	30.5	61%	36	22
activity - telic								
	lavare + DP			14	14		14	11
	mangiare + DP			14	10		14	8
	andare + loc*			13	11		13	11
		1.2	85%	41	35	73%	41	30
achievement (telic)								
	finire di (nat)			24	19		24	10
	riuscire a			24	6		24	3
		1.9	52%	48	25	27%	48	13

*=PresFut

Note in addition that the contrast is observable both with verbs used intransitively and describing atelic events, and transitive verbs describing (probably) telic events. Had greater use with the Future been due to the presence of telicity with the single event that was absent (or less clear) with the PresHab, the contrast should not have been observed with the intransitive verbs.

Again no useful assessment can be made of errors and statistical validity. However, it is clear that with, removal of *andare* for the reasons outlined, every verb measured demonstrates the same tendency of Future/PresFut > PresHab as regards of probability that a question is formed with FS.

Figure 7.11 below uses the P3 dataset with some verbs not available in the P4 contrasts, also divided according to potential agentivity and addressee’s intention, non-agentivity and addressee’s prediction. The P3 results show the same characteristics as those of P4. For informants and verbs that produced contrasts, these were overwhelmingly in the direction of FS use Future > PresHab.

FIGURE 7.11: FUTURE/PRESFUT VERSUS PRES HAB (P3)

			Zn 1			Zn 2			Zn 3
	Cn+	Cn-	112	36	58	78	104	57	50
<u>Qs based on intention</u>									
1. smettere di lavorare	2	0	s	NA	NA	p	s	p	f
2. provare a riparare	1.5	0	s	NA	NA	p*	s	e	p
<u>Qs based on prediction</u>									
3. finire di bere/tagliare X	4	0	NA	p	p	p*	s	p*	p
4. morire	0	0	s	f	f	NA	NA	NA	NA
5. scadere	2.5	2	n	p*	p	f	p	f	n

7.5 Person (2nd vs 3rd)

One pragmatic factor is analyzed quantitatively here: whether a question that uses a 2nd person form (so is asking directly for information about the addressee from the addressee) versus one that uses a 3rd person form (and is asking indirectly for information about a 3rd person who is not part of the conversation) enhances or reduces the likelihood that the question will use FS. As described in Chapter 2: Methodology, this was measured in P3 in a series of minimal ‘pairs’ with 3 (2nd ps) and 2 (3rd ps) members of each pair. Questions are

included in Appendix 2b. Results in Figure 7.12 below show that all but two of the 15 informants, when they made a contrast, perceived it in the same direction.⁷

The reader is encouraged to focus on the row 'contrasts/inf', for the **manner verbs and two result verbs** with effector subjects, *dare* 'give' and *fare* 'make, let', and note which cells are yellow (positive contrast, 2nd > 3rd), versus those that are orange (negative contrast, 3rd > 2nd). Of the 8 informants who made a contrast of more than 0.5 (deemed insignificant), 7 made a positive contrast, so considered that FS was more appropriate for use with a 2nd person question. This is likely a reflection of the association of FS with intimacy and use with valley 'insiders' noted in Chapter 2: Methodology.

Only one informant, 57.Mezzarro, regarded the 3rd person question as more appropriate. It is quite possible this represents her true preference. In support of this hypothesis is that others from the same community noted that FS would be inappropriate unless the person was very well known to the interlocutor.

Instead, results for the **stative verbs** (and for (assumed) result verb *provare* 'try'), show a preponderance of orange cells indicating 3rd > 2nd person. For the statives, row 'Ctrs/inf (states)' indicates that, of the 4 informants who made a contrast of more than 0.5, all contrasts were in the negative direction.

The favouring of the 3rd ps form with statives bears out what was observed at a qualitative level during P1, that FS was the disfavoured form with the 2nd person forms of *piacere* 'please, like' *potere* (ability) 'can, be able to', *sapere* 'know', and in addition, *volere* 'want', although it might be possible with the 3rd person forms. The best explanation for this, as noted in Chapter 5: Meaning of FS, is that FS, as a 'subjective' question may be inappropriate when a person is being asked a personal question about their inner thoughts or feelings, especially one commonly associated with a negative presupposition, as it could be interpreted as calling into question their ability to know themselves.⁸

⁷ Results have not therefore been greatly affected by any possible 'interview effect', as described in Chapter 2: Methodology, produced by having the 2nd and 3rd person questions in separate questionnaires, delivered on different days.

⁸ For example, if you want to buy a drink for someone: 'Do you like prosecco?' is probably more polite than 'Is it really true that you like prosecco?'

FIGURE 7.12: CONTRASTS IN FS USE FOR 2ND PS AND 3RD PS QUESTIONS, 11 MV, 2 UVW, 2 UV INFS (P3)

				Zone 1				Zone 2						Zone 3		Zone 5		
	Infs	Ctr+	Ctr-	36	58	112	102	100	104	78	99	57*	86	106	50	87	74	67
Manner verbs																		
1.lavorare 'work'	15	2.5	0	p*	f	p	p*	s	f	f	s	n*	x	p*	f	f	f	f
2.nuotare 'swim'	15	1	0.5	f	n*	f	s	p*	f	f	f	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
3.mangiare 'eat'	15	3	0	p*	x	x	p*	s	p*	f	x	n*	f	p	p*	f	f	f
Result-2 verbs																		
4.dare 'give'	15	1	0	s	x	x	s	s	p	f	f	n*	x	s	x	f	f	f
5. fare (caus) 'make'	15	3	0.5	s	s	s	s	s	p	p	p*	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
Contrasts/inf				1	0.5	1	1	0.5	2.5	1	0.5	2.5	0	1.5	1.5	0	0	0
Result-2 verbs																		
6.provare 'try'	10	0	2	x	n	x	-	-	s	n	-	f	-	-	x	f	f	f
7.riuscire 'succeed'	10	1	0.5	s	p	s	-	-	s	x	-	s	-	-	n	f	f	f
Stative verbs																		
8.piacere 'please, like'	15	0	4.5	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	n*	n*	n	n	s	n	f	f
9.potere (abil) 'can'	15	0	1	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	n*	f	f
10.sapere 'know'	15	0	2.5	s	n*	s	s	x	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	s	n*	n
Ctrs/inf (states)				0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.5	2	1	0	1.5	0.5	1

* Contrasts/verb summed without 57.Mezzarro.

Zone 1=Esine, Zone 2=Breno, Civate, Malegno, Breno-Campogrande, Mezzarro di Breno, Sellero (MV), Corteno Golgi (UVW); Zone 3=Bienna (MV), Megno di Lombro (UVW); Zone 5=Veza d'Oglio, Monno, (UV)

With manner-activity (and result-activity) verbs, the higher use of FS with 2nd person questions is noted and will be referred to again in Chapter 8: Generalization of optional to obligatory FS, to note how this trait is part of the pragmatic ‘push’ driving generalization.¹⁰

7.6 Conclusions on factors affecting optional FS

Chapter 7 has demonstrated that when FS is an optional phenomenon, the probability of FS is determined by the internal verb semantics in the order manner > result > stative. (In Chapter 8, it will be shown that this generally applies to all such communities and all speakers within them.) Within and between the categories, there is a secondary effect according to the nature of the subject: an animate effector subject is prototypical in the use of FS, but agency is not necessary.

There is no relationship with the syntax of the supported verb.

Questions about the future are more likely to use FS than those about the present. This is attributed to the relationship between FS and subjectivity as demonstrated in Chapter 5 and the fact that any discussion about the future is necessarily a subjective matter.

Pragmatically, the greater intimacy and subjectivity of a question in the 2nd person promotes use of FS with non-stative verbs but tends to reduce it with stative verbs.

The next chapter will provide more detail on the notion of the grammaticalization of FS and meaning of *fa* in the MV, and on the pattern of its extension outside the core category of manner-activities.

¹⁰ Higher use of FS with a 2nd person question may be one reason why manner-activity verbs with 2nd person subjects pattern slightly higher than result verbs that necessarily have 3rd person inanimate (theme) subjects. However, the same lower FS use applies to result verbs that have 2nd person subjects, so the effect of a 2nd ps subject cannot be entirely responsible. As it is an inherent part of the semantics of the verb that it refers to a non-human, making any numerical correction to artificially increase use with theme-subject verbs seems inappropriate.

Chapter 8: Generalization from optional to obligatory FS

This chapter shows how the requirements for use of FS according to the semantics of the complement are gradually relaxed as FS is extended outside its core group of verbs. This is viewed from the perspective of the diatopic pattern, or a comparison between different dialects in use today. It is suggested that this is also reflective of a diachronic pattern.

Section 8.1 begins by describing the basic geography of the valley, because the degree of geographic connection between places, or their isolation, has determined the proximity or differences between their dialects. Through this perspective, three geographic clines along the Oglio, Grigna and Ogliolo valleys are outlined. These coincide with the transitions from optional to obligatory FS and it is contended that these represent grammaticalization sequences. The reverse hypothesis, that they are degrammaticalization sequences, is entertained, and rejected. In **Section 8.2** the extension of FS through different zones is charted in each of the different clines. Overall, the generalization proceeds in the order manner > result > stative. There is an additional pattern within the stative verbs.

In **Section 8.3** the generalization manner > result is examined in detail considering the presence of individual semantic components. Extension from the core category of manner-activity verbs occurs first with certain result-activity verbs (most directly suggestive of activity), and then to all verbs where activity is suggested by the context although not lexicalized in the verb. **Section 8.4** focuses on generalizations within the functional/auxiliary verbs and notes the considerable degree of similarity in this pattern to that of the cartographic hierarchy. **Section 8.5** briefly demonstrates how use of the 2nd person form is a driver in the grammaticalization process. **Section 8.6** summarizes the key points observed in the grammaticalization.

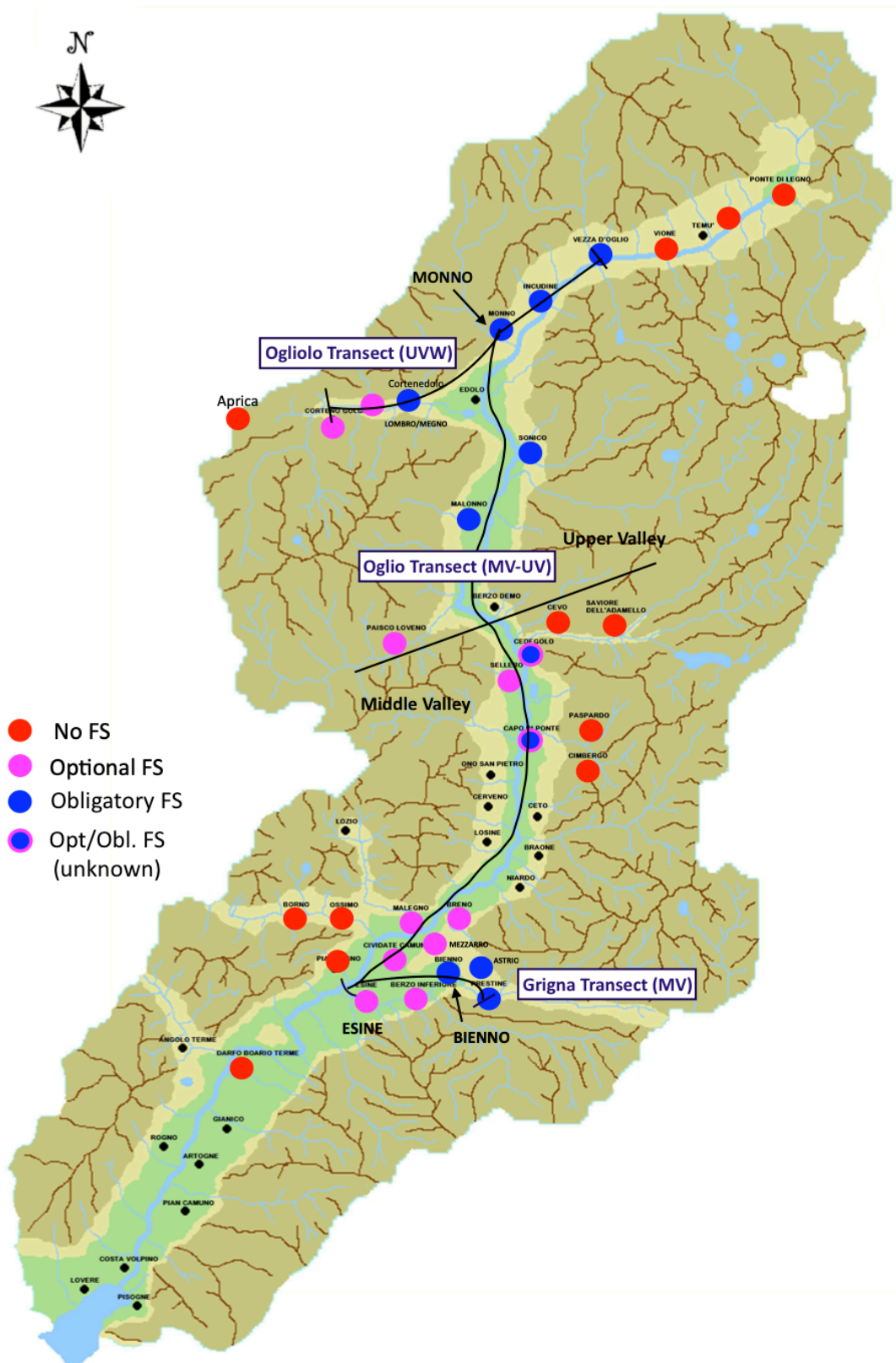
8.1 Diatopic variation as representative of a diachronic pattern

8.1.1 Geography and community connections

At the time of writing, *fa*-support (FS) is still present in significant portions of Val Camonica, in the area shown on Figure 1, Chapter 1. The datapoints used to draw that outline are shown on Figure 8.1 (overpage) and listed in Appendix 2a.

FS is restricted to the main valley of the River Oglio and two of its tributaries, the River Grigna in the southeast, and the River Ogliolo in the northwest. Within the main Oglio valley, FS is found in both, what is known locally as, the Upper Valley (UV), and also the Middle Valley (MV), the dividing line being drawn at approximately Berzo Demo where there is a sharp bend in the river. This division also largely coincides with phonological differences between the dialects: MV dialects characterized by an aspirated pronunciation of the /s/ as /h/, and the UV dialects which lack this.

FIGURE 8.1 MAP OF VAL CAMONICA SHOWING LOCATIONS WITH OBLIGATORY FS, OPTIONAL FS AND NO FS



Within the area of FS occurrence, the characteristics of FS vary, and it may be either an optional or obligatory trait of the dialect. There is also variation in whether it is pronounced with an [f] initial consonant or an aspirated [h], a topic reserved for Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant (as in the MV, both /s/, and the [f] in *fa*, are then pronounced as [h]). However, for the purposes of this chapter, *ha*-support is treated as part of the same FS phenomenon.

To recap: when FS is optional, it co-exists with the normal background method of making an interrogative by verb – subject clitic inversion (SCI). When optional, the probability of its use is determined by two important traits: a) the semantics of the verb that it supports (see Chapters 6 & 7: Factors determining optional FS); and b) the pragmatics of the context (Chapter 5: Meaning of FS).

Figure 8.1 above uses three colours of dots to distinguish communities in which FS is absent (red), optional (pink) and ‘obligatory’ (blue). There is a sharp boundary between ‘red’ areas where there is no use at all, and FS is regarded as belonging to “another dialect”, and the ‘pink’ or ‘blue’ areas, where FS is an integral part of the speech repertoire. Between the ‘pink’ optional areas and the ‘blue’ obligatory areas, there is also a discontinuity. Within the ‘pink’ areas, there is a range of continuous variation in the degree of optionality, although only within certain limits. Moreover, within the ‘blue’ areas, although FS use is essentially obligatory, certain verbs remain as exceptions.

The diatopic pattern portrayed in a crude way on Figure 8.1 is considered to represent a ‘frozen’ record of the stages of diachronic variation, although in an absence of relevant historical dialect records, this interpretation cannot be verified.¹ Optional FS is viewed as representative of the earlier stages in a grammaticalization process that, for some reason, stalled; and obligatory FS is the result of the process going to near completion. Section 8.1.3 addresses the alternative explanation: that optional FS represents degradation of an obligatory FS, and rejects that hypothesis.

¹ I have not successfully been able to locate historical records of Camuno dialects that contain interrogatives. These would be most likely in texts that contain dialogue, such as stories, or plays.

To understand the pattern of grammaticalization, it is necessary to take the physical geography of the valley into account, as that is key to understanding the degree of connectivity between the different communities of the valley and the dialect divergences or similarities. After all, although road and rail links have improved over the centuries, they are still largely in the same places.

Upper Val Camonica is a relatively isolated area compared to the Middle Valley. It is only the relatively recent road improvements (largely since the mid 1960s-70s) that have allowed residents more frequent travel to the larger local towns for shopping and work, as well as occasional travel outside the valley. Isolation of the UV in general, and to a lesser extent within each community, is undoubtedly responsible for maintaining FS within dialects spoken today. It was likely also a factor that facilitated its generalization from the pragmatically marked interrogative variant used predominantly with certain verbs, to one where it became the only strategy available to form a question.

The small community of Monno, from which FS was first described by Benincà & Poletto in 1998/2004, is located in the UV, just north of the small town of Edolo, which is at the junction of eastern branch of the Oglio valley and the western, Ogliolo valley. Monno is the archetypal isolated community, largely self-contained until relatively recently, where most daily contact and conversation is with other speakers of the Monno dialect.

Chances are that any introduced linguistic trait would either be soon amplified and extended, or expunged and forgotten. In the UV as far as and including Vezza d'Oglio to the west and Cortenedolo to the east, dialect is still widely spoken and FS is (essentially) obligatory. West of Vezza d'Oglio, FS is not present, and, judging by the age of the oldest informant (born 1934), has not been present within living memory. Still within the UV but south of Edolo, the town of Malonno and surrounding *frazioni* (satellite villages) have a dialect with obligatory FS and very similar to Monno (as also noted by B&P). FS is missing in almost all speakers in Edolo, a town dominated by through-traffic, but this is probably a relatively recent phenomenon, and it was found in one older speaker from the *frazione* of Mu on the hillside.

The eastern extent of FS in the Ogliolo valley is at the last small community in the west, Galleno, a *frazione* of Corteno Golgi. Significantly, there is an area of optional FS between Galleno/Corteno and Cortenedolo (5 km from Edolo), including at Santicolo on the other

side of the river. East of Galleno comes an area of largely uninhabited forested land and east of that, the town of Aprica, which has a dialect that similar to those of Val Tellina (Stefanini, 2008). The passage from Edolo-Aprica (leading subsequently to Val Tellina and Tirano), over Passo dell'Aprica (1176 m) involves a tortuous mountain road, but is, and always has been, an important connection between the UV and the Grigioni area of neighbouring Switzerland. It is one of a handful mountain passes that are routes of egress from the UV, and besides being the shortest, is the only one accessible in winter (Bundi, 1988). The others are the Passo di Mortirolo (1896 m high), north of Monno, the much higher Passo del Gavia (2621 m) at Vezza d'Oglio, and Passo del Tonale (1883 m) west of Ponte di Legno, that eventually leads down into Trento. The continuous through-flow of traffic (albeit in small volumes) along the Ogliolo valley to Aprica is almost certainly responsible for maintaining the optionality of FS in the Corteno area and preventing its complete grammaticalization.

Besides the Ogliolo valley, there is another significant connection to the west, the Val di Scalve. This intersects the main Oglio valley near Berzo Demo, at the junction of the UV and MV. At the start of the Val di Scalve, in Paisco-Loveno, FS is also optional, but its characteristics with different lexical verbs were not sampled in detail.

East of Berzo Demo and Cedegalo the mountain range is very high and a deeply incised valley, the Val di Savio, leads east. In the town of Savio, which is some distance down the valley, no FS was found in this study and, according to Manzini & Savoia (2005), FS is not present in Cevo either, which is at the bottom of the valley. The dialect difference is in keeping with the strong isolation of communities in Val Savio.

In the MV, in the northern part between Berzo Demo and Breno, FS was found in Sellero, where it was optional, but not in communities on the valley sides, such as Cimbergo. Absence of FS seems the only significant trait in which the Cimbergo dialect (also described in Liloni, 2009) differs from that of other places in the MV. It appears, then, that FS is a trait closely associated with riverside communities and was spread along this route. It either never reached, or was never generally adopted, in communities that were slightly more isolated.

Most intense sampling of FS has been in the dialects of the MV from Breno southwards. South of Breno is a more 'open' area of the valley, and relatively well connected to larger

towns, now conurbations, such as Darfo-Boario Terme, Costa Volpino and Iseo on Lake Iseo, as well as the major cities of around the edges of the Po Plain, Bergamo and Brescia. Besides the Oglio, a tributary, the Grigna, flows through this part of the MV and the terrain is one of gently rolling hills bordered by relatively steep forested mountains. In most communities in this core area of the MV, FS is an optional phenomenon. This is attributed to the fact that the area is, and always has been to some extent, in direct contact with SCI-only Lombard dialects to the south.

FS is found in Esine, but not further south. Esine also coincides with the historic northern limit of the navigable river. South of Esine, the higher degree of connection between local communities and larger towns has likely swamped any use of FS, as it would not be understood regionally. In the absence of any historic dialect records, it is not known whether it was once present and has only recently been removed from these areas. This is quite possible, because although dialect is widely spoken by younger people in communities such as Cividate and Malegno, FS is rarely used speakers younger than 55, and it is recognized as a characteristic of the older generation.

In the Oglio-Grigna area, there is a sharp dialect boundary west of Malegno, which has optional FS, and the hillside community of Ossimo, with no FS. The Ossimo and, higher on the hillside, Borno, dialects are recognized as Bergamasco dialects. Furthermore, (as described in Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant) they do not have the '*s-aspirata*', or /s/ to [h], of the MV but instead have a (non-selective) /f/ to /h/ phonological change.

The dialects spoken by most inhabitants of the small town of Bienno and those of smaller agricultural communities such as Astrio and Prestine are an exception to the general optionality of FS within the MV, as in these communities, FS is obligatory. Most of the smaller communities in the upper reaches of the Grigna valley are only accessible by winding roads and are relatively cut-off. Bienno, as a historic regional centre, notable for its iron smelting industry and artisan traditions, differs in that it is relatively easily reached.

Bienno is an extremely dense medieval city with clustered buildings no doubt responsible for fostering a strong internal sense of community. Within the population of Bienno two different social strata with different dialects are recognized: the agricultural workers ('*i contadini*'), and the iron furnace workers ('*i fabbri*'). Socially, the *contadini* and *fabbri*

were sufficiently well defined in Bienna society that the church had (and still has) two entrances with these titles over the doors. The populations also purportedly have different accents. This study also includes a speaker from a wealthy land-owning family representing what may be a third population (*'i proprietari'*). The three groups of Bienna speakers are assigned here different names: Bienna A (*'proprietari'*); Bienna B (*'fabbri'*); and Bienna C (*'contadini'*). The Bienna-A and Bienna-B speakers both have optional FS. B is distinguished from A by their greater use of QDec, the declarative form with question intonation.² The Bienna-C speakers have obligatory FS. Bienna therefore holds an important place in the history of FS as, within its populace, it preserves the stages of the final generalization of FS. The Bienna A/B speakers, who presumably have the greater need to communicate with non-valley 'outsiders', have within their dialect a non-FS register, and preserve a more 'pristine' FS register for particular pragmatic uses in conversations with their neighbours. Bienna-C speakers, whose communication is mostly limited to their immediate neighbours, have only the FS 'register' for making questions and with it an obligatory version of FS.

The origin of FS is unknown, although it probably first arose within Val Camonica. A possibility that can be largely ruled out is that it is trait borrowed from Swiss German dialects, which have a similar 'do'-support system using *tun*, also with semantic restrictions on use with stative verbs, to be described briefly in Chapter 10: Conclusions. Besides the fact that elements with little lexical content are rarely borrowed (Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller, 1988), there has been very little interaction with people speaking these German dialects. Contact with Switzerland, through Monno (over Passo di Mortirolo) as well as through Corteno Golgi (over Passo d'Aprica) has always been small in scale and limited to minor trade (such as import of Swiss cows to Monno). Moreover, most contact

² Use of QDec is in fact available to speakers in all communities where FS is optional, but for most other speakers SCI was always available as an equally viable alternative. That is not the case with the two Bienna-B speakers, who claimed that QDec was the norm and that SCI would not generally have been used. It is doubtful whether there is any syntactic relevance to the use of QDec by these informants. If the conclusion reached in Chapter 4: Clausal syntax by using various adverbs and the particle *po* is regionally true, then the position of the finite verb is in the C-domain in QDec and SCI and the two positions cannot be distinguished. It is also true that the Bienna-B speakers were slightly younger than the majority of the informants (59, 65 years, respectively), so this may account for their loss of SCI, which is known to be a general phenomenon within the Northern Italian Dialects (Poletto, 2000).

would have been with Italian-dialect and Rumantsch speakers (languages without FS), not German-dialect speakers.³

8.1.2 Three separate clines

8.1.2.1 Representing the clines

Figure 8.1 depicts the existence of two, quite separate, areas of obligatory FS, one covering most of the UV, and the other the Bienna area enclave in the MV. Any travel between Bienna and the UV must go through places such as Breno and Sellero, where FS shows strong optionality and stative verb restrictions. Furthermore, FS in the Bienna area (although not some of the surrounding hillside communities such as Astrio) uses the [h]-initial *ha* variety but in the UV it is the [f]-initial *fa* kind, one of many indications that there is considerable linguistic as well as geographic separation between these dialects.

Assuming (for now) that the surrounding areas result from incomplete grammaticalization, the existence of two distinct areas of obligatory FS indicates at least two different pathways of generalization of FS. Counting also the area of optional FS in the Ogliolo valley, which is not in contact with the optional FS of the MV, this makes three independent pathways available for study. Geographically, these form three clines, as indicated on Figure 8.1.

1. Middle Oglio to Grigna valley: Esine-central MV – Bienna – Prestine
2. Middle to Upper Oglio valley: Esine-central MV – Sellero – Monno/Verza
3. Ogliolo to Upper Oglio Valley: Galleno – Corteno – Lombro/Megno – Cortenedolo-Monno/Verza.

³ The evidence for this is as follows. Historical records note no major influxes of people from Switzerland (Isonni, 2018), even during the Protestant reformation of the early 1600s, and communities such as Monno do not have many recognizably Swiss German names. Furthermore, most exchange with Switzerland would have been with the closest area of Switzerland, the Grigioni/Graubunden, where a Romance dialect (without FS) similar to neighbouring parts of Lombardy is spoken. The closest German-dialect speakers today are in the Engadiner valley around St. Moritz, but this is a recent incursion and historically German dialects would have been as distant as Coira/Chur (Martina Schuler, pers. comm.). It is recognized however, that there has been small-scale trade with more distant areas of German-dialect speaking Switzerland, and through Switzerland to Bavaria in southern German, in Renaissance times when Val Camonica was at the northwesternmost edge of the Venetian empire (Bundi, 1988). Generally, over the centuries, there has been little contact with Austria through Trento/Alto Adige/Süd Tirol, partly due to the high nature of this mountain pass, and then to hostility between the Italian- and German-speaking populations.

The pattern of FS generalization can be charted according to the type of supported verb using the results of the P3 and P4 elicitation experiments. As described in Chapters 6 & 7: Factors determining optional FS, these pointed to an overall probability that FS is used with a certain verb as dependent on the verb semantics in the order: manner > result > stative.

As this research has covered such a wide area, although many communities are represented by results from several individuals (varying in age, gender, and precise location and family status within the community), some are represented by only one person. Because of this, in order to have sufficient results, tokens have to be grouped. There are two ways to do this, both of which are necessary. Firstly, verbs can be grouped together within each category of manner, result and stative, and the ratio of manner/(result+stative) and (manner+result)/stative calculated.^{4,5} This provides a metric that allows the traits of individual speakers to be compared. Using this, informants with a similar metric, and so, inferred to be at a similar stage in the grammaticalization, can be grouped into zones. By using this grouping, full results by verb can be compared between the zones.

8.1.2.2 MV-UV: P3 results

The third phase of data collection (P3) covered the Middle and Upper Oglio valley (MV, UV), and the Ogliolo valley, or Upper Valley West (UVW). These areas form two distinct geographic and grammaticalization clines, one up the Oglio valley from south to north,

⁴ For a couple of reasons, these ratios provide a better test of the degree of optionality of FS than the absolute percentage FS. Firstly, a small effect on the degree of use of FS was found according to the frequency within any given questionnaire of the verbs most likely to produce it (manner verbs), i.e. FS use is more likely to be used on a subsequent occasion, if it has already just been used.

Secondly, the absolute use of FS depends strongly on the relationship with the interviewer. In Zones 1 and 2, some 'new' informants who had not previously been interviewed rarely produced FS under the experimental conditions, although they said that they often used it in conversation. Because of this, the absolute use varies according to which informants are sampled, but the ratio of verbs with which they use it varies considerably less. Use of the ratios is only appropriate to compare results for informants in the same phase of the experiment (P3 or P4), not between phases, as there is some variation according to the verbs and questions used (as well as the questionnaire).

⁵ For methodological reasons, in calculating the metric (but not FS-by-verb) an equivocal response of FS or SCI was treated as FS.

(MV to UV), and the other down the Ogliolo valley into the Upper Oglio valley from west to east (UVW to UV).

The clines are demonstrated through a series of zones. These zones are established through an analysis of the characteristics of the informants on the basis of the two ratios described above: use of FS with manner verbs compared with non-manner verbs ($m/(r+s)$) and use with non-stative verbs compared to statives ($(m+r)/s$).

The following verbs (represented by their Italian/Esine and 'English' names) were used in calculation of the P3 metrics. The dataset used here has 3 tokens per verb for each informant. All verbs with human subjects use 2nd person questions. Questions are available in Appendix 2b.

Manner verbs (6)

lavorare/laurà 'work', *leggere/lidì* (used intransitively) 'read', *nuotare/nudà* 'swim', *mangiare/mangià* 'eat', *lavare/laà-do* 'wash', *aggiustare/giùhtà* 'fix, repair'

Result verbs (5)

dare/dà 'give', *maturare/marudà* 'ripen', *costare/cohtà* 'cost', *durare/dürà* 'last', *fare/fà* (animate subject) 'make, let, cause'

Stative verbs (5)

sapere/hai 'know', *pensare/penhà* 'think', *piacere/piadi* 'like, please', *sembrare/hembrà* 'seem', *potere/pudi* (ability) 'can, be able to'

Figure 8.2 groups the informants according to the aforementioned metrics into 4 zones on the basis of the P3 metrics (designated as Zones 1-3 and 5, to enable a comparison with zones defined using the P4 results to be described in the next section) and lists the characteristics of each informant by the number sequentially assigned to them, their community/dialect, and then percentage use of FS, FS tokens and total number of tokens, in total and for each of the 'm', 'r' and 's' categories.⁶

⁶ Results from informants with particularly low production of FS (< 33%) are excluded as one ill-considered reply would make too great a percentage difference to the results.

FIGURE 8.2: FS USE ACCORDING TO MANNER/RESULT/STATIVE VERB BY INFORMANT AND ZONE FOR P3

		<u>MV</u>														
Zn	Inf	Dialect	sum%	FS	tot	m%	m	mtot	r%	r	rtot	s%	s	stot	m/r+s	m+r/s
1	36	Esine	36%	16	45	67%	12	18	25%	3	12	7%	1	15	4.5	7.5
1	58	Esine	40%	18	45	78%	14	18	33%	4	12	0%	0	15	5.3	∞
1	112	Esine	37%	10	27	70%	7	10	29%	2	7	10%	1	10	4.0	5.3
		Zn 1 av	38%	44	117	72%	33	46	29%	9	31	5%	2	40	4.6	10.9
2	78	Malegno	64%	29	45	100%	18	18	83%	10	12	7%	1	15	2.5	14.0
2	91	Malegno	38%	17	45	56%	10	18	33%	4	12	20%	3	15	2.1	2.3
2	104	Civate	62%	28	45	94%	17	18	92%	11	12	0%	0	15	2.3	∞
2	103	Civate	56%	25	45	94%	17	18	50%	6	12	13%	2	15	3.2	5.8
2	97	Mezzarzo	62%	28	45	89%	16	18	75%	9	12	20%	3	15	2.0	4.2
2	86	Sellero	53%	24	45	89%	16	18	67%	8	12	0%	0	15	3.0	∞
		Zn 2 av	56%	127	225	87%	94	108	67%	48	72	10%	9	90	2.5	7.9

		<u>UV</u>														
Zn	Inf	Dialect	sum%	FS	tot	m%	m	mtot	r%	r	rtot	s%	s	stot	m/r+s	m+r/s
5	67	Monno	92%	35	38	100%	15	15	100%	8	8	80%	12	15	1.2	1.3
5	74	Veza	92%	36	39	100%	14	14	100%	10	10	80%	12	15	1.1	1.3
		Zn 5 av	92%	71	77	100%	29	29	100%	18	18	80%	24	30	1.1	1.3

		<u>UVW</u>														
Zn	Inf	Dialect	sum%	FS	tot	m%	m	mtot	r%	r	rtot	s%	s	stot	m/r+s	m+r/s
2	107	Galleno	59%	24	41	88%	14	16	58%	7	12	23%	3	13	2.2	3.3
2	106	Corteno	56%	25	45	89%	16	18	75%	9	12	0%	0	15	2.7	∞
		Zn 2 av	57%	49	86	88%	30	34	67%	16	24	11%	3	28	2.4	7.4
3	76	Lombro	80%	36	45	100%	18	18	92%	11	12	47%	7	15	1.5	2.1
3	87	Megno	61%	27	44	89%	16	18	100%	11	11	0%	0	15	2.1	∞
		Zn 3 av	71%	63	89	94%	34	36	96%	22	23	23%	7	30	1.7	4.1

On the basis of these ratios, the following zones are established in the MV:

Zone 1 (Esine): FS use largely restricted to manner verbs (m/r+s ratio in P3 of 4.6) as well as almost no use with most statives (2 tokens overall with these verbs).

Zone 2 (Civate/Malegno/Mezzarzo/Sellero): Besides the manner verbs, there is moderate to high use with result verbs as well as the same general lack of use with statives as with Zone 1. On the basis of higher use with result verbs (m/r+s = 2.5), Zone 2 is clearly distinct from Zone 1. The Sellero informant, although from a geographically more distant community, is included in this zone due to his very similar metrics.

The UV is united in one zone:

Zone 5 (Monno/Veza): FS use in the UV is obligatory with the notable exceptions (in these experiments) of only *volere* and *sapere*.

Two zones are distinguished for the UVW:

Zone 2 (Galleno/Corteno): The two UVW informants whose verb use was measured ($m/r+s=2.4$), have similar metrics to those of Zone 2 in the MV. The Galleno informant (most westerly) has less use with result verbs but as there are only two informants, these have been aggregated in Zone 2.

Zone 3 (Lombro/Megno): A Zone 3, with slightly greater use of result verbs ($m/r+s=1.8$) is distinguishable from the Zone 2 of Galleno/Corteno. The two speakers in Zone 3 differ in that one has no use with stative verbs and the other has considerable use.

8.1.2.3 MV: P4 results

The fourth data collection phase (P4) provided a dataset to P3 but covering more of the MV and in greater detail. Informants interviewed in P4 show similar traits to P3, despite the slightly different selection of verbs and questions. Questions are available in Appendix 2c.

The following verbs were used in the calculations of the metrics. They are a subset of all the verbs measured (and demonstrated in subsequent figures), omitting those that patterned in a way atypical of their categories (assigned *a priori*), were difficult to classify, or provided too many tokens of similar type.⁷

Manner verbs (5)

lavorare/laurà 'work', *leggere/lidì* (intrans) 'read', *mangiare/mangià* 'eat', *lavare/laà-do* 'wash', *girare/girà* 'turn, spin'

Result verbs (11)

cadere/gnì-do/nà-do/crödà 'fall', *rompersi/rumpìh* 'break (intrans)', *dare/dà* 'give', *trovare/troà* 'find', *maturare/marudà* 'ripen'; *pesare/pedà* 'weigh', *finire di/finì de* 'finish'; *cominciare a/cumincià a* 'begin', *smettere di/dehmitì de di* 'stop'; *riuscire a/rüaga a* 'succeed', *fare/fà* (animate subject) 'make, let, cause'

⁷ Omitted from the metric are: *andare/nà* 'go' and (causative) *rompere/rumpì* 'break' (result verbs that pattern with manner verbs); *fidarsi* 'trust' and *credere in* 'believe in' (stative verbs interpreted as having an eventive semantics in some instances); *provare/proà* 'try' (weak *a priori* reasons for result verb classification); *fare/fà* with inanimate subject 'make, cause' (two questions have adverbial complements so are atypical); *potere* 'can, could' for request and possibility (too many tokens of *potere*), but not for ability.

Stative verbs (5)

sapere/hai 'know', *pensare/penhà* 'think', *piacere/piadi* 'like, please', *volere/(v)uli* 'want', *potere/pudi* (ability) 'can, be able to'

As with the P3 results, the informants are combined into zones on the basis of their community of origin and metrics measured in P4. The P4 informant metrics are shown in Figure 8.3.

Zone 1 (Esine): As shown in the P3 results, in Zone 1, FS use is largely restricted to manner verbs and there is almost no use with most statives. The division from Zone 2 on the basis of the metric (m/r+s) is less clear than in P3, as one informant of the four has uncharacteristically high result verb use.

Zone 2 (Cividate/Malegno/Mezzarro): As with P3, these speakers have generally higher result verb use than Zone 1. (Note that although the three informants included here had particularly high manner verb use in P4, this is not necessarily characteristic of the zone, but more of these informants in this experiment.). There are no grounds for a separation from the Zone 3 of Bienna on the grounds of these results alone.

FIGURE 8.3: FS USE ACCORDING TO MANNER/RESULT/STATIVE VERB BY INFORMANT AND ZONE FOR P4

Zn	Inf	Dialect	sum%	FS	tot	m%	m	mtot	r%	r	rtot	s%	s	stot	m/r+s	m+r/s
1	36	Esine	38%	32	84	67%	12	18	41%	19	46	5%	1	20	2.2	9.7
1	58	Esine	60%	50	84	94%	17	18	67%	31	46	10%	2	20	1.9	7.5
1	112	Esine	29%	24	83	61%	11	18	28%	13	46	0%	0	19	3.1	∞
1	120	Esine	24%	20	84	50%	9	18	24%	11	46	0%	0	20	3.0	∞
		Zone 1 av	38%	126	335	68%	49	72	40%	74	184	4%	3	79	2.3	12.7
2	104	Cividate	68%	57	84	100%	18	18	85%	39	46	0%	0	20	1.7	∞
2	78	Malegno	55%	46	84	89%	16	18	63%	29	46	5%	1	20	2.0	14.1
2	97	Mezzarro	71%	58	82	100%	18	18	91%	40	44	0%	0	20	1.6	∞
		Zone 2 av	64%	161	250	96%	52	54	79%	108	136	2%	1	60	1.7	50.5
3	50	Bienno-A	46%	39	84	61%	11	18	52%	24	46	20%	4	20	1.4	2.7
3	55	Bienno-B	50%	42	84	78%	14	18	50%	23	46	25%	5	20	1.8	2.3
3	123	Bienno-B	65%	55	84	100%	18	18	78%	36	46	5%	1	20	1.8	16.9
		Zone 3 av	54%	136	252	80%	43	54	60%	83	138	17%	10	60	1.7	3.9
4	17	Bienno-C	88%	74	84	100%	18	18	100%	46	46	50%	10	20	1.2	2.0
4	121	Bienno-C	90%	38	42	100%	8	8	100%	24	24	60%	6	10	1.1	1.7
4	122	Bienno-C	90%	76	84	100%	18	18	100%	46	46	60%	12	20	1.1	1.7
		Zone 4 av	90%	188	210	100%	44	44	100%	116	116	56%	28	50	1.2	1.8
5	82	Prestine	88%	74	84	100%	18	18	100%	46	46	50%	10	20	1.2	2.0
5	124	Prestine	80%	37	46	100%	9	9	96%	22	23	43%	6	14	1.3	2.3
		Zone 5 av	85%	111	130	100%	27	27	99%	68	69	47%	16	34	1.2	2.1

Zone 3 (Bienno-A/Bienno-B): The Bienno informants are separated from those of Zone 2 largely on the basis of their different community (with its other distinct dialect traits), as they they cannot be distinguished from those Zone 2 by the metric. Two informants have higher stative use than the Zone 2 informants, but not the third.

Zone 4 (Bienno-C): These informants have the essentially obligatory FS except with a few remaining statives, *volere*, *sapere* and some uses of *potere*.

Zone 5 (Prestine): The metric used does not distinguish Zones 5 from Zone 4 as the only difference is in some uses of *potere* not included in the verbs with which the stative category is measured here. The difference will be demonstrated later in Sections 8.2.3 and 8.5. (The slightly lower figure for use with stative verbs in Zone 5 compared with Zone 4 is not considered significant and an artifact of the low number of results.)

8.1.3 Direction of grammaticalization

At this point it is worth considering an opposite scenario to that presented above: that obligatory FS was once present throughout Val Camonica and that the areas of optional FS in the MV result from recent mixing with SCI-only dialects. At face value, this seems like a plausible explanation. It would require only one valley-wide grammaticalization event, although several events of degrammaticalization (in the Middle Oglio valley, Ogliolo valley and Val di Scalve) compared to the alternative scenario that requires several grammaticalization events.

A reintroduction of SCI fits with the historical evidence that the MV in particular underwent major changes in the 1960s and 70s with increased industrialization and consequent road improvements.⁸ This increased contact between speakers of FS-containing MV dialects and speakers of other, SCI-only Lombard dialects. Faced with so many people who did not use or fully understand FS, MV speakers (except those in isolated agricultural areas) dropped the FS trait to opt for a speech that was more cosmopolitan. There is every indication that this has happened, as younger dialect

⁸ The interested reader is directed to Appendix 8a, which is a brief history of dialect in the valley in recent times by Esine resident, Vittorio Volpi.

speakers do not use FS. However, it has largely only affected the speech of those under 60 years of age, i.e. those whose dialect grammars became fixed after the mid 1960s.

However, this scenario does not explain the presence of SCI within the speech of the oldest informants interviewed (85-88 years old), whose dialects represent the years 1944-51, and who were adolescents during and immediately after the Second World War. This suggests that optionality of FS precedes the main phase of valley development.

The most compelling reason why the degrammaticalization hypothesis is highly unlikely is, however, linguistic. Had FS in the dialects of the central MV entirely grammaticalized to resemble the FS construction of today's agricultural communities, *fa* in these FS constructions would have become a bleached auxiliary. FS would then have been used stative verbs, which would have been necessary as, with SCI no longer available, there would otherwise have been no way to make such questions. Along with the bleaching (and, it is suggested, structural 'collapse' to a monoclausal structure) would have been loss of the unique pragmatic meaning to the FS question, which was only maintained by the ongoing opposition of FS and SCI.

Under this scenario, to arrive at an optional FS with semantic restrictions would involve addition of content to make (or technically, re-make) a semantically rich *fa* 'do' (and more complicated biclausal structure). This would be reverse grammaticalization, a theoretically unlikely event according to most (although not all) authors as, intuitively, 'what's gone is gone'.⁹

In conclusion, the far more credible scenario is that FS in the central MV dialects has been maintained in an arrested state of development due to the continuing presence of the SCI-only dialects, in what has always been a zone of dialect contact. The same is true for the lateral valleys such as the Ogliolo, and probably also the Val di Scalve. The constant contact with other dialects has maintained an equilibrium between pragmatically rich FS with semantically rich *fa*, and external SCI-only dialects, thus preventing full FS grammaticalization.

⁹ See papers in Heine & Narrog, 2011, with regards to the (un)likelihood of reverse grammaticalization.

8.1.4 Patterns of verb generalization

The following sections evaluate the pattern of grammaticalization of FS and its extension to an ever-increasing number and type of verbs. The figures above have already shown at a generic level, how FS begins with the manner verbs (high $m/(r+s)$ ratio), extends to the result verbs (lower $m/(r+s)$ ratio but still high $(m+r)/s$ ratio) and finally reaches (almost all) the stative verbs ($(m+r)/s$ slightly above 1).

Using the P3 and P4 datasets, by combining informants with similar metrics into zones, further information about the detailed pattern of that extension can be observed.

Sections 8.2 and 8.3 compare the pattern by verb for each of the zones. Section 8.5 is concerned with the pattern for the functional/auxiliary verbs and whether there is any relationship in the grammaticalization order to the cartographic hierarchy of Cinque (1999, 2006a,b,c).

8.2 Verb sequences from P3 and P4

8.2.1 P3: Middle Oglio valley (MV) to Upper Oglio valley (UV)

A comparison of Zones 1 & 2 (MV) and Zone 5 (UV), together forming a transect up the River Oglio, is presented in Figure 8.4. This uses the same red (manner), blue (result) and green (stative) division as previous figures but colours the functional/auxiliary verbs in a lighter shade. In addition, if there are no tokens for the verb, the lettering on the verbs at the top of a zone is in white. This is to emphasize that among the 'whited-out' verbs, nothing can be construed as to their order. For a similar reason, verbs at the base of the figure for which FS was used on all, or almost all, tokens (at least during the experiment) have a grey lettering.

A full list of P3 results by question is included in Appendix 6a.

FIGURE 8.4: COMPARISON OF FS USE BETWEEN ZONES OF THE MIDDLE AND UPPER OGLIO VALLEY (P3)

Zone 1 (MV): Esine (3 infs)				Zone 2 (MV): Civ/Mal/Mez/Sell (6)				Zone 5 (UV): Monno/Vezza (2 infs)			
Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot
pensare	0%	0	5	potere (abil)	0%	0	18	sapere	0%	0	6
piacere	0%	0	5	pensare	6%	1	18	pensare	100%	6	6
sapere	0%	0	5	sembrare	11%	2	18	piacere	100%	6	6
sembrare	0%	0	5	piacere	17%	3	18	potere (abil)	100%	6	6
fare (caus)	0%	0	5	sapere	17%	3	18	sembrare	100%	6	6
potere (abil)	20%	1	5	costare	39%	7	18	costare	100%	5	5
durare	25%	1	4	durare	56%	10	18	dare	100%	2	2
dare	40%	2	5	aggiustare	72%	13	18	durare	100%	6	6
leggere	50%	2	4	dare	78%	14	18	fare (caus)	100%	5	5
costare	60%	3	5	lavare	89%	16	18	aggiustare	100%	6	6
mangiare	60%	3	5	lavorare	89%	16	18	lavare	100%	3	3
nuotare	60%	3	5	leggere	89%	16	18	lavorare	100%	6	6
lavare	80%	4	5	mangiare	89%	16	18	leggere	100%	6	6
aggiustare	100%	4	4	fare (caus)	94%	17	18	mangiare	100%	6	6
lavorare	100%	5	5	nuotare	94%	17	18	nuotare	100%	2	2

Both Zones 1 and 2 demonstrate clearly the manner > result > stative sequence. (This is despite the relatively low number of informants/tokens for Zone 1). What distinguishes the two zones is the different position of the causative verb *fare*. That the effect is not only due to causative *fare* will become more apparent in the P4 results for the same zones in the MV in Section 8.2.3.¹⁰ (It has already been demonstrated in the P3 results shown in Chapter 7 Figure 7.2, which included more result verbs for limited number of informants, and with a variable number of questions.)

There is a discontinuity between Zone 2, that includes the informant from Sellero at the far north of the MV, and Zone 5, representative of most UV (but not UVW) communities. In the gap between Zone 2 and Zone 5, FS has fully generalized to all the result verbs, and to all statives measured here apart from lexical *sapere* ‘know’. There is some evidence that intermediate stages of grammaticalization – Zones 3 & 4 – exist, although they are not widely represented. For instance in the P3 results to be shown in the next section, in the Ogliolo valley a Zone 3 is recognized. In Zone 3, FS is still optional, but is more commonly used with a greater number of verbs than in Zone 2. From P4 results in Section

¹⁰ Results from P2 showed that main verb *fare* ‘do’ (as in ‘What do you do on Saturdays?’) used FS even less than causative *fare* among MV speakers with optional FS. This further indicates that it is a ‘do’ rather than ‘cause’ semantics that is most clearly perceived in the interrogative support verb as they saw least need to double the semantics of ‘do’, but relatively more point in adding ‘do’ to ‘cause’.

8.2.3 comes evidence for a Zone 4 of (essentially) obligatory FS in the MV but that has more exceptions than the Zone 5 of the UV.

8.2.2 P3: Ogliolo Valley (UVW) to Upper Oglio Valley (UV)

Figure 8.5 compares the sequences obtained down the UWV to the UV. Despite the low number of tokens for the UVW (2 for each of Zones 2 and 3), the main elements of the pattern are still discernible. In Zone 2 FS is more used with manner verbs than result verbs, and there is almost no use with stative verbs. In Zone 3, result verbs are almost indistinguishable from manner verbs and there is some use with stative verbs. Both these zones of optional FS have 100% use with causative *fare* (at least in these experiments). Zone 1 was not found in this area.

FIGURE 8.5: COMPARISON OF FS BETWEEN ZONES OF THE OGLIOLO AND UPPER OGLIO VALLEYS (P3)

Zone 2 (UVW): Gall/Cort (2 infs)				Zone 3 (UVW): Lom/Megn (2 infs)				Zone 5 (UV): Mon/Vez (2 infs)			
Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot
potere (abil)	0%	0	6	potere (abil)	0%	0	6	sapere	0%	0	6
sapere	0%	0	6	sapere	0%	0	6	pensare	100%	6	6
sembrare	0%	0	5	sembrare	17%	1	6	piacere	100%	6	6
piacere	17%	1	6	pensare	50%	3	6	potere (abil)	100%	6	6
dare	17%	1	6	piacere	50%	3	6	sembrare	100%	6	6
pensare	40%	2	5	leggere	67%	4	6	costare	100%	5	5
costare	67%	4	6	durare	83%	5	6	dare	100%	2	2
lavare	67%	4	6	costare	100%	6	6	durare	100%	6	6
aggiustare	83%	5	6	dare	100%	5	5	fare (caus)	100%	5	5
durare	83%	5	6	fare (caus)	100%	6	6	aggiustare	100%	6	6
leggere	83%	5	6	aggiustare	100%	6	6	lavare	100%	3	3
fare (caus)	100%	6	6	lavare	100%	6	6	lavorare	100%	6	6
lavorare	100%	6	6	lavorare	100%	6	6	leggere	100%	6	6
mangiare	100%	6	6	mangiare	100%	6	6	mangiare	100%	6	6
nuotare	100%	4	4	nuotare	100%	6	6	nuotare	100%	2	2

These results from the Ogliolo valley still show a discontinuity between the last area of optional FS, Zone 3, and obligatory FS of Zone 5. Geographically (see Figure 8.1), if there were any speakers with intermediate dialects, they would be expected to be present in the community of Cortenedolo, the community east of Lombro/Megno (di Lombro) and just west of Edolo. In fact, one speaker in her 80s was interviewed in Cortenedolo and, although she did not take part in the experiment, it was evident from her translations that she used FS with all verbs including *potere* (unlike speakers in Zone 3) but not *volere* or *sapere* (also normally excluded in Zone 5). However, she also had occasional

exceptions with *parere* 'seem', and *manicare* 'miss'. On this basis Cortenedolo should be considered equivalent to Zone 4 of the MV.

The best conclusion is that, overall, the transition from optional to obligatory FS in the UWV/UV is fairly abrupt. On one side is use with all manner and result verbs and optional use with lexical but not functional statives (modals); on the other side is obligatory use with all verbs except *volere* and *sapere*, albeit with occasional exceptions. The same sporadic exceptions were found in UV communities such as Malonno (sampled extensively in qualitative phase P1, but not in quantitative P3), and also attested in Monno.

It appears that the stative verbs each have unique characteristics which makes them more or less resistant to use of FS. By taking all the P3 results (including the verbs shown in Figure 7.2, Chapter 7), the following pattern can be discerned in the order of their grammaticalization of FS (1). It is a composite of information on their relative order in zones where there is limited use, together with which verbs are last to accept FS in the different locations. It is presented here in reverse order, mimicking the order in the figures. Other stative verbs used in P4 will be added to this list below.¹¹

1. *volere* DP 'want' < *volere bene* 'love' < *sapere* 'know' < *sembrare/parere* 'seem' < *potere* (abil) 'can, be able to' < *piacere* 'please/like' < *pensare* 'think' < *manicare* 'miss' < *credere in* 'believe in'

8.2.3 P4: Middle Oglio Valley to Upper Grigna Valley

Figures 8.6 (overpage) compare the sequences in the MV up the Oglio and Grigna Valleys obtained in P4. A full list of P4 results by question is included in Appendix 6b.

¹¹ As regards *sapere* 'know', for which 3 results were shown in Figure 7.2, all results came from one informant. It is generally one of the last verbs to accept FS.

FIGURE 8.6 FS BY VERB IN P4, ZONES 1-5

Zone 1: Esine (4 infs)				Zone 2: Civ/Mal/Mezz (4 infs)				Zone 3: Bienno-A/B (3 infs)				Zone 4: Bienno-C (3 infs)				Zone 5: Prestine (2 infs)			
Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot
volere	0%	0	15	volere	0%	0	12	volere	0%	0	12	volere	0%	0	10	volere	0%	0	8
sapere	0%	0	16	sapere	0%	0	12	sapere	0%	0	12	sapere	0%	0	10	sapere	0%	0	8
potere (abil)	0%	0	16	potere (abil)	0%	0	12	potere (req)	0%	0	12	potere (pos)	20%	2	10	fare-ca inan	67%	2	3
potere (req)	0%	0	16	potere (req)	0%	0	12	potere (pos)	0%	0	12	potere (req)	30%	3	10	potere (abil)	83%	5	6
potere (pos)	0%	0	16	potere (pos)	0%	0	12	piacere a	8%	1	12	fare-ca inan	75%	3	4	potere (pos)	83%	5	6
piacere a	6%	1	16	piacere a	8%	1	12	potere (abil)	25%	3	12	potere (abil)	80%	8	10	cadere	83%	5	6
rompersi	6%	1	16	fare-ca adv	20%	1	5	cadere	25%	3	12	provare a	90%	9	10	rompere	83%	5	6
pensare	13%	2	16	riuscire a	33%	4	12	fare-ca adv	33%	2	6	credere in	100%	10	10	pensare che	83%	5	6
fare-ca adv	13%	1	8	provare a	50%	6	12	rompersi	33%	4	12	fidarsi	100%	10	10	potere (req)	100%	6	6
riuscire a	19%	3	16	fare-ca inan	67%	4	6	pesare	33%	4	12	pensare che	100%	10	10	credere in	100%	6	6
fare-ca inan	25%	2	8	credere in	67%	8	12	girare	33%	2	6	piacere a	100%	10	10	fidarsi	100%	6	6
fare-ca anim	38%	6	16	rompersi	67%	8	12	pensare che	50%	6	12	andare	100%	10	10	piacere a	100%	6	6
dare	38%	6	16	pesare	67%	8	12	fare-ca inan	50%	3	6	smettere di	100%	10	10	andare	100%	6	6
credere in	44%	7	16	cadere	83%	10	12	maturare	50%	6	12	cominciare a	100%	10	10	smettere di	100%	6	6
pesare	44%	7	16	maturare	83%	10	12	dare	50%	6	12	finire di	100%	10	10	cominciare a	100%	6	6
provare a	44%	7	16	dare	83%	10	12	rompere	55%	6	11	fare-ca anim	100%	10	10	finire di	100%	6	6
maturare	44%	7	16	trovare	83%	10	12	provare a	58%	7	12	fare-ca adv	100%	6	6	fare-ca anim	100%	6	6
fidarsi	50%	8	16	girare	83%	5	6	riuscire a	67%	8	12	riuscire a	100%	10	10	fare-ca adv	100%	3	3
cominciare a	50%	8	16	andare	92%	11	12	finire di	75%	9	12	pesare	100%	10	10	provare a	100%	6	6
finire di	50%	8	16	lavorare	92%	11	12	trovare	75%	9	12	cadere	100%	10	10	riuscire a	100%	6	6
smettere di	56%	9	16	fidarsi	92%	11	12	credere in	75%	9	12	maturare	100%	10	10	pesare	100%	6	6
cadere	56%	9	16	smettere di	100%	12	12	mangiare	75%	9	12	dare	100%	10	10	maturare	100%	6	6
trovare	56%	9	16	cominciare a	100%	12	12	andare	83%	10	12	trovare	100%	10	10	dare	100%	6	6
mangiare	56%	9	16	finire di	100%	12	12	fare-ca anim	83%	10	12	rompersi	100%	10	10	trovare	100%	6	6
lavorare	63%	10	16	fare-ca anim	100%	11	11	lavorare	83%	10	12	rompere	100%	10	10	rompersi	100%	6	6
girare	63%	5	8	rompere	100%	12	12	fidarsi	92%	11	12	lavare	100%	10	10	lavare	100%	6	6
rompere	69%	11	16	lavare	100%	12	12	smettere di	92%	11	12	lavorare	100%	10	10	lavorare	100%	6	6
lavare	75%	12	16	leggere	100%	12	12	cominciare a	92%	11	12	leggere	100%	10	10	leggere	100%	6	6
leggere	81%	13	16	mangiare	100%	12	12	lavare	92%	11	12	mangiare	100%	10	10	mangiare	100%	6	6
andare	94%	15	16					leggere	92%	11	12	girare	100%	4	4	girare	100%	3	3

Notes: One Bienno-C, and one Prestine informant were asked only half the questions, except for the Prestine informant with *volere* and *sapere*.

Zone 1 in Figure 8.6 shows the by now familiar separation of manner and result verbs, although with the verbs used in P4, this is not discrete. As mentioned in Chapter 6, two result verbs with animate effector subjects, *andare* 'go' and causative *rompere* 'break', which are those verbs most clearly suggesting motion, are as likely as the manner verbs to use FS.

Zone 2 represents a small amount of generalization in uses of FS to include more use with result verbs. Greatest FS use is with some of the functional result verbs, the aspectuals and the causative verb, where manner is suggested by the overall predicate and context rather than by the semantics of (first) verb of the complement. The generalization from the core group of manner verbs extends to a lesser degree to the lexical result verbs, which lexicalize change that must be cognitively associated with some kind of causing activity or process. Some, but not all, of these verbs have animate or effector subjects (so that cannot be an essential requirement).

In Zones 1 and 2, the only substantial use of FS with stative verbs is with *fidarsi* 'trust' and *credere in* 'believe in'. It was concluded in Chapter 7 that most likely these verbs most likely have agentive, manner-activity uses in certain contexts.

Use with stative verbs other than *fidarsi* and *credere in*, is almost negligible until Zone 3, where there is some use with *pensare che* 'think that' and *potere*, when used to mean ability.

In Figure 8.6 the transition from optional to obligatory FS is witnessed within the Bienno population between Group A/B and Group C. The optional FS of the Bienno A/B group is placed in a Zone 3, although as mentioned early, there is variation in use of statives between speakers of this zone and the metrics do not clearly separate it from Zone 2.

To a greater degree than portrayed for the Ogliolo valley with the P3 results, the situation in Bienno shown with the P4 results suggests more strongly that there is a sharp discontinuity. In Bienno Zone 3, FS is still highly optional with most result verbs, but in Zone 4, FS use is virtually obligatory with almost all verbs, there being only rare exceptions. There seems to be no intermediate stage where there is high, but not obligatory use, with lexical stative verbs.

In Bienno Zone 4, FS is used with almost all stative verbs. This includes lexical verbs and modal *potere*, at least when used for ability.¹² In contrast, there is little use with *potere* ‘could, may’ for making a request, (which involves asking for a change in a situation), or with the category labelled as *potere* (pos) ‘could, might’, indicating an epistemic use. In fact, of the 4 test questions in this category, only two unambiguously have only the possibility reading because they cannot be agentive. These are: *Puoi aver capito male l’ora?* ‘Could you have got the time wrong?’ and *Puoi aver lasciato l’ombrello in posta?* ‘Could you have left the umbrella in the post office?’. The other two questions are ambiguous between a possibility and an ability use. None of the informants from Zone 4 used FS with the unambiguous possibility use. However, FS was used by the Zone 5 informants with 2/3 of these questions. Thus, almost full use of FS with the epistemic modal *potere* (pos) is a criterion that distinguishes speakers of Zone 5 from Zone 4. This topic will be returned to in Section 8.5 that discusses the relationship of this grammaticalization sequence to the cartographic hierarchy of functional heads.

Using the P4 results in addition to those of P3, a (reverse) order of grammaticalization of FS with the various stative verbs is presented in (2). It adds to the sequence derived from just P3 in (1) above.

1. *volere* (DP/vP) ‘want’ < *volere bene* ‘love’ < *sapere* ‘know’ < *sembrare* ‘seem’ < *potere* (pos) < *potere* (req) < *potere* (abil) ‘can’ < *piacere* ‘please/like’ < *pensare* ‘think’ < *mancare* ‘miss’ < *credere in* ‘believe in’ < *fidarsi* ‘trust’

8.3 Roles of semantic components versus pragmatics in the generalization manner>result

Chapter 6, Section 6.2, showed the initial stages of FS use in Zone 1 (Esine) from the perspective of the presence or absence of certain components in the lexical decomposition of the first verb of the complement. These components are: **ACT** (**ACT**_{<MANNER>}), which denotes activity in the root of the verb (a component present in all ‘red’, manner-activity verbs); **ACT**, which refers to activity that is outside the verb root

¹² Although the complements with 3 of 4 of the questions clearly included activity, the other used the verb *stare* ‘stay’, which could be interpreted either to mean ‘exist’ or ‘not-go’. There was no difference between results suggesting the activity predicates were favoured over *stare*.

(present in the result-activity verbs, a subset of ‘blue’, result verbs); and the operator BECOME, denoting a change (present in all result verbs). This chapter looks at the generalization within optional FS by comparing the presence/absence of relevant components between Zones 1 and 2/3. Figure 8.7 shows this for the P4 results of the MV. A grey shading has been applied to guide the reader to the section of the figure where, under these experimental conditions, verbs used FS more than 60% of the time. The grey shading demonstrates most clearly that the first use of FS is with verbs that have **ACT** in the root of the verb together with those most suggestive of motion in the overall predicate (which are some of those with ACT).

FIGURE 8.7: VERBS CONTAINING PREDICATE COMPONENT **ACT**, ACT, AND BECOME AND USE OF FS IN ZONES 1 & 2, P4

Zone 1 (4 infs): Esine

Verb	act/ACT	BECOME	FS%
volere			0%
sapere			0%
potere (abil)			0%
potere (req)			0%
potere (pos)			0%
piacere			6%
rompersi		BECOME	6%
pensare			13%
fare (caus)-adv		BECOME	13%
riuscire		BECOME	19%
fare (caus)-inam	act (1/2)	BECOME	25%
fare (caus)-anim	act	BECOME	38%
dare	act	BECOME	38%
maturare		BECOME	44%
credere in			44%
cominciare		BECOME	47%
finire		BECOME	47%
fidarsi			50%
smettere		BECOME	53%
cadere		BECOME	56%
trovare	act	BECOME	56%
girare	ACT		56%
mangiare	ACT		63%
lavorare	ACT		66%
rompere	act	BECOME	69%
lavare	ACT		72%
leggere	ACT		81%
andare	act	BECOME	94%

Zones 2-3 (Civ/Mal/Mezz/Bienno-A/B)

Verb	act/ACT	BECOME	FS%
sapere			0%
volere			0%
potere (req)			0%
potere (pos)			4%
piacere a			8%
potere (abil)			13%
pensare che			25%
fare (caus)-adv		BECOME	27%
riuscire a		BECOME	50%
rompersi		BECOME	50%
cadere		BECOME	54%
fare (caus) inan	act (1/2)	BECOME	58%
girare	ACT		58%
dare	act	BECOME	67%
maturare		BECOME	67%
credere in			71%
rompere	act	BECOME	78%
trovare	act	BECOME	79%
andare	act	BECOME	88%
finire di		BECOME	88%
lavorare	ACT		88%
mangiare	ACT		88%
fare (caus) anim	act	BECOME	91%
fidarsi			92%
smettere di		BECOME	96%
cominciare a		BECOME	96%
lavare	ACT		96%
leggere	ACT		96%

N=15-16, girare=8 tokens per verb

Thus initially, FS is used with verbs that represent a duplication of its own **ACT** semantic component. In addition, even in what appears to be a group of speakers with the most basic notion of *fa* ‘do’, there is generalization to use with verbs where the manner of the

activity is suggested by the pragmatics, *andare* 'go' and causative *rompere* 'break'. These are all verbs with effector subjects where the subject is the initiator of the activity. The process verb, *girare* 'turn, spin', indicating mechanical, self-driven movement is just outside the core group of verbs in Zone 1 (as it is in Zones 2/3).

The first wave of generalization is to all the verbs in the grey-shaded block in Zone 2 and it is via the pragmatics not via the semantics. Next to become available for FS are not all those verbs with the semantic component ACT (which would coincide with all verbs with effector subjects), but to most of those with BECOME. In other words, generalization is to result verbs, or verbs indicating a change has taken place with which there must have been some associated activity, even though it is not lexicalized in the verb. With this generalization the causative verb *fare* is included in the core group, as is the verb describing change due to internal causation but without motion, *maturare* 'ripe'. The verb *girare* 'turn, spin', describing a process viewed as internally caused but with no result, is not included in the first group of verbs to which FS is generalized. Thus, with the generalization from Zone 1 to Zone 2, it is no longer relevant whether the subject is also the instigator of an action or whether the change describes motion, but what is still relevant is that change occurs and that it is self-initiated. This wave of generalization does not include verbs with theme, i.e. undergoer subjects that describe change due to external forces.

If the biclausal hypothesis for the syntactic structure is correct, and the subject theta role is semantically selected by *fa* 'do', then the Zone 1 to 2 transition indicates a broadening of the concept of *fa* 'do' and of its possible subject. There appears, however, to be a limit on the flexibility of the semantics of *fa* 'do' in that, in this dataset, there is almost no use with states other than *fidarsi* 'trust' and *credere in* 'believe in', to which an eventive, probably agentive, use is attributed.

In the handful of instances where there is use in Zones 1-2 with a stative verb such as *piacere* 'like, please', or *pensare* 'think', this invites the question of how this can happen. These instances are highly marked in that they require unusual emotional or presuppositional contexts to generate them. Rather than requiring a further modification of *fa* 'do' to change the 'do' subject to make it fit with the stative verb, the better

explanation is the same one as used with *fidarsi*, that the modification is to the complement verb and an eventive use of the verb.

The same transition from Zone 1 to Zone 2/3 as viewed from the perspective of verb complements is shown in the P3 results in Figure 8.8.

FIGURE 8.8: VERBS CONTAINING PREDICATE COMPONENT **ACT**, **act**, AND **BECOME** AND USE OF FS IN ZONES 1 & 2, P3

Zone 1 (MV): Esine (3 infs)				Zone 2 (MV): Civ/Mal/Mez/Sell (6)			
Verb	act/ACT	BECOME	FS%	Verb	act/ACT	BECOME	FS%
pensare			0%	potere (abil)			0%
piacere			0%	pensare			6%
sapere			0%	sembrare			11%
sembrare			0%	piacere			17%
fare (caus)	act	BECOME	0%	sapere			17%
potere (abil)			20%	costare		BECOME	39%
durare		BECOME	25%	durare		BECOME	56%
dare	act	BECOME	40%	aggiustare	ACT		72%
leggere	ACT		50%	dare	act	BECOME	78%
costare		BECOME	60%	lavare	ACT		89%
mangiare	ACT		60%	lavorare	ACT		89%
nuotare	ACT		60%	leggere	ACT		89%
lavare	ACT		80%	mangiare	ACT		89%
aggiustare	ACT		100%	fare (caus)	act	BECOME	94%
lavorare	ACT		100%	nuotare	ACT		94%

N=16/15 (fare (caus) - inan subdivided)

N=24/23

A shading has been added to those verbs where FS was used 50% or more of the time. On the left-hand side in Zone 1, all the shaded verbs except one have the **ACT** component. On the right-hand side in Zones 2/3, not only these but two others are included: causative *fare* and *dare* 'give', both verbs with effector subjects that are suggestive of activity and present as **act** in the verb semantics, but not lexicalized in the verb root. One of each of the two verbs of measure are just within the group of verbs with highest FS use: *costare* 'cost' for the Zone 1 informants and *durare* 'last' for the Zones 2/3 informants. This must represent some incipient generalization even in Zone 1.

8.4 Generalization with functional/auxiliary verbs and comparison to Cartographic hierarchy

8.4.1 Probability of FS use with the different functional/auxiliary verbs

This section focuses on the order of FS generalization within the functional/auxiliary verbs in Zones 1-5, as extracted from Figure 8.6 from the P4 MV dataset.¹³ This is shown in Figure 8.9 (overpage). Uses of causative *fare* with an inanimate subject are divided into those with a complement AspP (*faire-par* structures) ‘fare-ca inan’ and AdvP ‘fare-ca adv’.

Leaving aside the somewhat anomalous *andare* ‘go’, in the first wave of generalization, which takes place between Zone 1 and Zone 2, FS starts to be used with the aspectuals *finire* ‘finish’, *cominciare* ‘begin’, *smettere* ‘stop’ and the causative *fare* ‘make, let, cause’ (but only when used with an animate subject).

Verbs *riuscire* ‘succeed’ (lexicalized in Camuno as *rüà-ga* ‘arrive-there’), *provare* ‘try’ and causative *fare* when used with a vP complement with an inanimate subject (‘the wine/(movement of the) water) and with an adverbial complement (cold, (the appearance of) Marco), are left out in the first wave of generalization. There is indication of a second wave of generalization between Zones 2 and 3 resulting in a slight increase in use with these verbs with the Bienno-A/B group of speakers.

By Zone 4 and the obligatory FS Bienno-C speakers, FS has essentially finished generalizing to all result verbs, including ‘succeed’ and ‘try’ and is largely generalized also with ability uses of the modal *potere* ‘can, to be able to’.¹⁴

¹³ Although some functional/auxiliary verbs were included in the P3 dataset, this was relatively late in the data-gathering process, so results for the same questions are not available for all informants. For this reason Figure 7.2 in Chapter 7 is not regarded as sufficiently accurate to discriminate between these verbs.

¹⁴ The reader should note that results from the Ogiolo valley (UVW) obtained in P3 show the opposite order of beginning of generalization to lexical statives and use with *potere* (ability). Hence Figure 8.5 demonstrates that Zone 3 (Lombro/Megno) showed some use with *pensare che* ‘think that’ and *piacere* ‘like, please’ but no use with *potere*. Not until FS becomes essentially obligatory (which would have been represented in a Zone 4 by Cortenedolo), is use extended to *potere* (ability). The simplest explanation that covers both the P4 and P3 results is that use with *potere* (ability) largely coincides with the pulse of generalization to the lexical statives, at least within the limits of precision of the experiment.

FIGURE 8.9: GENERALIZATION OF FS ACROSS FUNCTIONAL VERBS IN ZONES 1-5 IN MV (P4)

Zone 1: Esine (3 infs)				Zone 2: Civ/Mal/Mezz (4 infs)				Zone 3: Bienno-A/B (3 infs)				Zone 4: Bienno-C (3 infs)				Zone 5: Prestine (2 infs)			
Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb	%	FS	Tot
volere	0%	0	15	volere	0%	0	12	volere	0%	0	12	volere	0%	0	10	volere	0%	0	8
potere (abil)	0%	0	16	potere (abil)	0%	0	12	potere (req)	0%	0	12	potere (pos)	20%	2	10	fare-ca inan	67%	2	3
potere (req)	0%	0	16	potere (req)	0%	0	12	potere (pos)	0%	0	12	potere (req)	30%	3	10	potere (abil)	83%	5	6
potere (pos)	0%	0	16	potere (pos)	8%	1	12	potere (abil)	25%	3	12	fare-ca inan	75%	3	4	potere (pos)	83%	5	6
fare-ca adv	13%	1	8	fare-ca adv	20%	1	5	fare-ca adv	33%	2	6	potere (abil)	80%	8	10	potere (req)	100%	6	6
riuscire a	19%	3	16	riuscire a	33%	4	12	fare-ca inan	50%	3	6	provare a	90%	9	10	andare	100%	6	6
fare-ca inan	25%	2	8	provare a	50%	6	12	provare a	58%	7	12	andare	100%	10	10	smettere di	100%	6	6
fare-ca anim	38%	6	16	fare-ca inan	67%	4	6	riuscire a	67%	8	12	smettere di	100%	10	10	cominciare a	100%	6	6
provare a	44%	7	16	andare	92%	11	12	finire di	75%	9	12	finire di	100%	10	10	finire di	100%	6	6
cominciare a	50%	8	16	smettere di	100%	12	12	andare	83%	10	12	fare-ca anim	100%	10	10	fare-ca anim	100%	6	6
finire di	50%	8	16	cominciare a	100%	12	12	fare-ca anim	83%	10	12	fare-ca adv	100%	10	10	fare-ca adv	100%	3	3
smettere di	56%	9	16	finire di	100%	12	12	smettere di	92%	11	12	fare-ca adv	100%	6	6	provare a	100%	6	6
andare	94%	15	16	fare-ca anim	100%	11	11	cominciare a	92%	11	12	riuscire a	100%	10	10	riuscire a	100%	6	6

Analysis of the functional/auxiliary verbs on their own then suggests that the pattern of FS generalization across the different result verbs is not solely dependent on the suggestion of activity generated in the mind but could also be determined by the modality, or degree of (un)certainly that the event will take place, encoded within the verb.¹⁸ This would account for at least one persistent division noted within the result verbs: the aspectual+causative verb (with animate subject) from ‘succeed’ and ‘try’, as well as several divisions within the stative modals. The degree to which the perceived order might be the same as the order represented in the cartographic sequence of Cinque (1999, 2006a,b,c) and due to the same syntactic-semantic factors, as is analyzed in the next section.

8.4.2 Comparison between sequence derived from FS use the cartographic hierarchy

The composite sequence of FS use with the auxiliary verbs is shown on the left-hand side of Figure 8.10 (overpage) summing P4 results from Zones 1-5. The relative order can also be seen in these parts of Figure 8.9 above and distinctions are derived from the following parts of those figures:

- *andare* ‘go’ > all other result and stative functional verbs (Zone 1)
- a major division of result verbs into aspectuals with causative *fare* (animate subject) > *provare* ‘try’ and *riuscire* ‘succeed’¹⁹ (Zone 1 versus 2 or 3)²⁰
- *potere* (ability) > *provare/riuscire* (Zones 1, 2 and 3)
- *potere* (ability) > *potere* (request) > *potere* (possibility) (Zone 4)
- *potere* (possibility) > *volere* comes (Zone 5)

¹⁸ This would be commensurate with the relative lowering of FS use with the Present compared to Future tense noted in Chapter 7 and attributed to the imperfectivity and ‘uncertainty’ associated with that tense.

¹⁹ There is insufficient information to determine the relative order of ‘succeed’ and ‘try’ by use of FS. However, ‘succeed’ > ‘try’ is more likely than the reverse order.

²⁰ The difference between higher FS of the aspectuals and causative *fare* and *riuscire/provare* cannot be satisfactorily explained by the first group forming a monoclausal structure and being raising verbs and the second group having a biclausal structure and being control verbs, even though that interpretation seems tempting. Among the examples in Chapter 5 and Appendix 5 of paired FS and SCI questions with different meaning, were some with *riuscire*, so if the meaning difference is a reflection of a structural difference (biclausal FS and monoclausal SCI), the SCI structure with *riuscire* must be monoclausal (and as per Cinque 1999, 2006a).

FIGURE 8.10: COMPARISON OF FS PROBABILITY HIERARCHY VERSUS ORDER OF FUNCTIONAL HEADS IN THE CARTOGRAPHIC HIERARCHY

FS hierarchy from Zones 1-5 (15 infs)				Cinque 1999, 2006a,b,c	
Verb	%	FS	Tot	Verb/adverb	Functional head
volere	0%	0	57	potere-pos 'could, might'	Mod-pos
potere (pos)	14%	8	56	volere 'want' / volentieri 'willingly'	Mod-volition
potere (req)	16%	9	56	potere-abil 'can'	Mod-ability
potere (abil)	29%	16	56	riuscire 'succeed'	Asp-success
fare-ca inan	49%	27	55	provare 'try'	Asp-conative
riuscire a	55%	31	56	smettere 'stop' / (non) più 'no longer'	Asp-terminative
provare a	63%	35	56	finire 'finish' / del tutto 'completely'	Asp-completative-I
fare-ca anim	78%	43	55	∅ / bene 'well'	VOICE
finire di	80%	45	56	fare-caus 'cause, make, let'	Causative
cominciare a	84%	47	56	cominciare-nat 'begin (natural start)'	Asp-inceptive-II
smettere di	86%	48	56	andare 'go'	Asp-andative
andare	93%	52	56	finire 'finish' / del tutto 'completely'	Asp-completative-II

The composite FS hierarchy is juxtaposed with a simplified version of Cinque's cartographic hierarchy. Cinque's extensive hierarchy comprises three different fields (from top to bottom) Mood > Tense > Aspect with a high number of projections in each (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008; Rizzi & Cinque, 2016). Only a small fraction of the projections are considered here, as shown in Figure 8.10. In this, all the sequence below *potere-pos* would be part of the ASPECT field, a field that, at least in the later versions of the sequence, also contains the modals.²¹

Cinque's order draws on these data: the relative order in pairs of adverbs in Italian and French (Cinque 1999: Chapter 1); the order in pairs of co-occurring verbs in Italian (Cinque 2006a,c); considerations of which could passivize (therefore be located above 'Voice') or be passivized (below 'Voice'); and which could embed a causative (above the causative head) or could be embedded by a causative (below the causative head) in Italian and Spanish (Cinque 2006b). Note that the position of terminative aspect shown in Figure 8.10 is taken from the position of the adverb, *(non) più* in Cinque (1999) rather

²¹ Although Cinque defines the difference between projections as due to their aspect (for example between *provare* 'try' and *riuscire* 'succeed', as conative versus 'succeed' aspect), most lexical decompositions do not codify aspect by using structural components. For example, in the system of Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998, the difference between these verbs is information that is part of the 'idiosyncratic' root of each verb. Therefore, verb aspect in the cartographic system is codified as a 'grammatical' allowing each to represent a different functional head, whereas in the (projectionist) decomposition system of RH&L, because it is not broken down, it almost appears to be being treated as a 'lexical' concept. See Cinque, 2013, for more on what can be considered a grammatical versus lexical component.

than of the verb *smettere* 'stop' in Cinque (2006c), as the position of the verb was somewhat uncertain (given that it could both precede and succeed verbs *tornare*, and *cominciare* for the arbitrary start of an activity, not included here).²²

Two positions have been used by Cinque for *finire* 'finish' when it refers to the natural end of a telic activity: one below voice (which can be passivized and embedded under a causative) and one above voice (which can embed a causative).

There is some evident similarity between the two sequences, even though the FS hierarchy as determined by the P4 results either does not adequately discriminate between certain verbs. The order generated by the FS hierarchy is then no more than the natural order of these verbs when they co-occur, which is also a major determining factor in the cartographic hierarchy. This is shown in Italian example (6).

5. Vorrei poter [riuscire a]/[provare a] fargli
[finire di]/[cominciare a]/[smettere di]/[andare a] lavare i piatti.
'I would like to be able to [succeed in getting]/[try to get] him to [finish/begin/stop washing]/[go and wash] the plates.'

Interestingly, there is a discrepancy between the FS hierarchy and the cartographic hierarchy in the relative order of *volere* and *potere* when *potere* has a possibility meaning. No solution is offered here.

Although the overall conclusion is reached that FS use appears to follow the natural order of these verbs in Italian and therefore the cartographic sequence, these results should be considered in perspective. The verbs investigated in these experiments with FS form a very small proportion of those that now constitute the hierarchy and it is possible that this selection was 'cherry picked' from the many available, the reason for this being that the others were not generally used in the Camuno dialect. For example, there were no examples of auxiliaries of likely stative origin (e.g. *stare* 'stay, exist') from the

²² On this matter, Cinque (2006c: fn 6) footnoted: "The paraphrase relation between *smettere* (*di*) and *più* is, nonetheless, complex, involving different values of other functional heads. Cf. *Aveva smesso di farlo* 'he had stopped doing it,' with anterior of the past (and imperfect aspect), and *Non lo faceva più* 'he didn't do it any longer,' with past tense and imperfect aspect. Terminative aspect (as opposed to completive aspect) expresses the termination of a certain process (or state) at an arbitrary point, rather than at the natural end point of the process (when there is one)."

aspectual part of the sequence available for inclusion in the experiment.²³ Thus the functional verbs are generally ‘in step’ with the lexical verbs in their grammaticalization sequence following the result > stative order. Interestingly, there are apparently no functional/auxiliary manner verbs, a fact that will be given more attention in Chapter 10: Conclusions.

8.5 Role of person (2nd vs 3rd) in driving grammaticalization

Chapter 7, Section 7.5, showed a difference in relative use of FS with a 2nd person question (where the questioner asks the addressee directly for information) compared to a 3rd person question (where the questioner asks the addressee for information about a 3rd person who is not part of the conversation, or about an inanimate entity). Results originally shown in Figure 7.12 are repeated in the top half of Figure 8.11 (overpage) with an additional bottom section.

The letter ‘p’ indicates a positive contrast (2nd > 3rd) and in the top half of the figure, the cell is coloured yellow. The positive contrast prevails for manner-activities and two result verbs *dare* ‘give’ and *fare* ‘make, let’. This is likely a reflection of the association of FS with intimacy and use with valley ‘insiders’.

The letter ‘n’ for negative contrast (3rd > 2nd) and, in the top half of the figure, an orange colour is more common with stative verbs and it generally a strong contrast. The best explanation for this, is that FS as a ‘subjective’ question may be inappropriate when a person is being asked a personal question about their inner thoughts or feelings, especially one commonly associated with a negative presupposition, as it appears to be calling into question their ability to know themselves.²⁴

²³ A progressive tense that in Italian uses *stare* (*sto facendo la spesa* ‘I’m doing the shopping’) is lexicalized in Camuno with an adverbial phrase with ‘be’ (Esine: *ho dré a fà a speda* ‘(lit): I am behind to do the shopping’) and so does not take FS.

²⁴ For example: ‘Is it true that you miss your children?’ If there is a preconceived notion that the opposite is true, this seems to doubt the addressee’s honesty.

FIGURE 8.11: CONTRASTS IN FS USE FOR 2ND PS AND 3RD PS QUESTIONS, 11 MV, 2 UVW, 2 UV INFS (P3)

				Zone 1				Zone 2						Zone 3		Zone 5		
	Infs	Ctr+	Ctr-	36	58	112	102	100	104	78	99	57*	86	106	50	87	74	67
Manner verbs																		
1.lavorare 'work'	15	2.5	0	p*	f	p	p*	s	f	f	s	n*	x	p*	f	f	f	f
2.nuotare 'swim'	15	1	0.5	f	n*	f	s	p*	f	f	f	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
3.mangiare 'eat'	15	3	0	p*	x	x	p*	s	p*	f	x	n*	f	p	p*	f	f	f
Result-2 verbs																		
4.dare 'give'	15	1	0	s	x	x	s	s	p	f	f	n*	x	s	x	f	f	f
5. fare (caus) 'make'	15	3	0.5	s	s	s	s	s	p	p	p*	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
Contrasts/inf				1	0.5	1	1	0.5	2.5	1	0.5	2.5	0	1.5	1.5	0	0	0
Result-2 verbs																		
6.provare 'try'	10	0	2	x	n	x	-	-	s	n	-	f	-	-	x	f	f	f
7.riuscire 'succeed'	10	1	0.5	s	p	s	-	-	s	x	-	s	-	-	n	f	f	f
Stative verbs																		
8.piacere 'please, like'	15	0	4.5	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	n*	n*	n	n	s	n	f	f
9.potere (abil) 'can'	15	0	1	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	n*	f	f
10.sapere 'know'	15	0	2.5	s	n*	s	s	x	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	s	n*	n
Ctrs/inf (states)				0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.5	2	1	0	1.5	0.5	1

1.lavorare 'work'	15	2.5	0.5	p*	f	p	p*	s	f	f	s	n*	n*	p*	f	f	f	f
2.nuotare 'swim'	15	1	0.5	f	n*	f	s	p*	f	f	f	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
3.mangiare 'eat'	15	3	0	p*	x	x	p*	s	p*	f	x	n*	f	p	p*	f	f	f
4.dare 'give'	15	1	0	s	x	x	s	s	p	f	f	n*	x	s	x	f	f	f
5. fare (caus) 'make'	15	2.5	0	s	s	s	s	s	p	p*	p*	n*	f	f	p*	f	f	f
6.provare 'try'	10	0	2	x	n	x	-	-	s	n	-	f	-	-	x	f	f	f
7.riuscire 'succeed'	10	1	0.5	s	p	s	-	-	s	x	-	s	-	-	n*	f	f	f
8.piacere 'please, like'	15	0	4.5	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	n*	n*	n	n	s	n	f	f
9.potere (abil) 'can'	15	0	1	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	n*	f	f
10.sapere 'know'	15	0	2.5	s	n*	s	s	x	s	s	s	s	n*	s	s	s	n*	n

Notes: Contrasts/verb summed without 57. Mezzarro.

Zone 1=Esine, Zone 2=Breno, Civate, Malegno, Breno-Campogrande, Mezzarro di Breno, Sellero (MV), Corteno Golgi (UVW)

Zone 3=Bienna (MV), Megno di Lombro (UVW); Zone 5=Veza d'Oglio, Monno,

The lower half of Figure 8.11 repeats the same information as the upper half but is coloured in grey to bring out the grammaticalization of the different verbs. In the lower half of the figure, cells with 'f' (meaning both tokens of the minimal pair were FS) are highlighted in dark grey, while 's' (both tokens SCI), are in light grey. The entire figure is organized so that the informants from left to right are lined up in terms of their perceived degree of grammaticalization of FS (based on the metrics described in the sections above).

For the manner-activity verbs:

Zone 1 informants (few dark grey cells) rarely used FS for the 3rd and 2nd person of the manner-activity verbs, as, if they used it at all, it was generally only with the 2nd person.

Zone 2 informants (more dark grey cells) occasionally used FS for both 2nd and 3rd persons.

One of Zone 3 informants (mostly dark grey) usually used FS for both 2nd and 3rd person forms.

Zone 5 informants always used FS with manner-activity verbs for both the 2nd and 3rd persons (all dark grey cells).

Within the stative verbs:

None of the Zone 1-3 informants used FS for the 2nd and the 3rd person forms of the stative verbs, as, if they used it at all with stative verbs, it was restricted to the 3rd person.

Zone 5 informants had some instances where they used FS with 3rd and 2nd person for the stative verbs (some dark cells), but, more commonly, with the stative verbs, they used it with the 3rd person, but not the 2nd.

The two halves of this figure demonstrate the wave of grammaticalization that sweeps through the manner verbs, onto the result verbs and finally reaching the stative verbs. Pragmatically it is pushed through the first stage with the 2nd person forms inviting intimacy, but slowed in the second stage by the 2nd person forms resisting the intimacy.

8.6 Grammaticalization of FS

This chapter has charted changes in use of FS according to the semantics of the supported verb. FS generalizes from its core group of manner-activity verbs to the result verbs, extending first to verbs where activity, although not lexicalized in the verb root, is suggested by the context. Among the first group to which FS generalizes are some verbs where activity is lexicalized in the verb but outside the root, the result-activities. Thus initially, all verbs used with FS have effector subjects but those with causer subjects (where the causer is not also clearly the effector and the instigator of activity) are not among that initial group.

There is some 'resistance' to generalizing to the stative verbs. With some verbs, this is circumvented by using the verb in an eventive way, and the subject becomes an effector. However, although an eventive use is highly compatible with some verbs, such as *fidarsi* 'trust', it is less compatible other verbs, such as *piacere* 'like, please'. There is therefore a discontinuity in the generalization from optional to (almost) obligatory FS.

Final generalization to all stative verbs coincides with bleaching of *fa* and a re-evaluation of the FS construction from a biclausal structure (with a lexical *fa* 'do') to a monoclausal structure (with functional *fa*, devoid of lexical content).

In questions about human subjects, the more common 2nd form (directed at the addressee) favours use of FS with manner-activity verbs but disfavors it with stative verbs. This pragmatic effect may also promote the initial stages of FS generalization but retard the final stages.

The following chapter will continue with this theme of resistance to generalization with stative verbs and show how some informants, in order to generalize to the stative verbs, may be co-opting a stative auxiliary based on *ha* 'be'.

Chapter 9: Significance of the *ha* variant

In previous chapters, the support verb has been referred to under the generic name of *fa*, although it was acknowledged that in the dialect of some communities, the verb had an ‘aspirated’ pronunciation as *ha*. In this chapter, the two verbs and their constructions are distinguished as *fa*-support (FS) and *ha*-support (HS). **Section 9.1** notes how HS may also be optional or obligatory. When optional, it shows the same traits as optional FS: used primarily with manner-activity verbs and the same special meaning to the HS/FS question. *Ha* therefore seems to be equivalent to *fa* and another realization of ‘do’.

Section 9.2 shows how occurrence of *ha* must result from the influence of adjacent dialects with a general /f/ to /h/ phonological rule, but by its application to just this one word. The significance of *ha* lies in the fact that it is then and is clearly a different verb from causative *fa* in the minds of HS users.

Even if *ha* originated as *fa*, the resulting pronunciation makes it almost indistinguishable from *èher* ‘be’. **Section 9.3** discusses the possible consequences of this merger. A few speakers who can use either *ha* or *fa* as their support verb use *ha* selectively with stative verbs. This raises the possibility that one way to generalize *fa* is to reanalyze it as ‘be’. Alternatively, these speakers have borrowed a form that is bleached, both phonologically and semantically.

9.1 Occurrence and significance of the *ha* variant

9.1.1 Occurrence of *ha* and HS

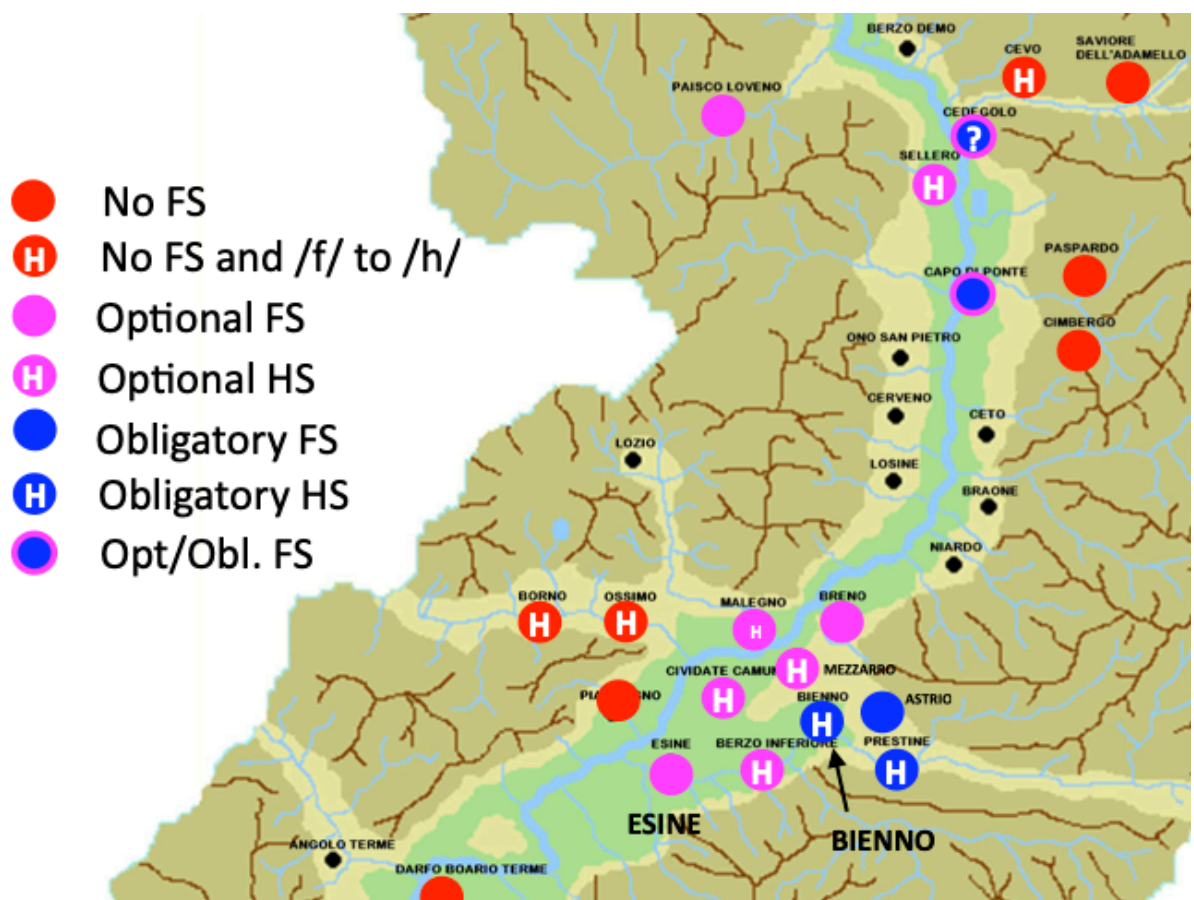
In this study the greater focus has been on areas of Val Camonica where use of the *fa*-support (FS) construction is optional and coexists with an alternative method of forming an interrogative by main/lexical verb – subject clitic inversion (SCI). Optional FS accounts for most of the dialects of the Middle Valley (MV), but very few of the Upper Valley (UV), and all of these being in the western arm of the Upper Valley. When optional, there are semantic restrictions in FS use. Areas with optional FS have been interpreted as those where, for reasons of constant contact with SCI-only dialects, speakers have reserved a special meaning to FS questions and use them primarily with manner-activity verbs. FS in these areas of the valley has failed to generalize across the stative verbs. The inherent semantics of the verb *fa* must therefore present obstacles to this generalization.

MV communities where speakers can, or must, use an interrogative construction with a separate support verb are shown again on Figure 9.1 (overpage). Figure 9.1 also separates the communities where the prevailing form is *fa*-support (FS) and those where it is *ha*-support (HS). HS is characteristic of the dialect of the small town of Bienno and surrounding villages in the Grigna valley. For some speakers in Bienno and all speakers in

the hilltop community of Prestine, HS is obligatory. For other Bienno speakers and those from communities further down the Grigna valley, Berzo inferiore and Civate, HS is optional.

HS area is bordered by dialects with optional FS such as Esine to the south, and Breno to the north. In Malegno, the small community at the base of the hillside adjacent to Civate, although optional FS is more common but there are also some speakers who have both optional FS (as in Esine and Breno) and optional HS (as in Civate). There is also at least one community where FS is largely obligatory: the isolated hilltop community of Astrio di Breno, which is between Prestine, Bienno (obligatory HS) and Breno (optional FS). It is therefore true to say that all four varieties exist in the central MV: obligatory HS and FS, as well as optional HS and FS. There are also speakers who have both FS and HS.

FIGURE 9.1: LOCATIONS OF DIALECTS WITH OPTIONAL AND OBLIGATORY HS AND FS



Optional HS is also found in Sellero, at the northern limit of the MV, geographically isolated from Bienno.¹ Sellero is also surrounded by dialects with FS such as Cedegaolo to the north and Capo di Ponte to the south (and whether FS is optional or obligatory in those dialects is unknown).

9.1.2 Significance of *ha* as phonological erosion

The reason for treating FS and HS as instances of the same phenomenon in previous chapters was that, with the exception of the initial consonant, the paradigms of all tenses of the support verbs *fa* and *ha* are almost identical, as shown for in Bienno (Chapter 3, Table 3.6). This is illustrated again below (Table 9.3, later in this chapter) demonstrating that differences apart from the initial consonant are limited to minor vowel changes in the present tense 3SG and 2PL.

As will be shown in subsequent sections, the conclusion that *fa* and *ha* are the same verb, with the same underlying 'do' representation still remains valid, at least for the vast majority of speakers using FS or HS. Whether or not this is true for some speakers in Malegno is a question to be examined in Section 9.3.

The main significance of the *ha* pronunciation is as an instance of **phonological erosion** by loss of the labio-dental articulation feature of /f/. Phonological change of /f/ to /h/ is fairly common cross-linguistically (e.g. in all varieties of Spanish) and is an example of lenition. It would be an expected component of the grammaticalization of the FS construction (e.g. Bybee, 2015: 27-29). As a result of this selective lenition, the interrogative support verb *ha* is then distinct from all other *fa* verbs, notably the causative auxiliary, as well as main verbs 'do' and 'make'. It has been argued previously that main verb (pro-verb) *fa* 'do', is the most likely source for the support verb, rather than the causative auxiliary. This is on the grounds that the most common use of FS is with the then semantically similar, manner-activity verbs (Chapters 6-8), and (a secondary reason), an absence of the clitic raising characteristic of the causative verb (Chapter 3, Section 3.3).

¹ Obviously not all communities in Val Camonica have been sampled so it is entirely possible there are more places with the *ha* pronunciation.

However, irrespective of the origin, one thing is clear: with a phonological difference between the two auxiliaries, *ha* and causative *fa*, the two cannot be confused. Should a tendency to aspirate /f/ be activated, this would provide an advantage to a pronunciation of the interrogative verb as *ha*, making it phonologically as well as syntactically/semantically different from causative *fa*.

9.1.3 Relative timing of phonological, semantic, and syntactic changes

Besides the phonological change (erosion), which is restricted to certain dialects, the more general traits of grammaticalization described in previous chapters and summarized here are: semantic change (bleaching), and probably also structural/syntactic change (simplification). The further significance of the *ha* variant is in providing information about the relative timing of these changes.

The reader is reminded that in dialects where FS/HS is optional this interrogative construction coexists with the main alternative interrogative method of SCI. When an optional phenomenon, the same two diagnostic traits are found with HS as FS: low use with stative verbs, and the same special meaning to the HS question.

Low use with stative verbs, or a high non-stative/stative verb ratio suggests that the underlying representation for both *fa* and *ha* in optional FS/HS is that of a **semantically rich manner verb ‘do’**. The most likely mechanism to produce the support verb is through duplication of part of the semantics of the manner verb complement. The primary reason for this may be to emphasize the content of the verb phrase but by so doing, this also allows for a separation of the functional and lexical components to the finite and infinitival verbs, respectively. (Further evidence that doubling for emphasis is a trait of this dialect is included in Chapter 10: Conclusions).

In the generalization of FS/HS, with some (otherwise) stative verbs such as *fidarsi/fidàh* (Italian/Camuno-Esine) ‘trust’, it is possible to add a semantically rich support verb ‘do’ and coerce the verb into an agentive and activity meaning. With other normally stative verbs such as *piacere/piahà* ‘like’, although it is possible for some speakers to add ‘do’ (and produce a construction with a highly marked meaning), it is not possible for other speakers. Only when *fa/ha* has apparently lost its meaning and become (largely)

semantically bleached does it become generally compatible with (almost) all stative verbs and FS/HS an (essentially) **obligatory phenomenon**.

The FS/HS question meaning contrasts with that of the SCI question, and, when both are available, the support verb construction is the **marked option** and **special question**. As described in Chapter 5: Meaning of FS, informants throughout the valley consistently cite the same set of meanings, irrespective of whether they use *fa* or the variant, *ha*.² The FS/HS question is the **‘indirect’ question**, asking for an opinion of the addressee. It encodes a pre-existing proposition about an event slightly anterior to the speaking time about which the speaker has already some presupposed notion. In such a question the *wh*-item is specific and refers to an item that already exists in the mind of the speaker. In comparison, SCI question is a **‘direct’** and ‘open’ question, allowing for all possible answers, where the propositional material has not previously been considered, and the *wh*-item is non-specific. These differences between FS/HS and SCI are then the same as those of a **matrix** versus an **embedded question**. For this reason the FS/HS structure has been interpreted as biclausal and the support verb *fa/ha* located in a separate clause from the proposition being interrogated.

These three traits of optional FS/HS, phonological, semantic, and structural, are summarized in Table 9.1, as attested in three different MV dialects.

TABLE 9.1: RELATIVE TIMING OF PHONOLOGICAL, SEMANTIC AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES TO FS/HS

		Esine	Cividate	Bienno (oblig. HS)
Phonological	1. <i>fa</i> 2. <i>ha</i>	1	2	2
Semantic	1. non-stative verbs 2. stative (and non-stative) verbs	1	1	2
Structural	1. meaning difference, FS/HS vs SCI 2. no SCI, so no meaning difference	1	1	2

² Several examples were given in Chapter 5: Meaning of FS, of HS/SCI question pairs from informants from Bienno, Cividate, and Berzo Inferiore. Further examples can be found in Appendix 5.

Using only the information in this table, it appears that the phonological erosion precedes the semantic bleaching and structural simplification, and there is no evidence to separate the latter.

9.2 Influences promoting phonological change of *fa* to *ha*

9.2.1 Bienno area

The conclusion reached above is that the *ha*-support auxiliary used in the Bienno area is merely a variety of *fa* with a unique local accent and phonological rule of /f/ to [h]. If so, *fa/ha* is apparently the only word to which this lenition applies word-initially, although there are instances where the rule may apply word-finally, for example (Bienno) *nef/neh* ‘snow’, *piöf/piöh* ‘rain’ (both as a noun and verb) and *ciaf/ciah* ‘keys’.³ Additionally, the 2nd person plural enclitic, which in the UV is [f], is often pronounced [h], a possibility that also exists in Esine (1).

1. a. **Hi=h** nà a Milà (Bienno)
- b. **Fi=f/h** nà a Milà (Esine)
- do.2PL=SCL.2PL go.INFIN to Milan
- ‘Are you (pl) going to Milan?’

Word medially, aspiration of /f/ or its voiced counterpart, /v/, does occur but is limited to foreign words. For example, in Bienno there is a street with the Italian name *Battaglia di Nikolaevna* ‘Battle of Nikolaevna’, and the /v/ in *Nikolaevna* is pronounced as [h]. Also, the fuel *nafta* ‘naphthalene’ becomes *nahta*. With non-foreign words, there is a tendency for lenition and loss of /f/, or its voiced counterpart /v/, which is common in Northern Italian Dialects in general. Thus the imperfect, e.g. 3rd person, that in Italian is *lavorava* ‘he was working’, in Camuno (Bienno) is *laoràa*.

The reason for lack of application of an /f/ to /h/ rule more generally is fairly obvious: the use in the MV of a phonological trait known locally as the *s-aspirata*, where occurrences of the phoneme /s/ are pronounced as /h/. This rule operates not only in the Middle

³ I am indebted to local dialect enthusiast and scholar, Lucio Avanzini, for first pointing out to me possible origins of *ha* by application of an f>h rule operating in Borno/Ossimo, as well as the resulting similarity to ‘be’, and for many of the Bienno examples in this chapter.

Valley but also Lower Valley and some in neighbouring areas of Bergamasco, but not in the Upper Valley.⁴ The regional /s/ to /h/ rule gives rise to the following differences when /s/ is word-initial: *hemper* (MV) vs *semper* (UV) ‘always’, *harsa/sarsa* ‘cherry’ (rarely also *hareha*), *hocio/socio* ‘friend’; consonant clusters *hcöla/scöla* ‘school’; and medial and final *dehpeh/despes* ‘often’. Therefore, had both a general rule of /s/ to /h/ and one of /f/ to /h/ operated in places such as Bienno, on hearing [h], speakers would not have been able to distinguish instances of an underlying /s/ from those of underlying /f/.

In areas without /s/ to /h/, a general /f/ to /h/ is apparently free to operate. An example of /f/ to /h/ is in Ossimo and Borno, the hillside communities west of Malegno. A sharp dialect boundary is present between Malegno and Ossimo. While Malegno has a Camuno dialect with optional FS or HS and uses the *s-aspirata*, Ossimo/Borno use Bergamasco dialects without FS, lacking the *s-aspirata* and instead having an *f-aspirata*, or a general /f/ to /h/ rule. Thus Ossimo/Borno dialect speakers on hearing an [h] assume is that it is representative of the underlying phoneme /f/.

The Ossimo/Borno general /f/ to /h/ rule applies equally to word-initial tokens: *farina* (Malegno)/*harina* (Ossimo) ‘flour’, *fér/hér* ‘iron’, *festa/hesta* ‘party’, *fümà/hümà* ‘smoke’ and word-finally *neh* ‘snow’ or the 2nd pl. enclitic *-h*. Ossimo/Borno speakers are generally well aware that their /f/ aspiration to [h] is a sign of their accent, as in careful speech, such as in repeating slowly for an outsider, they may use the more regionally comprehensible [f] pronunciation. These traits are summarized in Table 9.2 for Bienno, Esine, Malegno, Ossimo/Borno (all MV) as well as Monno (UV). Cells with obligatory [h] or /h/ pronunciations are shaded in darker grey and optional [h] in lighter grey.

The Ossimo/Borno /f/ to /h/ also applies to all available /f/-initial verbs: the causative verb ‘make, let, cause’ (2), and verb ‘do’ (3) as used as light verb with action nominal, as shown in comparisons of SCI on these verbs. (In Borno/Ossimo there is no interrogative support verb.)

⁴ The *Atlante Italo-Svizzero* (AIS) (Jaberg & Jud, 1928-1940) shows the /h/-pronunciation in Stabello (Data point 246), Monasterolo (247), Bergamo (258), Martinengo (254) and I also heard it in Parzanica (all in Provincia di Bergamo).

TABLE 9.2: /S/ TO /H/ AND /F/ TO /H/ RULES IN MV-ESINE, MV-BIENNO, UV AND OSSIMO/BORNO

	Monno (UV)	Ossimo (Berg.)	Malegno (MV)	Bienna (MV)	Esine (MV)
'cherry'	<i>saresa</i>	<i>saresa</i>	<i>harsa</i>	<i>harsa</i>	<i>harsa</i>
'flour'	<i>farina</i>	<i>harina</i>	<i>farina</i>	<i>farina</i>	<i>farina</i>
'snow'	<i>nef</i>	<i>neh</i>	<i>nef</i>	<i>nef/h</i>	<i>nef</i>
Intr. support verb	<i>fa</i> (oblig)	–	<i>fa/ha</i> (opt)	<i>ha</i> (oblig/opt)	<i>fa</i> (opt FS)
Causative & pro-verb	<i>fa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>fa</i>

The following Ossimo examples also contain numerous examples of the use of /s/ that in neighbouring communities on the valley floor such as Malegno use [h]. Example (4) uses the verb 'be', infinitive *èser* (Ossimo) with an [s] as in the UV (although this 3PL form is palatalized as [ʃ]) not [h] as in *èher* (Malegno), and also demonstrates aspiration of the 2PL enclitic.

2. a. Ghe he=t maià/mangià le spinasce a-i pi? (Ossimo)
 b. Ghe fe=t maià/mangià le hpinahe a-i pi? (Malegn./Civ.: SCI)
DAT.3 cause=SCL.2SG eat.INFIN the spinach a-the children
 'Do you make the children eat spinach?'
3. a. Hé=t la spesa 'l sabet, al de solit, té? (Ossimo)
 b. Fé=t la hpeda 'l habet, de holit, té? (Malegno: SCI)
do=SCL.2SG the shopping the saturday (to-the) of usual, you
 'Do you do your shopping on Saturday, usually?'
4. a. Quate uolte scie=h anda-č a mesa l'an passat? (Ossimo)
 b. Quate olte hi=f na-č a meha l'an pahat? (Malegno)
how.many times are.2PL=SCL.2PL gone-2M.PL to mass the year past
 'How many times did you go to mass last year?'

Examples above compare the SCI forms of the interrogative between the dialects.

Example (5) below is the same as (2) but uses the HS form available to some Malegno speakers and all Cividate and Bienna speakers. The reader is reminded that, even without the *ha* pronunciation the interrogative auxiliary would still be distinguishable from that

of the causative auxiliary by the fact that clitics raise with the causative verb but embed on the subsequent infinitive with the interrogative verb.

5. He=t fà=ghe=l mangià le hpinàhe a-i pi? (Cividate:FS)
do=SCL.2SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3=ACC.DEF eat.INFIN the spinach a-the children
'Do you make your children eat spinach?'

Ossimo and Borno are connected through Malegno and Cividate to Bienno. There are therefore two possible explanations for the use of interrogative *ha* rather than *fa* 'do' in (Malegno)-Cividate-Bienno: either the Ossimo the lexical item *ha* 'do' has been borrowed, or the phonological rule has been copied in a limited way.

Borrowing of the lexical item is the more complicated explanation so rejected on those grounds: It would require a second and independent invention of 'do'-support within the valley, a phenomenon already so rare that there are no comparable examples in modern Romance. It is also inherently unlikely as items with low lexical content are rarely borrowed under situations of language contact (Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller, 1988). The simpler explanation is that under the influence of Ossimo/Borno dialects, speakers in the Bienno area have also taken on limited, word-initial /f/ aspiration of *fa*, producing *ha*.

9.2.2 Sellero area

A quite separate area where some speakers use a *ha* pronunciation for the interrogative auxiliary is Sellero, in the north of the MV where the valley is narrow and sides particularly steep. In this area /s/ to /h/ still applies but it is weaker and usually only applies to one occurrence in a non-foreign word. Sellero is not geographically directly connected to Bienno and speakers in places in between, such as Capo di Ponte and Breno, use *fa*.

The one speaker analyzed invariably used an [h] pronunciation and /h/ spelling to the interrogative support auxiliary *ha* such as in (6) to (8) but to no other /f/-initial words, e.g. the light verb *fa* 'do' in (9) or to /f/-final words, e.g. *catif* (Ital: *cattivo*) 'nasty' (not illustrated) and the 2nd pl. interrogative clitic –*f* as in (10). Typical of the upper part of the Middle Valley, he showed only limited /s/ to /h/ in his pronunciation, such as (optional) *henha hul* (Ital: *senza sole*) (6), *stahera* (stasera) (7), but *'l sabet* (il sabato) (9).

Importantly however, in (10) *het nat?* (sei andato?) (10) his verb ‘be’ was *èher* (Ital: *essere*) not UV *èser*. (The underlying or actual /s/ is underlined in these examples).

6. Ha=i marüda i pondor henza hul? (Sellero)
do=SCL.3M.PL ripen.INFIN the tomatoes without sun
‘Do apples ripen without sun?’
7. Harà=la maià chel pes stahera, Maria?
does.FUT=SCL.3F.SG eat.INFIN that fish this-evening Maria
‘Will Maria eat that fish this evening?’
8. Hé=f dà=m an palanchì?
do=SCL.2PL give.INFIN=DAT.1SG a money
‘Are you (pl) giving me some money?’
9. Farà=la ché ‘l sabet?
does.FUT=SCL.3F.SG what the saturday
‘What will she do on Saturday?’
10. Hé=t nat a mèha?
are=SCL.2SG gone to mass
‘(lit) Are you gone to mass?’

Due to the distance and number of intervening communities, it seems improbable that this Sellero speaker is aspirating /f/ due to the influence of Ossimo/Borno (or, alternatively, borrowing the Bienno interrogative auxiliary). More likely is that he has another local source for /f/ > [h] in this one word. This turns out to be the case, as Cevo, a community at the base of the lateral valley, Val Savio, is another pocket of general /f/ to /h/ where all /f/-initial words are pronounced with an /f/ (Lucio Avanzini, pers. comm.).⁵ As in Ossimo/Borno, in Cevo there is also no /s/ to /h/ (preventing merger of phonemes /f/ and /s/), and there is also no *fa/ha* support verb (Manzini & Savoia, 2005: Vol. 1, 365).

Due to the geographic proximity, it is likely that speakers in Sellero would frequently be exposed to Cevo speakers who aspirate /f/, creating a pressure to resisted for all words

⁵ The *Atlante Italo-Svizzero* (Jaberg & Jud, 1928-1940) also shows another /f/ to /h/ pocket in Lombard dialects west of Lago Maggiore in Germasino Provincia di Como (Data Point 222), in addition to Borno, Provincia di Bergamo (238).

except the interrogative auxiliary *fa*, which becomes *ha*. As is the case in the Bienno area, the primary advantage conferred to speakers of using an [h]-initial (non-causative) interrogative auxiliary is that it cannot then be confused with the [f]-initial causative auxiliary.

The Sellero informant had an optional HS equivalent in its degree of grammaticalization (as measured by the manner/(result + stative) and (manner + result)/stative metrics in Chapter 8, Figure 8.2) to speakers in Malegno and was placed in Zone 2. Thus in comparison to the alternatives available in Table 9.2 above, Ossimo=Cevo and Sellero=Cividate, and the same arguments apply.

The occurrence of two isolated areas of HS within the wider zone of FS is an indication that this phonological change, which is relatively common within Romance, if applied selectively may result in a useful way to distinguish forms that are homophonous but have different underlying semantic representations.⁶ It adds further evidence to support the view that, in the minds of these speakers, the interrogative support verb is not same as the causative auxiliary.

Evidence to be presented below, although in accordance with the view that *ha* cannot be ‘make, let, cause’, raises the question of whether, for a limited number of speakers, *ha* is no longer ‘do’, but has been reanalyzed as ‘be’.

9.3. The possibility of *ha* as ‘be’

9.3.1 Optional HS informants in Bienno/Cividate/Berzo

The argument made up to this point is that *ha* is a variant of *fa* where the /f/ is aspirated through selective application of an /f/ > [h] phonological rule, word initially, to just this

⁶ A further support for an independent origin for /f/ to [h] is the incidence of aspiration of the *fa* auxiliary found in two elderly speakers in Monno (obligatory FS dialect). The two Monno speakers aspirated the auxiliary only rarely, but all occurrences were of the 2nd person form *fé-t* changed to *hé-t*, not of 3rd ps *fa-l* to *ha-l*. It was thus affecting the incidences of [f] with a similar high front vowel and not the ones with a low back vowel. The alternative [h] pronunciation was explained to me as a consequence of the speakers having lost so many teeth. The explanation is in fact perfectly tenable as a labio-dental sound is harder to produce without teeth, although it is less clear why this would affect the sound with the similar high-front articulation more than the one with the low-back articulation. As Monno is outside the area of *s-aspirata* there can be no confluence with the ‘be’ paradigm. The example serves to illustrate the change can apparently occur without there being a linguistic reason.

one word. By analogy to the support verb *fa*, which is morphologically identical to lexical 'do' throughout the paradigm (and as argued above, is almost certainly derived from it), while it has lexical content, *ha* would therefore also have an underlying representation of 'do'.

For some speakers for whom HS is optional, there is also fairly direct evidence that their auxiliary is 'do'. These speakers are making their choice of HS vs SCI on pragmatic and semantic grounds in the same way as speakers who use *fa*: they use HS predominately with non-stative verbs, and HS questions are 'indirect' in both a pragmatic sense and literally, from a structural point of view. Note that both of these reasons concern the semantics of 'do': the primary use with manner-activity verbs is directly related to the semantics; HS as an indirect question, is attributed primarily to the structure created by a lexically contentful, if 'light' (i.e. generic in meaning) verb. However, the support verb structure would not exist were it not for the lexical content of the verb. If there were no lexical content, the verb would be an auxiliary and the structure monoclausal.

The manner-activity semantics of 'do' appears to be a hinderance in the wider application of the support verb structure and its generalization to all verbs. In the biclausal structure the support verb assigns the subject, and the support verb 'do' is fully compatible with verbs with effector subjects, most naturally the manner-activity verbs, and also some result-activity verbs. Use of the 'do' subject with verbs that do not normally take an effector subject changes the semantics of the supported verb. With verbs with theme subjects, addition of the support verb and its effector subject adds an external argument (so acting like the causative verb but with manner semantics and without the causer). When added to one of the stative verbs, such as *fidarsi* 'trust' the 'do' subject coerces the verb into an activity meaning so that the effector subject is compatible.

Instead, if the support verb were 'be', or became 'be' for certain speakers through reanalysis, there would theoretically be no such issue, as 'be' would be compatible not

only with statives but also with the non-statives.⁷ It is unlikely that ‘be’ has a semantic content adequate to maintain the structure and provide the observed set of meaning differences between HS and SCI, given the fact that it is normally used as an auxiliary.

The first suspicion that *ha* might have an underlying representation of ‘be’ comes from the explanations of some of the HS speakers. The notion that the verb that they are using is ‘be’ is fairly widespread among these speakers when they are asked about it directly (Lucio Avanzini, pers. comm.). I also found it with informant 50. Bienno, who took part in all four phases of this research. Her rationale was that *ha* sounded like (and is written like) the paradigm of *èher* ‘be’, and that ‘be’ is a common auxiliary verb. When I pointed out to her that the verb being used in nearby Esine was pronounced *fa* and must be ‘do’, she was unaware of this and remained unpersuaded, maintaining still that her *ha* must be ‘be’.

The similarity of the interrogative *ha* and *èher* paradigms for the present tense is presented in Table 9.3, alongside the paradigm of *fa* ‘do’. (In the future, imperfect and conditional, in Camuno as in Italian, ‘do’ and ‘be’ are the same, apart from the initial consonant.) The partial merger of ‘do’ and ‘be’ in MV dialects results from the /s/ to /h/ phonological shift, and in the UV forms of *èser* ‘be’ could not be confused with any *ha* auxiliary, were it to exist. In the table, cells that are identical are filled with medium grey and those that are partially identical in lighter grey.

In the 3rd ps form in the Bienno dialect, there are two possibilities for the vowel: either an [a] or an [ɛ]. Raising of [a] to [ɛ] when unstressed is common in Bienno and both forms can co-exist even in the same family (for example, *piahér* > *piehér* ‘please’; Lucio

⁷ There are examples from other languages where a ‘do’ auxiliary can be swapped for ‘be’ without apparent change of meaning or function. In some Central and Southern Italian dialects described in Lusini (2013: 47-59), either a FACERE-based auxiliary, which is presumably ‘do’ (it is certainly non-causative, judging by the lack of causee/2nd subject) or a ESSE ‘be’ can be used. The construction is not directly comparable to Camuno FS as the auxiliary must be preceded by a *che*-like word (either a wh-item or complementizer) and followed by a finite, rather than infinitival, main verb. As far as I am aware, there are no semantic restrictions in the dialects where ‘be’ could be used as an alternative.

In his cross-linguistic survey of ‘do’-support Jäger (2006: 49) also noted that in languages with both a ‘do’ and ‘be’ auxiliary, the choice often depended on the activity (‘do’) versus stativity (‘be’) of the accompanying lexical verb; in others it varied according to the transitivity (‘do’) versus intransitivity (‘be’). As regards the former, Jäger (Chapter 3) cited languages as diverse as: Menya (TNG/MS – Papua New Guinea); Cashibo (Panoan - Peru), Carrier (Athabaskan - Canada); and Maricopa (Hokan - America).

Avanzini, pers. comm.). A tendency to drop the /h/ could be interpreted as a trait from nearby Prestine, where it apparently results from many generations of families having lived in France and now persistently dropping all their ‘h’s in both dialect and Italian.

With the merger, questions in the present become similar to those in the past, for example: *hé-t nà* ‘are you going’ vs *hé-t nàt* ‘have (lit. are) you gone’. With many verbs the infinitival and past participles are also hard to distinguish as there is a tendency to drop the final /t/, in which case presumably the context alone suffices to distinguish whether a question is about the present or the past.

TABLE 9.3: PRESENT TENSE INTERROGATIVE PARADIGMS OF *FA*, *HA* AND *EHER* ‘BE’ IN ESINE AND BIENNO

Form	auxiliary <i>fa</i> ‘cause’ and main verb <i>fa</i> ‘do’ (Esine/Bienno * ¹)	<i>ha</i> (Bienno)	<i>éher</i> ‘be’ (Esine and Bienno)
1 sg	fó-i	hó-i	hó-i
2 sg	fé-t	hé-t	hé-t
3 sg m/f	fà-l/la	hà-l /la or hè-l/la	è-l/la
1 pl	fó-m	hó-m, hà-m or hè-m	hè-m
2 pl	fì-f/h – Esine fì-f/h, fé-f/h – Bienno	hì-f/h or hé-f/h	hì-f – Esine hé-f – Bien.
3 pl m/f	fà-i/le	hà-i/le or hè-i/le	è-i/le

¹ Applicable to those informants who can invert the clitic on the causative auxiliary or main verb without adding an additional interrogative auxiliary.

In fact, Informant 50. Bienno is probably wrong about her attribution of (her) *ha* to ‘be’ because of her choice to use it primarily with non-stative verbs. (Her metrics measured in P4, given in Chapter 8, Figure 8.3 are $m/(r+s) = 1.4$; $(m+r)/s = 2.7$.) There would be no obvious reason why, with a ‘be’ auxiliary, she would be so limited. She is responsible for many of the examples of HS/SCI question pairs, with the typical set of meaning differences (as in Appendix 5).

A reanalysis of *ha* as ‘be’ is however quite tenable for informants with obligatory HS use. It is also possible for the few informants from Malegno who have both a *ha* and *fa* support verbs and appear to be using them to support different types of verb. In both

cases, *ha* is associated more with stative verbs and *fa* with non-stative verbs, as is described in the next section.

9.3.2 Optional HS informants in Malegno (for informants with *fa* and *ha*)

The reader is reminded that Malegno is located up the hillside and across the River Oglio from Civate and on the far side of Civate from Bienno (where *ha* use is at its strongest and in obligatory use). Malegno is connected directly to Breno in the north, and indirectly through Civate to Esine in the south, both of which are communities where only *fa* is found (and where FS is optional). Speakers of the Malegno dialect are therefore influenced by both the *fa* and *ha* pronunciations.

Of the 5 Malegno informants interviewed, two always used *fa* (Infs. 102, 91) but three had both a *fa* and a *ha* pronunciation. Of the three with both *ha* and *fa*, two of them, Infs. 78 and 89, were brothers, and used mostly *fa* with occasional *ha*.⁸ The other (Inf. 80) did the reverse and normally produced *ha* but with a few *fa*. None of these informants was consciously aware that there were two distinct pronunciations.

Three of the informants (Infs. 78, 80 and 91) produced results in the elicitation experiments that allowed their use of the support verb with the different manner/result/stative categories to be measured. These are shown in Figure 9.2 below along with the metric calculations ($m/(r+s)$ and $(m+r)/s$) similar to Chapter 8. Results from Inf. 80 from the translation phases P1 & 2 have been added.

FIGURE 9.2: METRICS FOR FS/HS PRODUCTION FROM INFORMANTS 78, 80 AND 91 FROM MALEGNO

Inf	Ph/Calc	sum%	FS&HS	tot	m%	m	mtot	r%	r	rtot	s%	s	stot	m/r+s	m+r/s
78	P3/P4-1	60%	142	237	87%	68	78	64%	69	107	10%	5	52	1.9	7.7
78	P3/P4-2	61%	153	252	87%	68	78	64%	69	107	24%	16	67	1.8	3.1
80	P3	83%	38	46	95%	18	19	100%	12	12	53%	8	15	1.3	1.8
80	P1/2	24%	20.5	86	38%	10	26	24%	7.5	31	10%	3	29	2.2	3.0
91	P3	33%	15	46	53%	10	19	17%	2	12	20%	3	15	2.8	1.9

For P1/2 tokens from Inf.80, 1st response of SCI but 2nd/3rd response of FS is counted as 0.5.

⁸ Unfortunately due to advanced age, Informant 89 did not successfully complete the elicitation experiment.

In this figure all tokens of FS and HS from the quantitative phases of the elicitation experiment (P3 & P4) are combined, as the point of the figure is to demonstrate how, overall, all three informants demonstrate the characteristic manner > result > stative pattern.⁹

Inf. 78 participated in both the P3 and P4 experiments so has a relatively large number of tokens when these are combined (237, without *fidarsi/credere in* tokens, or 252, including these), allowing the most detailed and accurate analysis of FS and HS use. His use of the support verb was typical of Zone 2 with around twice the use with manner verbs as with all the rest of the verbs combined (from this dataset, $m/(r+s) = 1.9/1.8$). If stative verbs if *fidarsi* 'trust', *credere in* 'believe in' and *mancare* 'miss', are excluded (as in the calculation in Chapter 8), his use with stative verbs comprises only 5 tokens out of 52 possible and very high non-stative to stative ratio $((m+r)/s)$ at 7.6. If these verbs are included, he has 16 tokens and a (still high) non-stative/stative' ratio of 3.1.

Inf. 80, although he participated in the P3 experiments, produced far more FS than expected given the P1/2 results (and other speakers from Malegno/Cividate). At the time of the experiment, although he insisted on participating, he was clearly distressed (because his wife was in hospital), and seemed to answer by rote in producing the support construction (which, he must have realized, was the object of the experiment). Despite this, there is systematic variation in which the support verb he used, as will become apparent. As he used the support verb far more with both result and stative verbs than expected, with manner = result > stative, his P1/2 results are also included to demonstrate that he, too, 'normally' used FS/HS in the order manner > result > stative.

Inf. 91 is included to show that the pattern manner > result > stative pattern for Malegno was relatively consistent, and the speakers equivalent in their use of the support verb

⁹ For consistency with previous metric calculations, tokens of: *andare* 'go', *rompere* 'break' (which are result verbs but pattern with the manner verbs), and *provare* 'try' (cannot be assigned a category from direct evidence) are omitted from calculations. In addition, for consistency with previous metric calculations, tokens of *fidarsi* 'trust', *credere in* 'believe in' and *mancare* 'miss', verbs that seem to be stative but for which an agentive-activity meaning is also possible, are, for Inf. 78 omitted from the first metric calculation (P3/4-A), but included in the second calculation (P3/4-B) as they have yielded several of the marked HS tokens (see below). This does not affect results for Infs. 80 or 91 (which did not contain tokens of these verbs).

construction to those of neighbouring Civitate, so all were assigned to the Zone 2 stage of grammaticalization.

Figure 9.3 below uses the same dataset as Figure 9.2 above but shows the breakdown of tokens of HS versus those of FS for these informants. It therefore uses the columns marked above in Figure 9.2 as 'm', 'r' and 's', which are the combined tokens of HS+FS, as the new total, and lists the number of tokens of HS among those, and their percentage. The white columns to the left of 'Phase', sum the HS production from all FS+HS production represented by the dataset. The columns to the right give metrics that are the reciprocal values of the metrics in Figure 9.2 above, in other words, the first, $(r+s)/m$, is the proportion of use with non-manner verbs to manner verbs, and the second, $s/(m+r)$, is the proportion of use with stative verbs compared to non-statives.

FIGURE 9.3: METRICS FOR FS/HS PRODUCTION FROM INFORMANTS 78, 80 AND 91 FROM MALENGNO

Inf	Phase	HS%	HS	toks	m.HS%	m.HS	m	r.HS%	r.HS	r	s.HS%	s.HS	s	r+s/m	s/m+r
78	P3+P4	9%	13	142	1.5%	1	68	13%	9	69	60%	3	5	11.0	8.2
78	P3+P4	11%	17	153	1.5%	1	68	13%	9	69	44%	7	16	12.8	6.0
80	P3	74%	28	38	67%	12	18	75%	9	12	88%	7	8	1.2	1.3
80	P1/2	78%	26.5	34	81%	14.5	18	56%	5	9	100%	7	7	0.9	1.4
91	P3	0%	0	15	0%	0	10	0%	0	2	0%	0	3	-	-

For Inf.80 in P1/2 there are more tokens of FS/HS than in the 'm' 'r' 's' columns above as some were 2nd or 3rd answers previously counted at 0.5.

For Inf. 78, FS is the normal form (and in fact was the only one he produced during the P1/2 translation phases, probably due to careful speech). In the elicitation phases he produced 13 tokens of HS, which is 9% of his overall tokens of FS/HS (in calculations without the three stative/agentive verbs), or 17 tokens, which is 11% (if these verbs are included), so for him HS is definitely the marked form. In contrast for Inf. 80, HS is the normal form and FS the marked form. He produced 74% and 78% HS for the elicitation (P3) and translation phases (P1/2), respectively. Inf. 91 produced only FS.

The columns to the right show the breakdown of these HS tokens by aspectual category. Inf. 78 has a very clear preference for use HS with stative (60%/44%) > result (12%) > manner (1.5%) verbs. Using the metrics calculations in the last two columns (the reverse of the calculation in Figure 9.2 above), it is therefore 11 to 12.8 times more likely that he

will use HS with a non-manner verb than with a manner verb ((r+s)/m) and 8.2 or 6.0 times more likely he will use HS with a stative verb than non-stative verb (s/(m+r)). This is far more than could be attributed to chance alone.¹⁰

Inf. 80 is predominantly an HS user and he shows consistently less use of HS with manner or result than with stative verbs. Results for the elicitation phase show a neat order of HS with stative (88%) > result (75%) > manner (67%), but overall the ratios are not very high; those for the P1/2 show HS in 100% use with statives and less with non-statives.¹¹

Figure 9.4 (overpage) shows the breakdown of HS use by verb for Inf. 78 for verbs represented by at least two questions and that produced at least one token of FS or HS (so *potere*, *volere*, *sapere*, *sembrare* are not present). Results are sorted by the column, HS%. The colouring scheme is as used previously except that the verbs of measure are coloured blue-green, or teal and so separated from the other blue result verbs.¹² Where there is no use of HS, the letters have been greyed out to indicate nothing can be construed as to the relative order of the verbs.

The preponderance of green and blue-green verbs at the top shows that those verbs with highest percentage of HS out of HS+FS, are all either stative verbs (green), or verbs of measure (blue-green). The next highest in the figure are all (blue) result verbs, with one (red) manner verb intercalated at the base. All the other 7 manner verbs, 6 result verbs, 1 stative/agentive *mancare* 'miss' and the other verb of measure *costare* 'cost' have no HS tokens so are at the base and a relative order cannot be deciphered. The conclusion must be that HS is actively preferred with stative verbs, and/or that FS is dispreferred with stative verbs.¹³

¹⁰ Again, there is no clear way to measure the error here, but as the results are so striking it seems intuitively unlikely that they could be due to chance alone.

¹¹ The slightly less 'neat' order in P1/2 with stative (100%) > manner (81%) > result (56%) (rather than stative > result > manner) could be because several of those are second or third responses and may be 'careful speech' when he is exaggerating either the *ha* or *fa* pronunciations.

¹² For simplicity, the two result verbs with human subjects which are most strongly suggestive of activity, *andare* 'go' and *rompere* 'break' are also omitted. Inf. 78 produced no HS tokens with these verbs.

¹³ The reader should note that if results in Figure 9.4 above were sorted by HS or FS%, the same manner > result > stative pattern would still be broadly visible despite the fact that some verbs are represented by as few as 3 tokens and there are some future tokens included (which causes the FS/HS% to rise for those verbs).

FIGURE 9.4: ORDER OF VERBS ACCORDING TO HS % FOR INF. 78. MALEGNO

Verb	HS%	HS	HSorFS%	HSorFS	Tot
pensare	100%	1	10%	1	10
pesare	100%	1	25%	1	4
fidarsi di	75%	3	80%	4	5
durare	67%	2	75%	3	4
piacere a	50%	2	36%	4	11
credere in	33%	1	50%	3	6
cadere	33%	1	75%	3	4
maturare	33%	1	50%	3	6
fare (caus)	25%	2	57%	8	14
provare a	25%	1	44%	4	9
leggere	11%	1	100%	9	9
finire di (nat)	7%	1	93%	14	15
mancare DP	0%	0	100%	4	4
costare	0%	0	67%	2	3
smettere di	0%	0	86%	6	7
cominciare a (nat)	0%	0	67%	6	9
riuscire a	0%	0	33%	5	15
trovare	0%	0	50%	2	4
rompersi	0%	0	40%	2	5
dare	0%	0	85%	11	13
aggiustare	0%	0	100%	3	3
cantare	0%	0	60%	3	5
parlare	0%	0	80%	4	5
nuotare	0%	0	100%	7	7
lavare	0%	0	100%	12	12
lavorare	0%	0	92%	12	13
mangiare	0%	0	82%	14	17

Dataset: All tokens of P3 and P4 verbs for verbs with n>2. Verbs with no HS/FS omitted.

Although the P3 results available for Inf. 80 mostly have only 3 tokens, a similar hierarchy can be produced to demonstrate which verbs have most use of his marked variant, FS – which are all at the bottom of Figure 9.5 (overpage). This shows that Inf. 80 reserves his very limited use of FS for non-stative verbs, particularly manner verbs.

At the top, among the verbs with 100% use of HS are two stative verbs, the causative auxiliary *fare*, and one of the 5 activity verbs. The causative verb is favoured probably because, as previously mentioned, using HS separates the interrogative and causative verbs.

FIGURE 9.5: ORDER OF VERBS ACCORDING TO HS % FOR INF. 80. MALEGNO

Verb	HS%	HS	HSorFS%	HSorFS	Tot
pensare che	100%	2	67%	2	3
piacere a	100%	3	100%	3	3
fare (caus)	100%	3	100%	3	3
mangiare	100%	3	100%	3	3
costare	67%	2	100%	3	3
durare	67%	2	100%	3	3
dare	67%	2	100%	3	3
aggiustare	67%	2	100%	3	3
lavare	67%	2	100%	3	3
lavorare	67%	2	100%	3	3
leggere	50%	2	100%	4	4

One additional Malegno informant, No. 89 (brother of 78) produced only 5 reliable tokens of FS/HS during the P3 experiment (which could not be completed due to comprehension issues), but four of these were *fa* and one *ha*. The *ha* token came from use with the causative verb *fa*.

The greater compatibility of *ha* with stative verbs in the two Malegno speakers, Infs. 78 and 80 could be attributed to a lack of the manner-activity semantics in *ha*. That could theoretically occur in two ways: It could be the result of semantic bleaching of a *ha* ‘do’, leaving effectively an ‘empty shell’ (as with the English auxiliary). Alternatively it could be brought about by a reinterpretation of *ha* as ‘be’. Because ‘be’ is a stative verb, it would not produce a ‘clash’ when added to a lexical stative verb, nor require an alteration in the semantics of that lexical verb. In the first instance, if it is an empty shell, it is an auxiliary and therefore part of a monoclausal structure. In the second instance it would be a stative verb with the lexical content of ‘be’, although it is doubtful if this would be sufficient to maintain a biclausal structure.

One additional piece of evidence is that both Infs. 78 and 80 are producing questions with the distinctive meaning, typical for optional FS. In P1/2, each produced three examples of question pairs with the unique set of meanings (see Appendix 5). In the case of Inf. 80, all are with HS, which indicates his HS is typical of the support verb structure.

With Inf. 78, all examples are with FS, so this is only evidence that his FS is typical; his HS is not necessarily so. One from each informant is illustrated in (11) and (12).¹⁵

(Tell me:) Do tomatoes ripen without the sun?

11. a. I pomodòr morüde=i henha al hol? (78.Malegno)

the tomatoes ripen=SCL.3M.PL without the sun

SCI: Neutral question.

b. I pomodòr fa=i marudà henha al hol?

the tomatoes do=SCL.3M.PL ripen.INFIN without the sun

FS: Shows anxiety or exasperation because speaker thinks it's a stupid question.

(Boys!) Do you know that your grandmother is arriving today?

12. a. Al he=f che 'l rüa la nona ancö? (80. Malegno)

ACC.3DEF know=SCL.2PL that SCL.3DEF arrives the grandmother today

SCI: Genuine question. I know this [that your grandmother is coming today], but do you? [i.e. are you aware of this?]

b. #He=f haì che 'l rüa la nona ancö?

do=SCL.2PL know.INFIN that SCL.3DEF arrives the grandmother today

FS: The person asking the question is not sure that the grandmother is coming.

Inappropriate. [Interpretation: Is it really true that (you know that) your grandmother is arriving today?]

Adding together the pieces of evidence about Infs. 78 and 80 yields the following conclusions. Inf. 80 uses HS as in neighbouring Cividate, with a preference for use with manner activity verbs and the typical marked meaning of the HS question compared to SCI, so his *ha* must be 'do' (albeit a fairly generalized 'do').

Inf. 78 uses FS as in neighbouring Breno (or Esine), also with a preference for manner activity verbs and the marked FS question meaning. When he uses the phonologically reduced variant *ha*, he does so largely with stative verbs and a few result verbs, but almost never with manner verbs. There is no indication that his *ha* questions have a marked meaning. The phonological erosion therefore coincides with the semantic change. This could either be semantic bleaching – and he is using *ha* as with Bienno

¹⁵ Note also that the meaning difference is preserved in Aстриo di Breno (see examples in Appendix 5), the small remote agricultural community between Breno, Bienno and Prestine. In this dialect (as represented by one speaker), although FS is usually used with (almost) all stative verbs, it cannot be considered truly obligatory because SCI is still available with manner-activity verbs. This dialect (or at any rate, this speaker) is therefore an exception to the general rule that with the generalization to stative verbs comes the loss in meaning. What is important here is that she demonstrates that even in the MV, FS (with the *fa* pronunciation) can generalize, as in the UV.

speakers for whom it is obligatory – or he has borrowed it but reinterpreted it as ‘be’. Without additional evidence, either of these possibilities seems possible.

Results for the two Malegno informants can be added to the table above, repeated here as Table 9.4. Inf. 78 has both an Esine-style FS with *fa* ‘do’, and an HS either with *ha* ‘be’, or *ha* ‘∅’ (shell of ‘do’) resembling that of the obligatory HS Bienno speakers. Inf. 80 can also use an FS with *fa* ‘do’, which he has heard being used by other speakers in Malegno (such as Inf. 78 and 91), as well as those in Esine, but otherwise uses optional HS with *ha* ‘do’ as in the immediately adjacent community of Cividate.

TABLE 9.4: RELATIVE TIMING OF PHONOLOGICAL, SEMANTIC AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES TO FS/HS

		Es.	78. Mal FS	78. Mal HS (rare)	80. Mal FS (rare)	80. Mal HS	Civ.	Bien (obl.)
Phonological	1. <i>fa</i> 2. <i>ha</i>	1	1	2	1	2	2	2
Semantic	1. n-stative verbs 2. stat. & n-stat. 3. n-stative only	1	1	3	1	1	1	2
Structural	1. FS/HS vs SCI 2. no SCI, no diff.	1	1	?	?	1	1	2

9.4 Summary of the significance of HS

The support verb, which is most commonly *fa*, has a *ha* variant that is typical of the dialects of Bienno and surrounding communities. The *ha* form appears to be an instance of phonological erosion of *fa*. Once eroded, the paradigm resembles that of ‘be’.

For most speakers, when use of *ha*-support shows semantic restrictions, the verb still apparently has an underlying representation of ‘do’ despite the phonological erosion. However, one Malegno speaker who can use either *ha* or *fa* reserves *ha* mainly for stative verbs and *fa* for non-stative verbs. In his speech, the phonological erosion seems coincident with semantic erosion allowing it to be compatible with stative verbs. It is likely that he has borrowed this *ha* form from a neighbouring community, subconsciously assuming it either to be ‘be’, or a semantically bleached ‘do’.

The preponderance of optionality in use of FS/HS in the MV is an indication that there are barriers to the generalization of a support verb based on the manner-activity verb 'do'. Only by removal of the semantic content, or reanalyzing it as stative, can the generalization proceed.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

This final chapter begins in **Section 10.1** with answers to the research chapters posed in Chapter 1. **Section 10.2** suggests how these findings may have wider implications in our interpretation of a 'do'-based support verb, and its grammaticalization. **Section 10.3** then addresses another fundamental question: what is unique about Camuno such that only in this dialect is there use of a support verb based on 'do'? In searching for an answer it introduces some material not included in previous chapters because the forms are rare, dialect specific, and unique to certain pragmatic contexts. The examples show a Camuno trait of doubling of certain functional verbs or even entire predicates. **Section 10.4** makes comparisons to Swiss German, a language that also has a 'do' based auxiliary with semantic restrictions and doubling of some functional verbs. **Section 10.5** relates together Camuno and Swiss German 'do' support indicating a common predicate/verb-doubling tendency. Finally, **Section 10.6** notes three areas of these findings that are topics for future research.

10.1 Answers to research questions

Chapter 1 of this thesis set out the four initial research questions for which answers have been provided in the preceding chapters. These are summarized here.

1. What are the differences between the FS and SCI question, when both are possible in the dialect?

When *fa*-support (FS) is optional as an interrogative strategy, the FS question is marked, and used for reasons other than pure information seeking.

The optional-FS question is asking for an opinion of the addressee, and is an 'indirect' question. It contains a pre-existing proposition about an event slightly anterior to the utterance time and about which the speaker has already some presupposed notion. As in a question, the content must be well defined, so in an FS question the embedded proposition (the entire sentence except *fa*) must contain specific references. Notably any *wh*-item must refer to an entity (person, place, manner) that already exists in the mind of the speaker. Furthermore, the grammatical subject must be referential and not impersonal 'one'.

By contrast, a question formed without addition of an auxiliary (that is not found in the corresponding declarative) and usually employing inversion of the finite verb and subject clitic (SCI) is a 'direct' and 'open' question, allowing for all possible answers, where the propositional material has not previously been considered, the *wh*-item is non-specific, and impersonal 'one' is possible.

2. How is the probability of FS use connected to the semantics of its complement?

When optional, highest use of FS occurs when the supported verb is an activity verb in which the root of the verb encodes the manner. Next highest use is with result verbs, when the root of the verb encodes a result, and particularly with verbs describing the result of an activity. In general, verbs that take effector subjects, i.e. where the subject is also the instigator of an activity (but not if just a causer), are favoured in terms of their likelihood to use FS, over those with theme subjects.

When FS use is optional, there is a considerably lower use with most, although not all, stative verbs. However, certain verbs commonly assumed to be stative have an anomalously high probability of FS use. This is attributed to their having an alternative activity interpretation, and therefore, presumably, an effector subject.

The primary use of interrogative support verb *fa* with verbs of a manner-activity semantics is best explained by it being derived from the semantically equivalent main verb *fa* 'do'.

3. How does FS use generalize from optional to obligatory across the different types of verbal complement?

The diachronic pattern of extension of FS is inferred to follow the same order of probability of its use with different verbs by any one speaker. Overall, the order in sequences of verbs from groups of speakers show a manner > result > stative progression. This was visible diatopically from at least three geographically separate clines (Oglio, Grigna, and Ogliolo valleys) and appears to be an order predetermined by the semantics of *fa* 'do'.

In the generalization from the core category of manner-activity verbs to result verbs, FS use tends to increase first with verbs where activity is mostly strongly suggested by the context. This includes some verbs where activity is lexicalized in the verb but outside the root, and some where it is not part of the verb's semantics. This suggests that the pragmatics drives the grammaticalization.

With the exception of the anomalous 'stative' verbs with a possible activity interpretation, the diachronic pattern of generalization to stative verbs seems to rapid and in one pulse. Diatopic evidence for this is in the paucity of speakers who use FS often, but not always, with stative verbs.

Viewed from the perspective of the changing semantics of *fa*, the first stage involves an extension of the meaning of *fa* and of its possible subjects, to encompass uses viewed as peripheral with the pro-verb *fa* 'do'. This is a relatively stable situation, judging by the large number of speakers in this category. If a further extension takes place in a later phase, the definition of *fa* becomes more dependent on what is excluded rather than what is included. This is a relatively unstable situation and will tend to induce the next stage of grammaticalization. The end result of the process is that (almost) nothing is excluded, and by meaning 'everything' (in this instance, that it is compatible with all verbs), *fa* has come to mean 'nothing', or is semantically 'bleached'.

4. What kind of verb is *fa* as represented by the Monno and Esine dialects: an auxiliary and functional verb, or a main and lexical verb; and so is the structure of the FS monoclausal or biclausal?

In most of the Middle Valley (MV) dialects, FS use is optional and co-exists with SCI. In these dialects, *fa* has strong lexical content (judging by its strong semantic selectivity), equivalent to that of main verb *fa* 'do'. For that reason alone, it should be classified as a semantically lexical verb, and therefore is most likely to be a syntactically main verb. As such it would assign the subject theta role and control the subject of the lower verb.

When FS is optional, the semantic/pragmatic differences between an FS and SCI question are highly reminiscent of those between an embedded and matrix question. For this reason too, the FS structure in these instances is most likely biclausal. This structure applies whenever there is optionality with a certain verb and there is an FS/SCI meaning difference. It is therefore appropriate for interrogatives with all verbs in the MV dialects (where there are most semantic restrictions); but also to the few verbs where both SCI and FS are still possible (and FS has a marked meaning) (e.g. *volere* 'want', *sapere* 'know', *sembrare* 'seem' and possibly *potere* 'can, could') in dialects where FS use has otherwise generalized across the stative verbs.

In most Upper Valley dialects, and some Middle Valley dialects (obligatory FS speakers of Bienno, and Prestine), with almost all verbs, FS is obligatory. With no restrictions on possible combinations with interrogative *fa*, there is no evidence for lexical content; and, because FS is the normal form for the question, it must also be used for purely informative questions. In these dialects FS appears to be a typical auxiliary and raising verb, in a monoclausal structure.

The grammaticalization and transition from optional to obligatory FS therefore would coincide with simplification of the structure from biclausal (1) to monoclausal (2) (as shown here for support of a transitive main/lexical verb).

1. [_{CP2} *fa*lex-SCL [_{CP1} ∅ [_{IP1} Vlex.infin DP] (Optional FS)
2. [_{CP} *fa*func-SCL [_{IP} Vlex.infin DP] (Obligatory FS)

10.2 Wider implications

10.2.1 Consequences for the verb raising parameter

Chapter 1 introduced the significance of ‘do’-support with reference to the debate for English. Adoption of the ‘do’ auxiliary in late Middle English resulted in a change in the so-called verb-raising parameter and loss of V-to-C movement for a lexical verb (e.g. Roberts, 1993: 238-9). As Benincà & Poletto (2004) noted in their original paper, unlike SCI-using Lombard dialects, the Monno dialect could then be said to have a no Asp-to-C rule for lexical verbs in interrogatives, even though V-to-Asp was still possible. The Monno setting (no Asp-to-C) would therefore represent a change in the parameter in comparison to the ‘background setting’ of surrounding dialects (Asp-to-C).

If, however, the interrogative support verb *fa* in dialects with optional FS is in fact a main and lexical verb in a separate clause, it is still being placed in a C-head (and whether this results from Asp-to-C movement in an upper clause, or direct insertion in C, is largely irrelevant). In these dialects, the alternative interrogative form, SCI, also involves a main and lexical verb in C, and Asp-to-C movement. Thus, the parameter setting within dialects with optional FS is internally consistent.

The parameter change takes place as dialects generalize FS to stative verbs and the structure changes from biclausal to monoclausal, in a reanalysis process that appears to

be relatively rapid. It could also be a process that goes to completion, if verbs with SCI forms remain, *sapere* ‘know’ and *sembrare* ‘seem’, as well as *volere* ‘want’, *potere* ‘can, could’, are all treated as auxiliary verbs (and they do not have an FS counterpart with special meaning). Otherwise, it is fairer to conclude that speakers of even the most grammaticalized dialects, such as Monno can, with these verbs, if needed to invoke the special meaning, utilize the older, biclausal FS structure.

10.2.2 Unique qualities of a ‘do’-based auxiliary

Although primarily functional verbs and therefore, auxiliaries, may also have lexical content, all the most common auxiliaries apart from ‘do’ (and possibly some uses of ‘move’ and unusual uses of ‘go’) appear to be derived from verbs that are either result verbs or stative verbs, but not manner verbs. For example, Heine (1993: Section 2.1) lists the main verb sources for auxiliary verbs, to which a manner/result/stative classification is added here in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1 A MANNER/RESULT/STATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MOST COMMON AUXILIARY VERBS

Schema	Verbs	Classification
location	be at, stay at, live at, remain at, etc.	stative result (‘remain/stay at’ = ‘not leave’)
motion	go, come, move, pass, etc.	result (with ‘move’ also as directed motion), RARELY manner (‘move’ as ‘move around’ and undirected motion; ‘go’ as in ‘function’)
activity	do , take, continue, begin, finish, seize, put, keep, etc.	result (‘keep’ = ‘not give away’; continue = ‘not stop’), EXCEPT manner (‘do’)
desire	want, wish, etc.	stative
posture	sit, stand, lie	stative or result use of stative verb
relation	be (like), be (part of), be accompanied by, be with, etc.	stative
possession	get, own, have, etc	stative

The concept of ‘do’ is fundamental, one which perhaps all languages possess, and is generally regarded as a semantic primitive (Wierzbicka, 1994). It is argued here that, although auxiliary verbs derived from result or stative verbs can have semantic content, this is not true for an auxiliary derived from a manner verb, of which ‘do’ is the only example in Italo-romance (as far as I am aware). When ‘do’ maintains its manner-activity semantics, it cannot be an auxiliary verb (merged in the clausal spine, following Cinque, 1999) but must be a main verb (merged either in a separate clause or a double VP).

This follows from the basic concepts of manner and result verbs (e.g. Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2010) as introduced in Chapter 6. To paraphrase:

- A result verb must have a theme argument, object (and complement) that is the result, e.g. ‘He built [_{result} the house].’
- A manner verb may have a theme argument, object (and complement), but this cannot be the result. (It is referred to as a structural ‘non-participant’.) e.g. ‘She ate [_{non-participant} breakfast].’
- Both result and manner verbs may in addition have manner modifiers, e.g. ‘He built the house *by hand*.’ ‘She ate (breakfast) *standing up*.’ These are normally regarded as adjuncts to the VP.

This reasoning can be extended to support verbs (and by use of this term, the structure could potentially be biclausal or monoclausal). The support verb must, by definition, have a vP/CP complement, and this is not a thematic object. For the support verb with a result semantics, the complement must be the result. For the support verb with a manner semantics (and so not just a semantically bleached ‘shell’), if the accompanying vP/CP were its complement, it would have to be a structural non-participant.

By definition a ‘complement’ means the support verb is attached to a different projection than the accompanying verb. For example, in Camuno the support verb and auxiliary *finì* ‘finish’ (3 – Esine dialect), it would be merged on an aspectual projection, and its complement is the vP/VP containing the main verb.

3. Go [_{AspP} finit de [_{vP/VP} leser ‘l liber]] (Aspectual support verb)
 have.1SG finished to read.INFIN the book
 ‘I’ve finished reading the book.’

When the VP with the lexical verb is attached to another iteration of the same projection, i.e. in a double VP, it is, by definition, an adjunct, and modifier. This would therefore be an appropriate structure for a Middle English sentence with a lexical *do*-support verb used in the declarative, such as in (simulated example) (4).^{1,2}

4. I [_{VP} did [_{VP} read the book]]. (Optional *do* ‘do’ support verb: “Middle English”)
 ‘[Mod. English] What I did was read the book.’

The Camuno verb, *fa* which, even if it originated in a structure similar to (4) with double VP, is used today only as a support verb in the interrogative. When *fa* is lexically contentful (as suggested for optional *fa*-support) the structure is suggested to be as in (5) with *fa* merged directly into a C-head in the upper clause. Assuming a detailed structure of a Romance left periphery with multiple C heads, it requires only that some of the structure of the lower CP is duplicated in the Upper CP. In this structure *fa* ‘do’ also has an adjunct relationship with embedded CP. The entire lower CP is its manner modifier.

5. [_{CP} fe=t [_{CP} [_{IP} lidì ‘I liber]?’ (Optional *fa* ‘do’ support verb)
 do=SCL.2SG read.INFIN the book
 ‘Are you reading the book?’

10.2.3 Relationship between ‘do’ and ‘cause’

One further generalization is worth making here: the reason why, cross-linguistically, the concepts of ‘do’ and ‘cause’ are so commonly lexicalized in homophonous verbs (Jäger, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1994: 473-4; van der Auwera, 1999: 466). To take the examples of most relevance here: the homophony is present with reflexes of FACERE throughout Romance, with a main verb ‘do’ and auxiliary ‘cause’. It was also present with Middle English *do*, at least in at eastern dialects (Ellegård, 1953).

¹ This structure predicts that a ‘do’ verb used optionally in the declarative should not be able to support an aspectual verb. This seems at least to be the case for German *tun*.

² A double VP structure was invoked by Wurmbrand, 2004, to explain German functional verbs that seemed to form monoclausal structures but had lexical content. Her model must be incorrect for the examples that she was trying to illustrate, which are *versuchen* ‘try’ (a result verb if analyzed as ‘not succeed’) but also (easier to classify) *vergessen* ‘forget’, because the result would not be the complement, but an adjunct and modifier. It is claimed here that it would, however, be correct for a manner-derived support verb such as *tun* ‘do’.

Italian/Camuno *fare/fà* 'do/cause', belongs to a restricted class of polysemous verbs which can have either a manner or a result sense. (Another, it is maintained here, would be 'go' in the sense of directed motion (result), and 'function/work' (manner).) However, these manner/result senses would be discrete, as demonstrated by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (2014) for lexically rich verbs 'clean' and 'climb'. The polysemy arises because the result verb strongly implies (though not entails) a certain manner, and *vice versa* that the manner verb strongly implies a certain result. In contrast *do/cause* is a lexically poor, generic verb, and presumably almost any result could be suggested by the manner, or manner by the result (i.e., if you 'do' something, it probably will 'cause' a result). So, for the opposite reason (maximum genericity rather than specificity), the existence of two different senses would not be unexpected.

The 'do' (manner) / 'cause' (result) homophony in some languages invites an alternative theory for the origin of the support verb to the one used here for Camuno. For Camuno, it is suggested that the 'do'-support verb was initially produced by iteration of a portion of the basic 'do' semantics of a manner-activity verb to form a separate manner-activity support verb *do*. This *do*-support verb was then applied primarily to non-stative predicates. In the theory proposed for Middle English by Ellegård (1953), a causative support verb without the causee, or result-*do* was reanalyzed as manner-*do* (which would have involved an internal reorganization of the semantic components). The manner-*do* construction was, similarly to Camuno, then used more commonly with non-stative predicates, indicating that in this stage, it had semantic content.

Although a model of a causative verb origin seems at face value to be tenable for English, not only is there no evidence for this for Camuno, but it would be a far more complex explanation. The Romance causative structure is monoclausal (and object clitics climb to the supporting causative verb) and reorganization from causative to 'do' support-verb structure (where object clitics embed on the infinitival lexical verb) would involve an increase in syntactic structural complexity. That is in addition to an internal reanalysis of the support verb from manner to result. As the English causative is already biclausal, a change to 'do'-support would not greatly increase the syntactic complexity, so the change would consist mainly of the internal reanalysis of *do*.

Finally, with both Camuno and Middle-early Modern English, the semantically rich 'do' support verb was bleached and the event that initially modified the verb, became the verb's complement.

10.3 FS origin through predicate doubling

10.3.1 Doubling of manner-activity verbal component

It is suggested in this work that *fa* 'do' as an interrogative support verb first originated from manner-activity verbs by a doubling of the basic 'do' component. Once formed, it became a separate auxiliary that could be applied to verbs of different semantics. The biclausal structure required by the semantically rich auxiliary produced a question with a unique set of pragmatic meanings. Because of a separation of functions between the FS question and its alternative, SCI, both forms remained within the dialect.

One characteristic of the FS form is that by using a separate support auxiliary the functional information of tense/person, and the lexical information, are then encoded in separate verbs. The advantages of this are not immediately obvious for Camuno, as the set of inflected forms with each of the lexical verbs still has to be learned for the declarative paradigm (as this does not use the support verb), and (while FS remains optional) for the SCI interrogative.

Once grammaticalized, however, the advantages of using FS are clearer as it represents a simplification to the language. At that stage interrogative forms of all tenses – synthetic tenses of present, future, conditional and imperfect and analytic tenses of past (*passato prossimo*) and pluperfect (*trapassato prossimo*) – are then parallel in structure.

If these advantages to FS are so intuitively obvious, this raises the question of why a FACERE based 'do'-support auxiliary is so rare in Romance when it is a relatively common strategy in Germanic languages (Jager, 2006). Benincà & Poletto (2004) were unable to answer this question; Manzini & Savoia (2005: 605) concluded that the occurrence of the *fa* auxiliary was merely fortuitous and that it simply had not arisen in other dialects. These answers are very unsatisfactory. There must be some unusual trait of Camuno that allows the existence of a mechanism to double a component of the verb, resulting in a separate functional morpheme.

To provide a possible answer to this, some new information needs to be introduced. It was not included in earlier chapters because only a few isolated examples of each are available. It concerns a more general tendency in Camuno to duplicate components, particularly certain functional verbs. Including this dialect trait enables a comparison to be made in Section 10.4 to dialects of Swiss German, the geographically closest dialects to Camuno (albeit with a different language base) with a ‘do’-support verb, *tun*, and also ones with a verb doubling tendency. Doubling of verbs, verb phrases and also wh-items is occasionally attested within Romance and used as evidence of the copy theory of movement (see review in Saab, 2017).

The first Camuno example concerns an apparent doubling of the causative morpheme *fa*, the second doubling of modal ‘can, could’ (*potere* cognates) or even ‘want’ (*volere* cognates); there is one example with ‘go’ and another where the entire verb phrase has been doubled. What information is available, and possible inferences, are offered to the reader in the hope that future research can shed further light on the phenomenon.

10.3.2 Doubling of causative *fa*

In Camuno, a declarative *fa* is recognized as a causative verb and the hearer searches for, and expects to find, reference to a causee, or subject of the lexical verb. Yet there are instances of interrogatives and declaratives with causative *fa* and one causee but an additional *fa*. In some of the examples below, this cannot be a support verb derived from *fa* ‘do’ (either the interrogative, or an otherwise unrecognized declarative version).

The most obvious explanation for these structures when they occur in Italian is that they are ‘double’ causatives, and both *fare/fà* verbs are connected to causation. This is the probable explanation for (6) and (7). The sentences would represent *faire infinitif* causatives (*sensu* Kayne, 1975) with a named (argumental) causee (*Gianni/gli*), causing the action in an embedded *faire par* causative (*far riparare*). In the embedded FP, the action is attributed to another entity, unnamed because by using phrase such as *da Mario* (by Mario) would make it too convoluted.

6. a. Faccio far riparare la macchina a Gianni. (Italian)
 b. Fò fà giühtà la machina a Gianì. (Camuno: Esine)
 cause.1SG cause?.INFIN fix.INFIN the car a Gianì
 ‘I’ll make Gianni get the car repaired.

7. Glie=la faremo far riparare (Italian)³
 DAT.3-ACC.3F.SG cause.FUT.1PL cause?.INFIN fix.INFIN
 ‘We will make him have it repaired’

An alternative interpretation is that these are ‘simple’ causatives, equivalent to versions without the extra *fare/fà*, and where the additional morpheme is not associated with causee head and serves no obvious function. Given the fact the structure is monoclausal (as attested by clitic climbing with *gliela* in (7)), the extra *fare/fà* must be a result verb, although if there is no associated causee, it cannot strictly be called ‘causative’.

In most of following Camuno examples, the contexts exclude there being a second causee and so the extra result *fà* is not serving the function of causation. Most examples were ‘spontaneous’ translations from Italian (i.e. produced rapidly and without pause for reflection) by fully bilingual speakers. In several instances they were said with a tone of insistence or even exasperation. Duplication of the *fa* morpheme is therefore for emphasis. Afterwards, the utterances were transcribed and read back to the informants, who were unaware they had used a double *fa* (although the doubling is undeniable on the recording) and, in some instances, repeated the sentence with just a single *fa* as if they questioned its grammaticality (as it is agrammatical in standard Italian). In other words, the effect is entirely below the level of consciousness.

In the first example, (8), without an explicit context to the contrary, it is presumed that Emanuela is doing the accounts herself and she is under the influence of the wine. Syntactically, this is a causative as there is a dative causee *ghe* representing the causee (Emanuela) on the first *fa* verb, preceded by the subject clitic, *ol*. Yet there is an additional infinitival *fa* that cannot be attributed to a second causee. As the gloss shows, of the two *fa*, the first must be causative because it is preceded by the dative clitic, but from this example alone, the second could be either result-*fa* or the support verb manner-*fa* (do) in the declarative. Although, in the interrogative, the support verb in Bienno is *ha* not *fa*; however, it is conceivable that, if the support verb existed in the interrogative, it might not have the aspirated pronunciation of *ha*. From this example alone, therefore, both explanations: result-*fa* or manner-*fa* for the extra *fa* morpheme,

³ Example from Cinque, 2006b: ftn 18.

remain tenable. (However, the verb is glossed as *fa*-result anticipating the conclusions of this section.)

The second *fa* in (8) is probably an infinitival form, although there is no morphological difference with the 3rd person present tense form; had it been finite, it would presumably have mimicked the future tense of the first *fa*. Note that there is also an aspectual adverb *amò* to the right of the second *fà*, so if this is explained as duplication of the causative verb the best explanation is that, for some scope-connected reason, the infinitival verb has raised as well.

(Emanuela makes mistakes when she is tired or distracted. Today:)

8. a. Ol vi ol ghe farà fà (17. Bienno)⁴
 the wine SCL.3M.SG DAT.3 cause.FUT.3 *fa*-result.INFIN
 amò hbaià i cüncc.
 once-again mistake.INFIN the accounts
- b. Il vino le farà (*far) ancora sbagliare i conti. (Italian)
 ‘The wine will make her get the accounts wrong again.’

Example (9) is a similar sentence from the same informant where the subject of the lexical verb *dì-ho* ‘say (down)/tell’, which is ditransitive, is presumably the girl, and not someone else. The same two possible interpretations for the second *fa* are possible: either it is causative-derived result-*fa* or it is manner-*fa* (do).

(The girl is getting drunk with her friends.)

9. a. Ol vi ol ghe fa fà dì=ho (17. Bienno)
 the wine SCL.3M.SG DAT.3 causes *fa*-result.INFIN say-down
 stupidade ai ho hoci!
 stupidities to her friends
- b. Il vino le fa (*far) dire stupidaggini agli amici! (Italian)
 ‘The wine does make her say a lot of nonsense to her friends!’

Example (10) is an interrogative from an informant in Berzo, a community close to Bienno where, with a causative verb, either SCI or FS is possible. However, the interrogative support verb is *ha* so for this reason, and also because of the proclitic dative causee preceding the first *fa* (with subject enclitic), this must be an SCI structure. Similarly to the

⁴ Numbers refer to the informant as used in the wider survey and recorded in the database.

declarative examples above, in this interrogative example, the causative verb precedes a second, *fa*. However, as it is an interrogative, the previously unidentified *fa* can only be the causative-derived, result verb. In (10), there is also an intervening negative adverb *piü*, preceded only by first *fa*, so duplication of the causative verb must have occurred prior to movement of the finite verb past the adverb.

(Simone doesn't have the strength he once did.)

10. a. Ghe *fa=la* *piü* *fà* *hegà-fo* (33. Berzo)
 DAT.3 causes-SCL.3F.SG no-more *fa*-result.INFIN cut.INFIN-down
 l'erba (*la ho fonna*)?
 the grass (the his wife)
- b. (Non) *gli fa piü* (**far*) *tagliare l'erba, la moglie?* (Italian)
 'Does his wife no longer make him cut the grass?'

In the Upper Valley, although no examples were produced spontaneously, several informants indicated that causatives with more than one causative morpheme were grammatical, including ones without a causee and which must be *faire-par* constructions. Example (11) (a manipulated example, judged grammatical by the informant) which is a declarative in the *passato prossimo* also has a 'have' support verb (1SG.PRES *o*). The function of the finite result-*fa* morpheme cannot therefore be simply one of providing a site for person and tense information as this is included on its own auxiliary.

(Today was such a useful day, even if it turned out pretty expensive!)

11. *O* *fat* *fà* *riparà* *'l* *tubo rot,* (39. Malonno)
 have.1SG cause.PTCP *fa*-result.INFIN repair.INFIN the pipe broken,
 o *fat* *fà* *netà* *la ca*
 have.1SG cause.PTCP *fa*-result.INFIN clean.INFIN the house
 – *e dumà farò* *fà* *giüstà la machina!*
 and tomorrow cause.FUT.1SG *fa*-result fix.INFIN the car
 'I got the broken pipe repaired, I got the house cleaned – and tomorrow I'll get the car fixed!'

Example (12), from (MV) Bienno, but a different informant from the examples above, is of an interrogative with support-verb *ha* followed by two *fa* morphemes. This should serve to convince the reader of the existence of the doubling of result-*fa* (yet with only one causee) for emphatic effect. As for this speaker FS (HS) is the only way to make a question, he is not making a 'special' question, so to encode 'doubt' and 'insistence' that

the question be answered', he is compelled to use another strategy. He does this by duplicating the causative morpheme.

(If Tonino is on a diet...)

12. a. Fosa la mama he=la fà=ga fà (45. Bienno)
 Why his mother does=SCL.3F.SG cause.INFIN=DAT.3 *fa*-result.INFIN
 mangià la Nutella?
 eat.INFIN the nutella
- b. Perché la mamma gli fa (*far) mangiare la nutella? (Italian)
 'If Tonino is on a diet, why (on earth) does his mother let him eat nutella?'

The first verb is the interrogative support verb *ha* with subject enclitic. The second must be causative *fa* as it bears a clitic referring to the causee Tonino (the one who eats nutella) and as it is an enclitic, *fa* 'cause' is infinitival. The third verb, result-*fa* has no apparent lexical function, or syntactic support function, and its presence must be providing the pragmatic function of emphasis.

There is no more information available on these emphatic causatives. What must be concluded is that the additional *fa* is result-*fa* (and is a duplication of the causative verb without causee) not manner-*fa* (and a support verb in the declarative). Direct evidence is in its presence in an already supported interrogative, lack of reference to a causee, and its [f]-initial form in a dialect where the (interrogative) support verb is [h]-initial.

The following sections that show doubling of the verb (or the entire predicate) is not restricted to *fa* ('do' or 'cause') and is a general tendency in Camuno.

10.3.3 Modal doubling

Syntactically, the role played by the interrogative support verb *fa* is similar to that of a modal auxiliary and in certain circumstances they may be used almost interchangeably. Both are accompanied by a main/lexical verb in the infinitival form that bears any encliticized objects (13). However, semantically, the meaning of the constructions is different, with *fa* lacking the additional modality or 'uncertainty' of the modal.

(Regarding that nice piece of fish Maria just bought:)

13. [Fa=la] / [Öle=la] mangià-l de hëna? (Esine)
 [does=SCL.3F.SG] / [wants=SCL.3SF.SG] eat.INFIN=ACC.3M.SG of dinner
 'Is she eating it / Does she want to eat it for dinner?'

A similar possibility sometimes exists with lexical *olé* with modal *olé* (17), (18) (all examples produced on request). FS was in some instances not acceptable.

17. Ö=t (olé) bé 'n caffè ansem a me? SCI, ModS
 want=SCL.2SG (want.INFIN) drink.INFIN a coffee together to me
 'Do you want to drink a coffee with me?'

(The father has bought his son a new car and needs to make sure he treats it well. He asks:)

18. a. Ö=t (olé) védé SCI, ModS
 want=SCL.2SG (want.INFIN) see.INFIN
 come s' fa a cambià l'öle?
 how SCL.3IMP does to change.INFIN the oil

- b. *Fe=t olé védé come s'fa a cambia' l'öle? *FS
 does=SCL.2SG want.INFIN see.INFIN...
 'Would you like to see how to change the oil?'

Although with *podé* 'can, could' any of the three options, ModS, FS, or use of just the finite form of the modal was acceptable with most Malonno speakers, I found considerable variation by speaker according to acceptability of the ModS (and FS) with *olé* 'want'.

10.3.4 Other duplication effects

One further example of spontaneous doubling (19) is offered, this one from Bienno. When questioned afterwards, the informant commented that his translation was good and it reflected what he perceived as an old dialect tendency: to repeat part of the utterance.⁶ In this case he is repeating the entire verb phrase. His motive for so doing appears to be emphasis which, judging by the context, is due to emotional empathy.

You're with your friend Giulia who works at the new village shop. Her boss (who you really don't think very much of) insists that she stays there to tidy up even though he knows that the last train goes at 7 o'clock. Ask her if her boss often causes her to miss the train.

⁶ The informant had been studying older dialect texts stored in the library in Brescia and said he had come across many examples of such duplication (as well as recognizing it from his own dialect). He said that his records were all destroyed by the lightning strike on his computer.

19. (OI) la **fa(=t?)**⁷ **perdé** dehpeh
 (SCL.3M.SG) ACC.3.DEF cause(=DAT.2SG?) lose.INFIN often
 a **fà=t** **perdé** 'l treno?
 to cause.INFIN=DAT.2SG lose.INFIN the train
 'Ti fa spesso perdere il treno (il tuo capo)? / Does your boss often cause you to miss the train?'

To demonstrate the tendency, he then provided another example (20), where he is doubling the first verb, 'go'.

20. **Nò=do** a **nà=do** a dö 'l pa.
 go.1SG=down to go.INFIN=down to fetch.INFIN the bread
 'Vado a togliere/prendere il pane. / I'm going to fetch the bread.'

The addition of one more functional verb *nà* 'go' to the list of other functional verbs, *fà* 'make, let, cause' (both result verbs) as well as *podé/pudì* 'can, could' and *(v)olé/(v)ulì* 'want' (stative verbs) indicates an underlying tendency to double an entire verb (with result and stative verbs), or even an entire predicate. It is claimed that, with manner verbs, the same tendency produces *fa* through doubling of just one component.

While some of these examples could be explained by a perceived syntactic need to separate functional and lexical components in the finite verb, it does not explain the example of doubling of an entire VP. Nor does it explain why there may be (as in (11) and (12)) in addition a support verb which bears the inflections. This suggests doubling serves another function, possibly a pragmatic need for a mechanism to emphasize, by saying 'the same thing' more than once.⁸

10.4 Comparison to Swiss German

10.4.1 Co-occurrence of verb doubling and *tun* 'do'-support

An extensive cross-linguistic comparison of the link between duplication of all or part of a verb's semantics (or even of the entire verb phrase), including production of a 'do'

⁷ The (t) was not clear on the recording and not checked with the informant.

⁸ It is tempting to include some of the unusual properties of the wh-items as part of this general tendency but it is unclear if this is justified. Most often the wh-item is simply focused after the verb rather than fronted. Doubling is relatively uncommon.

support auxiliary, and the pragmatic function of emphasis is unfortunately outside the scope of this work. What must suffice is a brief comparison with Swiss German, a language that also has a ‘do’ support auxiliary, *tun*, and doubles some functional verbs. It is most relevant because it is spoken in an area geographically close to Val Camonica, so may share some underlying *Sprachbund* affinity with Camuno.

In the following sections, a general description of the characteristics of *tun* in both colloquial German and German dialects is taken from the review in Jäger (2006: 230-4), which draws on Schwarz (2004) among other sources. Details specific to Swiss German are taken from Schönenberger & Penner, 1995: (S&P). Verb doubling in Swiss German is from S&P and Lötscher (1993).

10.4.2 *Tun*-support (TS) in German

In German, the verb manner-activity verb *tun* ‘do’ is available as a support verb (*tun*-support, TS) in several ways that are highly reminiscent of English *do*, as many authors have remarked. TS is used in both questions/interrogatives and assertions/declaratives. Note further that in German, as in English (but unlike in Camuno), the active-accomplishment verb ‘make’ is a separate verb, *machen*, as is the causative verb, *lassen* ‘make, let, cause’.

In standard German, TS is a highly marked construction and used for to highlight the contents of the VP, as in (21), where it would require a specific context. As German is a V2 language, the VP (which in this example is just the verb) is then in first position (in the specifier of the CP) and *tun* is second position (in C).

‘So much for football. How about gymnastics?’

21. **Turnen** **tue** ich selten.
do-gymnastics.INFIN do.1SG I rarely

In colloquial German, Jäger attributes TS a pragmatic function. He describes this as “highlighting the action denoted by the lexical verb, i.e. its factual occurrence” and that “it adds a sense of confirmation or emphasis”. It is also common in child language as inflection patterns then only have to be learned for *tun* and not for the variety of other verbs.

As in both English and Camuno, *tun* can be used interchangeably with a modal auxiliary (22) (accepting the different meaning). In this German example, the ‘supported’ lexical infinitival verb is sentence final as German is a consistently OV language. Note that this word order is not necessarily the case for Swiss German, as will be seen in the examples below.

22. Wolfgang **tun**/darf/kann Klavier **spielen**.
Wolfgang does/is allowed to/can piano play.INFIN
‘Wolfgang does/is allowed to/can play the piano.’

Jäger notes that keeping with the general property of all German auxiliaries (and unlike English auxiliaries), which have infinitival forms, *tun* can also be supported by another verb, at least by future auxiliary *werden* ‘become’ (23). However, Schwarz (2004) concluded that *tun* with other auxiliaries, such as modals, or with passive, or perfect auxiliaries, did not occur in spontaneous dialect speech.

23. Jenes **werde** ich mir bald **kaufen** (können / **tun**).
that become.1SG I DAT.1SG soon buy.INFIN (can.INFIN / do.INFIN)
‘I [will be able to]/[will] buy that for myself soon.’

Examples such as (23) with *werden* lead to the conclusion that the function of a *tun* auxiliary is not always just to bear inflections while leaving other information to the main and lexical verb. Jäger notes that in this example the addition of the clause-final infinitival *tun* ‘do’ can be associated with highlighting a sense of activity “albeit only slightly”. In contrast addition of *können* ‘can’ has a “significant semantic impact”; with *tun* the sentence is about a factual occurrence and a *realis* situation, but with *können* it describes an *irrealis* situation.

It appears that TS is only a main clause phenomenon. Schwarz (2004: 132) concluded more generally that *tun* was only used in spontaneous speech in main clauses. In Swiss German, too, *tun* in embedded clauses is judged as “odd” (S&P: 319).

The characteristics of TS cited above seem to be generally true across the German dialects. However, there are dialects where TS is the non-marked form and it may, in some contexts, be almost obligatory. Furthermore, although in standard German, TS use is possible with stative verbs, there are numerous reports of dialects with semantic restrictions, notably of low use, or no, use with stative verbs (e.g. Schwarz, 2004;

Casalicchio & Perna, 2012; Maienborn, 2003: 62). Among these are the Swiss German dialects, which are also linked to the phenomenon of verb doubling.

Two Swiss German examples of TS are provided in (24) and (25) (from S&P, p318, ex 46a,b). The translations also seem to suggest TS has the pragmatic function of highlighting or focusing the content of the utterance within the discourse (although this can only be the case if there is also a non-periphrastic way to convey the same information without the highlighting and S&P do not indicate if the construction is optional).

24. Ds Ching **tuet** sech scho säuber aalege
the child does himself already independently get-dressed.INFIN
25. D'Muetter **tuet** sech überlege, was si wott choufe.
the mother does herself think what she wants buy.INFIN

Semantic restrictions on TS in Swiss German (St. Galler & Bern dialect: Manuela Schönenberger, pers. comm) were described by S&P and are tabulated in Table 10.2.

Added to S&P's syntactic/semantic classification of the verb (phrase) is (my) interpretation of the verb by manner/result/stative as well as a comparison to use of (approximately) the same semantic type of verb¹⁰ with *fa*-support in Camuno dialects with optional FS.

The verbs listed by S&P are mostly non-stative verbs (even probably many/most of those listed for category 'e'). S&P list 'inherently telic verbs', 'periphrastic causative verbs', and 'intransitive change-of-state' verbs as not available for *tun*-support. This correlates with their low use with *fa*-support dialects where the construction is optional.

¹⁰ It is risky to ascribe an aspect, or manner/result classification, to these Swiss German verbs without rigorous testing (so Table 10.2 should be interpreted with caution). In her study of Zürich Swiss German, Reese, 2007 remarked that often these verbs have unusual aspectual properties compared to their English/German equivalents.

TABLE 10.2: VERB CLASSES WITH OR WITHOUT *TUN* SUPPORT IN SWISS GERMAN FROM SCHÖNENBERGER & PENNER (1995)

Semantic/syntactic category	m, r, s	<i>tun</i> -compatible	<i>fa</i> -probability?
<u>Incompatible with <i>tun</i></u>			
ai. Inherently telic verbs (<i>näh</i> 'take', <i>gä</i> 'give', <i>gaa</i> 'go (to)', etc.)	result	no	low
a.ii. Compositional telic VPs (<i>e Brief scribe</i> "to write a letter")	manner	no	high
b. Periphrastic causative verbs (<i>la mache</i> "let do", <i>wach bringe</i> "to wake", etc.)	result	no	low – <i>fa</i> 'make, let'
c. Intransitive change of state verbs (<i>stärbe</i> "to die", <i>erchränke</i> "to become sick", etc.)	result	no	low – <i>morire</i> 'die', <i>scadere</i> 'expire'
<u>Compatible with <i>tun</i></u>			
d. Derived intransitive change of state verbs (e.g. deadjectives of the type <i>vergiube</i> "to become yellow")	result	yes	medium – <i>maturare</i> 'ripen'
e. Single-state verbs (<i>schlaafe</i> "to sleep", <i>desumelige</i> "to lie around, etc.)	manner (some stative?)	yes	high – <i>dormire</i> 'sleep' others?
f. Derived transitive change of state verbs (e.g. de-adjectives of the type <i>töte</i> "to kill" (< <i>tot</i> "dead") and prefixed verbs of the type <i>uslösche</i> "out-erase" = to erase)	result-activities	yes	high – <i>rompere</i> 'break'
g. Atelic verbs (e.g. <i>schpile</i> "to play")	manner	yes	high

The main discrepancy is part of S&P's group of 'compositional telic VPs'. These predicates would be active-accomplishments (*sensu* Van Valin, 2005), and include verbs which are manner verbs (*sensu* Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998), such as 'write'. Yet although there is strong use with *fa*-support for this category, no *tun*-support is recorded. It therefore

seems possible that, syntactic effects may be relevant for German (as they were also for English¹²), even though they were found to be irrelevant for Camuno.

Overall, the semantic restrictions on use of support verb *tun* in the German dialects, particularly the more widespread restriction with stative verbs, and, at least in some dialects, lower use with result verbs, also suggests an origin from a manner-activity 'do'.

To summarize from above: although when used in synthetic tenses, TS results in separating out the functional and lexical components into separate verbs making them easier to use, this cannot be the function in analytic tenses. The function of TS is therefore primarily pragmatic, emphasizing and highlighting the verb phrase.

10.4.3 Verb doubling in Swiss German

As described by Schönenberger & Penner (1995) and Lötscher (1993), in Swiss German, there are four functional verbs that can be doubled: *gaa* ('(German) gehen/(English) go'), *choo* 'kommen/come', *laa* 'lassen/let', *aafaa* 'anfangen/begin'. The following matrix clause examples (26) to (29) from Lötscher, 1993 (his examples 1-4) show the finite verb in 2nd position, but are complicated by the unusual trait of Swiss German dialects, that the first infinitival verb (the infinitival copy of the finite verb) has two possible positions: either it immediately follows its copy, or it precedes the lexical verb (and this trait is not restricted to when the infinitival verb is a 'double'). Neither of these is the position expected for an infinitival auxiliary verb in standard German, which, as illustrated in (23) above, is sentence final.¹³ The doubled verb is highlighted (finite in red, infinitival in blue) and the alternative position for the infinitival verb (Lötscher's 'b' examples) included in brackets. The syntactic effects are largely a distraction here, as the relevant point is to demonstrate doubling of the verb and that the two parts to the verb may be separated.

¹² Ellegård (1953), and subsequently Ecay (2015: 78-82) reported higher *do*-support use with transitive than intransitive verbs in affirmative declaratives for late Middle-Modern English. Among the intransitives, Ecay also reported much lower use with unaccusatives compared with unergatives for affirmative and negative declaratives, and interrogatives. A transitive-unergative difference was not found for Camuno; the unergative > unaccusative difference was found.

¹³ Lötscher attributes this to Swiss German having both a VO and OV order. For Schönenberger & Penner the underlying order is OV and the other order results from movement of either the entire remnant VP or just the infinitival verb (after the finite verb has moved to C).

In (29), the finite form of *aafaa* drops the first (*a*)*a* syllable.

26. Ich **gang ga** der Onkel (**ga**) bsueche.
I went go.INFIN the uncle (go.INFIN) visit.INFIN
27. Er **chunnt cho** der Onkel (**cho**) bsueche.
He comes come.INFIN the uncle (come.INFIN) visit.INFIN
28. Er **laat (la)** d Vaase **la** gheie.
He lets (let.INFIN) the vase let. INFIN fall.INFIN
29. Si **faat afa** s Zmittag (**afa**) choche
She begins begin.INFIN the lunch (begin.INFIN) cook.INFIN

The verbs differ in their obligatory versus optional doubling and in the geographic distribution of the phenomena, as summarized in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3: VERBS DOUBLED IN SWISS GERMAN

Verb	Obligatory / Optional	Distribution
<i>gaa</i> ('gehen/go')	obligatory	All Switzerland and some adjacent areas of Germany
<i>choo</i> 'kommen/come'	obligatory in some areas, optional in others	Switzerland only
<i>laa</i> 'lassen/let'	optional	most of Switzerland (and strongest in area adjacent to Piedmonte)
<i>aafaa</i> 'anfangen/begin'	optional	most of Switzerland

The first noteworthy (semantic) point is that in Swiss German, all four doubling verbs, besides being functional verbs are result verbs (or, for S&P, aspectuals); in Camuno, doubling is found with both result ('cause' 'go') and stative ('can' 'want') verbs.

In Swiss German, doubling is not grammatical when there is another auxiliary, such as a modal or temporal auxiliary ('be' and presumably also 'have'). This would be unlike in Camuno, judging by examples where doubling of causative *fa* and use of a 'have' or (interrogative) 'do' auxiliary is grammatical. S&P therefore supported the theory that the doubling was to separate out a purely functional verb (an "expletive") to bear the inflections, from the aspectual information contained in the infinitival copy. However, as footnoted by S&P (299: ft. 9), in Zürich German, the verb may be tripled, so at least one of the doublings is serving a function other than providing a separate functional

morpheme (30). It therefore seems plausible that verb doubling, at an earlier stage in the history of the dialect, and still perhaps today in dialects where it is optional, could be pragmatic, and used to convey emphasis.

30. I go go ge poschte.
I go go go shopping
'I'll go shopping'

10.5 Linking the phenomena of verb doubling and 'do' support

Both Swiss German and Camuno then demonstrate the property of doubling of certain functional verbs. In Camuno the entire verb phrase too, may be doubled. At any rate in Camuno, doubling is linked to emphasis by repeating a certain semantic component, such as 'could' to be particularly polite, or 'cause' to indicate insistence.

Both languages also have a 'do'-support verb, used to support most (Swiss German), or all (Camuno), verbs that have a manner-activity component. It is then likely that there was, in these languages, a process of doubling part of the semantics of the lexical verb to form a separate support verb. The functional advantage of the resulting construction was pragmatic, as there was no syntactic necessity for an auxiliary verb. The double manner-activity component produced a highlighting effect, raising the prominence of the VP within the sentence, and of the utterance within the discourse.

Once created within the language, the functional verb, originally meaning 'do' and with a manner-activity semantics was, at least in more isolated dialects, gradually extended across the verbal classes, eventually including almost all stative verbs.

10.6 Further research

Although this investigation into the phenomenon of *fa* 'do'-support in the Camuno dialect has addressed the main questions it set out to answer, in the process it has naturally generated many more. Some of these relate to the main branch of this investigation, FS itself, others to 'side branches', or interaction of FS with other phenomena that in themselves seem poorly understood. This is a summary of the top three issues that merit separate, deeper investigations.

The specificity effect with wh-Qs: The evidence available led to the conclusion that although the wh-item in an SCI question is non-specific, in an FS question it is specific, and that the specificity effect is due to the wh-item originating in an embedded clause. The effect obtains both when the wh-item is post-verbal and when it is sentence-initial. However, as wh-Qs were not the main focus of this investigation, the detailed analysis of the specificity effect was mainly in retrospect by examining informants' general explanations for the meaning of FS vs SCI. Only with one informant (36.Esine) was it possible to ask follow-up questions such as whether, with either question type, there was a presupposition of the existence of a reference for the wh-item. A more thorough, quantitative investigation of this should be made to prove this using more speakers and by suggesting a scale of possible answers.

Duplication, particularly verb/predicate doubling: There is a need for a fuller investigation of doubling of certain components in Camuno and other Lombard dialects. This research should focus on doubling of functional verbs, then entire predicates, but also consider other components such as wh-items. There are some historical Bresciano dialect texts (probably mostly not Camuno) in the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia (of which I have copies). These are reported to contain examples of verb/predicate doubling. It is also possible that these might contain uses of *fa* 'do' that would provide a link to the early stages of *fa*-support.

Comparison to Swiss German dialects: In Camuno the *fa* 'do'-support phenomenon seems to be purely dependent on the semantics of the supported verb/predicate and the syntax is irrelevant. There may be comparable areas of dialect continuum within the Swiss German dialects. If so, it would be interesting to know whether the same manner > result > stative sequence can be observed. The next question would be: are all stages in the grammaticalization cline equally represented or is it also rare for a speaker to use *tun*-support with some, but not all stative verbs? Is syntax more relevant in Swiss German? What are the last Swiss German verbs to grammaticalize to use of *tun* 'do'?

Like language change itself, research is a never-ending process.

My attempt here has been to describe aspects of the Camuno language from the perspective of the speakers of that language and what they are trying to communicate to each other. Through looking at the forms that exist in different communities today, I have reconstructed a likely route for historical change. It is fascinating to observe how the Camunans have employed the same pathways of change as have speakers of different languages from distant cultures, and with whom they rarely, if ever, communicated. It lends me to believe that our language is constrained by the basic semantic notions that we all share, and because of this, largely 'pre-programmed' in its possible developmental pathways.

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Appendices

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Appendix 2a: List of informants

InfNum	DialLoc	fa/ha/a	FS use	Opt/Obl	Age	BirthYear	Gender
Middle Valley		if noted	NA (not available)				
16	Astrio di Breno	fa	Y	Opt	86	1931	F
54	Astrio di Breno	fa	Y	Opt	71	1947	F
33	Berzo Inferiore	ha	Y	Opt	65	1952	M
56	Berzo Inferiore	ha	L	Opt	78	1941	M
85	Berzo Inferiore	ha	Y	Opt	83	1936	F
50	Bienno	ha	Y	Opt	74	1943	F
55	Bienno	ha	Y	Opt	65	1954	M
123	Bienno	ha	Y	Opt	59	1960	F
17	Bienno	ha	Y	Obl	30s		M
121	Bienno	ha	Y	Obl	71	1948	M
122	Bienno	ha	Y	Obl	77	1942	F
45	Bienno-Camp	ha	Y	Obl	79	1938	M
37	Borno	NA	N	NA			M
95	Breno		L	Opt	59	1959	M
117	Breno		L	Opt	78	1941	F
119	Breno		L	Opt	90	1928	F
100	Breno	fa	Y/L	Opt	53	1966	F
94	Breno		N	Opt?	62	1957	F
125	Breno	fa	Y	Opt?	57	1963	F
98	Campogrande di Breno		L	Opt	84	1935	F
99	Campogrande di Breno	ha	Y	Opt	71	1948	F
70	Cividate	ha	Y	Opt	59	1959	M
103	Cividate	ha	Y	Opt	88	1931	F
104	Cividate	ha	Y	Opt	78	1941	M
	Darfo	NA	N	NA			
8	Esine	fa	Y	Opt			M
15	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	62?	1956	M
32	Esine	fa	Y	Opt			M
36	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	~61	~1958	M
38	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	66	1951	M
58	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	80	1939	F
112	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	77	1942	F
120	Esine	fa	Y	Opt	72	1947	F
115	Esine	fa	L	Opt		1952	F
113	Esine	fa	N	Opt		1947	M
114	Esine	fa	N	Opt		1945	F
78	Malegno	mixed	Y	Opt	73	1945	M
80	Malegno	mixed	Y	Opt	85	1933	M
89	Malegno	mixed	Y	Opt	78	1941	M
91	Malegno	fa	Y	Opt	67	1952	M
102	Malegno	mixed	Y	Opt	78	1940	F
93	Malegno	NA	N	?	77	1952	M
79	Malegno	NA	N	?			FF
48	Mezzarro di Breno	ha	Y	Opt		1955	M
49	Mezzarro di Breno	ha	Y	Opt	66	1951	F
57	Mezzarro di Breno	ha	Y	Opt	82	1936	F
88	Mezzarro di Breno		Y	Opt	63	1956	F
97	Mezzarro di Breno	ha	Y	Opt	66	1953	F
90	Mezzarro di Breno		L	Opt	78	1941	F
101	Mezzarro di Breno		L	Opt	81	1938	F
96	Mezzarro di Breno		N	Opt	58	1960	M
81	Ossimo	NA	N	NA	79	1939	MF
105	Ossimo	NA	N	NA	76	1943	M

14	Parzanica (BG)	NA	N	NA	54	1963	M
30	Parzanica (BG)	NA	N	NA	53	1964	F
31	Parzanica (BG)	NA	N	NA			M
	Piancogno	NA	N	NA			
82	Prestine	ha	Y	Obl	75	1943	M
83	Prestine	ha/a	Y	Obl	66/69	1949&52	MF
124	Prestine	ha/a	Y	Obl	68	1952	F
InfNum	DialLoc	faorha	FS use	Opt/Obl/NA	Age	BirthYear	Gender
	Middle-Upper Valley						
46	Cimbergo	NA	N	NA			F
47	Cimbergo	NA	N	NA	~68	1950	M
61	Paisco		L	Opt	58	1960	F
62	Paisco		L	Opt	75	1942	M
63	Paisco		L	Opt	54	1963	F
64	Paisco		L	Opt	72	1946	F
65	Saviore		N	NA	>70		FFFF
86	Sellero	ha	Y	Opt	62	1957	M
	Paspardo (Liloni, 2009)			NA			
	Cevo (Manzini & Savoia, 2005: 365)		N	NA			
	Upper Valley Central & East						
34	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	62	1955	M
35	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	69	1957	F
39	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl		1944	M
40	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	>75		F
41	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	62	1955	F
42	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	56	1962	M
59	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	71	1947	M
60	Malonno	fa	Y	Obl	41	1977	M
66	Monno	fa	Y	Obl	80	1938	F
67	Monno	fa	Y	Obl	77	1943	F
68	Monno	fa	Y	Obl	85	1932	F
69	Monno	fa	Y	Obl	78	1940	F
71	Monno	fa	Y	Obl	30s		M
72	Pontagna	NA	N	NA	84	1934	FFFF
73	Vione	NA	N	NA	80	1938	FF
74	Veza D'Oglio	fa	Y	Obl	55	1963	M
	Sonico		Y	Obl/Opt?			
	Edolo (Mu)		Y	Obl/Opt?	60-70	-	M
	Incodine & Veza (M&S, 2005: 602-3)		N	Obl			
	Ponte di Legno		N	NA	>70		M
	Upper Valley West						
109	Cortenedolo di Edolo		Y	~Obl	87		F
87	Megno di Lombro		Y	Opt	56	1962	F
76	Lombro		Y	Opt	66	1952	F
77	Santicolo di Corteno Golgi		Y	Opt	72	1946	M
75	Corteno Golgi		Y	Opt	80?		M
106	Corteno Golgi		Y	Opt	~80		F
108	Corteno Golgi		L	Opt	73	1943	F
107	Galleno di Corteno		Y	Opt	81	1937	F
110	Galleno di Corteno		N	Opt	78	1941	F
	Aprica (Stefanini, 2008)			NA			

**Appendix 2b: P3 questions for by-verb
analysis and minimal pair by-person
analysis**

Appendix 2b: P3 contexts and question request for by-verb analysis and minimal 'pairs' for person analysis

Contexts with question requests are presented here in English with the question to be elicited given in Italian. Note that the narrator was allowed freedom to use appropriate idiomatic expressions to make the context as credible as possible in her dialect. However, the question request (and therefore hopefully also the elicited question with the exception of its FS versus SCI form) was kept as close to the Italian as possible.

Questions are ordered by verb and verbs sorted in the order manner > result > stative. Core verbs with 3 almost identical questions (2nd person for verbs with human subject; 3rd person for verbs with theme subject) are aligned to the left. Additional questions (3rd person for verbs with human subject for these verbs and additional verbs, are indented. Within each category main verbs are presented before auxiliary verbs.

1.1 (2092) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

You are the owner of a window-cleaning business. Perhaps your neighbour Barbara needs your help. Ask Barbara if she often washes the windows.

Lavi spesso le finestre?

1.2 (2093) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

You know your neighbour, Lisa, well, and that she does as little as possible to maintain the house. But you see her there with a sponge in her hand doing a job that isn't completely essential. Perhaps you weren't right about her. Ask Lisa if she often washes the windows.

Lavi spesso le finestre?

1.3 (2094) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

You are the owner of a window-cleaning business. There's Eleonora washing the windows in a bad mood because obviously she hates doing it herself. You want to show her a bit of sympathy and offer help. Ask Eleonora if she often washes the windows.

Lavi spesso le finestre?

2.1 (2095) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

You wanted to invite Marina for a coffee and you know she works part-time but you don't know which days. Ask Marina if she works on Wednesday.

Lavori il mercoledì'?

2.2 (2096) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Enrica told you that she didn't want to work on Saturday anymore. But today is Saturday and you see her in the office in front of the coffee machine. Ask Enrica if she works on Saturday.

Lavori il sabato?

2.3 (2097) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Giusi is pregnant and the doctor has advised her to stay in bed. You've looked for her several times but haven't found her at home. You hope that she hasn't had to go back to the office! Ah - there she is now. Ask Giusi if she's working again.

Lavori ancora?

2.4 (2183) main / manner / lavorare / 3rd ps

You wanted to invite Marina for a coffee and you know she works part-time but you don't know which days. Ask her friend if Marina works on Wednesday.

Lavora il mercoledì, Marina?

2.5 (2184) main / manner / lavorare / 3rd ps

Enrica's boss told her that she didn't have to work on Saturday anymore. But today is Saturday and you see her in the office in front of the coffee machine. Ask her boss if Enrica works on Saturday.

Lavora il sabato, Enrica?

3.1 (2104) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

You are in charge of the village library. There's a new client, a 16-year-old girl. Ask her if she reads a lot.

Leggi tanto?

3.2 (2105) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

Lisa's house is so full of books that you can hardly get in! Ask her if she reads a lot.

Leggi tanto?

3.3 (2106) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

Matilda is now 80 and she has problems with her eyes. What a shame for her! You know that she used to love spending an entire day with a good book. You see her coming out of the library with three books in hand. Ask her if she still reads a lot!

Leggi ancora tanto?

4.1 (2101) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

You invite Roberta to dinner. You have to choose what to prepare. Ask Roberta if she eats meat.

Mangi carne?

4.2 (2102) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Your friend told you that Maria was a vegetarian. You prepare two different risottos, one vegetarian and the other with chicken. But she chooses the one with chicken. Ask Maria if she eats meat.

Mangi carne?

4.3 (2103) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Anna has just had a stomach operation and must eat plain food. You open the fridge in her house and you see a few pieces of meat. You are worried. Ask Anna if she eats meat.

Mangi carne?

4.4 (2185) main / manner / mangiare / 3rd ps

You invite Roberta to dinner. You have to decide what to prepare. Ask her son if she eats meat.

Mangia carne, Roberta?

4.5 (2186) main / manner / mangiare / 3rd ps

You thought that Maria was a vegetarian. But there she is in the shop buying sausages! Ask the shopkeeper, who knows Maria well, if Maria eats meat.

Mangia carne, Maria?

5.1 (2107) main / manner / nuotare / 2nd ps

We know that Tonino goes to the river in the summertime. Ask him if he swims in the Oglio.

Nuoti nell'Oglio?

5.2 (2108) main / manner / nuotare / 2nd ps

You think that Tonino is afraid of water and doesn't know how to swim. But he goes with the other boys to the Oglio to swim. Ask him if he swims in the Oglio.

Nuoti nell'Oglio?

5.3 (2109) main / manner / nuotare / 2nd ps

Nicola often goes to the Oglio, despite the fact that the river is polluted. Ask him if he swims in the Oglio.

Nuoti nell'Oglio?

5.4 (2187) main / manner / nuotare / 3rd ps

We know that Tonino goes to the river in the summertime. Ask his little brother if Tonino swims in the Oglio.

Nuota nell'Oglio, Tonino?

5.5 (2188) main / manner / nuotare / 3rd ps

Nicola often goes to the Oglio, despite the fact that the river is polluted. It's not a good idea to drink the water from that river. Ask his mother if Nicola swims in the Oglio.

Nuota nell'Oglio, Nicola?

6.1 (2098) main / manner / aggiustare / 2nd ps

Your car has a few problems. Go and find Giuseppe because you know that he does a bit of everything. Ask Giuseppe if he fixes cars.

Aggiusti le macchine?

6.2 (2099) main / manner / aggiustare / 2nd ps

Marco used to work as a baker and he was always covered in flour. But now his hands are dirty with oil. Ask Marco if he fixes cars now.

Aggiusti le macchine adesso?

6.3 (2100) main / manner / aggiustare / 2nd ps

Paolo breaks everything that he touches. You've heard that now he works as a mechanic. Oh God!....Ask Paolo if he fixes cars now.

Aggiusti le macchine adesso?

7.1 (2276) main / manner / abbaiare / 3rd ps

What an intelligent dog! It never makes a sound when someone from the village comes to the door. Ask your friend if the dog barks when a stranger comes.

Abbaia il cane quando arriva uno sconosciuto?

8.1 (2089) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

Davide, your neighbour who keeps chickens, is not available before 9 o'clock. Ask Davide if he always feeds the chickens first thing in the morning.

Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?

8.2 (2090) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

You thought that Francesco usually slept in late but now you see him at 9 in the morning in his chicken coop surrounded by the hens. Ask Francesco if he always feeds the chickens first thing in the morning.

Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?

8.3 (2091) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

Why is Luigi always late for work? He'll get fired! Your friend explains that he has to go first to the chicken coop to take care of the hens. Ask Luigi if he always feeds the chickens first thing in the morning.

Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?

8.4 (2181) main / result / dare / 3rd ps

Davide, your neighbour who keeps chickens, is not available before 9 o'clock. Ask his wife if Davide always feeds the chickens first thing in the morning.

Da sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto, Davide?

8.5 (2182) main / result / dare / 3rd ps

Why is Luigi always late for work? He'll get fired! It's because of those chickens. Someone needs to speak with his wife. Ask his wife if Luigi always feeds the chickens first thing in the morning.

Da sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto, Luigi?

9.1 (2119) main / resVofM / costare / 3rd ps

You're in the shop in front of a nice trout (from the mountains). You haven't the faintest idea how much a fish like that would cost. Ask the shopkeeper if the fish is expensive.

Costa tanto quel pesce?

9.2 (2120) main / resVofM / costare / 3rd ps

You're in the shop in front of a nice trout (from the mountains). Sadly you've only brought 5 Euros with you and you're not sure that's enough. Ask the shopkeeper if the fish is expensive.

Costa tanto quel pesce?

9.3 (2121) main / resVofM / costare / 3rd ps

You're with your friend in the shop in front of the fish counter. You'd like to buy it (the fish) but it is probably costs too much. Whisper to your friend if [in her opinion] the fish costs a lot.

Costa tanto quel pesce?

10.1 (2122) main / resVofM / durare / 3rd ps

It's necessary to go to the dentist for a check up. Afterwards you're meeting a friend in the piazza. Ask the assistant if an appointment usually lasts long.

Dura tanto (di solito) una visita?

10.2 (2123) main / resVofM / durare / 3rd ps

Your daughter is going to the hairdressers for a perm. Ok, we'll have lunch afterwards you think, maybe in half an hour. She looks at you as if to say: Are you hungry or not? Ask your daughter if it usually takes a long time.

Dura tanto?

10.3 (2124) main / resVofM / durare / 3rd ps

Everyone knows that winter in Val Camonica can be pretty serious. You've bought a house in Monno in the Upper Valley. It's October and it's already snowing. Ask your neighbour if winter lasts a long time in Monno.

Dura tanto l'inverno a Monno?

11.1 (2207) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

Your neighbour has left you a basket of tomatoes just picked but some of them are still green. Ask her if tomatoes ripen even without the sun.

I pomodori maturano anche senza sole?

11.2 (2208) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

You've bought a house in Edolo in the Upper Valley and there's an apple orchard. Your sons need to work. Ask your neighbour if apples ripen in September in Edolo.

Le mele maturano in settembre a Edolo?

12.1 (2206) main / result / scadersi / 3rd ps

You've just become 65 and you drive every day. But you've been stopped by the police and the officer told you that at 65 your driving licence isn't valid any more. Ask him if driving licences expire when you get to 65.

Scadono i patenti quando si compie 65 anni?

13.1 (2214) main / result / rompere / 3rd ps

You see the bartender Lisetta surrounded by a big mess: bottles in every corner, spilt wine, and broken glass. Ask her if people always break the glasses when they get drunk.

Rompano sempre i bicchieri quando si ubriacano?

14.1 (2277) main / result / rompersi / 3rd ps

Everyone is buying the new type of kettle that lights up in blue. They're so beautiful! Unfortunately yours suddenly turned itself off and doesn't work any more. You didn't do anything. Ask your friend, who recommended you to buy it, if those machines often break.

Si rompano spesso queste macchine?

15.1 (2211) main / result / congelarsi / 3rd ps

We want to go skating! Ask me if that beautiful little lake freezes in winter.

Si congela d'inverno, quel bel laghetto?

16.1 (2113) aux / result / fare (caus) / 2nd ps

Children have to eat vegetables. But you just have to find the right vegetables! You need to make good use of your friend's experience. Ask your friend if she makes the children eat spinach.

Fai mangiare gli spinaci ai bambini?

16.2 (2114) aux / result / fare (caus) / 2nd ps

Your children always have to eat what you give them, even if they don't like it. But this evening Tonino will also be at supper and maybe his mother doesn't insist with Tonino? Ask his mother if she usually makes Tonino eat spinach.

Fai mangiare gli spinaci a Tonino?

16.3 (2115) aux / result / fare (caus) / 2nd ps

Everyone knows that many children hate spinach. You think that you should give children only what they like to eat. But your friend can be very strict! Ask your friend if she makes her child eat spinach

Fai mangiare gli spinaci al tuo bambino?

16.4 (2191) aux / result / fare (caus) / 3rd ps

There's no mother as capable as Mariuccia! You need to make good use of her experience. Ask your friend if Mariuccia makes her children eat peas.

Fa mangiare i piselli ai suoi bambini, Mariuccia?

16.5 (2001) aux / result / fare (caus) / 3rd ps

You're on the telephone with your mother. You know that where she lives it's rained a lot recently and every stream in the mountains is full of water. Ask her if the water is making the mill wheel turn.

Fa girare il mulino, l'acqua?

17.1 (2279) aux / result / cominciare a (arb) / 3rd ps

Even if today every house has at least one dog, usually the village is a quiet place. But when Matteo passes by, you can never fall asleep after lunch. Ask your friend if the dogs always start barking when Matteo goes by.

Cominciano ad abbaiare i cani sempre quando passa Matteo?

17.2 (2288) aux / result / cominciare a (arb) / 2nd ps

The grandparents live in a village 100km away and when they visit they always arrive tired. But Tonino is so overjoyed that you can hear him from the other side of the village! Ask Tonino if he always starts shouting when the grandparents arrive.

Cominci ad urlare sempre quando arrivano i nonni?

18.1 (2266) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 3rd ps

You're asking yourself how long you have before the boys come home and demand food. Ask Piero, who's also a football fan, if matches usually finish at 5.

Finiscono le partite alle cinque, di solito?

18.2 (2282) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 2nd ps

You're with Giuseppe, the woodcutter. Ask if, usually, he finishes cutting the wood before the snow comes.

Finisci di tagliare la legna prima che arriva la neve?

19.1 (2292) aux / result / provare a / 2nd ps

Alfredo isn't married and doesn't have a lot of money. He does everything himself. But can he really sew? Ask Alfredo if he tries to repair the holes in his sweater himself.

Provi a riparare i buchi nella maglia te stesso?

19.2 (2272) aux / result / provare a / 3rd ps

Lucia is embarrassed to talk dialect with her mother. Ask her mother if Lucia tries to talk dialect with granpa.

Prova a parlare dialetto con il nonno?

19.3 (2273) aux / result / provare a / 3rd ps

There's a new cat at the neighbour's house. What a mess there is in the street. Feathers everywhere. Oh dear. Ask your friend if that cat tries to hunt the ducks.

Prova a andare a cacciare le anatre, il gatto?

20.1 (2270) aux / result / riuscire a / 3rd ps

Anna seems to have aged by 10 years since the birth of the twins! Well, how is Anna then? Ask her sister if Anna manages to stay sane.

Riesce a mantenere una vita sana, Anna?

21.1 (2287) aux / result / smettere di / 2nd ps

Now that Barbara has her farm products business, she is so busy that you hardly ever see her. She has no more time for herself or even to rest. She'll get ill if she keeps going like that. Ask Barbara if at least when her husband gets home she stops working.

Smetti di lavorare quando arriva a casa il marito?

22.1 (2128) lexical / stat / pensare che / 2nd ps

Giovanni is in Milan. You are thinking that, if he's not coming back, you could rent out his room. Ask me if I think that Giovanni is not coming back.

Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?

22.2 (2129) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

In your opinion Giovanni will stay permanently in Milan because he's found a good job there. Ask me if I think Giovanni is not coming back.

Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?

22.3 (2130) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

Your friend was engaged to Giovanni. For her he was the love of her life. But no one has seen Giovanni for a month. Maybe he's found someone else? Oh dear. How sad for your friend...Ask me if I think that Giovanni is not coming back.

Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?

22.4 (2230) main / stative / pensare DP / 3rd ps

Why don't these people want to be with us? Ask your friend what they think of us!

Cosa pensano (di noi)?

23.1 (2116) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

We're having a party with some beer. We'd like some crisps as well. Ask me if I like crisps.

A te piacciono le pattatine?

23.2 (2117) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

You know that in the bar I drink only red wine. But now you see me holding a nice beer!
Ask me if I like beer.

A te piace la birra?

23.3 (2118) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

Castor oil makes you want to throw up, but I'll drink it willingly. Ask me if I like castor oil!

A te piace l'olio di ricino?

23.4 (2193) main / stative / piacere / 3rd ps

We're having a birthday party for Carlo. Ask his friend if Carlo likes chocolate cake.

A Carlo piace la torta di cioccolato?

24.5 (2194) main / stative / piacere a / 3rd ps

We want to give Carlo a good celebration but his wife says that he never drinks prosecco. You just don't believe that! Ask the bartender if Carlo likes prosecco.

A Carlo piace il prosecco?

24.1 (2131) main / stative / sapere DP / 2nd ps

You've been away from the village for 6 months. You get home and you feel like a foreigner. You need to find Angela, who's always been a bit of a gossip to get up to speed. Ask her if she knows a bit of news.

Sai la novità?

24.2 (2132) main / stative / sapere DP / 2nd ps

They've told you that your village has won a prize. You think that only you know this. You meet a friend. Ask him if he knows the news!

Sai la novità?

24.3 (2133) main / stative / sapere DP / 2nd ps

Your friend Giancarlo tells you that his wife is pregnant after many months of marriage. You are so pleased for them! You want to share the news with the entire village. You meet a friend in the piazza. Ask him if he knows the latest!

Sai l'ultima!?

24.4 (2197) main / stative / sapere DP / 3rd ps

Tonino tells you that it was his brother who stole the strawberries and his brother tells you that it was him. Ok then, ask Tonino if his mother knows the truth.

Sa la verità, la madre?

24.5 (2198) main / stative / sapere DP / 3rd ps

Lucia is pregnant but it's not obvious who is the father of this child. It could be her husband or her lover! Ask your close friend if at least Lucia knows the truth!

(Almeno le) sa [di chi è] / [la verità], Lucia?

24.6 (2310) main / stative / sapere DP / 3rd ps

The glass in the window is broken. It must have been Alberto playing football in front of the house, or a stone thrown by someone who had it in for you. Ask your sister if Alberto knows the truth.

Sa la verità, Alberto?

25.1 (2125) main / stative / sembrare a / 2nd ps

You've finished the accounts for the month's expenses but they need checking. Ask me if the sums seem right.

Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?

25.2 (2126) main / stative / sembrare a / 2nd ps

Your son ordered a tractor of wood that seemed to hold about a ton. The man arrived with the bill but it was a bit high! Ask your son if the sums seem right.

Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?

25.3 (2127) main / stative / sembrare a / 2nd ps

The bill for the bathroom renovation has arrived. You were thinking it would be about 1000 Euro but actually it says 5000. Oh no! Ask me if the sums seem right to me.

Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?

26.1 (2202) main / stative / mancare a / 3rd ps

Teresa's children work in Switzerland now. Ask her neighbour if Teresa misses her children.

Mancano i suoi figli a Teresa?

26.2 (2201) main / stative / mancare / 3rd ps

Your son tells you that he can't finish the jigsaw. Ask your son if a piece is missing.

Manca un pezzettino?

26.3 (2261) main / stative / mancare / 3rd ps

The little girl is starting to cry. Ask her mother if she's missing her bottle of milk.

Manca la bottiglia di latte?

27.1 (2199) main / stative / credere in / 3rd ps

Tonino has always been confident of himself and the world in general. Ask his mother if Tonino believes in the guardian angel.

Crede nell'angelo custode, Tonino?

27.2 (2200) main / stative / credere in / 3rd ps

We're at the beginning of December and Isabella is praying for a nice dress from Santa Lucia. But she's 15, Isabella! Ask her mother if Isabella believes in Santa Lucia.

Crede in Santa Lucia, Isabella?

28.1 (2204) main / stative / fidarsi / 3rd ps

Between the politicians in Lombardy, there's already a fair bit of corruption. Ask me if the people of Val Camonica trust the politicians in Rome!

Gli abitanti della Valle Camonica si fidano dei politici di Roma?

29.1 (2223) main / stative / volere bene / 3rd ps

Even after 20 years of marriage Lucio's parents don't argue much. Ask Lucio if, in his opinion, they still love each other.

Si vogliono ancora bene?

29.2 (2224) main / stative / volere bene / 3rd ps

She leaves that poor animal at home all day! Ask your friend if Valentina loves her dog.

Vuole bene al suo cane, Valentina?

29.3 (2221) main / stative / volere DP / 3rd ps

What a nice little girl. Ask her mother if she'd like a sweet.

Vuole una caramella, la ragazza?

30.1 (2303) main / stative / volere DP / 2nd ps

What a nice little girl, Lucia. Ask her if she'd like a sweet.

Vuoi una caramella?

31.1 (2110) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

You invite Edoardo to dinner. You want to check that he doesn't have any allergies or problems with seafood. Ask Edoardo if he can eat prawns.

Puoi mangiare i gamberetti?

31.2 (2111) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

You invite to dinner Davide, who doesn't have many teeth left. Ask Davide if he can eat a steak.

Puoi mangiare una bistecca?

31.3 (2112) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

In your opinion, there's nothing that Marco can't eat. He even eats really disgusting things. Ask Marco if he can eat fatty meat.

Puoi mangiare la carne grassa?

31.4 (2189) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 3rd ps

You invite Edoardo to dinner. You want to check that he doesn't have any allergies or problems with seafood. Ask his daughter if Edoardo can eat prawns.

Può mangiare i gamberetti, Edoardo?

31.5 (2190) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 3rd ps

In your opinion, there's nothing that Marco can't eat. He even eats really disgusting things. Ask his friend if Marco can even eat fatty meat.

Può mangiare la carne grassa, Marco?

32.1 (2222) aux / stative / volere / 3rd ps

Everyone knows that Angelo's father hates both music and church. But it's necessary to invite him anyway. Ask Angelo if his father wants to come to the concert in church.

Vuole venire al concerto in chiesa, tuo padre?

33.1 (2275) aux / stative / potere (pos) / 3rd ps

The sky is really grey and it's really humid. Ok. That will help the vegetables grow. Ask me if, in my opinion, it might rain this evening.

Può piovere stasera (secondo te)?

Appendix 2c: P4 questions for by-verb analysis

Appendix 2c: P4 contexts and question request for by-verb analysis

Contexts with question requests are presented here in English with the question to be elicited given in Italian. Note that the narrator was allowed freedom to use appropriate idiomatic expressions to make the context as credible as possible in her dialect. However, the question request (and therefore hopefully also the elicited question with the exception of its FS versus SCI form) was kept as close to the Italian as possible.

Questions are ordered by verb and verbs sorted in the order manner > result > stative. There are 4 questions for each verb for all verbs except *girare* 'turn, spin', for which there are only 2. Within each category main verbs are presented before auxiliary verbs.

1.1 (2489) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

You know your neighbour Lisa does as little as possible to look after the house. Despite that, you see her there with sponge in hand doing a job that isn't absolutely necessary. It seems that you were wrong about her. Ask Lisa if she often washes the windows.

Lavi spesso le finestre?

1.2 (2428) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

With her new job at the supermarket, Lisa doesn't have time to wash the family's clothes. Ask her if now she washes the clothes on Sunday.

Lavi i panni la domenica?

1.3 (2429) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

They say that Clint Eastwood never washed the famous poncho from the film "For a fistful of dollars". It seems that it could also be like that for Angelo's coat (which is beginning to smell)! Ask him if he ever washes that coat.

Lavi mai quel capotto?

1.4 (2431) main / manner / lavare / 2nd ps

Ricardo goes around in a beautiful new Mercedes and turns the heads of all the girls. He doesn't allow anyone else to drive his car. Ask him if only he washes his beautiful car.

Lavi solo tu la tua bella macchina?

2.1 (2438) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Recently Andrea has started gardening in the city. Ask him if he works even when it rains.

Lavori anche quando piove?

2.2 (2439) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Giusi is pregnant and the doctor has advised her to stay at home - immediately. But you see her still leaving at the same time. Ask Giusi if she's still working.

Lavori ancora?

2.3 (2440) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Giorgio manages many businesses in the village: the bar, the hotel, the bookshop. Now he's opened a new shop in the centre of the village. Ask your neighbour if now even she works for Giorgio.

Anche tu lavori per Giorgio?

2.4 (2490) main / manner / lavorare / 2nd ps

Enrica told you that she no longer wants to work on Saturday. But now it's Saturday and you see her in the office in front of the coffee machine. Ask Enrica if she works on Saturday.

Lavori il sabato?

3.1 (2442) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

You've come to know a foreign girl. She seems really well informed. Yesterday she told you not to go to the library because it was closed as they were renovating it. Ask her if she too reads the 'Giornale di Brescia' (local newspaper).

Anche tu, leggi il Giornale di Brescia?

3.2 (2443) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

You keep the village library and an 18-year old girl comes in to return her books. You want to help her to find some more. Ask her if she only reads 'Mills and Boon/potboilers'.

Leggi sola romanzi rosa?

3.3 (2441) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

Annetta is now 80 but she seems to be in really good shape. There she is now in the bar (café) about to read a new book from the library. Ask her if she usually reads even without glasses.

Di solito, leggi anche senza occhiali?

3.4 (2492) main / manner / leggere / 2nd ps

Matilda is now 80 and she has problems with her eyes. What a shame for her. Poor thing. You know that she used to like to spend an entire day with a good book. You meet her coming out of the library with 3 books in her hand! Ask her if she still reads a lot!

Leggi ancora tanto?

4.1 (2445) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Gianna is trying to lose a bit of weight so that she can walk in the mountains. She's taken some advice about doing it. It's best to eat more at lunchtime than for supper. Ask her if she only eats soup for supper.

Mangi solo una minestra per cena?

4.2 (2446) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Giulia likes everything fresh. She waits for summer for tomatoes and autumn for apples. Ask her if she only eats porcini mushrooms when it's the season.

Mangi i funghi porcini solo quando sono in stagione?

4.3 (2491) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Your friend told you Maria was a vegetarian. You prepare two different risottos, one vegetarian and the other with chicken. But she chooses the one with chicken! Ask Maria if she eats meat.

Mangi carne?

4.4 (2444) main / manner / mangiare / 2nd ps

Tonino is eating pasta and talking in a loud voice letting the spaghetti fall out of his mouth. Ask him if he always eats with his mouth open!

Mangi sempre con la bocca aperta?!

5.1 (2566) main / manner / girare / 3rd ps

Your talking on the phone to your aunt who has a water mill. But you know that it hasn't rained for a month. Ask her if the mill is turning anyway.

Gira il mulino lo stesso?

5.2 (2570) main / manner / girare / 3rd ps

The bell tower broke in the last thunderstorm. Do you think that they've repaired it? You're with your friend Sergio and you hear 9 o'clock strike. Ask your friend if the hands are turning once again.

Girano ancora le lancette?

6.1 (2529) main / result / rompere / 3rd ps

Lisetta looks at the bar and is in despair because there's such a big mess: bottles in every corner, wine spilt, and broken glass. Ask her if the customers always break the glasses when they get drunk.

I clienti rompono spesso i bicchieri quando si ubriacano (per sbaglio)?

6.2 (2530) main / result / rompere / 2nd ps

Maria has experience as a cook. She's making her favourite cake. In the recipe you have to put 4 eggs. She breaks one after another: 'crack, crack, crack, crack'. Ask her if she always breaks the eggs with only one hand.

Rompi sempre le uova con una mano sola (apposta)?

6.3 (2531) main / result / rompere / 3rd ps

Your brother Giovanni and his brother Giuseppe like fishing in the pond and they even do it in winter when the water is frozen. Giuseppe uses a tripod to make a hole. Ask Giovanni if Giuseppe always breaks the ice like that.

Giuseppe rompe sempre il ghiaccio in quel modo li (apposta)?

6.4 (2532) main / result / rompere / 2nd ps

Giuseppe arrives home tired and throws himself into the armchair. You hear 'crack' and look. He's broken his glasses! Ask Giuseppe if he always breaks his glasses like that.

Rompi spesso gli occhiali così (per sbaglio)?

7.1 (2469) main / result / rompersi / 3rd ps

Everyone is buying the new coffee machine that takes capsules. They're lovely! Unfortunately yours stopped all of a sudden. You didn't do anything! Ask your friend - who advised you to buy it - if those machines often break down.

Si rompono spesso queste macchine?

7.2 (2476) main / result / rompersi / 3rd ps

The plastic bags that you use now in the grocery shop seem to me to be too weak. There's Irene who often goes to that shop. Ask her if, when she puts potatoes in them, those bags usually break.

Di solito, quando si mette le patate, si rompono, quei sacchetti?

7.3 (2477) main / result / rompersi / 3rd ps

Your friend is complaining that her Skoda car isn't like the one she had before (which was a Volkswagen). Even if it's maintained regularly it's always out of action. Ask her if her car always breaks down without warning.

Si rompe sempre all'improvviso, la tua macchina?

7.4 (2478) main / result / rompersi / 3rd ps

Granny's chair is old, comfortable and also attractive. When she sits there, she's relaxed. Guests also use it without problems. Ask me if the chair only breaks when Marco sits there.

Si rompe solo quando c'è Marco?

8.1 (2398) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

Everyone knows that Manuela doesn't like her sister-in-law (but she never wants to admit it). Ask Manuela if she gives her sister-in-law a kiss when she meets her.

Alla tua cognata, dai un bacio quando la incontri?

8.2 (2413) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

It's always hard to find the right Christmas present. Sometimes you just don't have any ideas - especially for your father. Ask me if even I give socks to my father at Christmas time.

Dai anche tu le calze a tuo papà per Natale?

8.3 (2415) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

Dad is repairing the brakes on the bicycle while Tonino is messing around playing football. You finally can't take it any more. Ask Tonino if he is always such a pain (lit. 'gives irritation') when you have to concentrate.

Dai sempre fastidio quando si deve concentrare?!

8.4 (2488) main / result / dare / 2nd ps

Why is Luigi always late for work? He'll be fired! Your friend explains that he first has to go to the chicken run to take care of the hens. Ask Luigi if he always feeds the chickens (lit. 'gives to eat to the chickens') in the early morning.

Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?

9.1 (2535) main / result / trovare / 2nd ps

Everyone loses their keys. Then they look for them everywhere: on the sofa, in the kitchen, in the bathroom. Ask me, if, like everyone, I always find my keys in my pocket.

Trovi le chiavi sempre in tasca?

9.2 (2536) main / result / trovare / 2nd ps

Giuseppe has a cottage that he only uses in the summer. Ask him if, when he gets to the cottage, he finds cobwebs everywhere.

Trovi le ragnatele dappertutto?

9.3 (2537) main / result / trovare / 2nd ps

Tonino is really messy boy and even if he is always promising to tidy his room, he never does it. Ask his mother if she always finds a mess in Tonino's room.

Trovi spesso casino nella stanza di Tonino?

9.4 (2538) main / result / trovare / 2nd ps

When my friends come to eat at my house, it's never easy to choose the menu! Piero doesn't like vegetables, Maria is allergic to wheat, and Linda is a vegetarian. Ask me if I usually find a solution!

Di solito, trovi una soluzione?

10.1 (2543) main / result / cadere / 3rd ps

In Val Camonica, autumn comes early. Ask me if even with us in Malegno the leaves fall in August.

Di solito, anche da noi a Malegno, cadono le foglie in agosto?

10.2 (2544) main / result / cadere / nd ps

Andrea has a degree in astronomy from the city. You're there with him looking at the stars. Suddenly you see one fall. Ask Andrea if the stars often come down.

Cadono spesso le stelle?

10.3 (2545) main / result / cadere / nd ps

The other night there was a thunderstorm and there was such a strong wind that it stripped the branches off the tree next to your house and a few tiles fell off as well. Ask me if the tiles fly off the roof when there are thunderstorms.

Quando ci sono dei temporali, cadono le tegole dal tetto?

10.4 (2546) main / result / cadere / 3rd ps

After the cleaning is done, we sit down and relax but after 10 minutes we always hear the same sound. Ask me if the broom always falls down (lit 'goes to the ground') in the cleaning cupboard.

Cade sempre la scopa nel ripostiglio?

11.1 (2547) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

Your neighbour has left you a basket of tomatoes that have just been picked but some of them are still green. Ask her if tomatoes ripen even without the sun.

I pomodori maturano anche senza sole?

11.2 (2548) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

You've bought some kiwis but they are still hard. You'd like to eat them Saturday at the party. Ask me if kiwis usually ripen in a couple of days.

Di solito, maturano in un paio di giorni, i kiwi?

11.3 (2549) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

You've bought a house and in the garden there's a persimmon tree. Ask me if persimmons usually ripen before it snows.

Di solito, i cachi maturano prima che arrivi la neve?

11.4 (2550) main / result / maturare / 3rd ps

You've bought a house in Edolo in the Upper Valley and there's an apple orchard. Ask your neighbour if apples ripen in September in Edolo.

Le mele ad Edolo maturano a settembre?

12.1 (2394) aux / result / andare / 2nd ps

In autumn, every weekend Ricardo meets the boy scouts in front of the town hall. Ask Ricardo if he goes to pick blueberries every Saturday.

Vai a raccogliere mirtilli ogni sabato?

12.2 (2436) aux / result / andare / 2nd ps

Caterina's always got an empty fridge and she only fills it when her boyfriend comes, or he gets angry. Ask Caterina if she only goes shopping when her boyfriend comes.

Vai a fare la spesa solo quando arriva il tuo fidanzato?

12.3 (2434) aux / result / andare / 2nd ps

Edoardo, your new friend's husband, likes to eat meat from wild animals. He often gives you rabbits, bits of deer, even pigeons. Ask Edoardo if he goes duck hunting when it's the season.

Vai a caccia di anatre durante la stagione?

12.4 (2435) aux / result / andare / 2nd ps

For some time now, your colleague Matteo has been arriving late for work. He's tired and then he falls asleep in front of the computer. You've heard that he's training for a race. Ask him if he often goes running in the early morning.

Vai spesso a correre la mattina presto?

13.1 (2420) aux / result / fare (caus) anim / 3rd ps

We're talking about Giuseppe, a friend of mine and a strong man, a wood cutter. Ask me if he only uses the wood stove when it snows.

Giuseppe fa andare la stufa solo quando nevicata?

13.2 (2623) aux / result / fare (caus) anim / 2nd ps

Everyone knows that most children hate spinach. In your opinion you should only give children to eat things they like, but your friend can be very strict! Ask your friend if she makes her children eat spinach.

Fai mangiare gli spinaci ai bambini?

13.3 (2419) aux / result / fare (caus) anim / 2nd ps

You've heard that now Paolo is working as a mechanic and because he doesn't ask much, he's got quite a lot of work. But Paolo breaks everything he touches! Ask me if even I get Paolo to repair the car.

ANCHE TU fai aggiustare la macchina a Paolo?

13.4 (2611) aux / result / fare (caus) anim / 3rd ps

You're with your friend Giulia who works at the new village shop. Her boss (who you really don't think very much of) insists that she stays there to tidy up even though he knows that the last train goes at 7. Ask her if her boss often makes her miss the train.

Ti fa spesso perdere il treno (apposta), il tuo capo?

14.1 (2624) aux / result / fare (caus) inanim / 3rd ps

You're talking with your mother on the phone. You know that where she lives there's been a lot rain recently and all the streams in the mountains are full of water. Ask her if the water is making the millwheel turn.

Fa girare il mulino, l'acqua?

14.2 (2418) aux / result / fare (caus) inanim / 3rd ps

Manuela runs the village bar and she doesn't usually drink. Ask her if wine makes her get the accounts wrong!

Il vino ti fa sbagliare a fare i conti?

14.3 (2432) aux / result / fare (caus) adv / 2nd ps

Marco is a big man with a large black beard and long hair, and a booming voice. When he goes to Lucia's house she hides under the bed. Ask Lucia if Marco frightens her.

Ti fa paura, Marco?

14.4 (2625) aux / result / fare (caus) adv / 2nd ps

You go to the retirement home to find your friend Giovanna who unfortunately has had a stroke. Her room is so well heated that you start to feel ill and so you open a window. (Giovanna doesn't seem to mind.) The nurse comes in. Ask her if it's too cold for Giovanna.

Fa freddo per Giovanna la finestra aperta?

15.1 (2522) aux / result / cominciare a (nat) / 2nd ps

Marisa works all day for the town hall and what's more she has three children. She always gets home late. Ask her if she always (only) begins preparing dinner after 8 o'clock.

Cominci solo dopo le otto a preparare la cena?

15.2 (2523) aux / result / cominciare a (nat) / 2nd ps

Marco's family has a vineyard and he has to help, at least at the start, when it's time to harvest. Ask Marco if he starts picking the grapes in September.

Cominci a raccogliere l'uva a settembre?

15.3 (2524) aux / result / cominciare a (nat) / 2nd ps

After a night of partying, there's a bit mess in the restaurant: glasses overturned, pasta on the floor, and a mountain of dirty plates. It can only be cleaned up when the last client has gone. Ask Davide, who's the waiter, if he only begins to tidy up after midnight.

Cominci a mettere a posto solo dopo mezzanotte?

15.4 (2526) aux / result / cominciare a (nat) / 2nd ps

In the morning, while her husband takes advantage of a quarter of an hour to read the paper, Marta feeds the dog, tidies the kitchen, fetches the bread and makes the coffee. Ask Marta if even she begins to read the newspaper when her husband goes to work.

Cominci anche te a leggere il giornale quando il marito va al lavoro?

16.1 (2423) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 2nd ps

Marisa works all day for the town hall and what's more she has three children. She always gets home really late. Ask her if she always (only) finishes preparing dinner after 8 o'clock.

Finisci solo dopo le otto di preparare la cena?

16.2 (2426) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 2nd ps

When she goes to the library, Piera always takes away a lot of books. But does she read all of them from cover to cover? Ask Piera if she usually finishes reading all the books before she gives them back.

Di solito, finisci di leggere i libri prima di ritomarli?

16.3 (2433) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 2nd ps

Alberto's family has a persimmon tree in their garden. Ask Alberto if he usually finishes picking the persimmons before the snow comes.

Di solito, finisci di raccogliere i cachi prima che arrivi la neve?

16.4 (2514) aux / result / finire di (nat) / 2nd ps

You're with Giuseppe, the forester. Ask him if he always finishes cutting the wood before it snows.

Finisci sempre di tagliare la legna prima che arrivi la neve?"

17.1 (2470) aux / result / smettere di / 2nd ps

Edoardo is someone who likes to be in the bar with his friends in front of a nice glass of wine – even two. But in summer, when it was 40 degrees, he fainted and they had to take him to hospital. Ask him if he now stops drinking wine when it's hot.

Smetti di bere vino quando fa caldo?

17.2 (2472) aux / result / smettere di / 2nd ps

Martino plays the electric guitar. His father told him that he'd throw the guitar out of the window if he heard it again. But in a week's time Martino has to play the guitar at the village festival and he has to practice. Ask him if he at least stops playing when his father is at home.

Smetti di suonare almeno quando c'è il papà a casa?

17.3 (2473) aux / result / smettere di / 2nd ps

You never see Marco without his mobile phone. It seems like either he's talking, or he's reading his email, or he's on Facebook. He even seems to use it in bed. Ask him if, at least in church, he stops using his phone.

Almeno in chiesa, smetti di usare il telefonino?

17.4 (2515) aux / result / smettere di / 2nd ps

Since Barbara has had her farm product business, she's been so busy that you hardly ever see her. She has no time for herself, not even to rest. She'll get ill if she goes on like that. Ask Barbara if she stops working at least when her husband comes home.

Smetti di lavorare quando arriva a casa tuo marito?

18.1 (2401) aux / result / provare a / 2nd ps

Lucia gets embarrassed talking dialect with her mother. Ask Lucia if she tries to talk dialect with her grandfather (even if he's a bit deaf).

Provi a parlare dialetto con il nonno?

18.2 (2465) aux / result / provare a / 2nd ps

Davide is really proud of his new bicycle. After he's been for a ride with his friends in the mountains, he oils and washes the bike. But you know that he's not much of a mechanic. Ask him if he tries to fix the bike himself.

Provi ad aggiustare la bicicletta da solo?

18.3 (2467) aux / result / provare a / 2nd ps

Manuela had a bad lung infection in the winter but the doctor told her that to go for a short walk and get some fresh air would do her good, even if she didn't (particularly) feel like it. Ask her if she tries to go out when the weather's good.

Provi ad uscire quando c'è bel tempo?

18.4 (2466) aux / result / provare a / 2nd ps

Tonino tells you that it was his brother who stole the chocolates and his brother told you it was Tonino. But you saw Tonino going into the kitchen to eat them! Ask him if he always tries to give the blame to his brother!

Provi sempre a dare la colpa a tuo fratello?

19.1 (2475) aux / result / riuscire a / 2nd ps

Caterina is training for a race. But her work hours change from one day to the next. Ask her if she manages to run every morning.

Riesci a correre ogni mattina?

19.2 (2409) aux / result / riuscire a / 2nd ps

Matilda is 80 and you want to go with her for a short walk to get some fresh air. Ask Matilda if she usually manages to walk as far as the park.

Di solito, riesci a camminare fino al parco?

19.3 (2474) aux / result / riuscire a / 2nd ps

Carla works in the bakery. But with two small children it's not easy working in the early morning like her boss wants. Ask her if she always manages to start at 6.

Riesci sempre a cominciare alle 6?

19.4 (2468) aux / result / riuscire a / 2nd ps

Giacomino is afraid of monsters under the bed. It's just as well that the babysitter, Giovanna, who knows Giacomino well, is able to calm him down. Ask Giovanna if she usually manages to get Giacomino to go to sleep.

Riesci a far dormire Giacomino?

20.1 (2450) main / resVoM / pesare / 2nd ps

Anna was very ill and had to have a stomach operation. The doctors are worried because she's lost such a lot of weight. She's just got back from her weekly appointment at the hospital. Ask Anna if she weighs more than last time.

Pesi più dell'ultima volta?

20.2 (2451) main / resVoM / pesare / 3rd ps

You're at the post office to send the package to your nephew in China. You've already stuck on the stamp that you had at home but you still have to check that you're not over the weight limit. Ask the person behind the counter if the package weighs more than 100g.

Pesa meno di un etto?

20.3 (2516) main / resVoM / pesare / 3rd ps

Roberto is carrying the bags for his daughter with some difficulty. Ask Roberto if the bags weigh a lot.

Pesano così tanto le borse?

20.4 (2517) main / resVoM / pesare / 3rd ps

You are buying the wood to finish the kitchen remodelling. But your car can't carry much and you have to be careful not to exceed the limit. Ask the wood supplier if the wood that you've chosen weighs more than a ton.

Pesa più di un quintale questa legna?

21.1 (2399) main / stative / fidarsi di / 2nd ps

There's already quite enough corruption between the politicians in Lombardy! So then, ask me if I trust the politicians in Rome!

Ti fidi dei politici di Roma?

21.2 (2422) main / stative / fidarsi di / 2nd ps

Giuseppe is a woodsman, he knows the natural world well and usually he's right about the weather. He says it will snow at Christmas. Ask me if I usually believe Giuseppe's forecasts.

Di solito, ti fidi dei previsioni di Giuseppe?

21.3 (2498) main / stative / fidarsi di / 2nd ps

Angela likes chatting with everyone. She told me that Giovanni had left for Milan and he'd found another girlfriend. Ask me if I trust that gossip!

Ti fidi di quella pettegola?

21.4 (2499) main / stative / fidarsi di / 2nd ps

The new mayor is very well thought of in the village. Finally, we have an honest and good politician. Ask me if even I trust the mayor now.

Anche tu, ti fidi del sindaco adesso?

22.1 (2396) main / stative / credere in / 2nd ps

Tonino has always been very sure of himself and his relationship with the world. Ask Tonino if he believes in the guardian angel.

Credi nell'angelo custode?

22.2 (2397) main / stative / credere in / 2nd ps

We are at the beginning of December and Isabella is hoping to get a beautiful new dress from Santa Lucia. (But Isabella is 15!) Ask Isabella if she still believes in Santa Lucia.

Credi ancora in Santa Lucia?

22.3 (2411) main / stative / credere in / 2nd ps

One evening, you go with Ricardo to the community centre and you see a strange light in the sky. It seems to be slowly coming down. You're afraid. Ask Ricardo if he believes in UFOs.

Credi negli UFO, (Ricardo)?

22.4 (2412) main / stative / credere in / 2nd ps

Theresa has always wanted to have a child but for years it hasn't happened. But she's learned that she can still have them if it's God's will. Ask her if she believes in providence.

Credi nella Provvidenza?

23.1 (2453) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

You know that I always drink red wine in the bar. But now you see me with a nice beer in my hand. Ask me if I like beer.

A te piace la birra?

23.2 (2495) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

Castor oil makes you throw up, but I take it willingly. Ask me if I like castor oil!

A te piace l'olio di ricino?

23.3 (2503) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

You're in the community centre on a Friday evening, playing Bridge. Usually Giorgio - a very conceited man who doesn't accept his mistakes - is the winner. Ask me if I like it when Giorgio is wrong!

Ti piace quando Giorgio sbaglia!?

23.4 (2520) main / stative / piacere a / 2nd ps

It's just come to you, all of a sudden, a great solution to the problem of where to go for the annual community outing. We'll go to the seaside! Ask me if I like the idea.

Ti piace questa idea?

24.1 (2447) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

We are looking at a sky full of bright stars. Ask me if I think there's life on another planet.

Pensi che c'è vita su un'altra pianeta?

24.2 (2448) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

Luigi suggested that we meet for the festival at 7. But it's half past 7 and he's not there. Ask me if I think that Luigi has missed the train.

Pensi/credi che Luigi ha perso il treno?

24.3 (2449) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

The Saturday before the village festival, the community hires a coach and everyone goes on a trip together. Usually we don't know where we're going - and everyone is talking about it. Last time, we went to the mountains. Ask me if I think that we'll go to the seaside tomorrow!

Pensi che andiamo al mare domani?

24.5 (2551) main / stative / pensare che / 2nd ps

Your friend was engaged to Giovanni. For her he was the love of her life. But no one has seen Giovanni for a month. Maybe he's found someone else? How sad for your friend. Ask me if I think that Giovanni is not coming back.

Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?

25.1 (2534) main / stative / sapere che / 2nd ps

Our friend Silvia was in love with Giovanni. He was the love of his life and she wanted to marry him. But you've found out that it wasn't like that for him and that he's found someone new. Ask me if I know that Giovanni has left Silvia.

Sai che Giovanni ha lasciato Silvia?

25.2 (2404) main / stative / sapere DP / 2nd ps

Tonino tells you that it was his brother who stole the strawberries and his brother tells you that it was him who stole them. Well then, ask their mother if she knows the truth.

Sai la verità?

25.3 (2497) main / stative / sapere DP / 2nd ps

Your friend Giancarlo tells you that his wife is pregnant after many years of marriage. You are overjoyed for them. You want to spread the news to the entire village. You meet a friend in the piazza. Ask her if she knows the latest!

Sai l'ultima!?

25.4 (2533) main / stative / sapere wh / 2nd ps

You've looked for them everywhere: in your pocket, on the sofa, in the bathroom, but you haven't found them. Ask me if I know where you've left your keys.

Sai dove ho messo le chiavi?

26.1 (2456) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

Tonino, a boy from Bienno, is always running. Now he's 10 he's starting to run seriously. Ask him if he can run as far as Breno.

Puoi correre fino a Breno?

26.2 (2464) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

What an enormous suitcase! Ask me if I can carry that suitcase (or if it's too heavy).

Puoi portare quella valigia, oppure è troppo pesante?

26.3 (2493) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

You ask Edoardo to dinner. You want to be sure that he hasn't got any allergies or problems with seafood. Ask Edoardo if he can eat prawns.

Puoi mangiare i gamberetti?

26.4 (2455) aux / stative / potere (abil) / 2nd ps

You usually work at the community centre on Wednesday evening but today it's your birthday and you want to go to a restaurant. Isabella, a 15-year old girl is the only person available to keep the bar. But is she up to the job? Ask her if she can stay there on her own.

Puoi stare lì da sola?

27.1 (2457) aux / stative / potere (req) / 2nd ps

Your dear nephew Matteo is smoking near the table. Ask him if he could smoke somewhere else.

Puoi fumare da un'altra parte, Matteo?

27.2 (2487) aux / stative / potere (req) / 2nd ps

We are having dinner with the new neighbours, Piero and Irene. Ask Irene if she could give you a glass of wine.

Puoi darmi un bicchiere di vino?

27.3 (2459) aux / stative / potere (req) / 2nd ps

You've just bought a really tasty sandwich but you want to take it away to eat it at work. Ask the shopkeeper (who's also a close friend of your's) if she could give you a bag.

Puoi darmi un sacchetto, per favore?

27.4 (2458) aux / stative / potere (req) / 2nd ps

You've done a big shop and have (just) got home tired and you are looking for the keys. You meet Giuseppe, your neighbour. Ask him if he could hold your bag a moment.

Puoi tenermi la borsa, un attimino?

28.1 (2461) aux / stative / potere (pos) / 2nd ps

You want your friend Ilaria to come with you to a hospital appointment. When she leaves the house, usually her husband Giorgio insists on going as well. Ask Ilaria if this time she could come without Giorgio.

Puoi venire senza Giorgio?

28.2 (2462) aux / stative / potere (pos) / 2nd ps

Maria is getting married on Saturday and everyone is going to the wedding and the party. Anna, poor thing, is working that day and can't go. Ask her if she could take a day's holiday.

Puoi prenderti un giorno di vacanza?

28.3 (2460) aux / stative / potere (pos) / 2nd ps

You wanted to go to the festival with two friends, Luisa and Giovanni. Luisa is sure that Giovanni told her to wait for him at the entrance at 7. But it's already half past 7 and he's not there. Ask Luisa if he could have misunderstood the time.

Puoi aver capito male l'ora?

28.4 (2463) aux / stative / potere (pos) / 2nd ps

Lucia is distracted. She's lost the beautiful green umbrella that her boyfriend gave her. Well, today she went first to the supermarket, then to the post office. Ask her if she could have left the umbrella in the post office.

Puoi aver lasciato l'ombrello in posta?

29.1 (2539) aux / stative / volere / 2nd ps

Emilio travels a lot in Africa and when he gets back he tells his nephew Tonino stories of fantastic places and gives him little wooden animals. Ask Tonino if he too wants to go to Africa some day.

Anche te, vuoi andare in Africa, un giorno?

29.2 (2540) aux / stative / volere / 2nd ps

Martina has a garden and each year it's even more beautiful. This year she went in for the contest for the most beautiful garden. Ask her if she wants to win the prize.

Vuoi vincere il premio?

29.3 (2541) aux / stative / volere / 2nd ps

Lisa suspects that her dear neighbour is not telling the truth about how she grows such large courgettes. You think you know her secret - and it's not very nice! Ask me if I want to know the truth!

Vuoi sapere la verità?

29.4 (2542) aux / stative / volere / 2nd ps

You've noticed that Anna has an old sewing machine and she wants to change it. Ask her if she wants the latest model.

Vuoi avere l'ultimo modello?

Appendix 2d: P4 questions for minimal pair tense analysis

Appendix 2d: Minimal pairs for Future versus PresHabGen

Contexts with question requests are presented here in English with the question to be elicited given in Italian.

1.1 (2563) cantare: Future

What a beautiful voice Mariangela has! You'd like to hear her. Ask her if she will sing tomorrow in church.

Canterai domani in chiesa?

1.2 (2562) cantare: PresHabGen

What a beautiful voice Mariangela has! You'd like to hear her. Ask her if she often sings in church.

Canti spesso in chiesa?

2.1 (2556) parlare: Future

Giulia and Giorgio met at a party and they immediately liked each other. Ask Giulia if she will speak to Giorgio tomorrow.

Parlerai domani con Giorgio?

2.2 (2555) parlare: PresHabGen

Giulia and Giorgio met at a party and they immediately liked each other. Ask Giulia if she often speaks to Giorgio.

Parli spesso con Giorgio?

3.1 (2553) andare: PresFut

Your colleague Matteo is training for a race. Today he arrived late, tired and then he fell asleep in front of the computer. But tomorrow there's a presentation for the clients! He has to be in good shape. Ask him if he's going running tomorrow morning as well.

Vai a correre domani mattina?

3.2 (2435) andare: PresHabGen

For some time now, your colleague Matteo has been arriving late for work. He's tired and then he falls asleep in front of the computer. You've heard that he's training for a race. Ask him if he often goes running in the early morning.

Vai spesso a correre la mattina presto?

4.1 (2554) lavare: Future

With her new job at the supermarket, Lisa doesn't have much time to wash the family's clothes. Ask her if she'll wash them on Sunday.

Laverai i panni domenica?

4.2 (2428) lavare: PresHabGen

With her new job at the supermarket, Lisa doesn't have time to wash the family's clothes. Ask her if now she washes the clothes on Sunday.

Lavi i panni la domenica?

5.1 (2557) mangiare: Future

Gianna is trying to lose weight to be able to walk in the mountains. She's taken some advice about it. It's best to eat more for lunch than for supper. Ask her if she'll only eat a soup for supper this evening.

Mangerai solo una minestra stasera per cena stasera?

5.2 (2445) mangiare: PresHabGen

Gianna is trying to lose a bit of weight so that she can walk in the mountains. She's taken some advice about doing it. It's best to eat more at lunchtime than for supper. Ask her if she only eats soup for supper.

Mangi solo una minestra per cena?

6.1 (2483) andare: PresNow

Giacomo is looking for some flowers to celebrate his wife's birthday. You meet him on the street. Ask him if he's going to the market to look for flowers.

Vai al mercato per cercare i fiori?

6.2 (2484) andare: PresHabGen

Sergio really likes to look for flowers for his restaurant. Ask him if he often goes to the market to look for flowers.

Vai spesso al mercato di fiori?

6.3 (2627) andare: PresNow

Giacomo is looking for some flowers to celebrate his wife's birthday. You meet him on the street. Ask him if he's going to the market to look for flowers.

Vai al mercato per cercare i fiori?

6.4 (2626) andare: PresHabGen

Sergio likes to look for flowers for his restaurant. Ask him if he often goes to the market to look for flowers.

Vai spesso al mercato per cercare i fiori?

7.1 (2558) finire di (nat): Future

You are with Giuseppe, the forester. Ask him if he'll finish cutting all that wood today.

Finirai di tagliare tutta la legna oggi?

7.2 (2514) finire di (nat): PresHabGen

You're with Giuseppe, the forester. Ask him if he always finishes cutting the wood before it snows.

Finisci sempre di tagliare la legna prima che arrivi la neve?

8.1 (2559) finire di (nat): PresFut

Alberto's family has a persimmon tree in the garden. Ask Alberto if he'll finish picking the persimmons today.

Finirai di raccogliere i cachi oggi?

8.2 (2433) finire di (nat): PresHabGen

Alberto's family has a persimmon tree in their garden. Ask Alberto if he usually finishes picking the persimmons before the snow comes.

Di solito, finisci di raccogliere i cachi prima che arrivi la neve?

9.1 (2486) riuscire a: Future

Carla now works at the bakery. But with two small children it's not easy to work in the early morning like her boss has asked her for tomorrow. Ask her if she'll manage to start at 6 tomorrow.

Riuscirai a cominciare alle 6 domani?

9.2 (2474) riuscire a: PresHabGen

Carla works in the bakery. But with two small children it's not easy working in the early morning like her boss wants. Ask her if she always manages to start at 6.

Riesci sempre a cominciare alle 6?

10.1 (2521) riuscire a: Future

Your dear friend Matilda is 90 and today you'd like to go with her for a short walk to get some fresh air. Ask Matilda if today she'll manage to walk as far as the park, in her opinion.

Riuscirai a camminare fino al parco, secondo te?

10.2 (2409) riuscire a: PresHabGen

Matilda is 80 and you want to go with her for a short walk to get some fresh air. Ask Matilda if she usually manages to walk as far as the park.

Di solito, riesci a camminare fino al parco?

11.1 (2527) rompere: Future

You are going to look to Angela and you find her with her brother in front of the door of their house. They are shut out! Ask Angela if her brother will break the window to go inside.

Tuo fratello, romperà la finestra per entrare (apposta)?

11.2 (2531) rompere: PresHabGen

Your brother Giovanni and his brother Giuseppe like fishing in the pond and they even do it in winter when the water is frozen. Giuseppe uses a tripod to make a hole. Ask Giovanni if Giuseppe always breaks the ice like that.

Giuseppe rompe sempre il ghiaccio in quel modo lì (apposta)?

Appendix 3a: Additional syntactic examples

Appendix 3a: Additional syntactic examples

A3.1 Paradigms of other relevant verbs

A3.1.1 Declarative

Table A3.1: Present tense declarative paradigms of ‘have’ (aux, main), ‘be’ (aux/main) in Esine, Bienno and Monno

Table A3.2: Present tense declarative paradigms of ‘know’ and ‘give’ in Esine, Bienno and Monno

Table A3.3: Declarative paradigms of modals ‘can, could’ and ‘want’ in Esine, Bienno and Monno

A3.1.2 Interrogative

Table A3.4: Present tense SCI interrogative paradigms of ‘have’ (aux, main) and ‘be’ (aux/main) in Esine, Bienno and Monno

Table A3.5: Present tense SCI interrogative paradigms of main verbs ‘know’, ‘give’ in Esine, Bienno and Monno

Table A3.6: Present tense SCI interrogative paradigms of modal verbs ‘can, could’, ‘want’ in Esine, Bienno and Monno

A3.2 Non-subject clitics

A3.2.1 Accusative and dative clitics

Table A3.7: Accusative and dative non-reflexive clitics in Esine

A3.2.2 Reflexive/pronominal clitics

Table A3.8: Reflexive and pronominal verb ‘reflexive’ clitics in

A3.2.3 Impersonal clitic

A3.1 Paradigms of other relevant verbs

A3.1.1 Declarative

In Table A3.1, the reader is shown morphology for ‘have’ and ‘be’, the two auxiliaries that are most common cross-linguistically. In the present tense these are also all monosyllabic, even in the 2PL form, and, as with *fa*, have only three or four distinct forms. The (near) syncretism of ‘have’ in 2SG (and 2PL in some dialects) as *é/è*, and ‘be’ in 3SG/PL as *è*, never causes confusion because of the presence of the obligatory subject clitics, *te* (2sg) and *’l/la/i/le* (3sg/pl). Other forms of ‘be’ are characterized by their /s/ (Upper Valley) or /h/ (Middle Valley) initial consonant.

When used as a main verb for possession, ‘have’ is distinct from the auxiliary form of ‘have’ in incorporation of a locative clitic (Rohlf, 1968: 274), although this may not apply to the infinitive.

TABLE A3.1: PRESENT TENSE DECLARATIVE PARADIGMS OF ‘HAVE’ (AUX, MAIN), ‘BE’ (AUX/MAIN) IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	SCL	‘have’ - aux		‘have’ - main		‘be’ – aux/main	
		Esine/ Bienno	Mon.	Esine/ Bienno	Mon.	Esine/ Bienno	Mon.
Infin		(av)i ¹	(v)éi	(v)i-ga ²	(v)éi	éher	èser
1 sg		ó	ò	g’ó	i-ò	hó	sò
2 sg	te	é	è	gh’é	i-è	hé	sé
3 sg m/f	’l/la	à	à	g’à	gi-à	è	è
1 pl	’m/n	à	à	g’à	i-à	hè	è
2 pl		ì – Esine é – Bienno	è	gh’ì – Esine gh’é – Bienno	i-è	hì – Esine hé – Bienno	se
3 pl m/f	i/le	à	à	g’à	i-à	è ³	è

¹ Before a vowel, *av* or *v* are dropped.

² The main verb forms are considered to derive historically from the association with a locative clitic *ghe*.

³ In Esine the combinations *ie* and *le e* are both palatalized to *g’è*.

Two other common verbs are shown in Table A3.2: *hai/sai* ‘know’ and *da* ‘give’. Similar to *fà* ‘do, make’, *(av)i/(v)éi* ‘have’, *éher/èser* ‘be’, *nà/ndà* ‘go’ (not shown), these are also monosyllabic in the present tense.^{1,2}

¹ B&P also reported the lack of declarative *-t* in 2sg (and *-io* for 1sg for Monno) inflection with most of these verbs. They attributed the lack of inflections as due to the fact that only main verbs, but not auxiliary verbs (even if they also had main-verb uses) could take this morphology. The addition of *dà* ‘give’ and *hai/saé* ‘know’ to B&P’s list makes this explanation slightly inappropriate as these verbs are almost exclusively as main verbs, not auxiliary verbs. Clearly, though, these verbs have some characteristics in common, notably their monosyllabic nature in the present tense and the fact that all of them have uses as light verbs.

² As it is viewed as inflectional, the *-t* ending on fully lexical verbs in the declarative is not hyphenated in this work, clearly distinguishing declarative forms (unhyphenated) from those with a subject enclitic (hyphenated).

The reader may note that there is some syncretism between ‘be’ (above) and ‘know’ (below) in 1sg, 2sg, and 2pl in all dialects. Although interesting, this appears to have no ramifications.

TABLE A3.2: PRESENT TENSE DECLARATIVE PARADIGMS OF ‘KNOW’ AND ‘GIVE’ IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	SCL	‘know’		‘give’	
		Esine / Bienno	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno
infin.		hàì – Esine hàé - Bienno	sàì	dà	dà
1 sg		hó	so	dò	do
2 sg	te	hé	sé	dé	dè
3 sg m/f	‘l/la	hà	sa	dà	dà
1 pl	‘m/n	hà	sa	dà	dà
2 pl		hì – Esine hé - Bienno	sé	dì – Esine dé - Bienno	dé
3 pl m/f	i/le	hà	sa	dà	dà

Modal morphology is shown in Table A3.3. In contrast to *fa*, both available modals have more morphology and are not monosyllabic in the present tense. Noteworthy elements are the inflectional endings of *-t* (2SG) and *-l* (3SG/PL) both of which mirror the interrogative subject clitics. This makes an SCI interrogative form only distinguishable from a QDec form (the relatively declarative form with question intonation) by the presence/absence of the proclitics (e.g. *pödet* ‘can you’, *te pödet* ‘you can’). The bisyllabic 2pl form is (coincidentally) the same as the infinitival form.

TABLE A3.3: DECLARATIVE PARADIGMS OF MODALS ‘CAN, COULD’ AND ‘WANT’ IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	SCL	‘can’		‘want’	
		Esine / Bienno	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno
Infin.		pudì - Esine podé - Bienno	podé	(v)ulì - Esine (v)olé – Bien	olé
1 sg		pöde ¹	pòs	’öle	öi
2 sg	te	pödet	pödet	’ölet	ö
3 sg m/f	’l/la	pöl	pöl	(v)öl	(v)öl
1 pl	’m/n	pöl	pöl	völ	völ
2 pl		pudì – Esine podé - Bienno	podé	ulì – Esine olé - Bienno	olé
3 pl m/f	i/le	pöl	pöl	(v)öl	(v)öl

¹ For both verbs, the stress is on the first syllable ö, for all forms but 2pl.

A3.1.2 Interrogative

Interrogative paradigms for ‘have’ and ‘be’ in main and auxiliary uses are provided in Table A3.4 as a companion to the declarative forms shown above. There is nothing unexpected about these forms: enclitics are used similarly to *fa* and *laurà*, as above.

TABLE A3.4: PRESENT TENSE SCI INTERROGATIVE PARADIGMS OF ‘HAVE’ (AUX, MAIN) AND ‘BE’ (AUX/MAIN) IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	‘have’ - aux		‘have’ - main		éher ‘be’	
	Esine / Bienno	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno
Infin	(av)i	(v)éi	(v)i-ga	(v)éi	éher	èser
1 sg	ó-i	ò-i	g’ó	ò-i	hó-i	sò-i
2 sg	é-t	è-t	gh’é-t	i-è-t	hé-t	sè-t
3 sg m/f	à-l/la	a-l/la	g’à-l/la	i-a-l/la	è-l/la	è-l/la
1 pl	ó-m	a-m	g’ó-m	i-a-m	hè-m	so-m
2 pl	ì-f – Esine é-f – Bien.	e-f	gh’ì-f – Esine ghé-f – Bienno	i-e-f	hì-f – Esine hé-f – Bien.	se-f
3 pl m/f	à-i/le	a-i/le	g’à-i/le	i-a-i/le	è-i/le	e-i/le

Likewise, SCI interrogative paradigms for *hai/sai* ‘know’ and *dà* ‘give’ shown in Table A3.5 (overpage) yield no surprises, except for the very existence of SCI on the main verb ‘know’ in Monno. Both SCI and FS forms of *dà* ‘give’ exist in Bienno and Esine (although FS on *dà* is rare in Esine), but only FS exists for this verb in Monno.

TABLE A3.5: PRESENT TENSE SCI INTERROGATIVE PARADIGMS OF MAIN VERBS ‘KNOW’, ‘GIVE’ IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	‘know’		‘give’	
	Esine / Bienno	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno (Bienno & Esine)
infin	hai – Esine haé - Bienno	sai	dà	dà
1 sg	hó-i	sò-i	dó-i	(FS)
2 sg	hé-t	sè-t	dé-t	(FS)
3 sg m/f	hà-l/la	sa-l/la	dà-l/la	(FS)
		fa-l/la saé		
1 pl	hó-m – Esine hà-m – Bienno	so-m	dóm(e)-i	(FS)
		fa-m saé		
2 pl	hì-f – Esine hé-f – Bienno	se-f	dì-h/f – Esine dé-f – Bienno	(FS)
3 pl m/f	hà-i/le	sa-l/le	dà-i/le	(FS)
		fa-l/le saé		

Table A3.6 shows paradigms for the two available modals in Camuno.³ With *pudi/podé* ‘can, could’ (cognates of Italian *potere*) only an SCI paradigm is available in Esine, both SCI and FS are available in Bienno, and in Monno only FS is available. With *(v)ulì/olé* ‘want’ (cognates of Italian *volere*), SCI is normal in all dialects, although there may be rare

³ The equivalent of Italian deontic modal *dovere* ‘must’ is usually lexicalized periphrastically with the equivalent of Italian *avere da fare* ‘to have to do’.

use of FS. There is, again, nothing unexpected about the morphology of the SCI interrogative given the declarative morphology and subject clitics.

TABLE A3.6: PRESENT TENSE SCI INTERROGATIVE PARADIGMS OF MODAL VERBS ‘CAN, COULD’, ‘WANT’ IN ESINE, BIENNO AND MONNO

Form	‘can’			‘want’	
	Esine / Bienno	Bienno ¹	Monno	Esine / Bienno	Monno
Infin.	pudì	podé	podé	(v)ulì	olé
1 sg	pöde-i-mé? / pöde?	pöde (FS)	(FS)	’ò-i / ’öle (-i)	ö-i
2 sg	pöde-t	pöde-t	(FS)	’öle-t	ö-t
3 sg m/f	pöde-l/la	pöde-l/la (FS)	(FS)	’öle-l/la	öle-l/la
1 pl	pödóme-i / pödó-m	pöde-m (FS)	(FS)	’ölóme-i / ’öló-m – Esine ölo-m / öle-m – Bienno	olo-m
2 pl	pudì-f / pudì	podé-f (FS)	(FS)	’ulì-f / ulì – Esine olé-f – Bienno	olé-f
3 pl m/f	pöde-i/le	pöde-i/le (FS)	(FS)	’öle-i/le	öl-i/e-le

¹ In Bienno, all forms of podé and olé except 2pl have the stress on the first syllable.

A3.2 Non-subject clitics

A3.2.1 Accusative and dative clitics

Information is provided on the forms of non-subject clitics to help the reader understand some of the more complex Camuno sentences shown within the various chapters.

Accusative and dative clitics are shown in Table A3.7 for the Esine dialect. These Camuno clitics resemble the Italian forms (apart from the different vowel) but with the following exceptions. Firstly all 3SG/PL dative forms are the same: *ghe* (Middle Valley) or *i* (Upper Valley) and there is no distinction between masculine and feminine (unlike in Italian *gli*

(msg) / *le* (fsg)). Secondly, paralleling the lack of a dedicated form for the 1pl subject clitic (where an impersonal weak pronoun ‘*n/m* with epenthetic vowel, is used), there is no clitic form to indicate ‘us’ or ‘to us’ in Camuno.⁴ Most commonly speakers use the 1sg *me* but some clarify this, such as by reinforcing with the 1PL full pronoun *notre* or *mé e té*. The equivalent of locative Italian *ci* ‘there’ is rarely used (although it must exist as it is part of lexical verb ‘have’), because phonological rules would have produced *ghe*, which is the same as the 3 SG/PL dative. A partitive *ne* also exists.

TABLE A3.7: ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE NON-REFLEXIVE CLITICS IN ESINE

Form	Accusative, as in: ‘I saw you, you saw me, etc.’	Dative, as in: ‘I wrote to you, you wrote to me, etc.’	Accusative 3f + dative, as in ‘I wrote it (=a letter) to her/him, etc.’
1 sg	me	me	me la
2 sg	te	te	te la
3 sg m/f	’l / la	ghe	ghe la
1 pl	(me)	(me)	(me la)
2 pl	ve	ve	ve la
3 pl m/f	i / le	ghe	ghe la

As in other Northern Italian Dialects the order of clitics when they co-occur is nominative (subject clitic)-dative-accusative (1, 2).

1. La machina, Mario ’l ghe=la fa giühtà a Giani.
the car, Mario SCL.3M.SG DAT.3=ACC.3F.SG causes repair.INFIN a Gianni
‘As for the car, Mario gets Gianni to repair it.’
2. Un bacio, la pina la ghe=l da al hò murùh.⁵
a kiss the girl SCL.3F.SG DAT.3=ACC.3M.SG gives to her boyfriend
‘A kiss, the girl is giving to her boyfriend.’

⁴ Throughout the valley and in neighbouring areas of Bergamasco, informants faced with the request for a spontaneous translation of an Italian question with a 1pl accusative or dative pronoun produced a moment of silence!

⁵ The informant has likely borrowed the Italian word *bacio* ‘kiss’.

Potential combinations of the first and second person dative and accusative are disallowed, as in other Romance languages, probably to minimize potential confusion (the so-called person-case constraint: see review Roberts, 2016: 789).

In instances of nominative and accusative clitics, where combinations of 3rd person forms would lead to repetition of the same form, the first clitic, the nominative and subject clitic, is normally changed to the default form *i*. There may also be changes to the second clitic to make a permitted combination, but the solution is a dialect, or even speaker-specific one. The examples below show the combinations for one speaker from each of Esine (3-6) and Monno (7-10) (interpretations mine).

Esine

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|
| 3. | La pizza, Maria i la màngia.
the pizza, Maria SCL.3DEF ACC.3F.SG eats | la la → i la |
| 4. | Al vi, Giàni i la béf.
the wine, Gianni SCL.3DEF ACC.3DEF drinks | 'l 'l → i la |
| 5. | I spaghèti, i pi i a màngia
the spaghetti, the boys SCL.3.DEF ACC.3DEF eats | i i → i a |
| 6. | Le hpinahe, le pina i a òdia.
the spinach, the girls SCL.3.DEF ACC.3DEF hates | le le → i a |

Monno

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 7. | La pizza, Maria la la mangia. | la la → la la (same) |
| 8. | 'l vi, Giani i 'l bé. | 'l 'l → i 'l |
| 9. | I spaghetti, i pì i-e mangia. | i i → i e |
| 10. | Le spinace, le gnarèle i-le òl mia. | le le → i le |

A3.2.2 Reflexive/pronominal clitics

In Italian, reflexive and pronominal verbs use a clitic that is equivalent to the accusative/dative form for the 1SG, 2SG and 2PL, but a dedicated *si* form for the 3SG/PL. In Camuno a similar system is employed but with a 3SG/PL clitic which is the same as the subject clitic series, and (fairly consistently, at least in the declarative), an additional clitic, equivalent to Italian *si*, is present. As the reader will see, the extra invariable clitic is usually not present on the FS interrogative.

The full declarative paradigm for *vedé-he* 'see oneself' is presented below in Table A3.8.

TABLE A3.8: REFLEXIVE AND PRONOMINAL VERB 'REFLEXIVE' CLITICS IN

Form	Full pronoun	Variable reflexive proclitic	Invariable refl proclitic	Combined form
1	mé	me	he	mé me he 'ède
2	té	te	he	té te he 'èdet
3m/f	lù / lé	'l / la	he	lù l / lé la he 'èt
4	nótre	'n	he	nótre 'n he 'èt
5	ótre	ve	he	ótre ve he 'idì
6m/f	lur / lure	i / le	he	lur l / lure le he 'èt

This system applies equally to (truly) reflexive verbs, where the clitic takes the argument role, and pronominal verbs, where the clitic must only be an agreement marker. The declarative examples below from Esine in the 1st person use accusative-reflexive verb *vedé-he* 'see oneself' (11); dative-reflexive verb *laé-he* (*le ma*) 'wash (one's hands)' (12); pronominal verb *fidà-he* 'trust' (13). Example (14) uses a verb with adverbial particle *hentà-do* 'sit (oneself?) down' in the first clause, a verb that could be either an reflexive or pronominal. The second part of the example uses a similar *he* clitic to form the 'middle voice' of the verb *rompé-he* 'break (intrans)' (as in Italian with *si*).

11. Mé **me** **he** 'ède an del hpècc. (accusative-reflexive)
 I REF.1SG REF.INV see.INFIN in of-the mirror
 'I see myself in the mirror.'

12. Mé **me** **he** làe=dó le ma dòpo hénà. (dative-reflexive)
 I REF.1SG REF.INV wash=down the hands after dinner
 'I wash my hands after dinner.'
13. Mé **me** **he** fide de Bèpe. (pronominal)
 I REF.1SG REF.INV trust of Bepe
 'I trust Giuseppe.'
14. Mé **me** (**he**) hèn-te=dó, e crac, [rómpe hèmper la hcagna]
 I REF.1SG (REF.INV) sit=down and crack break.1sg always the chair
 / la hcagna la **he** rómp.
 the chair SCL.3F.SG 3MV breaks
 'I sit down, and 'crack', I always break the chair / the chair always breaks.'

In the SCI interrogative, reflexive (16a, 17a) and pronominal verbs (18a) maintain the invariable *he/se* as a proclitic and encliticize the variable clitic to the main and finite verb. Similarly, in the FS interrogative (16b, 17b, 18b), the variable clitic is attached to finite verb *fa* and either the invariable clitic 'self' or a repeat of the variable clitic is placed on the infinitival verb. The declarative is shown for comparison (15). The Upper Valley FS forms (not shown) are similar.

15. (Té) **te** **he** 'èdet an del hpècc. accusative reflexive (Decl)
 you SCL.2SG REF.INV see.2SG in of-the mirror
 'You see yourself in the mirror.'
16. a. (Té) **he** 'ède=**t** an del hpècc? accusative reflexive (SCI)
 you REF.INV see=SCL.2SG in of-the mirror
- b. Fé=**t** vidi=**t** an del hpècc. (FS)
 do=SCL.2SG see.INFIN=ACC.2SG in of-the mirror
 'Do you see yourself in the mirror?'

(The neighbours have a new baby. Ask the baby:)

17. a. (Come) **He** ciàmè=**t** come?⁶ dative reflexive (SCI)
 (how) REF.INV call=SCL.2SG how
- b. (Come) Fé=**t** ciamà=**t/h** come? (FS)
 (how) do=SCL.2SG call.INFIN=ACC.2SG/REF.INV how
 'What are you called?' (Lit.) What do you call you/self?'

⁶ Only one *come* is normally present (for this speaker).

18. a. **He** fide=**t** de Bèpe? pronominal (SCI)
 REF.INV trust=SCL.2SG of Bepe
- b. Fe=**t** fidà=**t/h** de Bèpe? (FS)
 do=SCL.2SG trust.INFIN=SCL.2SG/REF.INV of Bepe
 ‘Do you trust Giuseppe?’

Another interrogative example of the use of *he/se* in a non-reflexive, ‘middle voice’ (anticausative) construction is provided in (19). The construction appears similar to a reflexive in that in the declarative and SCI interrogative the *he/se* clitic is a proclitic. In FS, the middle voice clitic, *he/se* must be enclitic on the main verb.

19. a. **He** ‘mpinihe=**l** quan che ‘l piöf, al laghèt? (SCI) (Esine)
 3MV fills=SCL.3M.SG when that SCL.3DEF rains the little-lake
- b. Fa=**l** ampini=**h** quan che ‘l piöf, al laghèt? (FS) (Esine)
 does=SCL.3M.SG fill.INFIN=3MV when that SCL.3DEF rains the little-lake
- c. Fa=**l** ‘mplini=**s** quan-che ‘l plöf ‘l laghiciöl? (FS) (Monno)
 does=SCL.3M.SG fill.INFIN=3MV when that SCL.3DEF rains the little-lake
 ‘Si riempie quando piove, il laghetto? / Does the little lake fill when it rains?’

A3.2.3 Impersonal clitic

Impersonal questions are generally as described in Chapter 3, Section 3.5. In the following section, the same examples are illustrated in (20) and (21) from a wider range of valley communities to demonstrate the general point that FS questions with the impersonal clitic *-h/-s* ‘one’ are only usually allowed in dialects where FS is obligatory.

To help the reader, the examples are coloured, with the FS examples that show the impersonal enclitic is either not acceptable or not an option, in **blue**, and those where it is acceptable in **green**. As not all informants provided information on what constituted an agrammatical form, the reader should instead accept the evidence that in the MV communities with optional FS, the FS forms with impersonal clitics *fa-h/ha-h* were not attested⁷, and only forms with personal clitics, usually 3PL *fa-i/ha-i/he-i*, were produced. In contrast, in obligatory FS dialects, the forms *fa-s* (UV) or *fa-h* (MV) were produced.

⁷ With the exception of the one enigmatic response from Sellero.

Cosa si dà a una signora per il suo centesimo compleanno? / 'What does one give a lady for her 100th birthday?'

Middle Valley: Optional FS

20. a. H' ghe da chè a 'nna fónna che fà i hènto agn? (36. Esine) (QDec)
b. Fà=i/fi=f,h/fé=t/fó=m(me-i) dà=ga chè [...] (36. Esine) (FS-3PL/2PL/2SG/1PL)
c. *Fà-h dà-ga chè [...] (36. Esine) (*FS-3IMP)
d. Ah' gh'e daga chè a 'na sciura chè la fa hènt agn? (33. Berzo) (QDec on modal)
e. Fa-i daga che a 'nna sciura che la ga' 'n secol de ita? (125. Breno) (FS-3PL)
f. *Fa-h daga che a 'nna sciura che la ga' 'n secol de ita? (125. Breno)(*FS-3IMP)
g. Hè-i dàga chè a 'na fumma per i hò hènto àgn? (50. Bienno) (FS-3PL)

Middle Valley: Obligatory FS

- h. He dà chè a 'nna scióra per i hò hènt àgn? (17. Bienno)⁸ (QDec)
i. Ché fe-t/fa-h daga a la fonna che la fa hent agn? (54. Astrio) (FS-3SG/FS-3IMP)

Middle-Upper Valley: Optional FS

- j. Ha-s dai chè an na sciura che fa hét agn (87. Sellero)⁹ (FS-3IMP)

Upper Valley: Obligatory FS

- k. Fa-s dai ché a na siura par al seü sentesem complean? (39. Malonno) (FS-3IMP)
l. Che fa-s/fe-t dai a na nona par i so sento agn? (41. Malonno) (FS-3IMP/FS-2SG)
m. Che fa-s dai a ina fomna quan-che la fa i cent'agn? (67. Monno) (FS-3IMP)

Dove si pesca una bella trota qui? / 'Where does one catch a nice trout around here?'

Middle Valley: Optional FS

21. a. He pèhca/pèhchel 'ndóe, ché, 'nna bèla trüta? (36. Esine) (QDec)

⁸ This Bienno speaker, for whom SCI was never possible, reserves QDec for his impersonal questions. This suggests that, although he has been analyzed as using obligatory FS, he might still have the older-style biclausal structure as do others from his community, such as informant 50.Bienno. However, the speaker from nearby Astrio has no problem in making impersonal questions with FS.

⁹ The patterning of the informant from Sellero (a community at the junction of the Middle and Upper valleys), who has optional FS (and in Chapter 8 was placed in Group 2 along with places such as Civate) with the Upper Valley speakers with obligatory FS, is unexpected. Either his dialect is "contaminated" with Italian or he has two types of FS in his vocabulary and is using the monoclausal variety for the impersonal questions.

- b. Fà-i/fi-f,h/fé-t/fó-m(e-i) pehcà 'ndóe, [...]?
3PL/2PL/2SG/1PL) (36. Esine) (FS-
- c. *Fà-h pehcà 'ndóe, ché , 'nna bèla trüta? (36. Esine) (*FS-3IMP)
- d. Fo-i pudì pescà 'ndoe? 'nna bela truta che? (125. Breno) (FS-3PL on modal)
- d. He pèhchel andoe 'na bela trüta ché (33. Berzo) (SCI)
- e. Èl óndoè chè hè pèhca 'na bèla trütèla ché? (50. Bienno) (Cleft)

Middle Valley: Obligatory FS

- f. He pèhca 'ndoè na bèla trütèla ché? (17. Bienno) (QDec)
- g. Ando fa-h/fe-t pehcà ana bela truta?
3SG) (54. Astrio) (FS-3IMP/FS-

Middle-Upper Valley: Optional FS

- h. Has ciapala 'n dóè 'n na bèla trüta ché (87. Sellero) (FS-3IMP)

Upper Valley: Obligatory FS

- i. Fas pescala n'doe na bella trota qui? (34. Malonno) (FS-3IMP)
- j. Fas pescala ndoe na bela trota che? (39. Malonno) (FS-3IMP)
- k. An doe sa pesca na bela trota (41. Malonno) (QDec)
- l. 'ngo **fa-s** pescà ina bela trota, chilò? (67. Monno) (FS-3IMP)

Appendix 3b: ASIt questionnaire for Esine

Appendix 3b: ASIt questionnaire responses for Esine

Translations for the Esine dialect of the sentences of the 2nd questionnaire of the *Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale* (ASIt) are presented here. They have been provided by Vittorio Volpi, Informant 36. Esine.

1. Piove

al pióf

2. Non è arrivato nessuno

l'è rüàt nigù

3. Bisogna partire

al me tóca de nà / g'ó de nà / 'n g'à de nà / al gh'è de nà / an g'à de nà

4. E io, cosa mangio?

e mé, che màe/mànge chè?

e mé, màe/mànge chè?

5. Vado anch'io con loro?

anche mé nó con lur?

e mé? nó con lur anche mé

nó ànche mé con lur?

fó-i nà anche mé con lur?

6. Chi ho dimenticato?

ó-i dehmentegàt chi?

7. Non so chi laverà i piatti

al hó mìa chi che i laerà-do i tóncc

al hó mìa chi i laerà-do i tóncc

8. Se non piove, venite da noi?

he 'l pióf mìa, gnì-('n)-hà de nótre?

he 'l pióf mì gnì ché de nótre ?

9. Il bambino mangia la mela

al pì 'l màngia 'l póm

10. La donna che pulisce le scale è malata

la fónna che la nèta le hcàle l'è malàda

11. Fumano molte sigarette, quelle ragazze!

le fùma 'm pó tànte higarète, chèle matèle lé

12. Mangio la mela
mé màe/mànge 'l póm
13. Le ragazze laveranno i piatti
le matèle le laerà-do i tóncc
14. Vado a casa
(mé) nó a cà
15. Compro il pane io, oggi?
gó-i de comprà-l mé 'l pà 'ncó?
al tõe mé 'l pa, 'ncó?
16. Non piove più
al pióf pió
17. Si dice così
he dìh issé/iscé [IPA i 'se / i 'je]
18. Arriva un bambino
al rùa 'm pì
19. Oggi mangiamo in trattoria
ancó 'n màngia a l'ohterà
20. Arrivano sempre in ritardo
i rùa hèmper an ritàrt
21. Non si dice così
he dìh mà issé/iscé
22. Chi viene al posto tuo?
è-l chi che 'é al tò pòht?
'ègne-l chi al tò pòht?
fà-l 'gnì chi al tò pòht?
23. C'è un bambino
al gh'è 'm pì
al ghe hè 'm pì
24. Maria, che conosci anche tu, è a Napoli
Marìa, chèla che te cognóhe-t anche té, l'è a Nàpoli
25. Arriva il postino
al rùa 'l puhtì
26. Chi mangia le patate?
è-l chi che màngia le patàte?

è-i chi che màngia le patàte?

gh'è-l vargù che màngia le patate?

27. Non bisogna arrivare tardi

'gnè mìa rüà tarde

'gne he 'ól mìa rüà tarde

a h' gà mìa de rüà tàrde

a h' doréh mìa (de) rüà tàrde

28. Chi piange di là?

(è-i / è-l) chi che piành fo-lé

29. Verrà tua sorella

al vegnerà/ al rüerà la tò horèla

la 'egnerà/ la rüerà la tò horèla

30. Carlo, che mangia molto, è più magro di te

Càrlo, che 'l màngia tànt/tàt, l'è pió màgher de té

31. Il bambino che ho visto ieri è partito

al pì che ó 'iht gér, l'è nàt-vià/ l'è nà-ggia/partit

[nà-ggia presenta l'assimilazione delle consonanti -t vj-]

32. Le donne che puliscono le scale sono andate via

le fónne che nèta le hcàle i è / gè nàde vià (/ è nàde vià)

33. Non so cosa faccia Gianni

al hó mìa chel che l'è (/l hàeh) dré a fà Giàni

34. Dimmi cosa mangia Maria

dì-m chèl che la màngia Maria

dìm, Marìa fà-la mangià chè?

35. Tu parli troppo e loro parlano troppo poco

té te pàrle-t tròp tànt e lùr i pàrta tròp póc

36. Noi partiamo oggi, voi partirete domani

nótre 'm pàrt ancó, ótre partiré dumà

37. Dei libri che avevi ordinato ne arriveranno solo tre

dei lìber che te ìe-t urdinàt, al ne rüerà apéna tré

38. Qualcuno arriverà in ritardo

argù 'l rüerà 'n ritàrt

argù i rüerà 'n ritàrt

39. Cadono le foglie

al cröda le fóie [al cröda è impersonale]

le cröda le fóie

40. Non mangia mai frutta, quella ragazza

la màngia mai früta, chèla matèla lé

41. La signora che hai incontrato ieri è mia zia

la sciùra che te é 'ncontràt gér l'è la mé zia ['zi.o]

42. I tuoi figli, che studiano sempre, vanno volentieri a scuola

i tò pì, che i htùggia hèmper, i va 'ontéra a hcöla

[htùggia presenta un'assimilazione e palatalizzazione del nesso *dj*]

43. Non mi ha visto nessuno

al m'à 'iht nigù/nihù [*a/* è impersonale, più che un'anticipazione di *nigù/nihù*]

44. Dimmi chi ha preso il quadro

dì-m chi che à töt-ho 'l quàder

45. Parti subito?

pàrte-t hùbit?

né-t-la hùbit? / né-lla hùbit? [*né-lla* con assimilazione *-t l-*]

fé-t nà-la hùbit?

fé-t partì hùbit?

46. Arrivate sempre tardi

ótre rüi hèmper tàrde

47. Nessuno ha mangiato la minestra

nigù/nihù à mangiàt la minèhtra

48. Dimmi chi viene stasera

dì-m chi che rüa / 'l vé htahéra

49. Non comprano mai frutta, le mie sorelle

le cómpira mài la früta le mé horèle

50. I bambini mangiano le caramelle

i pì i màngia le caramèle

51. Giorgio e Franco, che volevamo invitare a cena, sono partiti

Giorgio e Franco, che 'n vulia 'nvidà a héna, i è / gè particc

52. La compri o non la compri?

la töe-t o mià?

la töe-t o la töe-t mià?

la töe-t, hé o nò?

53. Qualcuno telefonerà al professore
argù i telefunerà al profehùr
argù i ghe telefunerà al profehùr
54. Maria parte domani
Marìa la 'à-la dumà
Marìa la pàrt dumà
55. Va e viene continuamente
al va e 'l vé
al hpehèga a nà e gnì
56. Non c'è nessuno qui
al gh'è negù ché
57. Adoperi sempre la stessa macchina!
dopère-t hèmper la htèha màchina?
58. Nessuno mi capisce
negù i me capìh
59. Qui dorme Gianni
ché 'l dórma Giànì
60. Io sono nato qui, conosco bene il paese
mé hó nahìt ché, conóhe bé 'l paìh
61. Non compri mai mele
cómpre-t màì i póm?
fé-t màì comprà i póm?
62. Dimmi dove è andato Giorgio
dìm andóche l'è nàt Giorgio
63. Cosa facciamo adesso?
fó-m fà chè adèh?
gó-m de fà chè adèh?
adèh che fóm chè?
chè fóm, adèh?
64. Cosa fate adesso?
che fi-h fà chè adèh?
fi-h fà chè adèh?
65. Non compra mai niente
lù 'l cómpra màì negóta

lé la cómpira mài negóta

66. Arriva qualcuno

al rùà argù

67. Ho capito tutto

ó capìt tüt

68. Non mangiamo mai frutta

nótre 'n màngia mài la früta

69. Lo leggi e rileggi continuamente

te 'l lède-t e te 'l lède-t hèmper

fé-t lidì-l amò 'nna 'ólta?

fé-llidì-l amò 'nna 'ólta? [con assimilazione –t /-]

70. Lei (femm. sing.) legge un libro di storia

lé la lèh an lìber de stòria

71. Sono arrivato in ritardo

hó rùàt an ritàrt

72. È partito da Roma

l'è partìt de Róma

73. Siamo andati in macchina

an hè nàcc an màchina

an hè nàcc ammàchina [con assimilazione –n m-]

74. Abbiamo mangiato a Firenze

ann' à mangiàt a Firènze

'nn' à mangiàt a Firènze

[nota il raddoppiamento delle *n* davanti a vocale, che ha comportato anche un accorgimento nella grafia, l'apostrofo – la soluzione è discutibile, ma aiuta la lettura. In contesto cadrebbe anche la prima *a*]

75. Hanno rubato il quadro

i à robàt al quàder

76. Dimmi chi è venuto

dì-m chi che è rüàt

dì-m chi che l'è rüàt

dì-m chi che è rüàcc

dì-m chi che i è rüàcc

dì-m chi che gè rüàcc

77. Non leggete mai dei libri
 ótre lidì mai i lìber
78. Hai visto tuo zio?
 é-t viht al tò zìo? ['zi.o]
79. Viene anche Antonio?
 al vé anche Tóne?
 ègne-l anche Tóne?
 fà-l gnì anche Tóne?
80. Canta e balla tutte le sere
 la cànta e la bàla tùte le hére
 al cànta e 'l bàla tùte le hére
81. Che cosa ha fatto?
 à-l fàt chè?
82. Ha mangiato in fretta
 l' à mangiàt an frèha
83. Dove vanno?
 à-i andóe?
 fà-i nà 'ndóe?
84. Non venite?
 'ignì-h mìà, ótre?
 'gnì-h mìà, ótre? [l'afèresi ha soppresso anche la *i*-iniziale]
 fì-h mìà 'gnì, ótre?
85. Che cosa hai fatto?
 é-t fàt chè?
86. Si guarda e si riguarda sempre allo specchio
 al he 'arda e 'l he remìra deànti al hpècc
 la he 'arda e la he remìra deànti al hpècc
87. Oggi arriva Gianni
 ancö 'l rùà Giàni
88. Non mangi la mela?
 mànge-t mìà 'l póm
 fé-t mìà mangià-l al póm?
89. Il bambino che è venuto ieri è mio nipote
 al pì che l'è gnìt gér l'è 'l mé neùt

90. Legge e rilegge sempre lo stesso libro

la lèh hèmper al htèh liber

la lèh amò 'l htèh liber

91. Andiamo subito?

an vâ hùbit?

fó-m nâ hùbit?

g'à-m de nâ hùbit?

92. Chi non inviteranno?

e-i chi che i anviderà mìa

farà-i mìa 'nvidà chi?

93. Mangio e bevo per stare allegro

mànge e bée per htà aléggher

94. Che cosa fanno?

fà-i fâ chè?

chè fâ-i fâ chè?

che fâ-i chè?

cóha fâ-i (chè)?

95. Lo legge e lo rilegge continuamente

i la lèh e i la lèh de continio

96. Chi hanno visto?

à-i vùht chi?

97. Dove devo andare?

g'ó-i de nâ 'ndóe?

98. Cosa fate?

fi-h fâ chè?

fi-h chi? [nota l'uso di *chi* per *chè*]

99. Chi ha mangiato la torta?

chi à magiàt la turta?

è-l chi che à magiàt la turta?

100. Chi è arrivato?

è-l rüàt chi?

101. Dove vai?

fé-t nâ 'ndóe?

102. Dove lo metti?

al mète-t andóe?

fé-t mitì-l andóe?

fé-mmitì-l andóe? [con assimilazione –t m-]

103. Mangiano la minestra i bambini?

i màngia la minèhtra i pì?

i la màngia la minèhtra, i pì?

fà-i mangià la minèhtra i pì?

fà-i mangià-la la minèhtra i pì?

104. Dove andiamo?

an và 'ndóe?

am và 'ndóe?

fó-m nà 'ndóe?

fó-nnà 'ndóe? [con assimilazione –m n-]

fó-me-i nà 'ndóe?

105. Vengono qui?

fà-i gnì ché?

'ègne-i ché?

106. Lo hanno rubato

i l'à robàt

107. Tu mangi e bevi tutto il giorno

té te mange-t e te bée-t tüt ól dé / tüt al dé

108. Ne parlano tutti

i ne pàrta tücc

a h' ne pàrta

l'è ho la bóca de tücc

109. Chi ha preso il libro che era qui?

e-l chi che à töt-ho 'l lìber che l'ìa ché? / che l'ira ché?

110. Sei tu che non vuoi capire

te hé té che te 'ó-t mìa capì

te hé té che te 'ó-mmìa capì [con assimilazione –t m-]

te hé té che te 'óle-t mìa capì

te hé té che te 'óle-mmìa capì [con assimilazione –t m-]

111. È Piero che non vuol partire

l'è Piéro che 'l v ól mìa partì

112. Fai e rifai sempre lo stesso lavoro?

fé-t fà hèmper al htèh mehtér?

fé-t amò 'l htèh laùr?

113. Sei tu che la compri sempre

te hé té che te la töe-t hèmper

te hé té che te la töe-hhèmper [con assimilazione –t h-]

114. Tu, la compri?

té fé-t t ó-la?

la töe-t, té? [la 'tø.ε.tte]

115. La compriamo?

fà-m tó-la?

la tölóm?

gà-m de tó-la?

tölóme-la?

116. Quando parti?

pàrte-t quando?

fé-t partì quando?

è-l quando che te pàrte-t?

117. Dove sei andato?

hé-t nàt andóe?

hé-nnàt andóe?

andó' hé-t nàt?

andó' hé-nnàt?

[an'do hen'nat] (assimilazione del pronome clitico –t con l'iniziale del participio)

118. Dove hai mangiato?

é-t mangiàt andóe?

é-mmangiàt andóe? [con assimilazione –t m-]

andó' é-t mangiàt?

andó' é-mmangiàt? [con assimilazione –t m-]

119. Chi porta il pane?

e-l chi che pórta 'l pà?

e-i chi che pórta 'l pà?

e-i chi i che pórta 'l pà?

120. Chi lo ha rubato?

el chi che i l' à robàt?

chi i l' à robàt?

121. Dove è andato?

è-l nàt andóe?

122. Dove va?

à-l andóe?

fà-l nà 'ndóe?

[la vocale iniziale di *andóe* cade dopo vocale, rimane dopo consonante]

123. Dove lo ha messo?

i l' à mitit andóe?

124. Leggi e rileggi sempre lo stesso libro

te lède-t hèmper al htèh lìber

te lède-hhèmper al htèh lìber [con assimilazione di *-t h-*]

125. Il ragazzo che arriva domani si chiama Mario

al bócia che 'l rùà dumà 'l he ciàma Màrio

126. L'uomo che pulisce le scale è malato

l'òm che 'l nèta le hcàle l'è malàt

127. La minestra che fa la tua mamma è proprio buona

la minèhtra de la tò màma l'è pròpe bùna

la minèhtra che la fà la tò màma l'è pròpe bùna

Appendix 5: FS and SCI question meanings

Appendix 5: FS/SCI question pairs with explanation of meaning differences

The following compilation uses the informants' own words, translated into Italian, with any of my interpretations added in square brackets. The *fa*-support (FS) and verb subject-clitic inversion (SCI) questions are coded according to four criteria: presence of an answer presupposition and its direction [+ve presup] [-ve presup]; speaker internal and externally directed attitudinal expression [att-int] [att-ext]; interaction of speaker with addressee [interact]; and any specific reference of a wh-item [wh-spec]. The first three criteria are relevant only to y/n-Qs (which comprise the bulk of the questions investigated) and the last only to wh-Qs.

1. Presence of a presupposition of the answer [+ve presup] [-ve presup]

Any presupposition is classified as positive or negative. The presupposition may be indicated by the informant either directly, or by a description such as 'doubt' or 'disbelief'. A reaction of 'surprise' is also interpreted as a negative presupposition (because why would you be surprised unless you were expecting the opposite situation?). However 'uncertainty' is taken as the possibility of a negative answer as well as a positive answer and so left unclassified. Likewise, if the informant noted the existence of a presupposition, but did not say which way, no classification is made.

2. Speaker attitudinal expression [att-ext] [att-int]

The question may be uttered for reasons in addition to, or other than, information gathering. Notable among informants' reasons are to express their reaction, stance or attitude to the (positive) proposition contained in the sentence. (If taken to extremes this would produce a rhetorical question.) In some instances they are expressing that they care about the situation.

If the speaker is contemplating or recognizing their own attitude towards the proposition, and the consequences if the proposition is true or if it is false, this is coded as internal attitude, [att-int]. If the speaker is expressing themselves for the sake of conveying their sentiment to the interlocutor, this is external attitude, [att-ext].

3. Interaction of speaker with addressee [interact]

Similar to attitudinal expression, the primary use of the question may be for the speaker to engage the addressee in conversation and share their information or feelings. This grades into a situation where the speaker is expressing empathy and is concerned for the feelings of the addressee. It also includes politeness.

4. Specific reference for a wh-item [wh-spec]

In these interpretations, the informant has noted that the wh-item refers to a certain item/location/method, etc. which already has an identity even if this is (presumably) unknown to the speaker. In the questions/explanations presented here, in some instances this information was provided spontaneously as part of a general explanation, in the later batch (all from informant 36.Esine), the informant was asked if there was a specific and known reference for the wh-item.

The y/n-Qs are presented in Section 1 and the wh-Qs in Section 2. Examples of y/n-Qs are organized by: a) question type (yes/no-Qs vs wh-Qs), b) verb syntax (main vs auxiliary); c) verb aspect: manner/result/state, and finally d) subject (animate vs inanimate). This should serve to demonstrate that the type of explanation for FS is largely independent of the actual verb. Questions are then sorted by e) the question number (in the 100s-1000s range) and f) informant number (in the 1s-10s) in association with the dialect provenance (e.g. 36. Esine). This enables the reader to see where a verb with explanation is represented by more than one question or where there are available explanations by more than one informant. For example, the verb *fumare* is represented by two questions, No.s 875 and 876, and each has responses from two different informants, 875: 36. Esine, 50. Bienno; 876: 50. Bienno, 70. Cividate.

Section 1: y/n-Qs

1.1 Index to y/n-Qs

Main verbs: manner: human subject

875. fumare: 36. Esine, 50. Bienno; 876. fumare: 50. Bienno, 70. Cividate
2027. correre: 36. Esine
597. fare (main): 70 Cividate
435. mangiare: 54. Astrio di Breno; 2025. mangiare: 36. Esine

Main verbs: manner: inanimate subject

2020. girare: 36. Esine
474. piovere: 50. Bienno, 70. Cividate, 80. Malegno

Main verbs: result: human/animate subject

1122. andare: 70. Cividate
874. vendere: 36. Esine

2038. riconoscere: 36. Esine

Main verbs: result: inanimate subject

2015. cadere: 33. Berzo Inferiore
2017. congelarsi: 33. Berzo Inferiore, 36. Esine
2019. crescere: 36. Esine
2016. maturare: 78. Malegno
2014. morire: 36. Esine, 70. Cividate; 2035. morire: 36. Esine
2026. rompersi: 36. Esine
2021. scadere: 33. Berzo Inferiore, 36. Esine
2024. sciogliere: 36. Esine
2018. sprofondare: 36. Esine

Main verbs: result: causative

2013. riempire: 36. Esine

Main verbs: verbs of measure

2022. costare: 33. Berzo, 36. Esine, 50. Bienno; 2057. costare: 36. Esine
2049. durare: 36. Esine
2029. pesare: 33. Berzo Inferiore; 36. Esine, 86. Sellero

Main verbs: posture verb

2056. stare: 36. Esine

Main verbs: emission verb

2009. puzzare: 33. Berzo Inferiore, 36. Esine

Main verbs: stative (non-propositional complements)

1031. credere in: 70. Civate

2041. fidarsi di: 36. Esine

2005. mancare a: 70. Civate

2037. piacere a: 36. Esine

1109. volere bene: 50. Bienno

1114. volere bene: 70. Civate

Main verbs: stative (propositional complements – see also under wh-Qs below)

2044. capire che: 36. Esine

1032. credere che: 50. Bienno, 70. Civate; 2052. credere che: 33. Berzo Inferiore

1035. pensare DP: 70. Civate, 50. Bienno

1086. sapere che: 80. Malegno; 1112. sapere DP: 80. Malegno, 67. Monno

1112. sapere DP: 67. Monno; 80. Malegno

2048. sembrare a: 33. Berzo

Auxiliary verbs: result: aspectuals & success

892. cominciare: 50. Bienno; 2034. cominciare: 36. Esine; 893. cominciare: 55. Bienno

2032. finire: 36. Esine; 895. finire: 36. Esine

922. smettere: 36. Esine

869. riuscire: 54. Astrio di Breno; 886. riuscire: 36. Esine; 887. riuscire: 33. Berzo, 36. Esine

Auxiliary verbs: result: causative

362. fare (caus): 36. Esine; 614. fare (caus): 50. Bienno; 786. fare (caus): 50. Bienno

Auxiliary verbs: stative: modals

868. potere (abil): 50. Bienno

866. potere (req): 54. Astrio di Breno; 865. potere (req): 78. Malegno

2384. potere (pos): 39. Malonno

1065. volere: 67. Monno

1.2 Informant explanations for y/n-Qs

Main verbs: manner: human subject

875. fumare: 36. Esine

Do you smoke cigars?

1. a. Fùme-t tohcàni?

SCI: Expressing a certain surprise - perhaps the addressee smoked a pipe or cigarettes? [-ve presup]

- b. Fé-t fümà i tohcàni?

FS: A real question in the sense that it wants you to confirm a fact, given the certain evidence. You see him smoking and you're almost asking yourself if it's true. [+ve presup] [att-int]

875. fumare: 50. Bienno

Do you smoke cigars?

2. a. Fümet i tohcani?

SCI: More direct

- b. Hét fümà i tohcani?

FS: An invitation to talk. Relaxed. [interact]

876. fumare: 50. Bienno

Does Elisabeta still smoke?

3. a. Fümela amò Beta?

SCI: Spontaneous question.

- b. #Hela füma amò Beta?

FS: A bit more relaxed. Needs a context, such as we've been speaking about this that and the other... [interact]

876. fumare: 70. Cividate

Does Elisabeta still smoke?

4. a. Fümela amò Elisabeta?

SCI: I don't want to investigate her! I have no knowledge of the situation. It's an open question.

- b. Hala füma amò Elisabeta?

FS: Presupposes that it's known that she smokes. [+ve presup]

2027. correre: 36. Esine

(Marco is not very fit.)

Will he run just for 10 minutes or for a whole hour?

5. a. Curerà-l hulche per déh minùcc o per ann'ura 'ntréga?

SCI: Neutral question

- b. Farà-l curì hulche per déh minùcc o per ann'ura 'ntréga?

FS: Speaker emotional involvement indicated. [att-ext]

597. fare (main): 70 Cividate

Do you usually do the shopping on Saturday?

6. a. Fet la spesa al habet?

SCI: Direct Q. Just wants a brief answer. Only need confirmation. [+ve presup]

- b. Het fa la spesa al habet?

FS: The start of a conversation. Curiosity and surprise has been induced. [-ve presup]
[interact]

435. mangiare: 54. Astrio di Breno

Does Maria eat fish for supper?

7. a. Maiela peh de hena, Maria?!

SCI: Simple question.

- b. Fala maià peh de hena, Maria?!

FS: Expresses surprise (because they don't often eat fish here) [-ve presup] [att-ext]

2025. mangiare: 36. Esine

Will Maria eat that fish this evening?

8. a. I la mangerà chèhta héra chèl pèh, Maria?

QDec: A simple question, directed at a third person.

- b. Mangerà-la chèhta héra chèl pèh, Maria?

SCI: Also acceptable. [Presumably the same as QDec.]

- c. Farà-la mangià chèl pèh chèhta héra, Maria?

FS: Indicates hesitancy and indecision, or an internal thought. The consequences of the answer might be that they have to prepare the fish. [att-int]

Main verbs: manner: inanimate subject

2020. girare: 36. Esine

(The teacher asks the student:)

Does the earth go around the sun in a year or in a month?

9. a. La tèra gire-la 'ntùren al hul an de 'nn an o 'n de 'n méh?

SCI: Simple curiosity.

- b. La tèra fà-la girà 'ntùren al hul an de 'nn an o 'n de 'n méh?

FS: As if to say that the answer is very important to the questioner: if it's in a year that's one thing; if it's a month, that's something else. [att-int]

474. piovere: 50. Bienno

Does it always rain on Sunday?

10. a. Pióel hemper la dumenica?

SCI: Relaxed question.

b. Hel hemper pioé la dumenica?

FS: A little annoyed at this. Someone might reply and start a conversation. [+ve presup]
[interact] [att-ext]

474. piovere: 70. Cividate

Does it always rain on Sunday?

11. a. Piól hemper la domenica?

SCI: Soft question just asking for yes/no answer.

b. Hal piüé hemper la domenica ché?

FS: Provocational and aggressive. There's something behind the question and you're trying to get at. [+ve presup] [att-ext]

474. piovere: 80. Malegno

Does it always rain on Sunday?

12. a. Pióel hemper la domenica?

SCI: Yes/no answer expected.

b. Hal piöé hemper la domenica?

FS: Invites a conversation. [interact]

Main verbs: result: human/animate subject

1122. andare: 70. Cividate

(What a beautiful city!)

Do you often go to Milan?

13. a. Net hpeh a Milà?

SCI: I don't want to continue this subject. I just want to know the answer. There is no presupposition.

b. Het nà de hpeh a Milà?

FS: We are continuing the subject of Milan. [interact]

874. vendere: 36. Esine

(To the shopkeeper:)

Do you sell artichokes?

14. a. 'Indì-f i articiòc?

SCI: Open question.

b. Fì-f/h vindì i articiòc?

FS: Presupposes that there aren't any artichokes [for sale]. [-ve presup]

[Note vindì is not a dialectal verb so the construction is still productive.]

2038. riconoscere: 36. Esine

Does the dog recognize your voice?

15. a. Cognòhel la to 'uh, al cagnöl?
SCI: Neutral question.
- b. Al cagnöl fal cugnuhì la to 'uh?
FS: Doubt, disbelief, surprise. [-ve presup] [att-ext]

Main verbs: result: inanimate subject

2015. cadere: 33. Berzo Inferiore

Are the leaves already falling by August where you live?

16. a. Egnèl-do/crodele le foei ahot de òtre?
SCI: Neutral
- b. Hale crodà le foei ahot de òtre?
FS: Uncertainty

2017. congelarsi: 33. Berzo Inferiore

Does this beautiful lake freeze in winter?

17. a. Déhlel chel bel laghet ché d'inverno?
SCI: Neutral question
- b. Haral delà chel bel laghet ché d'inverno?
FS: Indicates uncertainty.

2017. congelarsi: 36. Esine

Does this beautiful lake freeze in winter?

18. a. Chèhto bel laghèt zèle-l ann inverno?
SCI: Neutral question, asked out of curiosity.
- b. Fa-l zelà chèhto laghèt ann inverno?
FS: The person asking the question is expressing: 1) the hope that it freezes so as to be able to skate on it or 2) the fear that it freezes (because the ducks can't swim in it or because it won't be possible to fish. Either way the questioner is expressing something connected to the emotions. [att-ext][att-int]

2019. crescere: 36. Esine

Do wines grow well where you live?

19. a. Fa-l gnì-ho bé 'l vidùr hó/fò de 'otre?
SCI: Neutral question for informational purposes.
- b. 'Ègne-l hó bé 'l vidùr hó/fò de 'otre?
FS: The question has been asked to enable the speaker to decide well, if the answer is yes, then I'll do this, if no, I'll do that... [att-int]

2016. maturare: 78. Malegno

Tell me: Do tomatoes ripen without the sun?

20. a. I pomodòr morüdei henha al hol?

SCI: Neutral question.

b. I pomodòr fai marudà henha al hol?

FS: Shows anxiety or exasperation because speaker thinks it's a stupid question.
[Informant had to be asked for FS.] [att-ext]

2014. morire: 36. Esine

Do geraniums die in winter?

21. a. Móre-i i geràni ann invèrno? / I móre-i geràni ann invèrno?

SCI/QDec: Neutral question asked for informational purposes.

b. Fà-i murì i geràni ann invèrno?

FS: Almost distaste at the question because it indicates suspicion that the geraniums die. It's suggesting that you wish there was something that could be done to prevent this.

[+ve presup] [att-int] [att-ext]

2014. morire: 70. Cividate

Do geraniums die in winter?

22. a. Mürei i gerani d'invern?

SCI: Asked to others.

b. Hai müri i gerani d'invern?

FS: A question directed towards yourself. [att-int]

2035. morire: 36. Esine

(The dog is on its last legs. How sad for the family!)

Will it die soon?

23. a. Murirà-l de ché a mia tat?

SCI: Simple request for information

b. Farà-l murì de ché a mia tat?

FS: Also expresses worry for its death or for the pain of losing it. There are consequences for the speaker. [att-ext] [att-int]

2026. rompersi: 36. Esine

(That chair seems a bit fragile to me.)

If I sit on it, will it break, in your opinion?

24. a. Hè me he hènte-dó, he romperà-la, hegónt-té?

SCI: The question is asking about a possibility as regards the chair. The question is objective.

b. Hè me he hènte-dó, farà-la rumpìh, hegónt-té?

FS: The question is being asked because of the consequences for the speaker. The focus of the question is different. The question is subjective. [att-int]

2021. scadere: 33. Berzo Inferiore

(They are going to America on holiday this summer.)

Does your passport expire at the end of the month like mine?

25. a. 'l to pahaport hcàdel ala fi del meh com el mé?
SCI: Direct question
- b. 'l to pahaport hal hcadi ala fi del meh com el mé?
FS: Doubt. hal hcadi could be substituted by pödel hcadi. [Fa would then be similar to a modal in indicating possibility.] [-ve presup]

2021. scadere: 36. Esine

(They are going to America on holiday this summer.)

Does your passport expire at the end of the month like mine?

26. a. Al tò paha-pórt, scadihe-l a la fi del méh come 'l mé?
SCI: Simple informational request.
- b. Al tò paha-pórt, fa-l scadi a la fi del méh come 'l mé?
FS: Also expresses worry about the renewal: depending on the outcome, the speaker may make a certain decision and it may also affect the hearer. [att-int]

2024. sciogliere: 36. Esine

(With this heat, in your opinion...)

Will the frozen lake melt soon?

27. a. Con chël calt ché, hegónt té, narà-l-fò defàt al lac giahàt?
SCI: The situation is uncertain and that is why the question is being asked.
- b. Con chël calt ché, hegónt té, farà-l na-fò defàt al lac giahàt?
FS: Expresses lively interest by the speaker about the development of the situation: he will make decisions on the basis of the reply - what about skating? [att-ext] [att-int]

2018. sprofondare: 36. Esine

Do the skiers often get buried in the snow?

28. a. Fùre-i dó de hpèh i sciadùr an de la néf?
SCI: Neutral
- b. Fà-i furà-do de hpèh i sciadùr an de la néf?
FS: The speaker asks the question because he's wondering if it wouldn't be a good idea to stop the skiers from entering. [att-int]

Main verbs: result: causative

2013. riempire: 36. Esine

Is the rain filling the lake?

29. a. Ampinihe-l al laghèt l'àiva?
SCI: There is less worry. This is a simple request for information with a positive attitude of: it's nice to see the lake full of water. [+ve presup]
- b. Fa-la 'mpini 'l laghèt l'àiva?
FS: In comparison the questioner is more interested in the topic; if the water fills the lake it might flood and cause damage. [att-int]

Main verbs: verbs of measure

2022. costare: 33. Berzo

(In the shop:)

Is this nice fish expensive?

30. a. Cohtel tant chel peh ché bel?

SCI: Said to the shopkeeper.

b. Haral cohtà tant chel peh ché bel?

FS: Said to someone other than the shopkeeper, who can't answer the question.

[interact] [att-ext]

2022. costare: 36. Esine

(In the shop:)

Is this nice fish expensive?

31. a. Cohte-l tant chèl bel pèh ché

SCI: Neutral question

b. Fal cohtà tant chèl bel pèh ché

FS: Be careful. I don't have much money. [interact] [att-ext]

2022. costare: 50. Bienno

(In the shop:)

Is this nice fish expensive?

32. a. Costel tàant chèl bèl pèh ché?

SCI: With the shopkeeper. I want to know right now.

b. Hèl cohtà tàant chèl bèl pèh ché?

FS: To my husband. We're not sure about it. [interact] [att-ext]

2057. costare: 36. Esine

Does that house cost a fortune (or could I afford it)?

33. a. Còhtela 'nn öcc del có chéla ca?

SCI: I'm just simply asking.

b. Fala cohtà 'nn öcc del có chéla ca?

FS: I'm interested, because what I do depends on your reply. [att-int]

2049. durare: 36. Esine

Does the appointment last one hour or two?

34. a. L'apuntamènto dürel ann'ura o dói?

SCI: Direct question.

b. L'apuntamènto fal durà ann'ura o dói?

FS: From the reply, I will choose what to do. [att-int]

2029. pesare: 33. Berzo Inferiore

(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)

Does that suitcase weigh a lot?

35. Pedela trop chel alì lé?

SCI: Said to someone else.

Hala pedà trop chel alì lé?

FS: Said to the person carrying the suitcase. [interact] [att-ext]

2029. pesare: 36. Esine

(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)

Does that suitcase weigh a lot?

36. Pède-le trop tant chèle 'alìh?

SCI: Indifference, and not an invitation to help.

Fa-le pedà trop tant chèle 'alìh

FS: Implies a willingness to help. [interact] [att-ext]

2029. pesare: 86. Sellero

(Roberto is almost wet with sweat!)

Does that suitcase weigh a lot?

37. a. Pésala tant chel valis lé?

SCI: Speaker knows the suitcase is heavy. [+ve presup]

b. Fala pesà tant chel valis lé?

FS: Expressing doubt and disbelief, irony. Possibly rhetorical. [-ve presup]

Main verbs: posture verb

2056. stare: 36. Esine

(She spent a year in a wheel chair but they say that recently she's recovered. You say: Really?)

Is she standing up now?

38. a. Htàla 'mpeh adeh?

SCI: Neutral question

b. Fala htà 'mpeh adeh?

FS: Emotional involvement in the girl's situation and surprise at her recovery. [-ve presup] [att-ext]

Main verbs: emission verb

2009. puzzare: 33. Berzo Inferiore

Does my coat smell of smoke?

39. a. Pühel di fùmo 'l me paltó?

SCI: Asking someone else [for information].

b. Hal pühà di fùmo 'l me paltó?

FS: Not sure if it smells. Could be asked to self. [att-int]

2009. puzzare: 36. Esine

Does my coat smell of smoke?

40. a. Hpühe-l de füm al mé paltò ?

SCI: More direct and almost worried. [+ve presup]

b. Fa-l hpühà de füm al mé paltò?

FS: This leaves you feeling that it's possible it doesn't smell, perhaps, for example, because it's been left on the balcony to air. [-ve presup] [att-int]

Main verbs: stative (non-propositional complements)

1031. credere in: 70. Civitate

Does the little girl believe in Santa Lucia?

41. a. La pina crèdela amò hanta Luhia?

SCI: It's possible that the girl does still believe in Santa Lucia. [+ve presup]

b. Hala cridì amò hanta Luhia?

FS: The questioner thinks the girl probably doesn't believe any more in Santa Lucia but for the sake of the girl, she'd like to think the girl still did believe in his existence. [-ve presup]

2041. fidarsi di: 36. Esine

Do you trust me?

42. a. Té (te) he fídet de mé?

SCI/QDec: Doubt, telling-off. [-ve presup]

b. Fet fidàt de mé?

FS: Of course you can trust me. Demonstrating a close relationship. [interact] [att-ext]

2005. mancare a: 70. Civitate

(Now they work in Swizerland...)

Does Teresa miss her children?

43. a. Ghe manchei i ho fiøi a Teresa?

SCI: If you know the addressee well. [att-ext]

b. Hai mancaga i ho fiøi a Teresa?

FS: If you don't know the addressee particularly well this longer form is better. [interpreted as politeness] [interact] [att-ext]

2037. piacere a: 36. Esine

Would your mother like to eat with us this evening?

44. a. Ala to mare ghe piaderehel mangià con nòtre hta hera?
 SCI: Neutral invitation because I'm only asking if it will please her.
 b. Faréhel piadìga a la to mare mangià con nòtre hta hera?
 FS: I am concerned for your mother's well-being and we'd both be pleased if she'd come.
 [interact] [att-ext]

1109. volere bene: 50. Bienno

(She leaves that poor animal at home all day!)

Does Valentina love [lit. want well] her dog?

45. a. Valentina, ghe ólela bé a so ca?
 SCI: Spontaneous question
 b. #Hela oléga bé a so ca?
 FS: What an attitude! (Unsuitable given the context.) [att-ext]

1114. volere bene: 70. Cividate

(Her boyfriend wants to get married and asks the girlfriend:)

Do you love me [lit. want me well]?

46. a. Me ólet bé?
 SCI: Almost a rhetorical question. Gentle. The reply would be 'yes'. [+ve presup]
 b. Het vulìm bé?
 FS: Shows uncertainty about the reply: they might not love you.

Main verbs: stative (propositional complements – see also under wh-Qs below)

2044. capire che: 36. Esine

Does Matteo understand that he can't smoke here?

47. a. Matteo capihel che ché he pöde mia fümà?
 SCI: Direct question.
 b. Fal capì, Matteo, che ché he pöde mia fümà?
 FS: Does he actually understand this - we don't want to think badly of him. [-ve presup]
 [att-ext]

1032. credere che: 50. Bienno

(Why is Anna so afraid of sleeping here?)

Does she think that there is a ghost in the house?

48. a. Pènhela chel ghe haeha an fantasma an ca?
 SCI: Spontaneous, expressing astonishment.
 b. Hela penhà chel ghe haeha an fantasma an ca?
 FS: Easy-going conversation. [interact]

1032. credere che: 70. Cividate

(Why is Anna so afraid of sleeping here?)

Does she think that there is a ghost in the house?

49. a. Penhet che ghe haé n fantasma n ca?

SCI: Aggressive and direct. Shows willingness to help and to rid her of her fear. [+ve presup]

- b. Het penhà che ghe haé n fantasma n ca?

FS: Less aggressive [interact]

2052. credere che: 33. Berzo Inferiore

(Giovanni has found a good job in Milan. I don't think he's coming back. What about you?)

Do you think that Giovanni is not coming back?

50. a. Penhet che Giuan 'l torne piö?

SCI: Neutral

- b. Het penhà che Giuan 'l torne piö?

FS: There is a doubt. [-ve presup]

1086. sapere che: 80. Malegno

(Boys!)

Do you know that your grandmother is arriving today?

51. a. Al hef che 'l rüa la nona ancö?

SCI: Genuine question. I know this [that your grandmother is coming today], but do you? [i.e. are you aware of this?]

- b. #Hef haì che 'l rüa la nona ancö?

FS: The person asking the question is not sure that the grandmother is coming. Inappropriate [interact]

1112. sapere DP: 80. Malegno

(And you? Are you well educated like your mother?)

Do you know many things?

52. a. Het tante robe té?

SCI: Yes/no reply expected.

- b. Het haì tante robe té?

FS: You don't know. There's a doubt. It's causing problems. [-ve presup]

1112. sapere DP: 67. Monno

(And you? Are you well educated like your mother?)

Do you know many things?

53. a. Set tancc lóur?

SCI: More direct, more curiosity.

b. Fet saé tancc lóur?

FS: Less curiosity. Rhetorical question. I already know the answer. [presup] [att-ext]

2048. sembrare a: 33. Berzo

(The're beginning to have an argument...)

Do you think it's best to leave?

54. a. Te homéel giüht nàla?

SCI: Neutral

b. Hal homeàt giüht nàla?

FS: Asking for confirmation from the other person. [+ve presup]

Auxiliary verbs: result: aspectuals & success

892. cominciare: 50. Bienno

Does the match begin at 1?

55. a. La partida cumìncela am bot?

SCI: Curiosity. Speaker is looking at the tv programme times.

b. Hela cumincia am bot?

FS: Tell me so that I can turn on the tv. I'd like to see the game. [att-ext]

2034. cominciare: 36. Esine

Does the news on RAI 1 begin at 8?

56. a. Cunincerà-l a le òt al telegiornale hó RAI 1?

SCI: Needs a yes/no answer.

b. Farà-l cumincià a le òt al telegiornale hó RAI !

FS: Presupposes maximum participation by the hearer because, depending on the reply, he might or might not do something at or after 8 o'clock (during the news). [att-int]

893. cominciare: 55. Bienno

Do you begin preparing supper only after 8 o'clock?

57. a. Cominciet (te) a fà-ha la hena dopo le ot?

SCI: Surprise [-ve presup]

b. Fet cominciàte a fà-ha la hena dopo le ot?

FS: Ok, but it's important we know this. [interact] [att-ext]

2032. finire: 36. Esine

Does the news on RAI 1 finish at 9?

58. a. Finìhe-l a le nöf al telegiornale ho RAI 1?

SCI: Direct, blunt question in search of information.

b. Fa-l finì a le nöf al telegiornale hó RAI 1?

FS: Seems to be hiding something depending on the reply. Use of 'fare' implies that there are practical consequences for the person making the question: if it's like this then... or like that then...[att-int]

895. finire: 36. Esine

Are you finishing that tea or are you leaving it?

59. a. Finìhe de bì-fò 'l tò tè, o 'l làghe-t andré?

SCI: Open question without presupposition.

b. Fé-t finì-l-fò 'l tò tè, o 'l làghe-t andré?

FS: You are finishing that tea, aren't you? With presupposition that he isn't finishing the tea. [-ve presup]

922. smettere: 36. Esine

Do you stop drinking wine when you're on a diet?

60. a. Te dehmète-t de béer al vù quando te hé a diéta?

QDec: Normal question.

b. Fé-t dehmitì de béer al vù quando te hé a diéta?

FS: Presupposes no (that you don't stop drinking). It would be strange to stop. [-ve presup] [att-ext]

869. riuscire: 54. Astrio di Breno

(Anna has many ways for dealing with problem children.)

Will Anna succeed in teaching even my children to read?

61. a. Ghe rüela a fa di-ho i miei pì, Anna?

SCI: Without presuppositions.

b. Fala rüagà a fa di-ho i miei pì, Anna?

FS: Calls into question the premise that she is capable. [-ve presup]

886. riuscire: 36. Esine

(How's Andrea doing with the twins?)

Does he succeed in staying sane [lit. maintaining a healthy life]?

62. a. Ghe rüe-l a mantignì 'nna 'ità a möt?

SCI: There's a doubt about this. [-ve presup]

b. Fa-l rüà-ga a mantignì 'nna 'ità a möt?

DS: You are astonished that he succeeds in this. [-ve presup] [att-ext]

887. riuscire: 33. Berzo

Will you succeed in repairing the sewing machine?

63. a. Ghe rüet a giühtha la machina de gudi?

SCI: Said before starting the work of fixing the sewing machine, asking if the person thinks they will succeed.

b. Het rüaga a giühtha la machina de gudi?

FS: Already doing the work. It's possible, isn't it? You think it isn't. [-ve presup]

887. riuscire: 36. Esine

Will you succeed in repairing the sewing machine?

64. a. Ghe rüe-t a giühtà la màchina de cudì?

SCI: Open question without presuppositions.

b. Fé-t rüà-ga a giühtà la màchina de cudì?

FS: There's a doubt about this fact. [-ve presup]

Auxiliary verbs: result: causative

362. fare (caus): 36. Esine

(Your friend wants to see the garden.)

Will you show it to him?

65. a. Ghe 'l fé-t 'idì?

SCI: Presupposes yes. [+ve presup]

b. Fé-t fàghel 'idì?

FS: The addressee might also say 'no'. I have a doubt. [-ve presup]

614. fare (caus): 50. Bienno

(Paola is always late.)

Does Paola always make her boyfriend wait?

66. a. Fala hemper spetà 'l muru?

SCI: Oh dear. What an irritating person. [+ve presup]

b. Paola, hela hemper fa spetà 'l muru?

FS: She's always behind! She even makes even him wait. [+ve presup] [att-ext]

786. fare (caus): 50. Bienno

Do they often make you sing in church?

67. a. Te fai cantà de hpeh an ciesa?

SCI: They couldn't find anyone else? They really had to come after you? [+ve presup]

b. Hei fat cantà de hpeh an ciesa?

FS: More easy-going question. [interact]

Auxiliary verbs: stative: modals

868. potere (abil): 50. Bienno

(You've invited your neighbour to lunch on Sunday but she hasn't replied yet. Ask her:)

Could you let me know tomorrow?

68. a. Pódet/podeh famol haè domà?

SCI: Direct

b. Het/Héh podé fàmol haé domà?

FS: More relaxed. Asking 'ti prego di X', or please would you let me know tomorrow.
[interact]

866. potere (req): 54. Astrio di Breno

(They are smoking next to the table. Ask their mother:)

Could you get them to move, Signora?

69. a. Pódelà fai nà de-fo a fumà?

SCI: More direct.

b. Fala pödé fai nà de-fo a fumà?

FS: Gentler. [interact]

865. potere (req): 78. Malegno

(It's time to eat but the boys are smoking next to the table. Ask their mother:)

Could the boys smoke somewhere else?

70. a. Pódei nà a fumà an de nòtra banda, i pì?

SCI: Direct (in comparison)

b. Fai podì nà a fumà an de nòtra banda, i pì?

FS: Kinder. [Informant was asked for FS option] [interact]

c. Fai podì mìa nà an de nòtra banda, i pì?

FS+neg: Indicates anger.

2384. potere (pos): 39. Malonno

(The arm is very swollen.) Could it be broken?

71. a. Pódel eser ròt?

SCI: Normal question.

b. Fal podé eser ròt?

FS: Said to the doctor [because you want an authoritative answer of whether or not it could be true that it's broken.] [att-int]

1065. volere: 67. Monno

(The grandparents seem to me to be too tired to go out but they're not saying anything. Anyway, in your opinion...)

Do they want to come with us?

72. a. I noni, öli vignì ansem a no?

SCI: Direct, short. Shows uncertainty (that they want to come with us).

b. Fai olé vignì ansem a no?

FS: Rhetorical question and expects an answer 'yes'. Speaker wants confirmation. [+ve
presup]

Section 2: wh-Qs

In comparison to the situation with the y/n-Qs, there are fewer examples available of wh-Qs and, apart for the first section, they have all been provided by Informant 36. Esine.

Wh-Qs in Camuno normally have the wh-item in an immediately post-verbal position (wh-PV), and in some Middle Valley dialects, this may be the only option. In most dialects, however, wh-items may alternatively be fronted, or, at least in the case of most single-word wh-items, also doubled. Questions using the non-bridge verb *pensare* ‘think’ may either have the wh-word sentence initial (as in English) or in a post-verbal position; those with bridge verb *sapere* ‘know’ may only place it immediately after the complementizer of the embedded clause (as in English), where it becomes a relative pronoun and must have specific reference.

As with the y/n-Qs above, the informants were asked for a general explanation about the question meaning. However, Informant 36. Esine was additionally asked for the reference, if any was available, for the wh-word.

There are three sections, which differ in the type of context and information available to the informant, leaving them to construe the question premise in different ways.

2.1 Index to wh-Qs

1. Minimal context

859. mettere: 33. Berzo Inferiore; 36. Esine

1129. succedere: 54. Astrio di Breno

2062. pensare che: 78. Malegno;

1035. pensare DP: 50. Biunno

1084. sapere wh: 67. Monno; 1025. sapere wh: 39. Malonno

2. Context indicates true premise

2864. venire: 36. Esine

2863. mangiare: 36. Esine

2860. mangiare: 36. Esine

2861. finire: 36. Esine

2854. puzzare: 36. Esine

2855. scadere: 36. Esine

2859. andare: 36. Esine

2.2 Informant explanations for wh-Qs

2.2.1. Minimal context

The first three examples have limited context but clearly demonstrate a specific reference of the wh-item in the FS question, but not in the SCI question.

859. mettere: 33. Berzo Inferiore

(They tell me that you've got a lovely collection of ties.)

Which one will you wear to the wedding?

73. a. Metet chela a hpude?

SCI: You're asking which one.

b. Het mete chela (a hpude)?

FS: It's already decided. **wh-spec**

859. mettere: 36. Esine

(They tell me that you've got a lovely collection of ties.)

Which one will you wear to the wedding?

74. a. (Quala) meteré-t-hó quala a hpùde?

SCI: Whatever A is thinking, he's not expressing it to B. There is no obvious presupposition as to which and the choice is still open but he will certainly wear one or other.

b. (Quala) faré-t mitì-ho quala a hpùde?

FS: A is already thinking of the result and in his mind sees B already wearing a tie, probably the one A has in mind (because that's why he's asking the question). On the basis of the choice, B will have the means to think of the consequences. If he wears the one that B's girlfriend gave him (A's ex-girlfriend), things will change and B will have a reason to argue. **wh-spec**

1129. succedere: 54. Astrio di Breno

(You hear and noise and wonder: Has there been a goal?)

What's happening?

75. a. Che hücédel?

SCI: You are frightened. [And you actually want to know what is the cause of the noise.]

b. Che fal hücédé?

FS: This presupposes you have already heard the noise. [So you know that something has happened.] **wh-spec**

2062. pensare che: 78. Malegno

Where do you think the keys are?

76. a. Penhét che le hai andòe le cìaf?

SCI: Neutral.

b. Fet penhà che le hai andòe le ciáf?

FS: We both don't know where they are.

1035. pensare DP: 50. Bienno

(Why don't they want to spend time with us?)

What do they think (of us)?

77. a. Pènhalei ché de notre?

SCI: I can't understand their reaction and really don't know what they are thinking (about us).

b. eh ma...Heli penhà ché de notre?

FS: I am annoyed. [I don't really want an answer.]

1084. sapere wh: 67. Monno

(Q:) Do you know how to make polenta? (A:) Well, you need a lot of water...

78. a. Al set come s'fa a fa la polenta?

SCI: I know that you don't know how to make polenta.

b. *Fet saé come s'fa a fa la polenta?

FS: Not used.

1025. sapere wh: 39. Malonno

Do you know where I've put the keys?

79. a. Al set ando o mès le ciáf?

SCI: The other person has seen you put the keys somewhere and you are asking them for help.

b. #Fet saé ando o mès le ciáf?

FS: If you know, why don't you tell me?

2.2.2. Context indicates true premise

In the next series of questions, the context has been constructed to indicate that the premise is true, so the speaker expects there to be a reference for the wh-item, and they are seeking its identity. With the SCI question, they have no preconceived opinion, with the FS question, they already have a referent in mind.

Note that the normal position of the wh-item is post-verbal (in both SCI and FS) and so the questioner is less concerned with actually obtaining the wh-item reference and more in asking (SCI) or verifying (FS) that the event is taking place. The meaning is therefore similar to that obtained in English by substitution of the indefinite pronoun, yet still

requiring an informational rather than a yes/no answer. For example, SCI: Maria will eat something this evening? versus FS: Is it true that Maria will eat something this evening? Because of this, the purpose of the FS question is then less for to gather information and more to demonstrate qualities such as empathy with the addressee [att-ext], and internally-directed concern for the consequences of the proposition [att-int].

2864. venire: 36. Esine

(You've invited the entire neighbouring family to the birthday party. Ask the mother:)

Who's coming to the party?

80. a. 'ègne-l chì a la fèhta?

SCI: A is casually interested in the number and who the guests will be, probably for organizational reasons.

b. Fà-l 'gnì chì, a la fèhta?

FS: A is not so interested in the number of people (for the sake of the organizing) but in the people who will attend. A is revealing a general interest in someone but it's not clear who. It's understood that A has a preference and might then buy something special [for the party]. [wh-spec]

c. è-l chì che 'é a la fèhta?

Cleft: A is impatient for an answer. A is not showing interest in anyone in particular, but just in general, in order to know how to behave (organizationally and towards the people).

2863. mangiare: 36. Esine

(You want to know that elderly Maria is being taken care of. You ask the carer:)

What's Maria eating for dinner?

81. a. Mànge-la chè, Maria, de héna?

SCI: The Questioner is interested in *che* 'what', Maria is eating.

b. Fà-la mangià chè, Maria, de héna?

FS: It is certain that Maria is eating something, and more certain than the [SCI] example. The speaker is thinking of the shopping. It's now time to know exactly what Maria wants to eat, so as to procure it. [wh-spec]

c. È-l chè che la màngia de héna, Maria?

Cleft: The focus is on the reference of *chè* that B will reveal in their reply.

2860. mangiare: 36. Esine

(Each Saturday you take Maria to the restaurant. She always has a good appetite. The waitress arrives to takes the order then she goes back into the kitchen and talks to the owner. Meanwhile Maria goes to the bathroom. The owner comes back to talk and begins...Well then:)

What will Maria eat this evening?

82. a. (Chè) mangerà-la chè htahéra, Marià?

SCI: The question is neutral and all the possibilities are open. The owner wants to know what Maria has selected, or might select from the menu. (With cosa 'what' at the beginning, this really gives the idea that it is at that moment that the choice is made from the menu.)

b. Farà-la mangià chè htahéra Maria?

FS: This seems to be looking into the mind of the owner, who already knows what Maria is going to eat, and expects a confirmation of his supposition. (The owner is thinking of Maria and her situation because he knows that the choice is already limited and so he might have to make a few adaptations.) **wh-spec**

2861. finire: 36. Esine

(It's obvious that the film on RAI 1 won't last all evening but they don't know if it will finish before they appointment that they have with the neighbours. Francesca has heard (maybe from her mother) that it finishes at 8, but it's already quarter to 8 and it seems as if the plot isn't about to reach its conclusion. Francesca asks Enrico:)

The film on RAI 1, when does it finish?

83. a. Al film ho RAI 1, (quando) finìhe-l quando?

SCI: This is a real wh-Q. Francesca doesn't know (despite what her mother has said) when the film finishes. She wants to know because she wants to know if she'll manage to see the entire film, or to begin to think what to do in case it finishes after 8. On the basis of the reply, Francesca will organize herself. With wh-PV the Q is centered on the time in connection with the verb. With wh-front, the Q is on the wh-item itself rather than in conjunction with the verb.

b. Al film ho Rai 1, (quando) fà-l finì quando?

FS: This directs attention to the moment the film finishes and on the basis of this fact Francesca will decide what to do. Francesca has already imagined the film finishing and is evaluating the consequences: if it finishes before 8, no problem; if it's after 8 then she's already thinking about what to do. **wh-spec**

2854. puzzare: 36. Esine

(What a stink! Better give that coat a wash. You think that it smells of smoke, but you are not sure. You ask Marco:)

What does my coat smell of?

84. a. Hpùhe-l de chè 'l mé paltò?

A thinks that the coat doesn't smell so it's really not necessary to specify of what it smells.

b. Fà-l hpühà de chè 'l mé paltò

A is asking the question for an empathic confirmation by B that the coat still smells (of smoke). **[att-ext]** **Wh-spec**

2855. scadere: 36. Esine

(All passports expire, but some last 5 years, some 10, or even 30...This couple are going to America on holiday this summer. The husband asks the wife:)

When does your passport expire?

85. a. Hcàde-l quando 'l tò pàha-pórt?

SCI: It sounds as if the husband is scolding the wife for not having checked before.

b. Fà-l hcadì quando 'l tò pàha-pórt?

FS: A&B have been working collaboratively checking everything. A wants to know about his wife's passport so that they can avoid and resolve any potential bureaucratic problems. [att-ext]

2859. andare: 36. Esine

(Franco knows that tomorrow Mario will go to Milan. He also knows that the beautiful Isabella has offered him a ride. If he doesn't accept (which would be madness!), he could go in his own car, on the train, or on the bus. Lots of possibilities. Franco asks Mario:)

How are you getting to Milan?

86. a. Né-t cóme a Milà?

SCI: Mario is definitely 'going to Milan' and 'how' is secondary. Mario replies saying how he'll get to Milan (using one of the available options).

b. Fé-t nà cóme a Milà?

FS: The speaker is more concerned with Mario, then about 'going' more than 'how'. [att-ext]

Appendix 6a: FS results by verb, by question in P3

The dataset is 4 Esine, 5 MCMB, 3 UV - this is the most informants with optional FS who completed (most of) the 2nd Qnaire.									
It is balanced to make sure there are the same number of results per zone									
Verb	Toks	Tot	FS%	Av	1SD%	Qs	Pers	SentV1	Explanation
Manner verbs (main verbs)									
aggiustare	9	12	75%					Aggiusti le macchine?	
aggiustare	10	12	83%					Aggiusti le macchine adesso?	
aggiustare	11	12	92%					Aggiusti le macchine adesso?	
	30			83%	8%	3			
lavare	9	12	75%					Lavi spesso le finestre?	
lavare	10	12	83%					Lavi spesso le finestre?	
lavare	10.5	12	88%					Lavi spesso le finestre?	
	29.5			82%	6%	3			
lavorare	11	12	92%				2	Lavori il mercoledì?	2nd ps
lavorare	10.5	12	88%				2	Lavori il Sabato?	
lavorare	8	12	67%				2	Lavori ancora?	
lavorare	7.5	12	63%				3	Lavora il mercoledì', Marina?	3rd ps
	29.5			82%		3			
	37			77%	15%	4			
leggere	8	12	67%					Leggi tanto?	
leggere	9	12	75%					Leggi tanto?	
leggere	8	12	67%					Leggi ancora tanto?	
	25			69%	6%	3			
mangiare	8	12	67%				2	Mangi carne?	
mangiare	11	12	92%				2	Mangi carne?	
mangiare	10	12	83%				2	Mangi carne?	
mangiare	6	12	50%				3	Mangia carne, Roberta?	3rd ps
	29			81%		3			
	35			73%	18%	4			
nuotare	9	12	75%				2	Nuoti nell'Oglio?	
nuotare	8	12	67%				2	Nuoti nell'Oglio?	
nuotare	11	12	92%				2	Nuoti nell'Oglio?	
nuotare	11	12	92%				3	Nuote nell'Oglio, Nicola?	could have been interpreted as 2nd ps

	28			78%		3			
	39			81%	13%	4			
abbaiare	11	12	92%					Abbaia il cane quando arriva uno sconosciuto?	
	11			92%		1			
Stative verbs (main auxiliary)									
sembrare a	0	12	0%					Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?	
sembrare a	0	12	0%					Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?	
sembrare a	1	12	8%					Ti sembrano giusti quei calcoli?	
	1			3%		3			
sapere DP	0	12	0%				2	Sai la novita'?	
sapere DP	0	12	0%				2	Sai la novita'?	
sapere DP	0	12	0%				2	Sai l'ultima!?	
sapere DP	0	12	0%				3	Sa la verita', la madre?	
sapere DP	2	12	17%				3	(Almeno le) sa di chi e'/la verita, Lucia?	emotion (and/or 3rd ps)
	0								
	2			3%	7%	5			
pensare che	1	12	8%				2	Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?	
pensare che	1.5	12	13%				2	Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?	
pensare che	0.5	12	4%				2	Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?	
pensare DP	5	12	42%				3	Cosa pensano (di noi)?	3rd ps with state? wh? or emotion
	3			17%	17%	4			
	8			19%	20%	4			
piacere a	2	12	17%				2	A te piacciono le pattatine?	
piacere a	2	12	17%				2	A te piace la birra?	
piacere a	1	12	8%				2	A te piace l'olio di ricino?	
piacere a	5	12	42%				3	A Carlo piace il prosecco?	3rd ps with state
	5			21%	14%	4			
	10								
mancare a	5	12	42%					Mancano i suoi figli a Teresa?	
mancare DP	5	12	42%					Manca un pezzettino?	
mancare DP	5	12	42%					Manca la bottiglia di latte?	

	15			42%	0%	3			
credere in	7	12	58%				3	Crede nell'angelo custode, Tonino?	
credere in	5	12	42%				3	Crede in Santa Lucia, Isabella?	
	12			50%	12%	2			
fidarsi di	5	12	42%					Gli abitanti della Valle Camonica si fidono dei politici di Roma?	
	5			42%		1			
potere (abil)	0	12	0%				2	Puoi mangiare i gamberetti?	
potere (abil)	1	12	8%				2	Puoi mangiare una bistecca?	
potere (abil)	0.5	12	4%				2	Puoi mangiare la carne grassa?	
potere (abil)	1	12	8%				3	Puo' mangiare i gamberetti, Edoardo?	
potere (abil)	2	12	17%				3	Puo' mangiare la carne grassa, Marco?	3rd ps with state
	1.5			8%	6%	5			
	4.5								
potere (pos)	1	12	8%					Può piovere stasera (secondo te)?	
	1			8%		1			
provare a	4	12	33%				2	Provi a riparare i buchi nella maglia te stesso?	result
provare a	8	12	67%				3	Prova a parlare dialetto con il nonno?	noise
provare a	10	12	83%				3	Prova a andare a cacciare gli anatre, il gatto?	movement
	22			61%	25%	3			
riuscire a	5	12	42%					Riesce a mantenere una vita sana, Anna?	
	5			42%		1			
volere vP	0	12	0%					Vuole venire al concerto in chiesa, tuo padre?	
	0			0%		1			
volere DP	0	12	0%				3	Vuole una caramella, la ragazza?	
volere DP	0	12	0%				2	Vuoi una caramella?	
	0			0%	0%	2			
volere bene	1	12	8%					Si vogliono ancora bene?	
volere bene	2	12	17%					Vuole bene al suo cane, Valentina?	3rd ps lexical verb
	3			13%	6%	2			
Verbs of measure									
costare	7	12	58%					Costa tanto quel pesce?	

costare	7	12	58%					Costa tanto quel pesce?	
costare	8	12	67%					Costa tanto quel pesce?	
	22			61%	5%	3			
durare	7	12	58%					Dura tanto (di solito) una visita?	Some answers were future
durare	4	12	33%					Dura tanto?	Some answers were future
durare	5	12	42%					Dura tanto l'inverno a Monno?	
	16			44%	13%	3			
Result verbs (main and auxiliary)									
dare	6	12	50%				2	Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?	
dare	5	12	42%				2	Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?	Context 1 is lowest
dare	8	12	67%				2	Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?	
dare	4	12	33%				3	Da sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto, Luigi?	This is the same Context 1
	19			53%		3			
	23			48%	14%	4			
maturare	10	12	83%					I pomodori maturano anche senza sole?	voice?
maturare	7	12	58%					Le mele maturano in Settembre a Edolo?	
	17			71%	18%	2			
cominciare a (arb)	4	12	33%				2	Cominci ad urlare sempre quando arrivano i nonni?	noise
cominciare a (arb)	9	12	75%				3	Cominciano ad abbaiare i cani sempre quando passa Matteo?	movement
	13			54%	29%	2			
congelare (si)	10	12	83%					Si congela d'inverno, quel bel laghetto?	
	10			83%		1			
fare (caus)	7	12	58%				2	Fai mangiare gli spinaci ai bambini?	
fare (caus)	7	12	58%				2	Fai mangiare gli spinaci a Tonino?	
fare (caus)	7	12	58%				2	Fai mangiare gli spinaci ai bambini?	
fare (caus)	4	12	33%				3	Fa mangiare i piselli ai suoi bambini, Mariuccia?	3rd ps
fare (caus)	9	12	75%				3	Fa girare il mulino, l'acqua?	movement
	21			58%		3			
	34			57%	15%	5			
finire di (nat) DP	9	12	75%				3	Finiscono le partite alle cinque, di solito?	movement
	9			75%		1			

finire di (nat) vP	3.5	12	29%			2	Finisci di tagliare la legna prima che arriva la neve?	less obvious movement?
	3.5		29%		1			
scadere	8.5	12	71%				Scadono i patenti quando si compie 65 anni?	
	8.5		71%		1			
smettere di	5	12	42%				Smetti di lavorare quando arriva a casa il marito?	
	5		42%		1			
rompersi	6	12	50%				Si rompano spesso queste macchine?	
	6		50%		1			
rompere	7	12	58%				Rompano sempre i bicchieri quando si ubriacono?	
	7		58%		1			

Appendix 6b: FS results by verb, by question in P4

FS use in P4 for 8 MV informants by question

Dataset 8 MV Infs with optional FS: P4								
SNum	P4Num	Finite verb	FS/8	Av	Infinitival verb (aux complement)	CompAsp	Questions	Different?
MANNER VERBS (ALL MAIN VERBS)								
2489	1.1	lavare	8				12.1 (2489) Lavi spesso le finestre?	
2428	1.2	lavare	7				12.2 (2428) Lavi i panni la domenica?	
2429	1.3	lavare	6				12.3 (2429) Lavi mai quel capotto?	
2431	1.4	lavare	7				12.4 (2431) Lavi solo tu la tua bella macchina?	
				7.0				
2438	2.1	lavorare	6				13.1 (2438) Lavori anche quando piove?	
2439	2.2	lavorare	6				13.2 (2439) Lavori ancora?	
2440	2.3	lavorare	4				13.3 (2440) Anche tu lavori per Giorgio?	
2490	2.4	lavorare	7				13.4 (2490) Lavori il Sabato?	
				5.8				
2442	3.1	leggere	8				14.1 (2442) Anche tu, leggi il Giornale di Brescia?	
2443	3.2	leggere	6				14.2 (2443) Leggi sola romanzi rosa?	
2441	3.3	leggere	7				14.3 (2441) Di solito, leggi anche senza occhiali?	
2492	3.4	leggere	7				14.4 (2492) Leggi ancora tanto?	
				7.0				
2445	4.1	mangiare	6				15.1 (2445) Di solito, mangi solo una minestra per cena?	
2446	4.2	mangiare	6				15.2 (2446) Mangi i funghi porcini solo quando sono in stagione?	
2491	4.3	mangiare	7				15.3 (2491) Mangi carne?	
2444	4.4	mangiare	5				15.4 (2444) Mangi sempre con la bocca aperta?!	
				6.0				
2566	5.1	girare	5				16.1 (2566) Gira il mulino lo stesso?	
2570	5.2	girare	4.5				16.2 (2570) Girano ancora le lancette?	
				4.8				
RESULT VERBS VERBS (MAIN VERBS)								
2529	6.1	rompere	6				22.1 (2529) I clienti rompono spesso i bicchieri quando si ubriacano (per caso)?	
2530	6.2	rompere	7				22.2 (2530) Rompi sempre le uova con una mano sola (apposta)?	
2531	6.3	rompere	6				22.3 (2531) Giuseppe rompe sempre il ghiaccio in quel modo lì (apposta)?	
2532	6.4	rompere	6				22.4 (2532) Rompi spesso gli occhiali così (per caso)?	
				6.3				
2469	7.1	rompere (si)	5				21.1 (2469) Si rompono spesso queste macchine?	emotion
2476	7.2	rompere (si)	2				21.2 (2476) Di solito, quando si mette le patate, si rompono, quei sacchetti?	
2477	7.3	rompere (si)	2				21.3 (2477) Si rompe sempre all'improvviso, la tua macchina?	
2478	7.4	rompere (si)	1				21.4 (2478) Si rompe solo quando c'e' Marco?	
				2.5				
2398	8.1	dare	5				19.1 (2398) Alla tua cognata, dai un bacio quando la incontri?	

FS use in P4 for 8 MV informants by question

2413	8.2	dare	6				19.2 (2413) Dai anche tu le calze a tuo papa' per Natale?	
2415	8.3	dare	3				19.3 (2415) Dai sempre fastidio quando si deve concentrare?!	idiom
2488	8.4	dare	4				19.4 (2488) Dai sempre da mangiare alle galline la mattina presto?	
				4.5				
2535	9.1	trovare	5				20.1 (2535) Trovi le chiavi sempre in tasca?	
2536	9.2	trovare	6				20.2 (2536) Trovi le ragnatelle dappertutto?	
2537	9.3	trovare	5				20.3 (2537) Trovi spesso casino nella stanza di Tonino?	idiom
2538	9.4	trovare	5				20.4 (2538) Di solito, trovi una soluzione?	idiom
				5.3				
2543	10.1	cadere	5				17.1 (2543) Di solito, anche da noi a Malegno, cadono le foglie in Agosto?	crollare
2544	10.2	cadere	5				17.2 (2544) Cadono spesso le stelle?	venire giu'
2545	10.3	cadere	6				17.3 (2545) Quando ci sono dei temporali, cadono le tegole dal tetto?	volare/venire g
2546	10.4	cadere	3				17.4 (2546) Cade sempre la scopa nel ripostiglio?	andare giu'
				4.8				
2547	11.1	maturare	5				18.1 (2547) I pomodori maturano anche senza sole?	
2548	11.2	maturare	6				18.2 (2548) Di solito, maturano in un paio di giorni, i kiwi?	
2549	11.3	maturare	5				18.3 (2549) Di solito, i cachi maturano prima che arrivi la neve?	
2550	11.4	maturare	5				18.4 (2550) Le mele ad Edolo maturano a Settembre?	
				5.3				
RESULT VERBS VERBS (AUXILIARY VERBS)								
2394	12.1	andare a	8		raccogliere X 'gather/pick X'	res	1.1 (2394) Vai a raccogliere mirtili ogni sabato?	
2436	12.2	andare a	7		fare X 'do X'	man	1.2 (2436) Vai a fare la spesa solo quando arriva il tuo fidanzato?	
2434	12.3	andare a	7		caccia di X 'hunting'	res	1.3 (2434) Vai a caccia di anatre durante la stagione?	
2435	12.4	andare a	7		correre 'run'	man	1.4 (2435) Vai spesso a correre la mattina presto?	
				7.3				
2420	13.1	fare (caus) - anim	7		andare X 'go X'	man	5.1 (2420) Giuseppe fa andare la stufa solo quando nevicca?	3rd ps, FP
2623	13.2	fare (caus) - anim	5		mangiare X 'eat X'	man	5.2 (2623) Fai mangiare gli spinaci ai bambini?	
2419	13.3	fare (caus) - anim	6		aggiustare X 'repair X'	res?	5.3 (2419) Anche tu fai aggiustare la macchina a Paolo?	
2611	13.4	fare (caus) - anim	3.4		perdere X 'lose X'	res	5.4 (2611) Ti fa spesso perdere il treno (apposta), il tuo capo?	3rd ps
				5.4				
2624	14.1	fare (caus) - inanim	6		girare X 'turn X'	man	5.5 (2624) Fa girare il mulino, l'acqua?	
2418	14.2	fare (caus) - inanim	2		sbagliare X 'make-mistake'	res	5.6 (2418) Il vino ti fa sbagliare a fare i conti?	
2432	14.3	fare (caus) - inanim	0		paura 'fear'	state (adv)	5.7 (2432) Ti fa paura, Marco?	adj
2625	14.4	fare (caus) - inanim	3		freddo 'cold'	state (adv)	5.8 (2625) Fa freddo per Giovanna la finestra aperta?	adj
				2.8				
2522	15.1	cominciare a (nat)	5.5		preparare X 'prepare X'	man	3.1 (2522) Cominci solo dopo le otto a preparare la cena?	
2523	15.2	cominciare a (nat)	6		raccogliere X 'gather/pick X'	res	3.2 (2523) Cominci a raccogliere l'uva a settembre?	
2524	15.3	cominciare a (nat)	7		mettere a posto 'put in place/tidy'	res	3.3 (2524) Cominci a mettere a posto solo dopo mezzanotte?	

FS use in P4 for 8 MV informants by question

2526	15.4	cominciare a (nat)	4		leggere X 'read X'	man	3.4 (2526) Cominci anche te a leggere il giornale quando il marito va al lavoro?	
				5.6				
2423	16.1	finire di (nat)	4		preparare X 'prepare X'	man	4.1 (2423) Finisci solo dopo le otto di preparare la cena?	
2426	16.2	finire di (nat)	7		leggere X 'read X'	man	4.2 (2426) Di solito, finisci di leggere i libri prima di ritornarli?	
2433	16.3	finire di (nat)	6.5		raccogliere X 'gather/pick X'	res	4.3 (2433) Di solito, finisci di raccogliere i cachi prima che arrivi la neve?	riuscire
2514	16.4	finire di (nat)	4		tagliare X 'cut X'	res	4.4 (2514) Finisci sempre di tagliare la legna prima che arrivi la neve?	riuscire
				5.4				
2470	17.1	smettere di	6		bere X 'drink X'	man	2.1 (2470) Smetti di bere vino quando fa caldo?	
2472	17.2	smettere di	6.5		suonare 'play (music)'	man	2.2 (2472) Smetti di suonare almeno quando c'e' il papa' a casa?	
2473	17.3	smettere di	7		usare X 'use X'	man	2.3 (2473) Almeno in chiesa, smetti di usare il telefonino?	
2515	17.4	smettere di	5		lavorare 'work'	man	2.4 (2515) Smetti di lavorare quando arriva a casa tuo marito?	
				6.1				
2401	18.1	provare a	5		parlare 'talk'	man	6.1 (2401) Provi a parlare dialetto con il nonno?	
2465	18.2	provare a	4		aggiustare X 'repaire X'	res?	6.2 (2465) Provi ad aggiustare la bicicletta da solo?	
2467	18.3	provare a	2		uscire 'go out'	res	6.3 (2467) Provi ad uscire quando c'è bel tempo?	
2466	18.4	provare a	3		dare la colpa 'give the blame'	res	6.4 (2466) Provi sempre a dare la colpa a tuo fratello?	
				3.5				
2475	19.1	riuscire a	1		correre 'run'	man	7.1 (2475) Riesci a correre ogni mattina?	
2409	19.2	riuscire a	1		camminare 'walk'	man	7.2 (2409) Di solito, riesci a camminare fino al parco?	
2474	19.3	riuscire a	1		cominciare 'begin (working)'	res	7.3 (2474) Riesci sempre a cominciare alle 6?	
2468	19.4	riuscire a	4		far dormire 'make sleep'	res	7.4 (2468) Riesci a far dormire Giacomino?	
				1.8				
VERB OF MEASURE (MAIN VERB)								
2450	20.1	pesare	6				28.1 (2450) Pesi piu' dell'ultima volta?	2nd ps/emo
2451	20.2	pesare	2				28.2 (2451) Pesa meno di un etto?	
2516	20.3	pesare	5				28.3 (2516) Pesano cosi tanto le borse?	
2517	20.4	pesare	3				28.4 (2517) Pesa più di un quintale questa legna?	
				4.0				
STATIVE VERBS VERBS (MAIN VERBS)								
2399	21.1	fidarsi di	6				24.1 (2399) Ti fidi dei politici di Roma?	
2422	21.2	fidarsi di	6				24.2 (2422) Di solito, ti fidi dei previsioni di Giuseppe?	
2498	21.3	fidarsi di	5				24.3 (2498) Ti fidi di quella pettegola?	
2499	21.4	fidarsi di	5				24.4 (2499) Anche tu, ti fidi del sindaco adesso?	
				5.5				
2396	22.1	credere in	4				23.1 (2396) Credi nell'angelo custode?	
2397	22.2	credere in	3				23.2 (2397) Credi ancora in Santa Lucia?	
2411	22.3	credere in	5				23.3 (2411) Credi negli UFO, (Ricardo)?	
2412	22.4	credere in	6				23.4 (2412) Credi nella provvidenza?	emotion

FS use in P4 for 8 MV informants by question

				4.5					
2453	23.1	piacere a	0					26.1 (2453) A te piace la birra?	
2495	23.2	piacere a	1					26.2 (2495) A te piace l'olio di ricino?	
2503	23.3	piacere a	1					26.3 (2503) Ti piace quando Giorgio sbaglia!?	
2520	23.4	piacere a	1					26.4 (2520) Ti piace questa idea?	
				0.8					
2447	24.1	pensare che	1					25.1 (2447) Pensi che c'e' vita su un'altra pianeta?	
2448	24.2	pensare che	1					25.2 (2448) Pensi/credi che Luigi ha perso il treno?	
2449	24.3	pensare che	0					25.3 (2449) Pensi che andiamo al mare domani?	
2551	24.4	pensare che	1					25.4 (2551) Pensi che Giovanni non torni più?	
				0.8					
2534	25.1	sapere che	0					27.1 (2534) Sai che Giovanni ha lasciato Silvia?	
2404	25.2	sapere DP	0					27.2 (2404) Sai la verita'?	
2497	25.3	sapere DP	0					27.3 (2497) Sai l'ultima!?	
2533	25.4	sapere wh	0					27.4 (2533) Sai dove ho messo le chiavi?	
				0.0					
STATIVE VERBS VERBS (AUXILIARY VERBS)									
2456	26.1	potere (abil)	0		correre 'run'	man		8.1 (2456) Puoi correre fino a Breno?	
2464	26.2	potere (abil)	1		portare X 'carry X'	man		8.2 (2464) Puoi portare quella valigia, oppure è troppo pesante?	
2493	26.3	potere (abil)	1		mangiare X 'eat X'	man		8.3 (2493) Puoi mangiare i gamberetti?	
2455	26.4	potere (abil)	0		stare 'stay/not go'	state		8.4 (2455) Puoi stare lì da sola?	
	26.5			0.5					
2457	27.1	potere (req)	0		fumare 'smoke'	man		9.1 (2457) Puoi fumare da un'altra parte, Matteo?	
2487	27.2	potere (req)	0		dare 'give'	res		9.2 (2487) Puoi darmi un bicchiere di vino?	
2459	27.3	potere (req)	0		dare 'give'	res		9.3 (2459) Puoi darmi un sacchetto, per favore?	
2458	27.4	potere (req)	0		tenere X 'hold X'	res?		9.4 (2458) Puoi tenermi la borsa, un attimino?	
	27.5			0.0					
2461	28.1	potere (pos)	0		venire 'come'	res		10.1 (2461) Puoi venire senza Giorgio?	
2462	28.2	potere (pos)	0		prendere 'take'	res		10.2 (2462) Puoi prenderti un giorno di vacanza?	
2460	28.3	potere (pos)	0		aver capito 'have understood'	state		10.3 (2460) Puoi aver capito male l'ora?	
2463	28.4	potere (pos)	1		aver lasciato 'have left'	state		10.4 (2463) Puoi aver lasciato l'ombrello in posta?	
	28.5			0.3					
2539	29.1	volere	0		andare 'go'	res		11.1 (2539) Anche te, vuoi andare in Africa, un giorno?	
2540	29.2	volere	0		vincere 'win'	res		11.2 (2540) Vuoi vincere il premio?	
2541	29.3	volere	0		sapere 'come-to-know'	res		11.3 (2541) Vuoi sapere la verita'?	
2542	29.4	volere	0		avere 'come-to-have/obtain'	res		11.4 (2542) Vuoi avere l'ultimo modello?	
				0.0					

**Appendix 6c: FS results by verb by syntactic
complement type and auxiliary in passato
prossimo, in P4**

Appendix 6c: FS results by verb by syntactic complement type and auxiliary in *passato prossimo*, in P4

The discussion in Chapters 6 & 7: Factors determining optional FS has made it clear that the semantics of the first verb are key to the choice of use of the support verb *fa* and FS. Demonstrated here is that there is, in addition, no apparent relationship to the syntax of that verb. Thus for main verbs, whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, has a PP argument, AdvP, or no argument, or whether there is or is not a dative (benefactive) argument is not found relevant.¹

For auxiliary verbs it does not apparently matter whether there is or is not a preposition *a/di* between it and the main verb. Furthermore there is no relationship with whether the supported verb normally uses a 'have' or a 'be' auxiliary in the *passato prossimo* (and in Camuno, there is no auxiliary shift with the functional/auxiliary verbs). This is demonstrated first for the P3 dataset in Figure A6c.1 (same as in Figure 7.2) then the P4 dataset in Table A6c.2 (same as in Figure 7.3), both with 7 MV informants.

¹ In Middle English do-support (DS), there was an initially greater use of DS with transitive over intransitive verbs (Ellegård, 1953). This was thought to be because DS allowed the lexical verb and object to remain adjacent. This is expected to be less important in a Romance language such as Camuno as the finite verb is already placed to the left of many adverbs, as shown in Chapter 3: Clausal syntax.

TABLE A6C.2: P3 VERBS WITH COMPLEMENT TYPE BY FS USE, 7 MV INFORMANTS

Verb	Auxiliary	Complement(s)	FS%
volere DP 'want X'	have	DP	0%
sembrare 'seem'	be	a-PP/arg dat clitic	0%
volere bene 'love'	have	a-PP/arg dat clitic	0%
sapere 'know'	have	CP/DP	3%
potere (abil) 'can'	have	vP	4%
piacere 'please, like'	be	a-PP/arg dat clitic	8%
pensare 'think'	have	CP	10%
mancare 'miss'	be	a-PP/arg dat clitic*1	13%
credere 'believe in'	have	in-PP	25%
durare 'last'	have	AdvP	35%
dare 'give'	have	DP, a-PP	35%
cominciare 'begin'	have	a-vP	43%
costare 'cost'	have	AdvP	43%
fare - anim 'make, let, cause'	have	vP	46%
provare 'try'	have	a-vP	50%
maturare 'ripen'	have	-	56%
mangiare 'eat'	have	DP	61%
leggere 'read' (used intrans)	have	-	68%
nuotare 'swim'	have	-	74%
lavorare 'work'	have	-	76%
aggiustare 'fix, repair'	have	DP	77%
lavare 'wash'	have	DP	78%

*1 The dative experiencer argument was present in 2 of 3 examples

TABLE A12.2: P4 VERBS WITH COMPLEMENT TYPE BY FS USE, 7 MV INFORMANTS

Verb	Auxiliary	Complement(s)	FS%
potere (req) 'can, could'	have	vP	0%
volere 'want'	have	vP	0%
sapere 'know'	have	CP/DP	0%
potere (pos) 'could'	have	vP	3%
potere (abil) 'can'	have	vP	6%
pensare 'think'	have	CP	9%
piacere 'please, like'	be	a-PP + arg dat clitic	9%
riuscire 'succeed'	be	a-vP + loc clitic	22%
rompersi (intrans) 'break'	be	DP (unacc. subj) + ref clit	31%
fare - inan 'make, let, cause'	have	vP	35%
provare 'try'	have	a-vP	44%
pesare 'weigh'	have	AdvP	50%
dare 'give'	have	DP, a-PP	56%
credere 'believe in'	have	in-PP	56%
cadere 'fall'	be	DP (unacc. subj)	59%
girare 'turn, spin'	have	-	59%
maturare 'ripen'	have	-	66%
trovare 'find'	have	DP	66%
finire 'finish'	have	di-vP	67%
fare - anim 'make, let, cause'	have	vP	68%
fidarsi 'trust'	be (pron)	di-PP + pron dat clit	69%
cominciare 'begin'	have	a-vP	70%
lavorare 'work'	have	-	72%
mangiare 'eat'	have	DP	75%
smettere 'stop'	have	di-vP	77%
rompere (trans) 'break'	have	DP	78%
lavare 'wash'	have	DP	88%
leggere 'read' (used intrans)	have	-	88%
andare 'go'	be	a-vP	91%

Appendix 6d: FS variation by context and recorded voice

Appendix 6d: Context type (P3)

For this factor, the experiment was set up to address these questions:

- Is FS used more or less with a question with an overt presupposition suggested by the premise compared to one without such given information?
- Is FS used more or less with a question that is intended to convey the emotional involvement by the speaker to the hearer and invite their emotional participation, compared to one where it is clear the speaker attaches little emotional importance to the subject?

Shown here in Figure A6d.1 are results for 14 MV informants for 9 verbs. The recorded voice for each context (by verb) is also shown alongside to enable the reader to assess visually whether the yellow box, indicating the highest result correlates more closely with the type of context (1,2,3, columns to the left) or with the voice (indicated in the same matrix to the right but using the letters B,M,C). Note that the difference in average results per context is 5.1%, which is larger than the variation by voice of 3.1%, demonstrating context is the larger controlling factor. The figure shows Context 3 > 1 > 2, and that for most verbs either Context 3 or 2 is preferred.

TABLE 4: PRAGMATIC VARIATION BY CONTEXT TYPE FOR 14 INFS (P3)

Context	1	2	3	voice	voice	voice
9 verbs/126 total	69.5	67	73.5			
%	55.2%	53.2%	58.3%			
Verb/14						
aggiustare	7	6	8	B	M	C
costare	6	2	4	M	C	B
dare	7	7	7	B	M	C
fare	7	8	7	C	B	M
lavare	9	10	11	M	C	B
lavorare	9	10	9	C	B	R
leggere	9	9	9	C	B	M
mangiare	7	8	8	M	C	B
nuotare	9	8	11	B	M	C

Notes: Dataset 14 infs from P3 who produced >24% FS on activity verb questions, responses for 9 selected verbs. Included is the voice for each recorded question to demonstrate that any voice effect has been distributed evenly between the contexts.

The larger than expected use of FS with Context 1 is probably due to the 'surprise' factor. In other words, the speaker brings their own presuppositions to the situation (i.e. they are not provided by the context) and it is impossible to know for sure what these are.¹

In conclusion, the experiment demonstrates a slight overall preference for using FS with situations where the recorded voice is encouraging speaker emotional involvement, but the results may not have statistical significance and further work would be required with the removal of the voice variable. As the context type proved hard to define, it made more sense to include a variety of types in the experiment in P4 and take an average. As above, in considering the sake of the results-by-verb, context type has thus been 'averaged out'. Relative results for each verb within each phase can be compared, but absolute results should not be.

¹ In some instances this was clear from the intonation used by the informant.

Appendix 6e: FS variation by method used to establish habituality in P4

Appendix 6e: Means of establishing habituality (P4)

A habitual event differs from an iterative event in that in a habitual event, although the frequency may be described, it is only in vague, relative terms such as ‘often’, ‘rarely’, ‘usually’, etc. Other terminology, such as to describe periodic repetitions ‘at Christmas’ or ‘once a week’, or less periodic but still repetitious ‘when it snows’, or ‘when you’re in a hurry’ (correlative constructions) appear related, if not identical. For Bertinetto & Lenci (2012) all these as well as the attitudinals and potentials are effectively the same and differ only pragmatically. Thus the with adverbs of frequency, periodic methods, or correlatives, the general law is deduced from the many observations (e.g. of John smoking); with attitudinals and potentials the observations are induced from a general law (e.g. John has yellow fingers so there must be many occasions on which he smokes). If these authors are correct, there should be no difference in relative FS use between the ways in which habituality has been indicated in the test questions – a prediction tested below.

In designing the test questions, a habitual rather than ‘now’ sense to the question was established request by employing several different, somewhat formulaic methods. As it was not always practical to use one example of each method in the four questions per verb, there was a potential for bias had the methods had drastically different effects on FS use. The following analysis shows that, in fact, that is not the case and that the methods are effectively equivalent as regards their interaction with FS. This means that use of FS in the PresHab can be contrasted with use in other tenses irrespective of the method employed for establishing habituality.

Means of establishing the habitual context are divided into these:

- Using an **adverb of frequency**:
 - *sempre* ‘always’
 - *spesso* ‘often’
 - *di solito* ‘usually’
 - *mai* ‘ever’
- Referring to a regularly occurring **period**, e.g. ‘for supper, ‘every Saturday’, ‘in September’, etc.

- Specifying the general (repeating) situation in which the event will occur with *quando* ‘**when**’ X + indicative (as distinct from *se* ‘if’ X + subjunctive for when the event would occur.)
- Leaving the habituality unspecified and letting the hearer assume that ‘normally’ is implied. This could also be described as ‘attitudinal’, ‘dispositional’ or ‘potential’ and indicates a **tendency**.

A few questions were ambiguous between an interpretation of a single event that was ongoing (and so therefore of continuous aspect), or the continuation of a habitual event, both of which are representations of imperfectivity. Thus to the same list the following method of indicating habituality/continuity is added:

- Indicating continuity, or the **ongoing** nature of the (repeating?) event, either with *ancora* ‘still’, or through the context.

Table A6c.1 shows the extent of variation in FS use between the various methods used to establish habituality.¹

TABLE A6C.1: FS VARIATION ACCORDING TO METHODS OF ESTABLISHING HABITUALITY OR CONTINUITY

Habit	%	FS	Tot
advfq - av	58%	121	210
<i>always</i>	49%	42	86
<i>usually</i>	56%	34	61
<i>often</i>	71%	45	63
when-X	62%	67.5	109
period	68%	99	145
tendency	70%	84	120
ongoing	69%	36	52

Dataset: 8 MV infs with optionality; non-stative verbs (P4)

The first noteworthy aspect is that, bearing in mind the considerable variation between FS use with the verbs on which the questions were based, and that there was little attempt to balance the methods between the verbs, overall, there is little difference in FS use. Taking the average of FS use for the different adverbs of frequency (58%) this is almost identical to use of a ‘when-X’ clause (62%) and only slightly less than when habituality is indicated by reference to a period (e.g. ‘at Christmas’) (68%), or when there

¹ As there is only one question with *mai* ‘ever’, this is not included in the table; however it seems to pattern as per the other adverbs of frequency.

is a general tendency for an event to occur but there is no reference to any actual instances (e.g. 'Do you make the children eat spinach?') (70%). The result for an ongoing situation (69%), which could indicate the ongoing nature of a continuous single event, or of a habitual event, is also highly comparable.

In the search for differences that could be correlated with semantic factors, it could be said that between the adverbs of frequency, there are differences: there is least use with 'always', the adverb that indicates most certainty that a given event will occur, and most use with 'often', the one that is vaguest, with 'usually', being in the middle.² It is worth noting that adverbs of frequency were usually also the focus of the question, so the habitual nature of the event is part of the premise and taken for granted and the question is about the frequency.

In conclusion, all the methods used were successful in establishing habituality and allowing the informant to produce a use of the Present tense, given the context. The difference in degree of FS that they elicited is insufficient to correlate them with any degree of certainty to semantic/pragmatic differences.

² However, with a question, it is easier to find an exception to 'always' (and so disprove the proposition) than it is to question 'often'.

Appendix 6f: Variation by question focus in P4

Appendix 6f: Focus type (P4)

As described in Chapter 4: Clausal syntax, yes/no questions that query the truth of the entire proposition are described as being in neutral, or verb-phrase focus, and those that question a smaller constituent, as being in constituent focus. It was possible that FS use varied according to the size or nature of the constituent focused.

The intended focus was supplied to the informant through the context and question request using syntax and intonation. A focused constituent is usually placed immediately after the verb and receives intonational stress. A separate 'after-the-fact' comparison was made of the types of focus.

Table A6f.1 lists the number of questions of each type in P4 (all questions in PresHab) and percentage FS use with each type. As the reader will note, although questions with adverbs of frequency do have slightly lower rates of use of FS, there are otherwise no large differences in FS use between questions in constituent focus (adverbs of frequency, aspectual, time, manner or place; arguments representing the complement, object/adverb or subject) or questions in neutral focus (predicate).

TABLE A6f.1: FS USE ACCORDING TO QUESTION FOCUS (P4)

Focus & No. of Qs	%	FS	Tot
advfq/aspectual (9)	48%	31	64
advtime (15)	68%	95	140
advmanner/place (12)	64%	58	90
arg-complement (31)	73%	62	85
arg-subject (8)	65%	46.5	72
predicate (41)	60%	137.5	229

Dataset: 8 MV infs with optionality; non-stative verbs (P4)

Appendix 7: Questions used in the pro-verb survey in English and Italian

Appendix 7: Questions used in the pro-verb survey

1E. Maria **works** on her thesis in the afternoon and Giovanni does it in the morning.

1I. Maria **lavora** alla tesi nel pomeriggio e Giovanni lo fa di mattina.

2E. This pumpkin **weighs** over 2 kg even without the stalk and that one does it too if you leave the stalk.

2I. Questa zucca **pesa** più di 2 chili anche senza lo stelo e quella lo fa anche se si lascia lo stelo.

3E. Tomatoes **ripen** quickest in the sun but they can also do it slower when you leave them inside in a bowl.

3I. I pomodori **maturano** più velocemente al sole ma possono anche farlo più lentamente se li si lascia dentro il cestino.

4E. Bill **likes** a lot of ketchup on his chips and Mary does it on the fish.

4I. & 10I. A Bill **piace**/Bill **ama** tanto il pepe nero sulla pasta e lo fa anche a Maria sulla carne. (Italian only substitute of amare for piacere to see if there is a syntactic issue why 'do' cannot be used).

5E. I always **wash** my running clothes at least once a week but Joe doesn't do it that often!

5I. **Lavo** sempre le cose con cui vado a correre almeno una volta alla settimana ma Joe non lo fa così spesso!

6E. Marta **reads** the newspaper sitting in the comfy chair but her husband does it in the bar.

6I. Marta **legge** il giornale seduta in poltrona in soggiorno, ma suo marito lo fa in al bar.

7E. When I **lose** it, I always find my phone in the bathroom but Greg does it in the kitchen.

7I. Quando lo **perdo**, trovo sempre il mio telefonino in bagno ma Greg lo fa in cucina.

8E. People say that new Lavazza coffee machine invariably **breaks** within a month but the DeLonghi does it in a week.

8I. Dicono che la nuova macchina da caffè Lavazza si **rompa** sempre entro un mese dall'acquisto, ma che quella DeLonghi lo faccia entro una settimana..

9E. The British generally **trust** their politicians in a national crisis but the Americans rarely do it even under those circumstances.

9I. Di solito, gli inglesi si **fidano** dei politici in una crisi nazionale ma gli Americani lo fanno raramente anche in quelle circostanze.

Appendix 8: Dialect in Val Camonica by V. Volpi

La progressiva evanescenza del dialetto

Vittorio Volpi, Esine

Una lingua è il vettore principale dei rapporti e della comunicazione sociale. La comunicazione sociale si svolge entro la cornice di modelli culturali. I modelli culturali esprimono e modellano una società, grande o piccola. Una società, grande o piccola ha delle forze trainanti (persone, idee, elementi economici, progettualità condivise.

Guardandomi indietro agli anni della mia infanzia, non riconosco più, né Esine, né le persone (penso soprattutto alla mentalità degli Esinesi) le cose si sono mutate di un millimetro al giorno, quasi impercettibilmente, ma inesorabilmente, perché le forze esterne che volevano e premevano per questo cambiamento erano invincibili o troppo allettanti.

Ingolositi dal progresso, invaghiti dalla nuova società italiana (che prima nemmeno conoscevamo), stupiti della prestanza, successo, dal ben parlare dei cittadini (dei forehtér, dei sciòri), tutti abbiamo aderito e contribuito al boom degli anni '60. Tutti siamo riusciti ad avere un lavoro, tutti, chi prima chi dopo, è riuscito a farsi la propria casetta, comperarsi una molto spesso alla soglia della pensione o con la salute minata, così che chi ha lavorato e sodo per il boom economico non hanno nemmeno potuto godersi il frutto del proprio lavoro. Ciascuno ha visto possibile inseguire dei sogni venuti da fuori, cambiare 'tono' nel vivere, darsi un nuovo contegno, pensare che poteva fare un gradino verso l'"alto", ad alti costi, sia nei rapporti umani che nell'economia locale, che dell'uso della lingua.

Di primo acchito tre mi sembrano i punti principali dove il dialetto è stato messo all'angolo e che hanno determinato il progressivo abbandono del dialetto.

- 1) la mobilità sociale
- 2) la televisione
- 3) la scuola

Ci starebbe anche un quarto motivo che precede cronologicamente questi punti: le due guerre (1ª e 2ª guerra mondiale, cui si possono aggiungere tre guerre 'minori: di Libia

(1912), di Etiopia (1836) e di Spagna 1938 e molto più marginalmente le grandi opere di Bonifica del fascismo. Come ben hanno dimostrato gli studi di Isnenghi, De Mauro e le pagine di Rigoni Stern e di tanti memorialisti, le guerre in se non hanno soppiantato i dialetti, li ha messi in contatto. I dialetti sono sempre stati in contatto, creando delle vaste koiné sempre comunicanti, e lo si vede dalla diffusione di un medesimo lessico su una grande area: penso alla reciproca comprensibilità del nostro dialetto bresciano e anche camuno con la macro-area veneta, e le straordinarie somiglianze con il cremasco, ma anche cremonese e mantovano. Pe tacere della sostanziale identità col bergamasco. Il milanese non ha avuti la medesima capacità di penetrazione, pur permettendo una comprensione sostanzialmente buona.

1) La mobilità sociale: orizzontale e verticale. Le persone si sono sempre spostate, per lavoro per commercio, per sposarsi (tipica la figura del lingera, un personaggio che si adatta a tutti i lavori, che sa fare mille lavori, ma non riesce né a risparmiare, né a metter radici). Grandi sono stati flussi emigratori, sin dalla fine dell' '800: verso le due Americhe, ma anche verso la Francia e più recentemente anche verso la Svizzera (contrariamente a quanto è successo per i nostri Meridionali, la Germania non ha mai esercitato una grande attrattiva sulle nostre popolazioni, fatto salvo un breve periodo negli anni '30). Gli abitanti dell'Altipiano di Asiago (che parlavano dialetto cimbro, passavano stagioni intere nei territori dell'impero Austro-ungarico, arrivando sino in Polonia e Ucraina. Alcuni di questi emigranti (specie coloro che andavano oltreoceano) non facevano più ritorno; molti degli emigranti in Francia (specie durante il fascismo, anche per motivi politici) si sposarono colà. La Svizzera ha sempre avuto emigrati stanziali e stagionali.

Esisteva poi anche una mobilità di prossimità, sia con ritorni giornalieri che settimanali: ciò ha riguardato soprattutto la manovalanza edile (e non operai in fabbrica) impiegata nella grandi opere del dopoguerra. La Fiat non ha mai esercitato un richiamo sulle nostre popolazioni, trovando molto spesso a Milano altre occasioni. Il fenomeno migratorio (specie quello a corto raggio) ha riguardato la manodopera maschile. Inevitabili le occasioni di matrimonio, cui hanno fatto seguito o la permanenza nel luogo o il ritorno in Valle.

Per quanto riguarda la mobilità verticale si può notare soprattutto nell'abbandono del lavoro agricolo a favore del lavoro artigianale o in fabbrica, con conseguente

miglioramento della situazione economica e via via anche dello status sociale. Questo tipo di mobilità è strettamente collegato, se non conseguenza, della aumentata scolarità e della progressiva terziarizzazione del lavoro (impiegati, servizi).

L'avvento dell'auto per ogni famiglia ha permesso anche una mobilità da diporto: uscite per il fine settimanali, vacanze a Rimini o sulle Dolomiti. Mi ricordo una frequente predica del curato che sanzi nava energicamente l'uso di certe parole imparate al mare (ad es. cribbio).

La costruzione dell'ospedale di Valle a Esine ha mutato definitivamente la fisionomia anche sociale del piccolo comune.

2) la televisione. Giorgio Gaber cantava negli anni '60 «la televisiùn la g'è òna forza de leùn» (milanese) 'la televisione ha una forza di leone'. La prima trasmissione è del 1954. Ma ci vorrà parallelamente un minimo di progresso economico per consentire via via alle famiglie italiane di acquistare un televisore [in casa nostra non abbiamo mai avuto un televisore: per vederla andavamo da un parente vicino o si vedeva "La TV dei ragazzi" dal curato – tipico un atteggiamento nostro: si trasmetteva a puntate la storia di Ivanhoe (inizi anni '60): ma noi, in dialetto canticchiavamo la sigla cambiando le parole: «àiva 'n hó, àiva 'n dó» 'acqua verso l'alto, acqua verso il basso' senza nessuna attinenza, ma solo per mimesi fonica, che dava più senso rispetto al nome forestiero: non è stato questo periodo ad incidere sulla messa al bando del dialetto, ma qualche anno più tardi]. Il contenuto più infido (perché condizionante) è stata però la pubblicità. Siamo cresciuti a Carosello e a un altro break prima del telegiornale. La società presentata in quegli spot era una società ideale, con i prodotti che avevano sempre del miracoloso, fosse anche solo un detersivo (Ava come lava) o un superalcolico (Vecchia Romagna). Un cambiamento massiccio è avvenuto con gli anni '70 con la liberazione delle frequenze, la nascita delle 'radio libere' e delle tivù di Berlusconi. Queste televisioni, sostanzialmente un pretesto per fare soldi con la pubblicità hanno abbassato il contenuto e la qualità delle trasmissioni obbligando anche 'mamma' RAI ad adeguarsi se non voleva perdere audience e pubblicità. Il viraggio verso la merce è stato repentino e massiccio. Tanto che ora non ci si aspetta più che la televisione faccia dei programmi culturali. È diventata di mero intrattenimento o vetrina per i politici e per quanti hanno 'potere'.

Per noi ragazzi un ruolo fondamentale l'hanno avuto anche i fumetti. Facevamo di tutto pur di raggranellare quelle poche lire che costava un fumetto. Ho acquistato regolarmente dalla quinta elementare fino alla seconda media il fumetto Blek ma mi piacevano anche L'uomo mascherato, Mandake, Nembo kid, Akim e più tardi Tex. Sconsigliatissimi invece erano Il monello e l'Intrepido. Erano scritti in italiano semplice e spesso traducevamo in dialetto alcune espressioni tipiche ("cornà d'alce" è un po' difficile da tradurre, ma altre espressioni erano più adattabili)

L'oratorio aveva un cinema. Tutte le domeniche nel pomeriggio si andava al cinema (film, western, avventurosi, mitologici...) che ci entusiasmavano, fino a coniare un'espressione per definire chi era stato troppo impressionato: "esaltà de pipe de hic" 'esaltato di bastoncini di liquerizia da cinque lire'.

La televisione ha proposto e imposto un livello di vita borghese, col salotto buono (che non esisteva nelle nostre case, con un solo ambiente per cucina e sala da pranzo), con i vestiti che si comperavano. È stata un'alluvione di cose da fuori che hanno sospinto il dialetto in un angolo: non esisteva più la referenza: il detersivo all'inizio di chiamava ancora pùlver de laà 'polvere da lavare' ma poi è diventato detersivo anche in dialetto. Esattamente come è successo negli anni '80-'90 con la terminologia informatica (mouse, computer, monitor, underscore...). Dall'inglese avevamo sin dagli anni '30 (nonostante le misure autarchiche del fascismo) importato molta terminologia che riguardava il calcio: fóbal 'football', còrner 'calcio d'angolo', cross traversone'...

3) la scuola. La nuova possibilità di mobilità sociale verso l'alto ha determinato anche l'introduzione di alcune modifiche della struttura scolastica: negli anni '60 (1962, ma la sua introduzione generalizzata è durata alcuni anni: bisogna adeguare l'edilizia scolastica) è stata introdotta la Nuova Scuola Media e la liberalizzazione dei piani di studi (che consentiva a ogni diplomato (di qualsiasi indirizzo) di accedere all'università (qualsiasi facoltà). Negli anni '70-'80 si sono moltiplicati i nuovi edifici scolastici (sia Istituti tecnici, spec. ragioneria, geometri, periti tecnici; nuovi licei: Breno e Iseo). Dagli anni '90 in poi nemmeno gli studenti hanno considerato l'università come un prolungamento della scuola superiore. Dal punto di vista linguistico, la maggiore scolarizzazione ha comportato un maggior uso e conoscenza dell'italiano e specie tra i giovani l'abbandono del dialetto, più delle ragazze che nei maschi.

L'ondata migratoria degli extracomunitari (dall'Africa e dall'Est europeo (badanti)) non ha comportato grandi mutamenti a livello linguistico: un marocchino dicendo che guadagnava poco vendendo tappeti, aveva imparato una nostra espressione idiomatica: l'è magra la cavra 'è magra la capra': gli immigrati hanno imparato l'italiano e capiscono qualcosa di dialetto, pur non parlandolo.

