

*gò da mangià ('i have to eat') VS.  
ho da mangiare ('i have to eat')\**

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*0. Introduction*

In this paper, I will focus on a construction whose template is fairly common throughout Romance and non-Romance languages: the construction *Subj have to V<sub>infinitive</sub>*. The interesting characteristic of this construction is that—despite the form is exactly identical in North Italian Dialects (NIDs), Italian, French, Spanish, English, Dutch, and many other languages—the interpretation corresponding to such structure varies sensibly cross-linguistically and even within the very same language (in that multiple interpretations can be associated with such structure).

Here, I will only discuss the phenomenon w.r.t. to Bellinzonese<sup>1</sup> and Italian,<sup>2</sup> and I will leave for a future paper the extension of my analysis to the other languages which also have the same construction.

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<sup>1</sup> It is a Lombard Alpine dialect spoken in Canton Ticino, Switzerland, which I am a native speaker of. In particular, my variety is the combination of the dialect spoken in S. Antonino—where I was born and grew up—and the dialect of Monte Carasso spoken by my mother. I refer to my variety as *Bellinzonese* for simplicity. In reality, my idiolect differs in some respects from the actual Bellinzonese variety spoken in Bellinzona, the capital of Ticino.

<sup>2</sup> Please note that the word order reported here is the one that holds in standard and substandard Italian. As for the judgments, they are usually expressed with respect to the subvariety of Italian spoken in Ticino. Some of the readings reported here as ungrammatical

### 1.1 The state of the art

Bellinzonese and Italian both have in common the structure in (1) and (2).

- (1) Gò da mangià (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg by to.eat  
'I have to eat'
- (2) Ho da mangiare (Italian)  
have.1sg by to.eat  
'I have to eat'

A first observation that can be made is that, in (2), the infinitival IP is selected by *da* and not by the prepositional complementizer *di* (cf. Kayne (1980, 1999; 2000)), which usually introduces infinitival clauses. *Da* is the complementizer that introduces Italian infinitival relatives (3).

- (3) a. Voglio qualcosa da mangiare (Italian)  
want.1sg something from to.eat  
'I want something to eat'
- b. \*Voglio qualcosa di mangiare

As for the nature of this *da*, I will not take the investigation further in this paper. It is however not unconceivable to think that *da* is the combination of the prepositional complementizer *di* and a preposition *a*, whose nature is still obscure.<sup>3, 4</sup>

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are in fact well-formed in other varieties of Northern and Central Italy, including Florentine. These cases will be properly signaled.

<sup>3</sup> den Dikken (1996) claims that *à* in (ia) is the same dative preposition as in (ib), and that Italian *da* could be *di* + *a*<sub>dat</sub> (den Dikken (1996): 13 (fn16)).

- (i) a. Jean cherche un livre (facile) à lire (French)  
John looks-for a book easy to eat  
'John is looking for a book to eat'
- b. Un livre à Jean  
a book to John  
'One of John's book' (den Dikken (1996): 9 (3a & 4a))

Also, Walloon clearly instantiate a complex preposition that corresponds to the combination of *de* and the dative *à* (ii).

- (ii) c'è d-à mîne (Walloon)  
it is of-to mine (Remacle (1952): 342)

<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Lübke (1968) points out that *da* etymologically derives from the combination of *de* ('from') and the ablative *a*(b). It could thus be the case that *a* is here the marker of ablative. It is not clear though why the ablative would surface in and only in non-finite relatives. Are non-finite relatives similar to passive sentences? I have no answer at present.

In the case of Bellinzonese, *da* covers both the function of Italian declarative complementizer *di* and the function of Italian infinitival relativizer *da* (4).

- (4) a. G ho bisögn da na a ca' (Bellinzonese)  
'I need to go home'  
b. Pensi da mia mangià  
think.1sg by not to.eat  
'I am thinking of not eating'  
c. Vöri quaicòss da mangià  
want.1sg something from to.eat  
'I want something to eat'

The *a* of declarative *da* looks like the *a* that is found on all person clitics—*ma*, *ta*, *ga*, *va* as opposed to standard Italian *mi*, *ti*, *gli*, *ci*, *vi*. As Paola Benincà points out to me, Italian pronominal vowel *i* is not an etymological vowel, rather a support vowel (see Cardinaletti (2008)). I maintain that Bellinzonese pronominal vowel *a* is also a default support vowel and that declarative *da* has this form because *d*—the complementizer—combines with the default vowel. Now, if it is true that Italian *da* is in fact *d + a*, it would seem plausible to postulate that Bellinzonese *da* is: either *d + a* null preposition *a* (the same as in Italian) that blocks the realization of the default vowel, or we have *d + default vowel + silent preposition A* (thanks to Richie Kayne (p.c.)).

This having been said, let us now come back to the interpretation of (1) and (2). In the next section, we will see that despite the identical form, (1) and (2) have very interesting interpretive differences. In Bellinzonese, (1) has three main modal readings: a Deontic Reading (DR), a Necessity Reading (NR), and a Possibility Reading (PR). As for (2), Ticino Italian only allows one modal reading – a PR. In other varieties of Italian, (2) can have a DR or a PR.

### 1.1.1 Bellinzonese *gò da* and its readings

In (5) and (6), I illustrate the 3 modal readings that can be associated to (1). The reading in (5a) corresponds to what I call a Necessity Reading, whereas in (5b) we have a Deontic Reading.

- (5) a. Gò da mangià, altrimenti manchi via (Bellinzonese)  
'I need to eat, otherwise I will faint'  
b. Al dutur u m' à dii che gò da mangià püsee  
'The doctor told me that I must eat more'

In a different context, (1) also supports a Possibility Reading, as illustrated in (6).

- (6) I bought so much food that now:  
Gò da mangià (per 3 setiman) (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg of to.eat for 3 weeks  
'I have something/stuff to eat/that I can eat (for 3 weeks)'

### 1.1.2 Italian *ho da* and its readings

When it comes to (2), the interpretation varies depending on the variety of Italian one takes into consideration. In Ticino Italian, (2) can only have a Possibility Reading as the grammaticality contrast between (7) and (8) suggests.

- (7) a. \* Ho da mangiare, altrimenti svengo (Tic. Italian)  
'I have a need to eat, or I will faint'  
b. \* Il dottore mi ha detto che ho da mangiare di più  
'The doctor told me that I must eat more'
- (8) I bought so much food that now:  
Ho da mangiare (per 3 settimane) ((Tic.) Italian)  
have.1sg of to.eat for 3 weeks  
'I have something to eat/that I can eat (for 3 weeks)'

In order to encode a DR or a NR, Ticino Italian resorts to the structures in (9).

- (9) a. Ho bisogno di mangiare (Tic. Italian)  
'I have a need to eat'  
b. Devo mangiare  
'I have an obligation to eat something'

Now, in some varieties of Italian spoken in Northern and Central Italy (including Florence), besides the PR in (10), (2) can also have a DR (11b). Crucially, in these varieties, (2) cannot have a NR (11a).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Crucially, Ticino Italian also differs from other Italian varieties with respect to (i). As an epistemic modal, (ia) is out in all varieties. (ib) and (ic) are out in Ticino Italian.

- (i) a. \* Bussano alla porta, ha da essere il postino ((Reg.) Italian)  
knock.1pl at.the door has by to.be the mailman  
'Somebody is knocking at the door, it must be the mailman'  
b. % Per viaggiare all'estero, hai da avere il passaporto  
for to.travel abroad have by to.have the passport  
'To travel abroad one needs to have a passport'  
c. % Per andare in Africa, hai da essere vaccinato  
for to.go in Africa have by to.be vaccinated  
'To go to Africa you have to be vaccinated'

- (10) I bought so much food that now:  
 Ho da mangiare (per 3 settimane) (Italian)  
 have.1sg of to.eat for 3 weeks  
 'I have something to eat/that I can eat (for 3 weeks)'
- (11) a. \* Ho da mangiare, altrimenti svengo (Italian)  
 'I need to eat or I will faint'  
 b. Ho da mangiare altrimenti la mamma si arrabbia  
 'I must eat otherwise my mom will get mad'

## 2. The problem

The data that I have illustrated so far raise two major questions. On the one hand, one wonders why the structures in (1) and (2), which look identical in form and distribution, have different readings in Bellinzonese and in different regional varieties of Italian, see Table I.

Table I	<i>Deontic Reading</i>	<i>Necessity Reading</i>	<i>Possibility Reading</i>
<i>gò da mangià</i> Bellinzonese	+	+	+
<i>ho da mangiare</i> Ticino Italian Other varieties	- +	- -	+ +

The other side of the problem is represented by the possibility of the same structure to be associated with different interpretations. How is this possible?

Here, I will try to supply a structural explanation for both problems.

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It is interesting to notice that the equivalent of any sentence in (i) is well-formed in Bellinzonese, and other Italian dialects (Northern as well as Southern). In particular, if (iia) only has a PDMR in Italian (whether it be Ticino or Florence Italian), the latter can have the full range of modal readings in Bellinzonese and other NIDs.

- (ii) a. Ho da dormire (Reg.) Italian  
 'I have of what/where to sleep'  
 \*'I have to sleep'  
 \*'I need to sleep'
- b. Gò da durmi (Bellinzonese)  
 'I have of what/where to sleep'  
 'I have to sleep'  
 'I need to sleep'

### 3. The proposal in a nutshell

I follow Kayne's (1993) and I maintain that the verb have results from the incorporation of an oblique preposition into be. Also, I espouse Kayne (2005) and I maintain that for an element to be null, the latter has to move to a phase edge.

I argue that NR, DR, and PR, all derive from an underlying relative structure: an infinitival relative that contains a null light noun encoding modality and the argument of the infinitival verb, whether it be overt or not. Depending on what the relative head is, we get the different interpretations. In (12), we have the derivation for the NR of *gò da mangià* ('I have to eat'). I propose that a null BISÒGN ('need (n.)') heads the relative and from there it noun-strips into have.<sup>6</sup>

(12) [gò<sub>p</sub> BISÒGN] [DP<sub>possessor</sub> t<sub>p</sub> [ [ da [ ... mangià [QUAICOS]]]]]

In (13), we have the derivation for the DR of *gò da mangià* ('I have to eat'). (13) only differs from (12) in the nature of the null noun that heads the relative.

(13) [gò<sub>p</sub> ÒBLIG] [DP<sub>possessor</sub> t<sub>p</sub> [ [ da [ ... mangià [QUAICOS]]]]]

In (14), I give the derivation for the PR of *gò da mangià* ('I have to eat'). In this case, the head of the relative is the null QUAICOSS ('something'): the argument of the non-finite verb. The noun encoding modality stays in the embedded infinitival.

(14) gò<sub>p</sub> [DP<sub>possessor</sub> t<sub>p</sub> [(la) [QUAICOS da [ PUSIBILITÀ ... [mangià ]]]]]]

It looks like in Ticino Italian, the null light noun encoding modality cannot head the relative, hence the impossibility of having the equivalent of (12) and (13). For those varieties of Italian that admit a DR of *ho da mangiare*, the derivation is like in (13).

Finally, I argue that modals are not primitives. Hence, (15) is not derived from a relative clause but rather via incorporation of a nominal root into have as in (16). Other modals are derived in a similar way, although I will not discuss them here.

<sup>6</sup> The motivation behind this noun-stripping is related to the analysis I have of constructions like (i). Here, I will not discuss constructions like (i). For the present purpose, the step of noun incorporation in (12) is not crucial.

(i) Gò bisògn da mangià (Bellinzonese)  
 have.1sg need by to.eat  
 'I have a need to eat'

- (15) Devi stcudià (Bellinzonese)  
must.1sg to.eat  
'I have to eat something'
- (16) a. ESSERE [ P<sub>j</sub> [DOV- [ andare a casa]]]  
b. [IP Devo<sub>j+z</sub> [ t<sub>j</sub> [ t<sub>z</sub> [ andare a casa]]]

#### 4. Towards an analysis for *gò da/ho da* constructions

##### 4.1 Bellinzonese *gò da*

If we insert an overt object in a structure like (1), here in (17), we realize that the latter can be the argument of have or of the non-finite verb.

- (17) Gò da mangià (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg by to.eat  
'I have to eat'

If the overt object—*la turta* ('the cake')—is the object of the non-finite verb (18), the sentence can only have a NR (18a) or a DR (18b).<sup>7</sup>

- (18) a. Gò (\*la turta) da mangià (la turta), (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg the cake of to.eat the cake  
sennò manchi via  
otherwise miss away  
'I need to eat the cake, or I will faint'
- b. Al dutur u m' à di che  
the doctor SCI<sub>IIsg</sub> CI<sub>dat</sub> has said that  
gò (\*la turta) da mangià (la turta)  
have.1sg the cake of to.eat the cake  
'The doctor told me I must eat the cake'

If the overt object is the argument of the finite verb (19), the interpretation can be a Focal Possibility Reading (FPR) (19a) or a Focal Deontic Reading (FDR) (19b)—

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<sup>7</sup> This is confirmed by the contrast in (i). Thanks to Diego Pescarini for suggesting this test. Judgments in (i) are mine. In (i), a PDMR is not available.

- (i) a. ?/?? Ghevi da mangià la turta, però l'ho perdùda (Bellinzonese)  
'I had to eat the cake, but I lost it'
- b. Ghevi da mangià la turta, però l'ho mia legiùda  
'I had to study a poem, but I didn't read it'

where I use a different non-finite verb so that the relevant reading is more natural—but not a NR or even a Focal Necessity Reading, supposing that one exists.<sup>8,9</sup>

- (19) a. A: I wasn't able to take you grocery shopping yesterday!  
 B: Don't you worry!  
 Gò la turta da mangià (\*la turta) (Bellinzone)se  
 have.1sg the cake of to.eat the cake  
 'I have the cake to eat' / 'I have the cake I can eat'
- b. A: I know you have to read an article every week  
 B: True, but this time  
 Go al sò libru da lecc (\*al sò libru)  
 have.1sg the his book of to.read the his book  
 'I have his book to read' / 'I have his book that I must read'

Interestingly, in (19), the DP (*la turta/al sò libru*) must be focalized (not contrastively, but just stressed), hence the fact that an intonational break is required between the object and *da mangià/da lecc*.

The situation in (19) is different if the overt object is a bare noun like *quicòs* ('something') or *ròba* ('stuff'). Under normal circumstances, these nouns do not bare stress in a context like (19), although they could easily be contrastively focused. What ends up being stressed, in the case of (19), is the finite verb. Here, the behavior of *quicòs* and *ròba* seems to pattern with the interpretive contrast in (20).

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<sup>8</sup> Notice that, although (19b) can have a DR as (i) further confirms, this DR reading is slightly different from the DR in (18b). For one thing, the equivalent of (19b) is not licit in a context like (18b), as (18b) shows. The acceptability of (18b) with *la turta* that looks like the complement of *have* does not improve even with a focal intonation on the object.

- (i) a. Ghevi un libru da lecc, però l'ho perdù (Bellinzone)se  
 'I had a book to read, but I lost it'
- b. Ghevi un libru da lecc, però l'ho mia legiù  
 'I had a book to read, but I didn't eat it'

<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, if the DP corresponds to the indirect object of the embedded verb, like in (i), we see that in the non-finite relative in (ib) necessarily has a resumptive clitic on the infinitive. I take this to indicate that (ib) and (19) are relative clauses.

- (i) a. Gò una dòna cun chi parlà (Bellinzone)se  
 have.1sg a woman with who to.speak  
 'There is a woman whom I can/haveto talk to'
- b. Gò una dòna da parla-\*(g) in seam  
 have.1sg a woman by to.speak-Cl<sub>dat</sub> together  
 'There is a woman whom I can/have to talk to'

- (20) a. Gò al libru/\*al LIBRU da lecc e (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg the book the BOOK by to.read and  
al Gianni chèl da culurà  
the John that by to.color  
'I have the book to read and John has the one to paint'
- b. Gò al LIBRU/\*al libru da lecc e  
have.1sg the BOOK the book by to.read and  
mia al giurnal  
not the newspaper  
'I have the book to read and not the newspaper'

In (20a), the DP cannot be focused and have seems to be lexical. The sentence is in fact equivalent to I am in possession of the book to read and John of the one to paint. Importantly, in (20a), *al libru da lecc* only has a DR, a PDMR is not possible. In (20b), the DP must be focused and here have is not the possessive one. In fact, the sentence is equivalent to I have to read the BOOK, not the newspaper and not \*I am in possession of the BOOK to read and not the newspaper. In (20b) *al LIBRU da lecc* has either a DR or a PR. The difference between the status of have in (20) is confirmed by the following contrast<sup>10</sup>:

- (21) a. \*Gh è al libru da lecc e (Bellinzonese)  
there is the book by to.read and  
al Gianni chèl da culurà  
the John that by to.color  
'I have the book to read and John has the one to paint'
- b. Gh è al LIBRU da lecc e  
there is the BOOK by to.read and  
mia al giurnal  
not the newspaper  
'I have the book to read and not the newspaper'

Now, let's briefly go back to (6)–repeated here in (22). In (22), it is impossible to have an FDR. Moreover, even if a DP were realized, focus remains unavailable.

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<sup>10</sup> Notice that there is at least one North Italian Dialect where lexical have requires the presence of the locative, but the latter is incompatible with deontic have to constructions (data on Sonogno collected via questionnaire by Nicoletta Penello and Andrea Cattaneo). This suggests that (contrary to Kayne (1993) and Bhatt (1997)) lexical have and deontic have are different.

- (22) I bought so much food that now:  
Gò da mangià (per 3 setiman) (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg of to.eat for 3 weeks  
'I have something/stuff to eat/that I can eat (for 3 weeks)'

The reading in (22) is necessarily a PR and cannot be a DR. Quaicos ('something') cannot be overt in (22); only ròba ('stuff') can. Still, ròba ('stuff') cannot bear stress in this case and crucially the reading here is equivalent to a DR.

#### 4.2 Italian ho da constructions

Let us now see what happens if an overt object is inserted in a structure like (2)–repeated here in (23).

- (23) Ho da mangiare (Italian)  
have.1sg by to.eat  
'I have to eat'

In Ticino Italian, an overt object can only be the argument of have and not of the non-finite verb. If la torta ('the cake') is inserted in (23), the latter cannot be the argument of the non-finite verb (24).

- (24) \*Ho da mangiare la torta (Tic. Italian)  
have.1sg of to.eat the cake  
'I need to/have to eat the cake'

If the object is on the contrary the argument of have (25), the sentence is well-formed and can have, like in Bellinzonese, a PR or a DR.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to notice that PR of (25) supports the insertion of ci (i). Ci is excluded from this context if (25) has a DR (ii) (thanks to Diego Pescarini for pointing this out to me).

- (i) A: I am worried you'll get bored in the train  
B: Don't worry,  
(C') Ho una tesi da studiare  
'I have a dissertation to study'  
(ii) A: I hear you have to read an article every week for your supervisor  
B: True, but this week  
(\*C') Ho una tesi da studiare  
'I have a dissertation to study'

Moreover, notice that the fact that the DR available in (25) has a slightly different flavor than the one in (24) (in those varieties that admit it) is also confirmed by the possible range of arguments that (24) and (25) allow. Consider (iii) (thanks to Nicoletta Penello and Diego Pescarini for pointing this out to me).

- (iii)a. ?/?? Ho da studiare due storie/un nuovo libro

- (25) a. A: I wasn't able to take you grocery shopping  
B: Don't you worry!  
Ho la torta da mangiare (Tic. Italian)  
have.1sg the cake of to.eat  
'I have the cake to eat' / 'I have the cake I can eat'
- b. A: I know you have to read an article every week  
B: True, but this time  
Ho il suo libru da leggere (Tic. Italian)  
have.1sg the his book of to.read  
'I have his book to read' / 'I have his book that I must read'

Like in Bellinzonese, the two DPs in (25) must be focalized. If *qualcosa* ('something') and *roba* ('stuff') in (25) are overt, they do not bear stress (even though they can if contrastively focused). The contrast between *il libro* ('the book') focalized or not in (26) holds in Italian, not just in Ticino Italian.

- (26) a. Ho il libro/\*il LIBRO da leggere e (Italian)  
have.1sg the book the BOOK by to.read and  
Gianni quello da colorare  
John that by to.color  
'I have the book to read and John has the one to paint'
- b. Ho il LIBRO/\* il libro da leggere e  
have.1sg the BOOK the book by to.read and  
non il giornale  
not the newspaper  
'I have the book to read and not the newspaper'

In (26a), the DP cannot be focused and *have* seems to be lexical. The sentence is in fact equivalent to I am in possession of the book to read and John of the one to paint. *Un libro da leggere* only has a DR. In (26b), the DP must be focused and here *have* is not the possessive one. In fact, the sentence is equivalent to I have to read the BOOK, not the newspaper and not \*I am in possession of the BOOK to read and not the newspaper. *Il LIBRO da leggere* has both a PR and a DR. In (26a), *have* is lexical, while in (26b) *have* is part of a deontic construct. The difference between the status of *have* in (26) is confirmed by the following contrast:

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- b. 'I have to study two stories/a new book'  
Ho due storie/un nuovo libro da studiare  
'I have two stories/a new book to study'

- (27) a. \*C' è il libro da leggere e (Bellinzonese)  
there is the book by to.read and  
Gianni quello da colorare  
John that by to.color  
'I have the book to read and John has the one to paint'
- b. C' è il LIBRO/\* il libro da leggere e  
have.1sg is the BOOK the book by to.read and  
non il giornale  
not the newspaper  
'I have the book to read and not the newspaper'

In the case of (10)—repeated here in (28)—the reading is only a PR and not a DR. If overt, qualcosa ('something') is not available but roba ('stuff') is in (28). If roba is overt, the reading we obtain is a DR.

- (28) I bought so much food that now:  
Ho da mangiare (per 3 settimane) (Italian)  
have.1sg of to.eat for 3 weeks  
'I have something to eat/that I can eat (for 3 weeks)'

Notice that in those varieties of Italian that allow (23), only a DR, and not a PR, is available for (23).

#### 4.3 Gò da/Ho da *constructions and concealed modals*

As Cecilia Poletto points out to me (p.c.), the DR of (19) and (25) can be paraphrased with a finite relative as in (29) and (30).

- (29) a. Gò la turta che devi mangià (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg the cake that must.1sg to.eat  
'I have the cake that I have to eat'
- b. Gò la turta che pòdi mangià  
have.1sg the cake that can.1sg to.eat  
'I have the cake that I can eat'
- c. Gò la turta che gò bisògn da mangià  
have.1sg the cake that have.1sg need of to.eat  
'I have the cake that I need to eat'
- (30) a. Ho la torta che devo mangiare (Italian)  
have.1sg the cake that must.1sg to.eat  
'I have the cake that I have to eat'

- b. Ho la torta che posso mangiare  
have.1sg the cake that can.1sg to.eat  
'I have the cake that I can eat'
- c. Ho la torta che ho bisogno di mangiare  
have.1sg the cake that have.1sg need of to.eat  
'I have the cake that I need to eat'

Now, (29) and (30) do not admit (31) and (32), respectively, where the embedded clause has an infinitival modal.

- (31) ??/\*Gò la turta da duve/ pude/ (Bellinzonese)  
have.1sg the cake by to.must to.can  
veg bisògn da mangià  
to.have need of to.eat  
'I have the cake that I have to/can/need to eat'
- (32) ?? Ho la torta da dover/ poter/ (Italian)  
have.1sg the cake by to.must to.can  
aver bisogno di mangiare  
to.have need of to.eat  
'I have the poem that I have to/can/need to eat'

Interestingly, (18) cannot be paraphrased with a finite or infinitival embedded relative clause, as (33) and (34) show.

- (33) Gò che devi/pòdi/gò bisògn da studià una puesia (Bellinzonese)  
'The matter is that I must/can/need to study a poem'  
\* 'I need to/have to study a poem'
- (34) Gò da duve/pude/\*veg bisògn da studià 'na puesia (Bellinzonese)  
\* 'I need to/have to study a poem'  
# 'I think I have to/must study a poem'

(33) and (34) are well-formed but it is impossible to have a deontic reading both of the matrix verb and of the embedded modal.<sup>12</sup> In particular the only reading

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<sup>12</sup> (34) becomes perfectly acceptable if an overt bisògn or òblig is realized as the internal argument of matrix have (i). The same holds for (35b), the latter becomes acceptable even in Ticino Italian (ii).

- (i) Go bisògn/l' òblig da duve studià una puesia  
have.1sg need/ the obligation by to.must to.eat a poem  
'I need to/have to eat a poem'

available in (34) is the one where the matrix verb is interpreted epistemically (I think that I will have to study a poem). In Ticino Italian and other varieties of Italian (35) neither the counterpart of (29) nor of (30) are licit.

- (35) a.?? Ho da dover studiare una poesia (Italian)  
 b.\* Ho da dover studiare una poesia (Tic. Italian)  
 have.1sg by must.1sg to.eat a poem  
 ‘I have a poem that I have to eat’

### 5. *Gò da/Ho da constructions and Relative clauses*

Based on the fact that: i) in Bellinzonese we can have a resumptive pronoun in the non-finite clause; ii) (29) and (30) show that we can have an explicit relative, iii) the different behavior of *have*, I propose that *gò da/ho da* constructions derive from an underlying infinitival relative clause (36).<sup>13</sup>

- (36) VÈS/ESSERE [<sub>SC</sub> DP<sub>possessor</sub> P [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> da [<sub>IP</sub> DP<sub>modal</sub> ... [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>object</sub>]]]]]

Let us recapitulate the crucial aspects of the configurations we discussed so far:

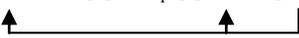
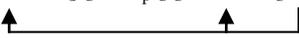
- If the DP<sub>object</sub> remains in its base position (whether overt or silent), we obtain:
  - i) a NR, or ii) a DR. No PR is possible.
- If the DP<sub>object</sub> raises to the head of the relative we have 2 possible configurations:
  - If DP<sub>object</sub> is silent, DP<sub>modal</sub> can only correspond to something similar to PUSIBILITÀ/POSSIBILITÀ (‘possibility’) and we have a FPR
  - If DP<sub>object</sub> is overt, DP<sub>modal</sub> can only correspond to something similar to OBLIG/OBBLIGO (‘obligation’) and we have a FDR
  - No FNR is here available
- If the DP<sub>object</sub> is focalized we can have: i) a FPR, or ii) a DR. No FNR is possible

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- (ii) Ho bisogno/l’obbligo di dover studiare una poesia  
 have.1sg need the obligation of to.must to.eat a poem  
 ‘I have a need/an obligation to eat a poem’

The readings in this case are indeed both deontic, however the matrix modality can only be understood as an order/advice coming from someone else. These cases are not relevant for the discussion.

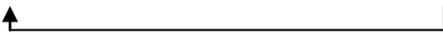
<sup>13</sup> The idea of a null modal is present in Bhatt (1997) already. My proposal differs radically from his because the idea of the relative clause is not present in Bhatt (1997). His proposal captures the English data but cannot capture Bellinzonese’s and Italian’s data.

I argue that NR and DR derive from the structure in (37) (I give the derivation for Bellinzonese, but (37) holds for Italian as well) where I also illustrate a tentative and approximate derivation.

- (37) a. [gò<sub>p</sub> BISÒGN] [DP t<sub>p</sub> [ [ da [ ... [mangià la turta/QUAICOS]]]]]  

- b. [gò<sub>p</sub> OBLIG] [DP t<sub>p</sub> [ [ da [ ... [mangià la turta/QUAICOS]]]]]  


In (37a) we have the derivation for NR, while in (37b) we have the one for a DR. In (37), a null (light) DP encoding modality (BISÒGN ('need'), ÒBLIG ('obligation')) which is the “spell-out” of a modal node in the relative clause. After raising to the head of the relative clause, the modal DP noun-strips into have creating modal have. As of now, it remains unclear to me why in (37) it is not possible to have a PR, i.e. PUSIBILITÀ/POSSIBILITÀ cannot be the head of the relative.

In (38), I give the tentative derivation for PR and an DR where the DP is not focalized. In (38a), I illustrate the derivation for a PR and in (38b) one for an DR.

- (38) a. gò<sub>p</sub> [DP t<sub>p</sub> [(la) [QUAICOSS/\*quaicoss da [PUSIBILITÀ ... [mangià ]]]]]  

- b. gò<sub>p</sub> [DP t<sub>p</sub> [(la) [quaicos/\*QUAICOS da [ OBLIG ... [mangià ]]]]]  


The internal argument of the embedded verb raises to the head of the relative clause. Depending on the embedded modal DP we obtain a FPR (38a) or a FDR (38b). I am not sure why here a FNR is not available and I am not able to explain why an FPR is incompatible with and over DP<sub>object</sub> and why a silent DP<sub>object</sub> is illicit with an FDR.

In (39), we have the derivation for a FPR and an FDR. I maintain that these constructions are basically derived from (37) above and that the overt DP<sub>object</sub> is not in reality the head of the relative clause. Rather the DP<sub>object</sub> is the focalized object of the embedded verb that reaches a left periphery (very likely to low VP one).

- (39) a. [gò<sub>p</sub> PUSIBILITÀ<sub>i</sub>]<sub>x</sub> [FOC° la TURTA] ... t<sub>x</sub>[DP t<sub>p</sub> [ [ t<sub>i</sub> da [ t<sub>i</sub> ... [mangià ]]]]]  

- b. [gò<sub>p</sub> OBLIG<sub>i</sub>]<sub>x</sub> [FOC° la TURTA] ... t<sub>x</sub>[DP t<sub>p</sub> [ [ t<sub>i</sub> da [ t<sub>i</sub> ... [mangià ]]]]]  


In (39), we have the null DP that encodes modality raises to the head of the relative clause (like in (37)). The internal argument of the embedded verb is then raised to a Focus position: if the focus position is within the periphery of the relative clause and the modal DP noun-strips into have; if the focus position is the one in the low periphery (Belletti (2004), Poletto (2006)) the derivation follows as above with the extra step of the unit *gò PUSIBILITÀ/OBLIG* that raises past the focalized element. I do not know how to explain the impossibility of having a FNR and the fact that here *PUSIBILITÀ/POSSIBILITÀ* can be the head of the relative (contrary to (38)). I am not sure of how to account for the impossibility of having a realized modal in the non-finite relative.

### 6. Conclusions and future research

The data analyzed show that null elements do not behave in the same way cross-linguistically. The licensing requirements for null categories are not the same in all languages and it seems that even within the same language different null nouns obey different requirements. Not only, but my analysis and data show that null nouns (or categories, more in general), do not always have the exact overt counterpart.

My analysis has some important implications for the derivation of modals: they are not primitives (see also Kayne (2007)).

Finally, my analysis supplies evidence in favor of the idea that Relative clauses are always pronominal (Kayne (1994), Cinque (2007)).

I showed that *gò bisògn da/ho bisogno di* type constructions have a different underlying structure from *gò da/ho da* type constructions. *gò bisògn da/ho bisogno di* configurations derive from a small clause where the *bisògn/bisogno* element can be the subject or the predicate of the small clause. If *bisògn/bisogno* is the subject of the small clause: i) the predicate can only be a non-finite IP which is selected by a null SOMETHING, ii) the complementizer must be realized in order to assign Kase to SOMETHING. If *bisògn/bisogno* is the predicate of the small clause: i) only a DP can be the subject of the small clause, ii) the complementizer is absent, iii) not all languages have this configuration and within the same language not all nouns can enter this configuration. *gò da/ho da* constructions are underlyingly post-nominal relative clauses. If the  $DP_{object}$  remains in its base position (whether overt or silent), we obtain: i) a NR, or ii) a DR. It is not clear why a PR is not possible. If the  $DP_{object}$  raises to the head of the relative we have 2 possible configurations: i) If  $DP_{object}$  is silent,  $DP_{modal}$  can only correspond to something similar to *PUSIBILITÀ / POSSIBILITÀ* ('possibility') and we have a FPR; ii) If  $DP_{object}$  is overt,  $DP_{modal}$  can only correspond to something similar to *OBLIG/OBBLIGO* ('obligation') and we have a FDR (it is not clear why no FNR is here available). If the  $DP_{object}$  is focalized we can have: i) a FPR, or ii) a DR. No FNR is possible, but not clear what the reason is.

Null categories do not all behave the same. They undergo different constraints within the same language and cross-linguistically. Null categories do not have the exact overt counterpart.

Duvé/dovere ('to must') is not a primitive. As for future developments, what needs to be investigated is: i) the nature of relative *da*; ii) the exact functioning of the relatives at stake needs to be made more clear; iii) if it is true that *to must* is not a primitive, it needs to be understood how it differs/relates from other modals and what this tells us about clitic climbing.

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