

# REDUPLICATION IN ROMAN: A CASE OF MICROVARIATION

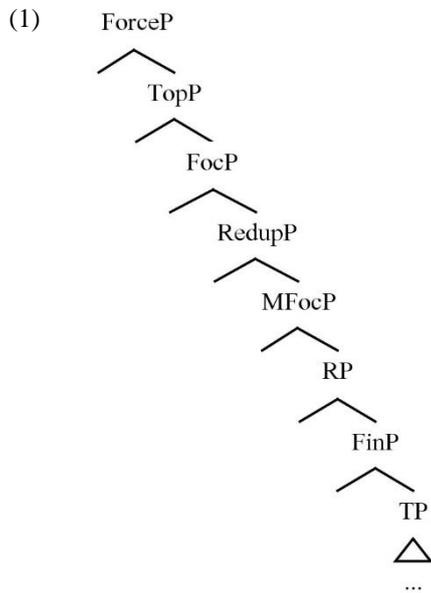
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**Abstract:** *This paper discusses a case of reduplication found in Roman Italian, a case of remnant movement. The data is compared to similar phenomena in River Plate Spanish (Saab 2011) and Italian (Gullì 2003). It is argued that Saab (2011) cannot account for the Roman case of reduplication, which involves the reduplication of phrases, since his approach can only prevent the deletion of heads. Gullì's (2003) account fails to predict that Focus-Fronted elements appear above the reduplicated phrase in Roman. Furthermore, it is argued that the projection between the reduplicated phrases must be that of Mirative Focus (Cruschina 2012), due to the different interpretation of Roman with respect to Gullì's examples. For these reasons, it is proposed that the projection triggering remnant movement, RedupP, is actually situated below FocP, and that what Gullì uses to host the material sandwiched between the reduplicated strings is a Mirative Focus projection, MFocP.*

**Keywords:** *syntactic reduplication, cartography, information structure*

## *1. Introduction*

The phenomenon to be examined in this paper is that of VP reduplication in the Roman variety of Italian. Previous accounts of similar phenomena, Saab (2011) for River Plate Spanish (RPS), and Gullì (2003) for Italian and Calabrese, are shown to differ from Roman in discrete ways. This paper argues for a Cartographic analysis (cf. Rizzi 1997) of the Left Periphery as shown below, in (1):



Roman Reduplication (RR) involves the extraction of an element, followed by remnant movement, creating the conditions for preventing the deletion of a copy, but the RR data cannot be accounted for by the above approaches: it features phrasal movement, incompatible with Saab (2011), since phrasal movement of the verb (and reduplicated string) hampers the mechanism preventing deletion on Saab's approach. Also, RR expresses Mirative Focus (MFoc; cf. Cruschina 2012), unlike Gulli's data for Italian, which expresses Contrastive Focus (ConFoc). Given the position of (Corrective) Focus-Fronted elements, it is proposed that the landing site for the remnant movement is below FocP, contra Gulli (2003). Following Cruschina's (2012) account of Mirative Focus, it is further proposed that, given the different interpretation of RR, the Focus projection to host the material between the reduplicated strings is MFocP, due to the particular interpretation of RR utterances.

This paper is divided as follows: section 2 will describe the Roman data.

Section 3 will compare Saab's (2011) account of RPS to RR. Section 4 will outline Gulli's (2003) account of a similar reduplication in Standard Italian and argue for some changes to be made in order to fit the Roman data. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. Roman Reduplication

This section will provide a description of Roman Reduplication (RR), arguing that RR is a root phenomenon expressing Mirative Focus (Cruschina 2012). (2) shows how RR consists in the reduplication of (at least) part of the VP in what might be called the right periphery:

*Roman (Vernacular)*<sup>1</sup>

- (2) M' hanno fregato 'r motorino m' hanno fregato!  
 CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL steal.PP the scooter CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL stolen  
 'They stole my scooter!'

RR is used to express surprise, excitement or agitation: the interpretation is therefore that encountered with Mirative Focus (Cruschina 2012), which is not usually realised with this structure in Italian varieties elsewhere in Italy, but with Focus Fronting (see also Bianchi and Bocci 2012). The focus of the clause is found sandwiched between the verbs, auxiliaries and relevant clitics: this is often the complement of the verb (2), though it may also be the subject (3a), an adverbial (3b), or a participle (3c). Adjacency of the two reduplicated strings is bad (3).

- (3) a. Te cerca Gianni, te cerca!  
 CL.2SG.ACC seek.3SG John CL.2SG.ACC seek.3SG  
 'John is looking for you.'
- b. Hai fatto bene, hai fatto!  
 have.2SG done well have.2SG done  
 'You did well.'
- c. M' hanno fregato, m' hanno!  
 CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL steal.PP CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL  
 'They've cheated me!'
- d. Tô<sup>2</sup> dico \*(domani)  
 CL.2SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC say.1SG tomorrow  
 tô dico.  
 CL.2SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC say.1SG  
 'I'll tell you tomorrow.'

There are restrictions to what may be reduplicated, however. The reduplicated string must start with the highest verb (or auxiliary) (4a), and be contiguous (4b). Any clitics present must also be reduplicated, including optional clitics (4c). There is no restriction on the type of verb (argument structure, control, restructuring, etc.).

- (4) a. S' è voluto compra' tutto 'r negozio...  
 si be.3SG want.PP buy.INF all the shop  
 'He wanted to buy the whole shop for himself!'

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations key: CL = clitic; SG = singular; PL = plural; F = feminine; ACC = accusative; DAT = dative; PP = past participle; IMPERF = imperfect; INF = infinitive; LOC = locative. Indicative mood, present tense and masculine gender are unmarked.

<sup>2</sup> The circumflex accent marks a long vowel.

- b. \*se ~~è~~ voluto compra'!  
 c. \*s' è ~~voluto~~ compra'!  
 d. \*se è/ha voluto compra'!<sup>3</sup>  
     *si* be.3SG/have.3SG want.PP buy.INF

Strings inside embedded clauses may not be reduplicated (5c, d, g, h), which indicates that RR is a root phenomenon (regardless of whether the complementiser is reduplicated). But material inside embedded clauses can be reduplicated, as long as the string begins in the matrix clause and the embedded clause is untensed (5b, f). (6) shows that *far fare* causative constructions pattern like untensed embedded clauses with respect to the availability of RR:

*Tensed embedded clauses*

- (5) a. Vedo [ch' è arivato Gianni]...  
       see.1SG that be.3SG arrive.PP John  
       'I see that John's arrived!'

b. \*vedo [ch'è arivato]  
 c. \*~~vedo~~ [ch'è arivato]  
 d. \*~~vedo~~ [ch'è arivato]

*Untensed embedded clause*

- e. Ciò paura [d' ariva' troppo tardi]...  
     CL.LOC-have.1SG fear of arrive.INF too late...  
     'I fear I'll arrive too late!'

f. Ciò paura d'ariva'!  
 g. \*~~Ciò paura~~ d'ariva'!  
 h. \*~~Ciò paura~~ d' ariva'!

*Causative construction*

- (6) Tâ faccio [fa' tutta a piedi,  
       CL.2SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F make.1SG make.INF all.F at foot  
       tâ faccio [fa']  
       CL.2SG.DAT-CL.3SG.ACC.F make.1SG make.INF  
       'I'll make you walk the whole way!'

Echo/reprise questions are compatible with RR (7c), but not normal Wh-questions with Wh-fronting (7d). In Yes/No questions, RR is allowed, with the effect of increasing their "forcefulness" (7e).

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<sup>3</sup> The auxiliary *ave*, 'to have' is included here, since the auxiliary *esse* 'to be' is only used here because of the reflexive *si*.

- (7) A: a. John said [he's leaving].  
 B: b. John said *what?!*
- c. Gianni ha detto (**che**) cosa ha detto?  
 John have.3SG say.PP what thing have.3SG say.PP  
 'John said what!?'
- d. (Che) cosa ha detto Gianni, (\*ha detto)?  
 what thing have.3SG say.PP John have.3SG say.PP
- e. Vòi 'na machina tua, vòi?  
 want.2SG a car your.F want.2SG  
 'You want a car of your own?'

The Left Periphery is available for fronting operations, allowing both corrective foci (8a) and contrastive topics (8c). (8a) also shows that when the contrastive element is fronted, some material (the past participle here) must remain to prevent the reduplicated strings from being adjacent: unpronounced copies or traces cannot fulfil this role. (8c) shows that in-situ Focus is awkward (8c), especially with negative tags (*no 'r portafojjo*, 'not [my] wallet'). Instead, focus fronting is preferred, interpreted as a Corrective Focus. Based on Bianchi and Bocci (2012), I take this as evidence that Focus in-situ is not allowed with RR, but Focus-Fronting is and is interpreted as Corrective Focus. Clitic Right Dislocation is also possible (8c):

- Focus fronting (Corrective)*
- (8) Context: 'I heard they stole your scooter.'
- a. **'A machina** m' hanno fregato, m'  
 the car CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL steal.PP CL.1SG.DAT  
 hanno (\*fregato)!  
 have.3PL steal.PP  
 'The car, they stole from me!'
- Context: 'I heard they stole your wallet.'
- b. *Focus in-situ (Contrastive)*  
 #M' hanno fregato tutto m' hanno  
 CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL steal.PP everything CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL  
 fregato, (?no/mica 'r portafojjo).  
 steal.PP not the wallet  
 'They stole everything, not my wallet!'

*Contrastive Topic*

- c. Quer giubbotto lì me l' aveva  
 that coat there CL.1SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC have.IMPERF.3SG  
 comprato mi nonno, me l'  
 bought my grandfather CL.1SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC  
 aveva comprato!  
 have.IMPERF.3SG bought  
 'That coat there, my grandfather bought me.'

*Clitic Right Dislocation*

- d. Me l' hanno fregato in due, me  
 CL.1SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC have.3PL steal.PP in two CL.1SG.DAT  
 l' hanno fregato, er motorino!  
 CL.3SG.ACC.m have.3PL steal.PP the scooter  
 'It was two people who stole my scooter!'

*3. Roman vs. River Plate Spanish*

This section will outline Saab's (2011) account of *capicúa*, a case of reduplication found in River Plate Spanish (RPS). It will be argued that Roman Reduplication (RR) cannot be accounted for by Saab (2011), since said account only allows the reduplication of heads, which is insufficient to account for the phrasal movement encountered in RR.

Essentially, all the approaches mentioned in this paper involve remnant movement, differing mainly in two respects: how deletion is averted and the first movement out of the remnant, constituting what is, in fact, reduplicated. This is the approach taken by Saab (2011) for River Plate Spanish (RPS), following Martins (2007) on European Portuguese. A similar approach was also taken by Gullì (2003).

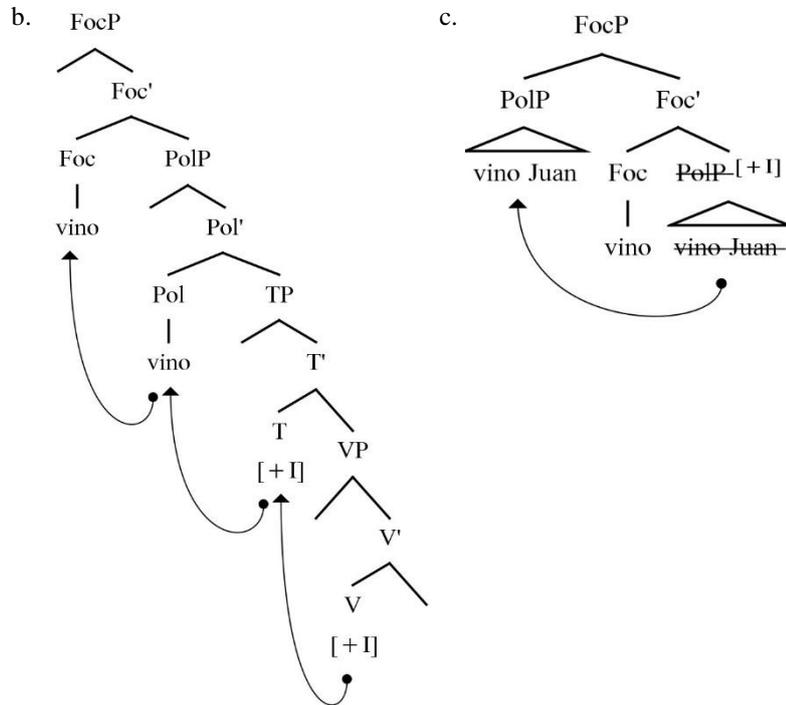
Saab's (2011) approach to reduplication in RPS, known in the region as *speaking capicúa*, also extracts the string to be reduplicated before using remnant movement, but, unlike RR, in RPS only the finite verb can be reduplicated (9)<sup>4</sup>. Essentially, the verb moves through T, Pol and Foc. After the verb has moved out of PolP, PolP raises, in turn, to Spec,FocP. Saab makes no mention of compound tenses, but it is assumed only the auxiliary would be reduplicated (if this is at all possible in RPS):

*River Plate Spanish*

- (9) a. [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>PolP</sub> vino Juan] [<sub>Foc'</sub> [<sub>Foc</sub> vino+Foc<sup>o</sup>] [<sub>PolP</sub> vino Juan]]]  
 came John came  
 'John came!'

Saab (2011:317)

<sup>4</sup> Also the case in Martins (2007) for European Portuguese.



In Saab's system, deletion<sup>5</sup> targets elements which have been assigned a [+I], or *identity*, feature, following the rule in (10). The formulation of the rule prevents the deletion of *subwords* (11), when these are marked for deletion but have been incorporated into a morphosyntactic word not marked for deletion: this is relevant for heads though, not for phrases, and is therefore not useful for the RR data. This [+I] assignment is not identical for phrases and heads: while phrases are marked for deletion in the syntax, heads are only assigned [+I] after linearisation. The lower copy of PolP, being a phrase, is marked for deletion under c-command (9c). The mechanism for head deletion (and the prevention thereof), which was crucial for RPS, we can leave aside, since it will not aid us with the RR examples, where what moves is not a head. Because of this and because of the c-command relation, which is retained in RR, it is not possible to prevent its deletion on Saab's approach.

<sup>5</sup> Or rather, Non-Insertion, as Saab follows Halle and Marantz (1993) in adopting Late (Lexical) Insertion, where Spell-Out is a post-syntactic operation.

- (10) **Non-Insertion:** No Lexical Insertion Rule, IR, applies in the domain of  $X^0$ ,  $X^0$  a MWd, if  $X^0$ , or some projection of  $X^0$ , is specified with a [+I] feature.  
 Associated definitions:  
 The domain of  $X^0$ ,  $X^0$  a MWd, is the set of terminal nodes reflexively contained in  $X^0$ .  
*Morphosyntactic word:* At the input to Morphology, a node  $X^0$  is (by definition) a *morphosyntactic word* (MWd) if  $X^0$  is the highest segment of  $X^0$  not contained in another  $X^0$ .  
*Subword:* A node  $X^0$  is a *subword* (SWd) if  $X^0$  is a terminal node and not a MWd.  
 ((ii) and (iii) from Embick & Noyer 2001:574).  
 Saab (2011:314-5)
- (11) **Sub-Word Deletion Corollary:** No SWd can be subject to non-insertion if the MWd that contains it is not *I*-assigned.  
 Saab (2011:315)

The approach in Saab (2011) relies on head movement to save a copy of the verbal head from ellipsis. The reduplication of non-heads in RR makes such a solution ineffective for Roman, since head movement would fail to extract the required string. If we wish to retain the spirit of Saab's (2011) approach, it may be necessary to create more functional projections to provide landing sites for the phrase to be moved. The [+I] assignment rule would also fail to allow lexical insertion, since the morphological ellipsis mechanism only applies to heads.

#### 4. Microvariation in the Left Periphery

In this section, Gulli's (2003) account of the reduplication of emphatic declaratives is outlined and then compared to the Roman data. It is shown that Roman remnant movement targets a lower position than that proposed by Gulli. Furthermore, based on semantic-pragmatic differences, it is argued that the projection hosting Gulli's [A\*A] operator depends on the interpretation of the construction.

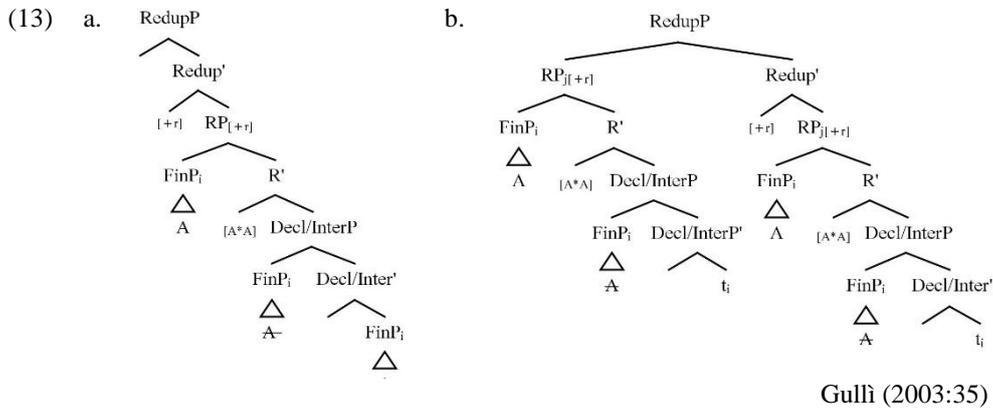
Gulli (2003) discusses a number of different types of reduplication in Calabrese and Italian. Due to space constraints, only the most relevant form of reduplication will be examined: plain reduplication of emphatic declaratives (12). Gulli's examples for this type of reduplication are from Italian.

- (12) a. È andato a Parigi è andato  
 be.3SG go.PP to Paris be.3SG go.PP  
 'He really did go to Paris.'
- b. È andato a Parigi è andato (non a Londra).  
 be.3SG go.PP to Paris be.3SG go.PP (not to London).  
 'He really did go to Paris. (Not to London.)'

based on Gulli 2003:15

The sentence in (12a) is the emphatic declarative type of plain reduplication. Gulli argues that it expresses Contrastive Focus, since a negative tag is possible to contrast the sandwich element with something else (12b), in this case *a Parigi* ‘to Paris’ with *a Londra* ‘to London’. Based on the English gloss, it may be that Gulli’s emphatic declaratives also express a form of Verum Focus, in the sense of Höhle (1992), although this is not mentioned in the paper.

Gulli’s account for this involves extraction and remnant movement. What is responsible for the non-deletion of elements is a feature [+r], which causes a lower XP to move, while indicating that the copy of a moved element must not be deleted. This feature is closely linked to a conjunction/disjunction operator [A\*A], based on the [A-A] operator proposed by Huang (1982), which is situated in a projection RP (Relator Phrase). RP establishes a relation between the element in Spec,RP and the element in its complement’s specifier position: for emphatic declaratives, this is DeclP. Gulli claims the [+r] feature is in a higher C projection RedupP and also in the lower RP, though the latter can bestow this feature to any Phrase in its specifier position.



In (13a), the [+r] feature prevents the deletion of the FinP in Spec,RP, while the lower copy is deleted. This is not enough, however; the c-command relation must also be disrupted, adopting Kayne’s (1994) Chain-Link Deletion Rule, given in (14). Therefore, RP must move to Spec,RedupP, whereupon FinP no longer c-commands the lower copy, which is no longer affected by the Chain-Link Deletion Rule. Thus, Gulli makes use of two principles in order to prevent reduplication from being over-generated: remnant movement is too common to account for reduplication on its own and without a [+r] feature, Gulli argues, reduplication could never occur. Note that, unlike Saab (2011), in this case, the element not being reduplicated is extracted before remnant movement, while in RPS, it remained in the remnant.

- (14) **Chain-Link Deletion:** A given chain  $c_k$  can license PF deletion of another link  $c_i$  of the same chain only if  $c_i$  does not c-command  $c_k$ .

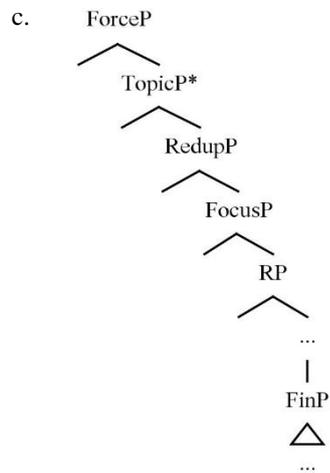
Kayne (1994:96)

Gulli’s (2003) reduplication of emphatic declaratives is very similar to RR, but there are some crucial differences. Gulli claims the reduplication structure for emphatic declaratives is underlyingly the same as that of another structure: predicate clefts, an

example of which is (15a). Focus-fronted DPs, however, appear after the cleft (this is also the case with fronted Wh-elements in questions). Hence, Gulli assumes the structure in (15c), where RedupP is merged between the higher TopP and the lower FocP:

- (15) a. Mangiare ho mangiato.  
 eat.INF have.1SG eat.PP  
 ‘As for eating, I have eaten.’
- b. Mangiare (PASTA) ho mangiato.  
 eat.INF pasta have.1SG eat.PP  
 ‘As for eating, I have eaten pasta.’

Gulli (2003:92)



Gulli (2003:91)

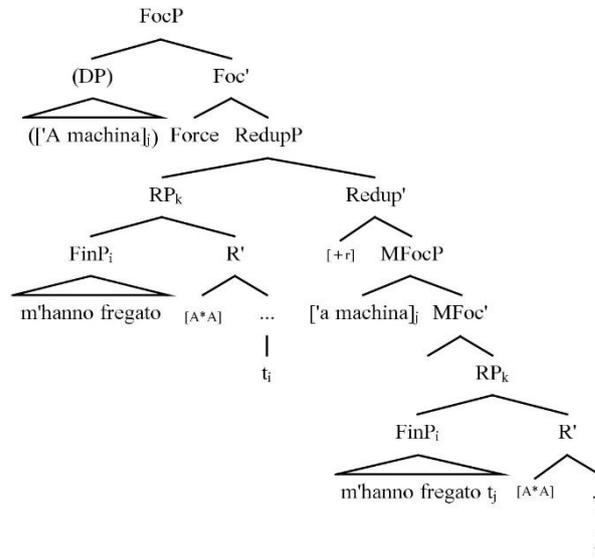
As shown in (8a), repeated below, RR conflicts with Gulli’s proposed structure: Focus-Fronted elements appear above the reduplicated phrase, hence above RedupP, and cannot appear anywhere below it (8a’). The landing site for the remnant movement must therefore be Spec position lower than the landing site for Focus-Fronting (assuming the landing site for Focus Fronted elements does not vary from Roman to Standard Italian).

The proposed structure is shown in (16), with the position of the Focus-Fronted element in parentheses.

- (8) a. ‘A machina m’ hanno fregato, m’  
 the car CL.1SG.DAT have.3PL steal.PP CL.1SG.DAT  
 hanno!  
 have.3PL  
 ‘The car, they stole from me.’

a’. M’hanno (\*’a machina) fregato (\*’a machina) m’hanno!

(16)



Keep in mind that the interpretation of RR utterances is not quite the same as that of Gulli's examples. RR expresses Mirative Focus, which communicates surprise, excitement or agitation. Furthermore, these structures are infelicitous as answers to questions, do not allow negative tags and are not contrastive. They are ungrammatical in unmarked questions, but allow (Corrective) Focus-Fronting. Hence, it is proposed that, at least in Roman, RedupP is merged below FocP (and probably the lower Top projections used for clitic left dislocation). The projection between RedupP and RP is not FocP, but MFocP. If predicate clefts do indeed involve RedupP (rather than being a Contrastive Topic), this must either be a separate, higher projection than that used for RR, or the position of RedupP must vary cross-linguistically.

### 5. Conclusion

This paper has argued that the reduplication found in Roman differs from those found in River Plate Spanish (Saab 2011), and Standard Italian (Gulli 2003). Saab (2011) makes no provision to prevent the reduplication of non-heads, inadequate for Roman Reduplication (RR), given that the reduplicated string consists of a phrase. Gulli's (2003) unified approach to reduplication in Calabrese and Italian predicts that Focus-Fronted elements should appear lower than the reduplicated string, which is not the case for RR: consequently, the landing site for remnant movement (Spec,RedupP) must be situated below FocP. Given the different interpretation of RR with respect to Gulli's Italian data, it is suggested that the operator [A\*A] linked to RedupP is in a projection below MFocP (cf. Cruschina 2012).

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