

The morphosyntax of adverbs of the *carpone/i* type in (Old and Modern) Italian.

Abstract

In this paper, we will present a morpho-syntactic analysis of the class of Italian adverbs signalling bodily movements and postures ending with the suffix *-one/i*. The present work will investigate the significant differences between the uses of this type of adverbs in Old Italian vs. Contemporary Italian. Whereas it seems reasonable (following e.g. Cinque 1999, 2006a) to argue that they are merged in the Specifier of a *low* Manner Projection above the VP, there are many puzzling facts about them that we will try to account for in this paper. We will propose that, akin to CP adverbials, adverbs in *-one/i* have an inner prepositional value in their 'bare' form and we will show the consequences of this proposal.

Keywords: adverbs, Italian, preposition, verb, category.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the class of adverbs ending with the suffix *-one/oni* (e.g. *carpone/i*, on all fours; *tentone/i*, gropingly) in Italian. With the aid of corpora available for both Old Italian (*source:* the OVI database: <http://www.oivi.cnr.it/>) and Contemporary written Italian (*source:* the CORIS database: http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it/coris_ita.html), we will try to delineate here the 'evolution' of this adverbial class and to give a possible syntactic account for their (quite puzzling) behaviour. To our knowledge, there are no previous 'formal' accounts in the literature for this class of adverbs.

The precise subset of adverbial items to be investigated here has primarily to do with bodily postures and movements (cf. Tekavčić 1980: 101). There is comparative evidence of their ‘stability’ as a cluster. Indeed, as first observed by Diez (1874), such a ‘fixed’ class is also attested, for instance, in French by the mean of the derivational suffix *-ons* (e.g. *reculons*, backward; *bouchons*, face down) or in German by the mean of the suffix *-lings* (e.g. *näslings*, face down; *bäuchlings*, upon one's belly, etc.).

Moreover, Pharies (1997) has shown that in many Ibero-Romance varieties this kind of adverbials is signalled by a full set of seemingly affective/evaluative-like suffixes (*-ones*, *-illas*, *-eta*, *-ica*, etc.), arguing for a unitary ‘semantic’ characterization of these forms (cf. also Heinimann 1953 for a similar ‘evaluative’ portrayal of French and Italian adverbial expressions of this sort).

So far, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive description of Italian adverbs of the *carpone/i* type has been made in Pieri (1904), who provided an inventory of almost seventy standard and dialectal (almost exclusively Tuscan varieties) forms (cf. Pieri 1904: 230-231). Basing on a research performed on *Vocabolario Treccani* on-line (<http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario>), we provide in (1) a set of adverbs of the *-one/oni* type attested in Modern Italian, with their tentative translation:

(1)	<i>balzelloni</i> , hippety-hoppety	<i>carponi</i> , on all fours
	<i>barcolloni</i> , doddery (doddering)	(<i>catellon</i>) <i>catelloni</i> , slowly
	<i>bocconi</i> , prone (face down)	<i>cavalcioni</i> , astride
	<i>bracaloni</i> , sloppily (scruffily)	<i>chetoni</i> , still
	<i>branciconi</i> , gropingly	<i>chinoni</i> , bowing
	<i>brancoloni</i> , fumbling	<i>ciondoloni</i> , dangling
	<i>capitomboloni</i> , tumbling	<i>coccoloni</i> , cuddly

<i>dondoloni</i> , swinging	<i>ruzzoloni</i> , toppling
<i>gattoni</i> , on all fours	<i>saltelloni</i> , leaping
<i>ginocchioni</i> , down on one's knees	<i>sdraioni</i> , lying down
<i>girandoloni</i> , strolling about	<i>sdrucioloni</i> , slipping (skidding)
<i>gobboni</i> , hunched (hunchbacked)	<i>stramazzone</i> , collapsing
(<i>grondon</i>) <i>grondoni</i> , hunchbacked	<i>strasciconi</i> , shuffling
<i>grufoloni</i> , rooting around	<i>striscioni</i> , slithering (shuffling)
(s) <i>penzoloni</i> , hanging down	<i>tastoni</i> , gropingly (blindly)
<i>quattoni</i> , quietly	<i>tentennoni</i> , wobbly
<i>rivoltoloni</i> , bumping	<i>tentoni</i> , gropingly
<i>rotoloni</i> , rolling	<i>voltoloni</i> , rolling about
<i>rovescioni</i> , pouring down	<i>zoppiconi</i> , limping

The present paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we will show a set of differences between the two Italian classes of adverbs formed by the mean of a suffix, namely the adverbs of the *-one/i* class -focus of our work- and the fully productive adverbs of the *-mente* class, precisely formed by adding the suffix *-mente* to the singular (feminine) form of Italian adjectives (cf. Salvi and Vanelli 2004; Scalise 1989, 1990). We will also try to delineate the syntactic configuration that adverbs in *-one/i* occur in. In section 3, we will show a set of very interesting differences between the adverbs in *-one/i*, as used respectively in Old Italian and in Contemporary Italian. Notice that Old Italian data included in the present study have been circumscribed -following the insights of Renzi and Salvi (2010)- to Old Florentine, with rare excursions to other varieties spoken in Tuscan (XIII and XIV centuries). In section 4, we will propose a morpho-syntactic analysis capable, in our view, to account for the behaviour of Italian adverbs ending with

the suffix *-one/i* and in section 5, we will show the morpho-syntactic (categorical) *drift* that is happened/is happening in contemporary Italian. The conclusion follows.

2. Some distinctive features of adverbs in *-one/i*.

The class of adverbial modifiers subject of the present study differs in many respects from the (far more) productive class of Italian adverbs created from an adjective with the ‘derivational’ suffix *-mente*.¹ The main differences between these two classes of adverbs can be sketched as follow:

(a) Adverbs in *-mente* cannot be introduced by a prepositional element, whereas adverbs in *-one/i* can optionally be preceded by an adposition (in the majority of cases the preposition *a*, rarely the preposition *in*), as shown in (2):

- (2) a. *La gazzella corre velocemente / *a velocemente.*
 the.F gazelle run.PRS.3SG fast - P fast
 ‘The gazelle runs fast.’
- b. *La gazzella corre saltelloni / a saltelloni.*
 the.F gazelle run.PRS.3SG leaping / P leaping
 ‘The gazelle runs leaps and bounds.’

¹ Notice that the derivational ‘nature’ of adverbs in *-mente* has been recently questioned (see for instance Ricca 1998, for Italian; Dal 2007, for French; Fabregas 2007, and Torner 2005, who provide interesting arguments for analyzing *-mente* as a phrasal affix, for Spanish) but for the purpose of the present work we can adopt the traditional - i.e. derivational - view of Scalise (1990).

(b) Adverbs in *-mente* are invariantly ‘derived’ from corresponding adjectives (cf. Scalise 1990 also for the characterization of adjectival classes for which a derivation-operation is not applicable), while forms in *-one/i* are characterized by a marked ‘unpredictability’. As shown in (3), they can be derived from either nouns or verbs or adjectives (cf. Pieri 1904: 234-235).

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|-----|----|--|---|-----------------|
| (3) | a. | <i>brancoloni</i> ,
fumbling (fumble- <i>oni</i>), | <i>zoppiconi</i>
limping (limp- <i>oni</i>) | from verbs |
| | b. | <i>bocconi</i> ,
face down (mouth- <i>oni</i>), | <i>gattoni</i>
all fours (cat- <i>oni</i>) | from nouns |
| | c. | <i>gobboni</i> ,
hunched (hunched- <i>oni</i>) | <i>chinoni</i>
bowing (bowed- <i>oni</i>) | from adjectives |

(c) At least a subset of adverbs in *one/i* can be used (both in Old Italian and Contemporary Italian) as nominal modifiers, while adverbs in *-mente* can appear in a noun phrase only when modifying *nominal infinitives* (with a set of exception not addressed here because not relevant for the present discussion, cf. Skytte et al. 1991; Zucchi 1993; Nikitina 2011, for details). Consider the examples in (4):

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| (4) | a. | <p><i>[Correre velocemente] non ti salverà la vita /</i></p> <p>run.INF fast NEG CL.ACC.2SG save.FUT.3SG the.F life</p> <p><i>*la corsa velocemente...</i></p> <p>the.F run fast</p> <p>‘Running fast won’t save your life / the run fast...’</p> |
|-----|----|---|

- b. *Le lepri quando corrono portano [gli*
the.F.PL hares when run.PRS.3PL bring.PRS.3PL the.M.PL
orecchi giaccioni] sopra le spalle.
ears lay-oni on the.F.PL shoulders
‘Hares wear (have) the ears lying on their shoulders when they run.’
Libri astron. Alfonso X, c. 1341 (fior.)
- c. *[Con [le braccia (a) penzoloni]] sembravano tanti*
With the arms P dangling seem.IPFV.3PL a.lot.of.PL
spaventapasseri.
scarecrows
‘They seemed to be a lot of scarecrows, with the arms dangling.’
- d. *è cinta con una catena che à [il*
be.PRS.3SG crowned with a.F chain that have.PRS.3SG the.M
capo spenzolone] [...]
head hang.down-oni
‘It is crowned with a chain that has its top hanging down...’
Libri astron. Alfonso X, c. 1341 (fior.)

(d) Adverbs in *-one/i* -even those deriving from an adjective as in example (3c)- unlike adverbs in *-mente*, cannot have a comparative or an elative form, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. *Corro più velocemente di te / Corro*
run.PRS.1SG more fast of you.ACC run.PRS.1SG
velocissimamente
fast.ABS-SUP

'I run faster than you /I run very fast.'

- b. ?? *Cammino più gobboni di te/* **Cammino*
 walk.PRS.1SG more hunched of you.ACC walk.PRS.1SG
 gobbonissimo
 hunched.ABS-SUP

'I walk more hunch-backed than you/ I walk very hunch-backed.'

(e) Adverbs in *-one/i* can hardly co-occur in a given sentence, differently from adverbs in *-mente*:

- (6) a. ?**Ha camminato (a) bocconi (a) carponi*
 have.PRS.3SG walk.PST-PTCP P face.down P on.all.fours
 'She/he walked face down on all fours.'
- b. **Ha (a) bocconi camminato (a) carponi*
 have.PRS.3SG P face.down walk.PST-PTCP P on.all.fours
- c. *Cammina abitualmente velocemente*
 walk.PRS.3SG usually fast
 'She/He usually walks fast.'

This fact can be explained if we assume that adverbs in *-one/i* compete for the same merge position, possibly in the specifier of a *low* manner projection above VP (following e.g. Cinque 1999, 2006a; see also Schweikert 2005). This is also a reasonable explanation to the fact that they seem not to be 'very' productive both in Old and in Contemporary Italian.

(f) We have to notice that despite we personally find quite hard for an adverb in *-one/i* to be accompanied by degree modification, contrary to adverbs in *-mente* (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005, among others), both in the CORIS Corpus of Contemporary written Italian and in the OVI database of Old Italian, we have found several instances of this sort. See the examples in (7) and (8).

- (7) a. *Stavo vagando quasi a tentoni*
 be(stay).IPFV.1SG roaming almost P blindly
 ‘I was roaming almost blindly.’
- b. *Noi camminiamo un poco tentoni*
 we walk.prs.1pl a bit blindly
 ‘We walk a bit blindly.’
- c. *Sono abbastanza a carponi*
 be.prs.1sg quite P on.all.fours
 ‘I am quite on all fours.’
- (8) a. *andando quasi brancicone strascinandosi per la*
 going almost gropingly crawling.REFL for the.F
chiesa [...]
 church
 ‘... going almost gropingly, crawling themselves to the church...’
 Cavalca, Dialogo S. Greg., a. 1342 (pis.)
- b. *[...] in sul quale appena brancicone si poteva salire [...]*
 in on REL quite gropingly CL.IMPS can.IPFV.1SG climb.INF
 ‘... on which we can climb quite gropingly.’
 Cavalca, Vite eremiti, 1321-30 (pis.>fior.)

A survey we have conducted among Florentine speakers go against our doubts concerning the grammaticality of the constructions in (7): it seems that most speakers find them ‘slightly degraded but definitely acceptable’ and only few people (including ourselves) reject the application of degree modification.

(g) There is a very interesting difference concerning the respective possible position(s) in the clause of adverbs in *-mente* vs. adverbs in *-one/i*: while the former can occur sentence-internally, the latter cannot. Consider the examples in (9) and (10):

- (9) a. *Ha mangiato un gelato (a) carponi*
have.PRS.3SG eat.PST-PTCP ART ice-cream P on.all.fours
‘She/He has eaten an ice-cream on all fours.’
- b. **?Ha (a) carponi mangiato un gelato*
have.PRS.3SG P on.all.fours eat.PST-PTCP ART ice-cream
- c. *Ha telefonato a Gianni (a) tentoni*
have.PRS.3SG phone.PST-PTCP to Gianni P gropingly
‘She/he has called Gianni by phone gropingly’.
- d. *?*Ha (a) tentoni telefonato a Gianni*
have.PRS.3SG P gropingly phone.PST-PTCP to Gianni
- (10) a. *Ha mangiato un gelato rapidamente*
have.PRS.3SG eat.PST-PTCP ART ice-cream fast
‘She/He has quickly eaten an ice-cream.’
- b. *Ha rapidamente mangiato un gelato*

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| | have.PRS.3SG | fast | | eat.PST-PTCP | ART | ice-cream |
|--|--------------|------|--|--------------|-----|-----------|
- c. *Ha* *telefonato* *immediatamente* *a* *Gianni*
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----------------|--|-------------|--|----|--------|
| | have.PRS.3SG | phone.PST-PTCP | | immediately | | to | Gianni |
|--|--------------|----------------|--|-------------|--|----|--------|
- ‘She/He immediately phoned Gianni.’
- d. *Ha* *immediatamente* *telefonato* *a* *Gianni*
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------|--|----------------|--|----|--------|
| | have.PRS.3SG | immediately | | phone.PST-PTCP | | to | Gianni |
|--|--------------|-------------|--|----------------|--|----|--------|

Interestingly, it is a well-known empirical observation that (in head-initial languages) adverbs can occur sentence-internally while the corresponding PP adverbials cannot (see, among others, Jackendoff 1977; Sportiche 1994; Cinque 2004, 2006a). Consider the examples below from English, French and Italian, taken from Cinque (2004: 699):

- (11) a. *He has <ever since> stopped smoking <ever since>*
 b. *He has <*ever since he was thirteen> stopped smoking <ever since he was thirteen>*
- (12) a. *Marie a <très lentement> mangé sa soupe <très lentement>*
 b. *Marie a <*d’une manière lente> mangé sa soupe <d’une manière lente>*
- (13) a. *Gianni si è <brevemente> trattenuto <brevemente>*
 b. *Gianni si è <*per breve tempo> trattenuto <per breve tempo>*

Cinque (2004; cf. also Belletti and Rizzi 2012) argues that both Italian adverb and the

corresponding PP adverbial in (13) are merged in the same specifier position² (within an extended functional skeleton *stretched* above the verb, along the lines of Cinque 1999) and that ‘*their ultimate different location in the sentence is due to their different licensing conditions*’ (Cinque 2004: 700). Specifically, according to Cinque’s view, *-mente* adverbs are licensed *in situ*, in the specifier position of a corresponding dedicated functional head, while -following Kayne (2002; 2004)- PP adverbials require the insertion of a preposition as Case licenser, which in turn attracts the VP to its specifier position.³ Being so –namely, assuming leftward movement of a ‘verbal chunk’ past the adverbial PP- the PP ends up in post-verbal position.⁴

Interestingly, adverbs in *-one/i* seem to behave like PP adverbials irrespectively of the presence of a preposition in front of them, as shown in (9) and (10). Notice that, if one accepts Kayne (2005: fn.2; cf. also Cinque 2004: 699-701; Emonds 1976)’s idea that

² That adverbs in *-mente* and the corresponding adverbial PPs can be in competition for the same merge position is possibly suggested by the fact that they cannot occur together in the same sentence (cf. Cinque 2004: 700), as shown in the ungrammatical example in (i):

(i) *Gianni si è brevemente trattenuto per breve tempo. ‘Gianni briefly stayed for a while’

³ Basically, according to Kayne (2004; 2005) prepositions are part of the extended projection of the verb and PPs are gathered ‘derivationally’.

⁴ According to Belletti and Rizzi (2012), the PP adverbial weakly intervenes in an Agree relation between the functional head bearing phi-features for subject agreement and the vP-internal subject. They argue that the ‘interference’ can be avoided by moving the verbal chunk past the PP (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 2012: 130-131).

adverbial suffixes (e.g. English *-ly*; Italian *-mente*) which attach to adjectives (possibly to adjectival phrases, cf. Torner 2005) are nominal in nature (hence not needing the insertion of a preposition to satisfy their Case requirements), the behaviour of adverbs of the *carpone/i* type, namely the optional presence of a prepositional element in front of them, weakens a possible *nominal-related* interpretation of the suffix *-one/i* (we will discuss further the ‘nominal hypothesis’ and the facts against it in sections 3-4 below). Recently, Rizzi and Belletti (2012) have criticized Kayne (2004; 2005)’s view, namely the insertion of a preposition as Case licenser for PP adverbials as the fact responsible for the obligatory movement of the ‘verbal chunk’, arguing that the distributional differences between adverbs and corresponding PP adverbials can be accounted for considering that the relevant property in order to explain the ungrammaticality (or markedness) of PP forms is the *nominal* character of the adverbial involved in the derivation (and not its prepositional nature).

Consider the examples in (14), taken from Belletti and Rizzi (2012: 131-132):

- (14)
- a. Gianni ha di nuovo mangiato (la pasta)
Gianni has of-new (again) eaten (pasta)
 - b. Gianni ha mangiato (la pasta) di nuovo
Gianni has eaten (pasta) of-new (again)
 - c. ?* Gianni ha di corsa mangiato (la pasta)
Gianni has of-run (rapidly) eaten (pasta)
 - d. Gianni ha mangiato (la pasta) di corsa
Gianni has eaten (pasta) of-run (rapidly)
 - e. Gianni ha all’improvviso capito (il problema)
Gianni has to the-sudden (suddenly) understood (the problem)

- f. Gianni ha capito (il problema) all'improvviso
Gianni has understood (the problem) to the-sudden (suddenly)
- g. ?* Gianni ha alla rinfusa spiegato (il problema)
Gianni has to the-disorder (roughly) explained (the problem)
- h. Gianni ha spiegato (il problema) alla rinfusa
Gianni has explained (the problem) to the-disorder (roughly)

Rizzi and Belletti (2012) argue that if the PP adverbial contains an adjective -as in example (14 a,e)- it can be naturally located between the auxiliary and the past participle, just like the corresponding form in *-mente*.

Anyway, it is interesting to notice that the nominal nature of an adverbial item seem not to be a crucial feature to determine 'intervention effects' in which an adverbial situated clause-internally leads to ungrammaticality. Indeed, adverbial CPs -which do not have a counterpart in *-mente* but do have a PP adverbial counterpart- behave exactly like PP adverbials and adverbs in *-one/i* (which, as shown in (3), may be derived either from nouns, verbs or adjectives) and cannot appear sandwiched between the auxiliary and the past participle.

- (15) a. *Si è avvicinato impaurito*
REFL be.PRS.3SG come.closer.PST-PTCP scare.PST-PTCP
'He came closer scared.'
- b. *Si è avvicinato con paura*
REFL be.PRS.3SG come.close.PST-PTCP with fear
'He came closer with fear/scared.'
- c. **Si è impaurito avvicinato*

- REFL be.PRS.3SG scare.PST-PTCP come.closer.PST-PTCP
- d. **?Si è con paura avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG with fear come.close.PST-PTCP
- e. *Si è avvicinato correndo*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG come.closer.PST-PTCP running
- ‘He came closer running.’
- f. *Si è avvicinato di corsa*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG come.closer.PST-PTCP of run
- ‘He came closer running.’
- g. **Si è correndo avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG running come.closer.PST-PTCP
- h. **Si è di corsa avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG of run come.closer.PST-PTCP
- i. *Si è avvicinato (a) tentoni*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG come.closer.PST-PTCP P gropingly
- ‘He gropingly came closer.’
- j. *?*Si è (a) tentoni avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG P gropingly come.closer.PST-PTCP
- k. *Si è delicatamente avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG softly come.closer.PST-PTCP
- ‘He softly came closer.’
- l. **Si è con delicatezza avvicinato*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG with softness come.closer.PST-PTCP
- m. *Si è avvicinato delicatamente*
- REFL be.PRS.3SG come.closer.PST-PTCP softly

‘He softly came closer.’

n.	<i>Si</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>avvicinato</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>delicatezza</i>
	REFL	be.PRS.3SG	come.closer.PST-PTCP with		softness

‘He softly came with softness.’

Furthermore, Belletti and Rizzi (2012)’s idea that the projection of nominal features to the PP node has a key role to determine intervention effects, does not explain puzzling discrepancies like the following:⁵

⁵ It is possible to object that adjectives in the VP in the example (16) enter a different configuration. Possibly, they may be considered as instances of ‘(depictive) secondary predication’ with different structural properties (e.g. entering a ‘shell’ structure, for which see e.g. Larson (1989), or, alternatively, being part of a small clause selected by the verb, for which see e.g. Kayne (1984, 1994).

However, Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann (2005) have shown that, in typological perspective, (agent-oriented) manner adverbials are often *morphologically* indistinguishable from depictive secondary predicates and this fact can be seen as evidence for a common modifying nature (and an analogous merge position) of the adverbs and the adjectives in (16). Consider, for instance, the Hungarian examples in (i) below, where the adjunct is marked by the adverbial suffix *-en* in all three cases:

- (i) a. *Tamás szép-en énekel. (manner adverb)*
 Tom beautiful-ADV sings
 ‘Tom sings beautifully.’
- b. *Mari nyers-en ette meg a hal-at. (depictive)*
 Mary raw-ADV ate ASP the fish-ACC
 ‘Mary ate the fish raw.’

- (16) a. *Ha nervosamente mangiato*
have.PRS.3SG nervously eat.PST-PTCP
‘She/he has nervously eaten.’
- b. **Ha nervosa/o mangiato*
have.PRS.3SG nervously(ADJ.F/M) eat.PST-PTCP
- c. *Ha mangiato nervosamente*
have.PRS.3SG eat.PST-PTCP nervously
- d. *Ha mangiato nervosa/o*
have.PRS.3SG eat.PST-PTCP nervously(ADJ.F/M)
- e. *È velocemente corso all’ ospedale*
be.PRS.3SG fast run.PST-PTCP to-the hospital
‘He ran fast to the hospital.’
- f. **È veloce corso all’ ospedale*
be.PRS.3SG fast.ADJ run.PST-PTCP to-the hospital
- g. *E’ corso velocemente all’ ospedale*
be.PRS.3SG run.PST-PTCP fast to-the hospital
- h. *È corso veloce all’ ospedale*
be.PRS.3SG run.PST-PTCP fast.ADJ to-the hospital

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- c. *Péter mérges-en ment el. (ambiguous)*
Peter angry-ADV went away
‘Peter left angrily.’
(de Groot 2008: 72)

If the ungrammaticality/markedness of adverbial modifiers is confined to those items which bear nominal features, it is not easy to explain the ungrammaticality of clause-internal ‘bare’ adjective modifiers as in (16b,f).

As an interim summary, we may say the following: we have shown that adverbs in *–one/i* behave very differently from adverbs in *–mente*. We have seen that, interestingly, adverbs signalling bodily movements and postures share *configurational* properties with both PP adverbials and CP adverbials. These findings are unexpected: being the result of a (albeit no more productive) morphological process, it would be reasonable to find them (relatively) *alike* to adverbs in *–mente*.

In the next section we will show some intriguing diachronic fact concerning adverbs in *–one/i* and, then, in the following one, we will try to account for the similarities among them, CP adverbial and PP adverbials. Our idea, given the data provided above is that, relying on Kayne (2004; 2005) and Cinque (2004; 2006a) both adverbs in *–one/i* and CP adverbials (exactly like PP ones) need to be case licensed via a (possibly covert, *internally* merged) prepositional device. Basing on recent work by Gallego (2010), we will try to delineate the underlying mechanism involved in such a process.

3. The evolutionary path of adverbs in –one/i

Turning our attention to the *evolution* in the behaviour and distribution of adverbs in *–one/i*, we have to observe a set of interesting facts that characterize the *path* from Old Florentine to Contemporary Italian.

First of all, the most widespread form in Old Italian was the one in *-one* (74.8% [110] vs. 25.2% [37] in *-oni* of the Old Florentine occurrences I have retrieved from the OVI Corpus). Consider the examples collected in (17).⁶

The situation is completely reversed in Contemporary Italian: the form in *-oni* is absolutely predominant according to the entries in CORIS (on a total of 1744 adverbs of bodily movements and postures that I have retrieved, only 67 retain the form *in -one*, precisely the 3.8% of occurrences).

Notice also in (17c) the *reduplication* of the adverb in *-one*, which is a tendency quite widespread also in Contemporary Italian.

- (17) a. [...] *e andando carpone infino presso le*
and going on.all.fours. up.to nearby the.PL.F
donne di Ripole il condusse.
women of Ripole CL.3SG.ACC lead.PST.3SG
‘... and, going on all fours, he led him to the women of Ripole’
Boccaccio, Decameron, c. 1370
- b. [...] *mi levai ritto in piede del luogo*
REFL stand.up.PRS.1SG straight in foot of-the place
ov' era stato ginocchione innanzi
where be.IPFV.1SG be(stay).PTCP.PST down.on.knees in.front
alle Virtudi [...]
of-the virtue.PL

⁶ Heinemann (2001) collected ca. 330 adverbs in *-one/i* from the OVI database, but she included in her sample every Old Tuscan variety. As already pointed out, following recent insights from Renzi and Salvi (2010), we choose to limit the present survey to Old Florentine.

'I stood up straight out of the place where I was on my knees in front of
Virtues...'

Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, a. 1292 (fior.)

c. *Quando* *il* *cherico* *ha* *veduto e* *udito il*
when the clergyman have.PRS.3SG seen and heard the
fatto, catalone *catalone,* *se* *ne* *va [...]*
event slowly slowly, REFL of-it.CL go.PRS.3SG

'when the clergyman saw and heard the event, he slowly goes away...'

Sacchetti, Trecentonovelle, XIV sm. (fior.)

With regards to the issue *-one* vs. *-oni*, Pieri (1904: 234) wrote:

'E come con questi avverbi accade di rappresentare molto più spesso il modo d'andare e di stare proprio d'una sola che quello di più persone, ciò che sarà ben chiaro a chiunque sotto le singole voci risconterà gli esempi del Vocabolario; così risulta giustificato l'uso, prevalente in antico, del singolare (-one), ma anche abbiamo ragione della concomitanza del plurale (-oni)'.⁷

⁷ Tentative translation: 'And as with these adverbs, it happens to represent more often the movement and posture of a single person, it will be clear to anyone that the singular form is the one that has been included in the entries of the Vocabulary; then it is justified the use, prevalent in ancient times, of the singular form (-one), but also the presence of the plural form (-oni) is attested.'

Actually, also in Old Italian there wasn't a 'number' correspondence / agreement with the connected verbal form, as shown in (18).⁸

- (18) a. *I pedoni degli Aretini si metteano*
 the.PL infantrymen of.the.PL Aretini REFL put.IPFV.3PL
carpone sotto i ventri de' cavalli [...]
 on.all.fours under the.PL stomachs of-the horses
 'The infantrymen of Arezzo put themselves on all fours under the horses...'
 Dino Compagni, Cronica, 1310-12 (fior.)
- b. *[...] piangevano, e stavano boccone in terra [...]*
 cry.IPFV.3PL and stay.IPFV.3PL face.down in ground
 'they were crying, and lying face down on the ground...'
 Ottimo, Purg., a. 1334 (fior.)
- c. *Ai! Quante donne e donzelle stavano*
 INTERJ how.may ladies and girls stay.IPFV.3PL
ginocchione [...]
 on.their.knees
 'What a lot of ladies and girls were down on their knees...'
 Distr. Troia, XIII ex. (fior.)

⁸ As already notes by Pieri (1904: 234,fn. 3) -for what concerns Italian dialects- interestingly, Venetian shows only the 'singular' form of all the adverbs in *-oni* (e.g. *a piudolon*, by foot; *a toržion*, playing around; *de rebalton*, bumping).

If we were dealing with a suffix bearing nominal features, it would be reasonable to find a perfect correspondence in number features, just like, for instance, in the case of adjectival predicates, modifying the VP in (19a) (cf. also Katz 2003):

- (19) a. *Le* *ragazze* *camminavano* *lente/*o/*i/*a*
 the.F.PL girls walk.IPFV.3PL slow.F.PL/M.SG/M.PL/F.SG
 ‘The girls walked slowly’
- b. *Le* *ragazze* *camminavano* *lentamente*
 the.F.PL girls walk.IPFV.3PL slowly
 ‘The girls walked slowly’

Moreover, gender agreement (again, clearly expected in Italian if we deal with nominal forms) is never attested- see example (20) below- even if we have to note that, as shown in Grandi (2003), augmentative suffixes with analogous phonological form have a tendency toward gender *mismatches* (e.g. *donna* -> *donn-one_M*) in Italian:

- (20) *La* *ragazza_F* *camminava* *carpone/i/*a_F*
 the.F girl walk.IPFV.3SG on.all.fours
 ‘The girl walked on all four.’

Grandi (2003) has also shown that the nominal suffix *-one* is not only used as an augmentative morpheme (i.e. exhibiting the peculiar properties of evaluative morphology, for which see Scalise 1989; Stump 1993). He argued that the morpheme *-one* –in the nominal domain- enters a full set of derivational processes that can be

sketched as follows (cf. Grandi 2003: 244; fn.3). Notice that Grandi did not mention adverbs in *-one/i* as part of a possible ‘related’ derivational process:⁹

- (21) a. $N_{[-anim]-one} > N_{[+hum].M}$
capellone, hippie; *straccione*, beggar
- b. $N_{[-hum]-one} > N_{[+hum].M}$
farfallone, philanderer; *pecorone*, *blockhead*
- c. $A_{-one} > N_{[+hum].M}$
allegrone, funster; *buffone*, jester
- d. $V_{-one} > N_{[+hum].M}$

⁹ Grandi (2003) argues that *-one* is a polysemic suffix, whose original meaning is precisely the one expressed by forms such as *straccione*, *allegrone* and *chiacchierone*. The evaluative use of the suffix *-one* has been acquired ‘later’ in Italian, given a phenomenon of ‘semantic proximity’. The reason for such an approach is that Italian suffix *-one* clearly derives from the very productive derivational Latin suffix *-(i)o*, *-(i)ōnis* (cf. also Gaide 1988), mainly used to form animate nouns designing “*individui caratterizzati dal possesso di una qualità, normalmente fisica, particolare o dalla consuetudine, spesso eccessiva, nello svolgimento di una particolare azione* (individuals characterized by the possession of a quality -usually physical, special- or a custom -often excessive- in the performance of a particular action).” (Grandi 2003: 249). Latin did not have an evaluative suffix, and then *-one* would have been subject to a diachronic process of reanalysis in Italian (cf. also Heinimann 2001).

Hence, given, the fact that *-one* is a sort of ‘multipurpose’ item in the Italian nominal domain, a possible way of reasoning could be to consider adverbs in *-one/i* as noun-based (derived) (depictive) modifiers of the VP. Anyway, there are many reasons to reject such view and they are shown/will be showed in the course of the present work.

chiacchierone, chatterbox; *mangione*, big eater

- e. V_{-one} > N_{[-anim].M}

ribaltone, sudden change in political alliances

- f. A_{-one} > N_[-anim]

pienone, full house

- g. NP_{-one} > N_[+hum]

buontempone, joker (lit. good time-one)

- h. VP_{-one} > N_[+hum]

fannullone, loafer (lit. do-nothing-one)

Then, very interestingly, whereas in Old Italian most of the times (precisely, basing on the Old Florentine data, we have collected the 85 % [125/147] of occurrences) adverbs in *-one/i* were mainly used as ‘bare’ modifiers, as shown in the examples in (17) and (18) above,¹⁰ in contemporary Italian the situation seems to be less clear. Take for

¹⁰ Interestingly, adverbs *tentone* (gropingly) and *cavalcione* (astride) behaved differently for other forms in *-one*. I have found three Old Florentine tokens of *tentone* in the OVI database, and all of them appear with a preposition. I have also found two tokens of *cavalcione*, both introduced by an adpositional item (also considering other Old Tuscan varieties, the OVI corpus includes 6 tokens of *cavalcione*, invariantly preceded by the preposition *a*).

- (i) ...e a *tentone* *dirittamente* al letto dove il
and P gropingly straight to-the bed where the
marito *dormiva* se n' andò.
husband sleep.IPFV.3SG REFL CL.of-it go.PST.3SG
‘...and she gropingly went straight to the bed where the husband was sleeping.’

instance, the case of *tastoni* (gropingly) and *gattoni* (on all fours), both unattested in Old Florentine texts. There are 60 tokens of *tastoni* in the CORIS database and this adverb occurs only 5 times [8.3%] without the preposition *a*. On the contrary, *gattoni* appears in the CORIS 29 times and only 7 occurrences [24.1%] are introduced by an adpositional element.¹¹ Globally, in the CORIS database of written Italian adverbs in *-one/i* appear with a preposition 912/1744 [52.3%] of the times.

This fact is quite intriguing because just a century ago Pieri (1904: 232), arguing (again) against the ‘nominal’ nature of these forms, observed:

‘All’origine nominale [...] di queste voci avverbiali contrasta anche il fatto [...] che esse, come insegna la storia dell’italiano, non ebbero da principio, e non hanno ora par la maggior parte e il più delle volte, dinanzi a se alcuna preposizione; in guisa che questi nomi, nel loro ufficio di complementi di modo o maniera, sarebbero ridotti alla condizione

Boccaccio, Decameron c. 1370.

(ii)	<i>In</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>cammello</i>	<i>quasi</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>cavalcione</i>	<i>legato</i>	<i>a</i>
	In	on	a	camel	almost	P	astride	tied	to
	<i>certi</i>	<i>legni...</i>							
	certain	pieces.of.wood							

‘Almost astride on a camel, tied to certain pieces of wood...’

Lionardo Frescobaldi, Viaggio, 1385, fior.

¹¹ In contemporary written Italian, there are other adverbs of this class that are still preferentially used as ‘bare’ modifiers. For example, *ginocchioni* appears in the CORIS database with a preposition (*a* or *in*) only 2/29 [6.9%] times and *carponi* appears with the preposition *a* only 18/186 [9.7 %] times.

d'accusativi assoluti alla greca! Si possono infatti usare con la preposizione, ma più spesso ne son privi, soltanto: balzelloni, ciondoloni, dondolone-i, ruzzoloni, saltellone -i, sdrajone-i, tastone e tentone -i, voltoloni [...]. Usato sempre con la prep. non trovo se non l'arc. a spizzicone'.¹²

Thus, it seems that in Contemporary Italian we have faced a sudden shift from (-prep) forms to (+prep) forms.

Given these synchronic and diachronic observations concerning the adverbial class of *carponi, gobboni, ciondoloni*, it is timely to advance a possible morpho-syntactic analysis capable to account for their behaviour.

4. A morpho-syntactic account: the inner P value of adverbial modifiers.

A first and crucial observation is that –starting from Old Italian– (at least) deverbal adverbs in *-one/i* are in complementary distribution with non-finite gerund forms of a *matching* verb. See the examples below, taken from the OVI database (notice that as far as concerns the examples in (22a,b), the verb *carpare* is unattested in Modern Italian):

¹² Tentative translation: ‘To the nominal origin of these forms, it contrasts also the fact that –as the History of Italian language shows- they had not in origin and still they do not have in the majority of cases a preposition in front of them; in such a way that these ‘nouns’, in their office of complements of manner, would be reduced to the condition of (*ancient*) Greek accusative absolute! Indeed, we can only use with a preposition (but in the majority of the cases they appear without it): *balzelloni, ciondoloni, dondolone-i, ruzzoloni, saltellone -i, sdrajone-i, tastone e tentone -i, voltoloni*. The only item that appears always with the preposition is the archaic *spizzicone* (hardly).’

- (22) a. *Sì mi spronaron le parole sue, / ch' i'*
 so CL.1SG.ACC spur.PST.3PL the.F.PL words his COMP I
mi sforzai carpando appresso lui/
 REFL strain.PST.1SG scrambling (on.all.four) behind him
 'These words of his so spurred me on, that I Strained every nerve, behind
 him scrambling up...'

Dante, *Commedia*, a. 1321

- b. [...] *l' un de l' altro giacea, e qual*
 The one of the other lay.IPFV.3SG and REL
carpone / si trasmutava per lo tristo calle.
 crawling (on.all.four) REFL shift.IPFV.3SG for the sad road
 'One of the other lay, and others crawling shifted themselves along the
 dismal road'.

Dante, *Commedia*, a. 1321

- c. [...] *cominciò a andar brancolando per la casa [...]*
 start.PST.3SG COMP go.INF groping for the.F house
 '... he started to grope around the house...'

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1370

- d. *e cominciò brancolone a cercare [...]*
 and start.PST.3SG gropingly COMP search.INF
 'and he started to gropingly search...'

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, c. 1370

Moreover, another possibility -interestingly attested for denominal adverbs in *-one-* was the alternation with a non-finite past participial form, as shown below in (23).

- (23) a. *crepòe mezzo ginocchiato, sozzando quelle parti*
 die.PST.3SG half on.knees.PST-PTCP getting.dirty that.F. parts
con le quali egli negava Cristo [...]
 with theF.PL REL he deny.IPFV.3SG Christ
 ‘He died (half) on his knees, getting the parts of the body with which he
 was denying Christ dirty.’
 Ottimo, Par., a. 1334 (fior.)
- b. *Adriano dice a l' Autore, che*
 Adriano say.PRS.3SG to the author COMP
stia diritto, non ginocchione.
 stay(be).SBJV.3SG straight not on.his.knees
 ‘Adriano says to the Author to stand up straight, not on his knees.’
 Ottimo, Purg., a. 1334 (fior.)
- c. [...] *stando col corpo ritto ovvero*
 staying with-the body erect or
ginocchiato
 on.knees.PST-PTCP
 ‘... Standing with the body erect or on knees.’
 Teologia Mistica, 1356/67 (sen.)

Thus, the suffix *-one/i* is likely to share distributional properties with the gerund suffix *-ndo* and the past participle suffix *-to*. As already pointed out in Pieri (1904: 232) it is quite hard to adhere to the idea (cf. Heinimann 1953; Pharies 1997; cf. also Meyer-Lübke 1896) that the adverbial suffix *-one/i* is actually an augmentative suffix (for in-

depth analyses of the homophonic *augmentative* morpheme *-one* in Italian see e.g. Napoli & Reynolds 1995; Dressler and Merlini-Barbaresi 1994; Grandi 2002, 2003). As Pieri correctly observed:

*'Rimangono [...] diversi esemplari, come brancolone e arc. brancicone, cavalcione e tentone, i quali non potrebbero senza sforzo esser considerati come accrescitivi, giacchè non abbiamo qui un sost. *bràncolo -a o *bràncico -a, né un *cavalcio -a, né un *tentone -a, onde ci sia consentito il ripeterli'.¹³*

A further and crucial reason to reject this idea is their (aforementioned) possible - definitely prevalent in Old Florentine- use without a preposition, which, on the contrary, in Italian is necessarily employed in adverbial phrases/idioms involving a noun (so-called *locuzioni avverbiali*, cf. Ramaglia 2010; Cinque 2004), as shown in (24):

- (24) a. *Gianni conosce alla lettera la partitura*
 Gianni know.PRS.3SG to-the letter the score'
 'Gianni knows the score to the letter.'
- b. **Gianni conosce (la) lettera la partitura*

To sum up the arguments against a nominal (and evaluative) view of adverbs ending with the suffix *-one/i*, we may say that:

¹³ Tentative translation: 'There are several examples, such as *brancolone* and archaic *brancicone*, *cavalcione* and *tentone*, which could not be considered as augmentative without effort, due to the fact that we do not have here nouns such as **bràncolo -a* or **bràncico -a*, or **cavalcio -a*, or **tentone -a*, if we are allowed to repeat them.'

- a) Adverbs in *-one/i* can stand as bare modifiers, while nominal items require a prepositional device to enter as modifiers the Italian VP.
- b) Adverbs in *one/i* do not display gender/number agreement, contrary to what expected for nominal forms.
- c) Adverbs in *one/i* can only be modified (and not for all speakers, cf. paragraph 2 above) by degree modification. Also, comparing adverbs in *-one/i* with idiomatic expressions (cf. *locuzioni avverbiali* such as *a buon mercato*, down-market or *a bella posta*, on purpose), we do not find corresponding forms in *-one/i* modified by an adjective (**a buon carpone*; **a bei tentoni*).
- d) Specifically against the ‘evaluative hypothesis’, we may say that the application of evaluative morphology do not change the category of the items involved in the process. But, we have seen above that we have many instances of deverbal and deadjectival forms in *-one/i*.

In recent work Gallego (2010), relying on previous work by Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) and Pesetsky and Torrego (2001; 2004), has convincingly shown that non-finite forms (i.e. past participles and gerunds) incorporate a preposition as a result of the interaction between the categories C and T (or, possibly, in a AspP in a more layered configuration *à la Cinque* 1999 and subsequent works), which can manifest itself as a sort of preposition above the complementizer in non-finite contexts (for theoretical arguments and crosslinguistic data motivating set of *layers* above C see e.g. Müller and Sternefeld 1995; Manzini and Savoia 2003, 2011; Roussou 2010; Franco 2012a). This interpretation is quite appealing and can be assumed for the representation of (at least) the sub-set of deverbal adverbs of the *carponi*, *brancoloni* type.

In particular, Gallego (2010) assumes that there is a syntactic dependency between C and T in non-finite verbal forms, and that this fact is manifested either as *long-distance Agree* in the case of infinitives, or as *internal Merge* (i.e. movement) in the case of gerunds and past participles (cf. Chomsky 2001):¹⁴

(25) a. $[_{CP} C^* \dots [_{TP} T \dots [_{v^*P} v^* \dots]]]$ INFINITIVE *Agree* (C, T)



b. $[_{PP} P [_{CP} C^* \dots [_{TP} t_T \dots [_{v^*P} v^* \dots]]]]$ GERUND *Internal Merge* (C, T)



c. $[_{PP} P [_{CP} C^* \dots [_{TP} t_T \dots [_{v^*P} v \dots]]]]$ PARTICIPLE *Internal Merge* (C, T)

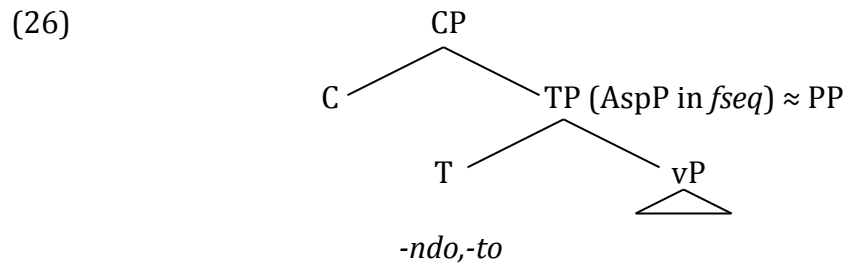


As shown in (25), Gallego (2010: 90-91) assumes that T manifests itself as a P in non-finite contexts. Crucially, this T to P *shift* only holds for gerunds and past participles. To account for the morpho-syntactic properties of these non-finite forms, he propose that the Spanish gerund suffix *-ndo* (the same form as the Italian one) and the past participle suffix *-do/a* (*-to/a* in Italian) have the *inner* nature of a preposition,¹⁵ leading to a

¹⁴ Following Gallego (2010: 86; cf. also Torrego 1998; Gallego 2009), we use here the * superscript to indicate ϕ -completeness in both v and C.

¹⁵ As empirical evidence, we may observe that gerunds are spelled-out as a preposition plus a nominal-like structure in many non-interrelated languages. Consider the Basque example below.

possible representation like the one roughly sketched in (26).



Our idea, supported by the facts reported in (22) and (23), by the intuition that in Contemporary Italian (not only deverbal) adverbs in *-oni* may ‘compete’ with non finite

(i)	Jon	leihoa	apur-tze-n	dago. (Basque)
	Jon-ABS	window-ABS	break-NOM.LOC	be-3.SG.ABS
	‘John is breaking the window’			
	(Gallego 2010:88)			

Furthermore, interestingly in Old Italian (roughly until the XVIII century) gerunds form of verbs of motion may be introduced by a preposition (possibly signalling a layered ‘spatial’ configuration [Path>Place] within the prepositional domain, cf. Svenonius 2007, 2008; Cinque 2010a):

(ii)	<i>Però</i>	<i>pur</i>	<i>va,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>andando ascolta</i>
	but	although	go.PRS.3SG	and	P	going listen-to.PRS.3SG
	‘So still go onward, and in going listen.’					
	Dante, <i>Commedia</i> , a. 1321					

verbal forms employed as adverbial modifiers,¹⁶ and by the problems that –as we have shown- an evaluative explanation face, is precisely that in the suffix *-one/i* is in a sort of complementary distribution with gerunds and/or participial suffixes, and was dedicated specifically to a semantically well-defined subset of ‘predicates’, namely the one signalling bodily movements and postures:

(27) TP ≈ PP → *-ndo, -to, -one/i*

The hypothesis sketched in (27) is good to explain the original absence of the preposition before this kind of adverbs in Old Italian (especially in the older texts from the XIII century in the OVI database the use of these adverbs with a preposition is unattested, with 0/16 occurrences in Old Florentine).

The presence of denominal adverbs of the *ginocchione* type (and also deadjectival forms

¹⁶ For instance in (Contemporary) Italian the meaning of an adverb ending with the suffix *-oni* (also denominal or deadjectival) may be easily carried by a corresponding non finite verbal form, as shown in (i)

- (i) a. *E' arrivato gattoni / è arrivato gattonando*
 is arrived on.all.four is arrived crawling
 ‘He arrived crawling (on all fours)’

denominal

- b. *Camminava chinoni / camminava chinato/a*
 walk.ipfv.3sg bowing walk.ipfv.3sg bow.PTCP.PST.M/F
 ‘She/He was walking bowed.’

deadjectival

of the *gobbone* type) in this class of adverbs is not a problem for such an analysis, if we adopt a view (quite widespread in current theoretical linguistics) that traces a strict parallelism between the verbal phrase and the nominal phrase (see, among others, Emonds 1985; 2009 and for more ‘layered’ ideas Bittner and Hale 1996 or Caha 2009).

- (28) a. [CP C [TP T [VP V ...]]]
 b. [PP P [DP D [NP N ...]]]

Notice that, following the *parallel* architecture of the noun phrase in (28b), we may assume that the suffix *-one/i* is generated in D (hence *competing* with determiners), for what concerns the subset of *denominal* adverbs signalling bodily movements and potures. This fact would be plausibly explain why adverbs in *-oni* never co-occur in Italian with a determiner, namely with an ‘inflected’ preposition (*preposizione articolata*), as shown in (29):

- (29) a. **Il ragazzo è caduto al(ai) boccone/i*
 the.M boy be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.PST at-the face.down
 ‘The boy has been fallen on his face.’
 b. **Maria è scesa al(ai) carpone/i*
 Maria be.PRS.3SG go.down.PTCP.PST.F at-the on.all.fours
 ‘Maria went down on all fours.’
 c. **Gianni si è messo nel(i) ginocchione/i*
 Gianni REFL be.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.PST in-the down.on.knees
 ‘Guanni got on his knees.’

Notice also that there is an ‘alternative’ implementation of the parallelism between VPs and NPs (the one precisely followed by Gallego 2010), originally suggested by Szabolcsi (1992),¹⁷ who has considered C as symmetrical to D and not to P, as shown in (30).

- (30) a. [CP C [TP T [VP V ...]]]
 b. [DP D [PP (P) [NP N ...]]]

Assuming this viewpoint the suffix *-oni* in adverbs of the *gattoni*, *ginocchioni* type would be generated in P and the (optional) preposition that surfaces above the adverb would be available through a P extra-layer above D, with an architecture perfectly analogous to the one illustrated in (25b,c). Notice that the structure in (30b), if right, may also easily explain via the *mirror principle* (Cf. Baker 1988; Belletti 1990; Julien 2002) the P-D order of *preposizioni articolate* (e.g. *del*, of-the, *alla*, to-the.F) in Italian.¹⁸

Even if the latter option may *prima facie* seem more appealing, for the purpose of the present work we can remain agnostic toward the two alternative hypotheses illustrated above in (28) and (30). Actually, the relevant fact here is that the suffix *-oni/-one* is generated in an intermediate position, capable to trigger a syntactic *dependency* with the

¹⁷ Szabolcsi (1992), basing on a set of empirical data from Hungarian, suggests that “*both complementizers and articles are subordinators in that they serve to enable "proposition" to act as an argument*”.

¹⁸ As an empirical generalization, the Mirror Principle predicts that “*the order of morphemes in a complex word reflects the natural syntactic embedding of the heads that correspond to those morphemes*” (Baker 2002: 326).

higher *edge* of an extended projection (e.g. internally merged as P or, potentially, as D).

In principle, this position could be also a precategorial *LexP* (De Belder et al. 2012), structurally motivating the surface appearance of the adverbial suffix as an alleged/interfering augmentative morpheme.¹⁹

So far, we have traced a parallelism among gerunds (traditionally, *verbal adverbs*), past participles (traditionally *verbal adjectives*) and adverb in *-one/i* and we have extended such a parallelism to the noun phrase. This hypothesis motivates the original lack (i.e. in XIII century's Italian) of a preposition acting as a *relational item* between the verbs and the form in *-one/i* (being *-one/i* itself the realization of a *relational* category).

This idea is particularly appealing if we pursue an *a-categorial* approach to grammar and the lexicon along the line of inquiry of previous influential work (cf. Marantz 1997; Arad 2002; Borer 2005; Kayne 2009; Starke 2009 among others). In particular,

¹⁹ Relying on the observation that crosslinguistically, evaluative morphemes can be characterized by compositional and non-compositional meanings and drawing on data from Romance, Semitic, Slavic and Germanic languages De Belder et al. (2012) claim that such a distinction can be addressed in terms of syntactic structure, proposing, two different positions for e.g. diminutives. The first one (labelled by the authors *SizeP*), which can appear both in the derivational and in the inflectional domain, would be part of the functional hierarchy of the extended noun phrase (thus entering in a configuration similar to the one proposed for evaluative markers by Cinque 2006b, cf. also Gambino, 2010) and would be situated between the categorial head *n°* and the projection hosting number marking. The second one, on the contrary, would directly merge with the *root*, realizing a lexical projection below the categorial head (namely, it would be not restricted to nouns), and is tagged by the authors as *LexP*.

Independently from its (wrong) evaluative interpretation, a precategorial/prelexical nature of the suffix *-one/i* idea is appealing, considering that, as we have shown, we may find deadjectival, deverbal and denominal items in the class of adverbs signalling bodily movements and postures.

following Mateu (2002)²⁰ we may argue that the so-called adverbs and adjectives are the result of the incorporation/merge of an a-categorial (*root*) element into a prepositional-like one (cf. also Gallego 2009, 2010):

(31) [P [$\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$]] = adjective / adverb

This view is interesting, because, if right, it is able to give a plausible interpretation of the fact that forms in *-one/i* can actually be used as *nominal* modifiers, as already shown above in (4b,c). Adverbs in *-mente* possibly cannot be employed as nominal modifiers (cf. paragraph 2 above) because the adjectives from which they derive have been already merged with a silent/hidden prepositional item in the minimal domain (cf. Kayne, 2004) and, thus, they cannot be (re)merged with an overt P because they have already undergone such a process as ‘former’ adjectives. In particular, in contemporary Italian – according to data in the CORIS corpus – there are forms (e.g. *penzoloni*, *ciondoloni*) that are almost exclusively employed as nominal modifiers (either with or without a preposition). Consider the examples in (32).

- (32) a. *stava* *impietrito* *e* *con* *la* *bocca*
 stay(be).IPFV.3SG petrified and with the mouth
 penzoloni
 hanging-down
 ‘He/she was petrified and with his mouth hanging down.’
- b. *col* *rosario* *penzoloni* *fra* *le*

²⁰ A similar proposal has been developed also in Kayne (2009), where adjectives are considered as nouns incorporated into a covert Case morpheme.

with-the rosary hanging.down among the.PL

dita

fingers

‘With the rosary hanging down from the fingers.’

c. *col cappotto a penzoloni sul braccio*

with-the coat P hanging-down on-the arm

‘with the coat hanging on the arm.’

d. *in cima alla scala coi piedi a penzoloni*

at top to-the stairs with-the.PL feet P hanging-down

e. *si accorse della catena a ciondoloni nell’*

REFL realize.PST.3SG of-the chain P dangling in-the

aia

farmyard

‘He/she realized that the chain was hanging down in farmyard.’

f. *le orecchie molli e la lingua ciondoloni*

the.F.PL ears flabby and the.F tongue dangling

‘the flabby ears and the dangling tongue.’

Incidentally, if the idea sketched in (31) is on the right track, we can also explain the reason why deadjectival adverbs in *-oni* are the only items of the set of adverbs of bodily movements and postures that can never be preceded by a preposition (namely, the ‘internal’ merge with P is mandatory). See the examples in (33).

- (33) a. *Gianni è arrivato (*a) gobboni/chinoni*
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG arrive.PTCP.PST P hunched/bowing

‘Gianni arrived hunched/bowing.’

Deadjectival form

b. Gianni si è messo (a/in) ginocchioni

Gianni REFL BE.PRS.3SG put-PTCP.PST P on.knees

‘Gianni put himself on his knees’

Denominal form

c. Gianni si è sistemato (a) cavalcioni...

Gianni REFL be.PRS.3SG settle.PTCP.PST P astride

‘Gianni settled astride...’

Deverbal form

Assuming a unified (and a-categorical) structure above the lexical *root* we may rewrite (28) and/or (30) as in (33) below, to *catch* the underlying ‘combined’ structure of adverbs of body movements, independently from the ‘traditional’ category to which they are related:

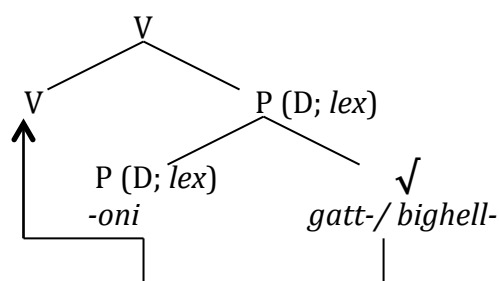
(33) [PP P [YP Y ... [XP X ... [√]]]]

This kind of *underspecification*²¹ can motivate attested reanalyses in contemporary Italian. Take for example the case of *gattoni* (from the noun *gatto*) or *bighelloni* (there is not a noun **bighello* and *bighelloni* derives from the verb *bighellare*): the adverb *gattoni* has originated the verb *gattonare* (we do not have the form **gattare*) and the item

²¹ For arguments in favour of the psychological reality of underspecification in language see e.g. Barner and Bale (2002).

bighelloni has originated the verb *bighellonare* (crucially the verb *bighellare* has been entirely replaced by the form *bighellonare* in contemporary Italian, as attested in the CORIS database where we find 0 vs. 26 token of the infinitive form *bighellare* vs. *bighellonare*; also, quite interestingly, the item *bighellone/i* has been reanalysed as a noun meaning *dawdler* in Modern Italian). Thus, we may argue for a (simplified) structure along the lines of Hale & Keyser (1993; 2002) (cf. also Zubizarreta and Oh 2007; Folli 2002; Harley 2005; Borer, 2005) roughly as in (34).

(34)



5. The drift of a morphological relic

At this point, it is timely to ask ourselves: “*But, what’s happened (or what is happening) in contemporary Italian?*” We have seen that the suffix *-oni*, which has practically defeated the allomorph *-one*, seems to have lost/to be going to lose its *P value*, making somewhat transparent the structure, with the resurface/*ejection* of the preposition (i.e. *P* is more ‘internally merged’ in *T* or analogous ‘underspecified’ nodes). That suffix seems to be a ‘morphological relic’ of a form that is no more productive in Italian, nowadays. Possibly, the fact that there exists in Italian an augmentative (or *multipurpose*, cf. Grandi 2003) suffix with the same phonological form can have acted as

a source of *interference*.²² With the presence of an adpositional item preceding these adverbs in more than 50% of occurrences in Contemporary written Italian, it seems that they have lost/are losing their *specificity* as a ‘cluster’. Possibly this kind of adverbs is really shifting from a prepositional value to a (mere) nominal one, ending up being identical to *locuzioni avverbiali* or ‘idiomatic’ adverbial expressions such the one represented in (24) above. Notice that the *idiomatic* (nominal) value of expressions such as ‘a carponi’, ‘a tentoni’, ‘a gattoni’ etc. can be justified (enhanced) by the presence of nominal items that cannot be used in (autonomous) nominal contexts/phrases in Italian:

- (35) a. *Gianni sa storia a mena_vdito_N*
 Gianni know.PRS.3SG history P inside.out (*wallop.finger*)
 ‘Gianni knows history inside out.’
- b. *Gianni corre a perdi_vfiato_N*
 Gianni run.PRS.3SG P like.hell (lose.breath)
 ‘Gianni runs like hell.’

²² See e.g. the collection of *hapax legomena*, unrelated to bodily movement/postures (e.g. *balordoni*, crook-*oni*) collected in Pieri (1904). In Old Italian, I also found one instance of *pulcelloni*, unmarried (actually, related to posture only with a very high degree of abstractness):

- (i) ...*stettero un gran tempo pulcelloni, con speranza di*
 stay.PRS.3PL a big time unmarried, with hope of
marito...
 husband
 ‘They remained unmarried for a long time, hoping to find a husband’
 Velluti, Cronica, 1367-70 (fior.)

- c. *Gianni ride* *a* *crepa_Vpelle_N*
 Gianni laugh.PRS.3SG P fit.to.burst (die.skin)
 Gianni laughs fit to burst
- d. *Gianni canta* *a* *squarcia_Vgola_N*
 Gianni sing.PRS.3SG P the.top.of.one's.voice (slash.throat)
 'Gianni sings at the top of his voice.'
- e. **il mena_Vdito_N*; **il perdi_Vfiato_N*; **il/la crepa_Vpelle_N*; **la scarcia_Vgola_N*
- f. **i carponi*; **i tentoni*; **i tastoni*.

The items in (23) are nominal VN compounds, which traditionally have been treated as *nouns* (cf. Scalise 1992; Ralli 2008; Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Mahne 2005; Schroten 2010, among many others), but strangely cannot host nominal phrases on their own and are invariantly accompanied by a preposition. Hence, it is arguable for them a *frozen/idiomatic 'stratum' in adverbial expressions*.²³ A similar approach can be taken for adverbs in *-one/i* introduced by an adpositional item in Contemporary Italian.

²³ Evidence for a modifying nature of Italian "exocentric" VN items are reported in Ricca (2005), who has shown that, while there are many instances of VN compounds alternating between a nominal and adjectival reading (i), there are also many purely adjectival items of this kind (ii).

- (i) *vano portabagagli*; *aiuola spartitraffico*; *pistola sparachiodi*.
 compartment car trunk; flower bed traffic divider; nail gun/dummy pistol
- (ii) *mozzafiato*; *strappalacrime*; *spaccatimpani*
 breathtaking; tear-jerking; eardrum-breaking

Furthermore, an on-going process of nominal *re-ranking* of the adverbs in *-one/i* is suggested by an innovation: the possible modification by the mean of an adjective of (at least some) of these *ambiguous* forms:

- (24) a. *Salta retrocedendo a sgraziati saltelloni*
 jump.PRS.3SG moving.backwards P clumsy jump-*oni*
 ‘He/She jumps, moving backwards by clumsy jumps.’
 (CORIS)
- b. *Siamo scesi a grandi balzelloni*
 be.PRS.1PL go.down.PTCP.PST P big leap-*oni*
sotto la furia degli elementi
 under the.F fury of-the.PL elements
 ‘We went down making big leaps under the fury of the elements.’
 (retrieved from Google)

While the gradual comparison of a preposition can be syntactically accounted for basing on a ‘loss of movement’ explanation (i.e. loss of internal merge), following standard assumption by Roberts and Rousseu (2003), there is no immediate explanation for the radical shift from *-one* (16/16 occurrences in the Florentine of the XIII century) to *-oni* (96.2 % of occurrences in the CORIS database of Contemporary written Italian).

A very tentative account can be that we are dealing with a process of degrammaticalization / lexicalization (see Ramat 1992; Newmeyer 1998; Campbell 2001; Norde 2009).²⁴ It is arguable that the suffix *-one/i*, due to the ‘interference’ of the

²⁴ The lexicalization of function words and affixes (as a subset of degrammaticalization cf. Norde 2009: 112) is represented by changes where grammatical morphemes (e.g. a suffix or an

very productive *polysemic* nominal suffix *-one* (cf. Grandi 2003; Heinimann 2001), is shifting (has been shifted) from an adverbial value to a nominal one, as showed e.g. by the insertion of a preposition in most cases in CORIS). But nevertheless, possibly, to add a nominal value to its *root*, the suffix *-oni* must be generated in a number phrase (NumP) in the extended projection of the noun (Cf. Ritter 1991, Borer, 2005), where number features are checked. Our (speculative) idea is precisely that a noun needs to mark/activate its extended projection in order to be recognized as such. This is a possible explanation to the overwhelming ‘plural’ status of adverbs of bodily movements and postures in contemporary Italian: the noun (*root*) moves to NumP and the *movement* is the condition to achieve noun status (assuming that movement is the prerogative of the *owner* of an extended projection, cf. Cinque 2005; 2010b). This proposal, even if speculative, is appealing because if we assume that lexicalization is triggered by syntactic movement, we have the *mirror image* of grammaticalization, which, according to Roberts and Rousseu (2003) is properly instantiated by the loss of syntactic movement.

Actually, this hypothesis can be enhanced by interesting facts in both Romance and Germanic languages. For example the affix *-ism* (cf. Ramat 1992; Norde 2009) can be employed as a count noun in many languages, as a ‘hypernym for ideology’ (Norde 2009: 113), with a mandatory plural use (see e.g. English *isms*, French *ismes*, Dutch *ismen*, Swedish *ismer*). Also consider in English the obligatorily plural shifts from adverb to

adposition) comes to be used as a lexical device (e.g. as a noun). Possibly here we are dealing with a different (but related) phenomenon: a functional affix is shifting from a *categorial* domain (the suffix of an adverbial modifier) to another (the suffix of a noun). Such a *shift* is not an isolated case, crosslinguistically. Consider for instance, among many other possible examples, the *tense* Ezafe of the Behdînî dialect of Kurdish described in Haig (2011).

noun (*ups and downs*) and conjunction to noun (*ifs and buts*). Furthermore, in Italian the item *presso*, near (a preposition in origin) has originated an invariantly plural noun in contemporary Italian, *pressi*, somewhere around (cf. Franco 2012b).

6. Conclusion

In this work we have presented a possible morpho-syntactic analysis for the class of Italian adverbs ending with the suffix *-one/i*. The present work has investigated the very significant differences between the use(s) of this type of adverbs in Old Italian vs. Contemporary Italian. Whereas it seems reasonable (following e.g. Cinque 1999, 2006a) to argue that they are merged in the specifier of a *low* manner projection above VP, there are many puzzling facts about them that we have tried to account for in this paper. We have shown that akin to CP adverbials they have (in their ‘bare’ form) an inner prepositional value. This fact, if we accept Cinque (2004) and Kayne (2002; 2004)’s idea that a (possibly covert) prepositional device is mandatory as Case licenser for modifiers in the verbal domain, explains the configurational mismatches with adverbs in *-mente* (assuming that *-mente* -exactly like English *-ly* in adverbial contexts- is an affixal noun, see e.g. Emonds, 1976; Kayne 2002; Cinque 2004; Torner 2005). Furthermore, given the fact that there is practically no previous literature on the topic, the present paper may also be seen as a *probe* in order to trigger/enhance future research on the topic.

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