# Grammatical categories: strong and weak pronouns in Romance
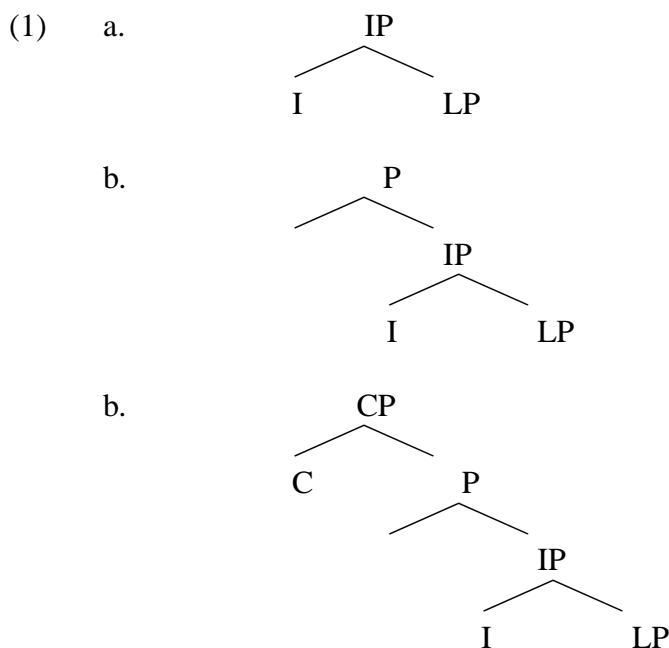
**Abstract.** I argue against the categorization of non-clitic pronouns as strong and weak (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994, 1999). Independently motivated categories (case for Italian *loro* =them∅ in section 2, Focus for Lombard wh- pronouns in section 3, case and animacy for French wh- pronouns in section 4) are sufficient to yield distributions for which the notions of weak and strong pronoun have been invoked. I exclude explanations of these distributions in terms of a notion of Economy of representations favouring the smallest possible lexicalization; I propose that other principles (identity avoidance, Elsewhere) may be at play. Crucially, categories such as weak and strong pronoun require a realizational model of grammar, where abstract syntactico-semantic structures are externalized by PF exponents. The alternative I propose is compatible with a lexicalist view, where syntactic structures are projected from lexical terminals.

## 1. Introduction

In current literature, the strong/weak pronoun distinction is used to account for a number of different phenomena. Within Romance languages, Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1999), Cardinaletti (1998) argue that the distribution of Italian *loro* =to/of them∅ is determined by its weak pronoun status, which differentiates it both from clitics and from strong pronouns. Poletto and Pollock (2009) apply the tripartition clitic/weak/strong to wh- pronouns in Lombard dialects with wh- doubling. The weak-strong distinction also figures in the recent discussion of wh- pronouns in French by Sportiche (2011).

In this article, I show that the strong/weak distinction is not used consistently in the literature quoted. In other words, when different morphologies or distributions are observed among non-clitic pronouns, the strong and weak categories are invoked ó but there is no uniform characterization of the properties and behaviors that strong and weak status correspond to. More importantly, I argue that in the three case studies that I consider, the strong/ weak pronoun distinction is not necessary to account for the data. Italian *loro* with weak distribution can be accounted if we assume that it has oblique case, making it unlike other full pronouns, which are not case marked. Second, the distribution of the three series of wh- pronouns in Lombard varieties is much freer than envisaged by Poletto and Pollock (2009) ó and the independently needed category Focus is sufficient to account for it. Finally, the complex distribution of French wh-pronouns requires only independently motivated categories of animacy and case (as well as finiteness).

These empirical conclusions lead us to ask whether the strong/weak distinction is theoretically appealing ó and my answer is again negative. Weak and strong, unlike nominal class or number, are not properties of lexical items. Rather Cardinaletti and Starke provide a structural characterization of these categories. Clitics are IP-like constituents, as shown in (1a), where LP notates ÷Lexical Phraseø Weak pronouns correspond to a projection  P (in the sense of Laka (1990)), which contributes to them prosodic properties, as in (1b). Strong pronouns have a CP-like structure, contributing case, as in (1c).

(1)      a.
```
              IP
             /  \
            I    LP
```

         b.
```
              P
             / \
            /   IP
               /  \
              I    LP
```

         b.
```
              CP
             /  \
            C    P
                / \
               /   IP
                  /  \
                 I    LP
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Now, supposedly weak and strong pronouns as well as clitics seem to have the same morphological constituency. If anything, clitics may have more structure than full pronouns, for instance case inflections. Let us consider for instance the $3^{rd}$ person clitic and full pronouns system of the Sardinian variety of *Paulilatino* (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011a). The full pronoun system is structured along the lines in (2), where the pronominal base *iss-* is inflected for nominal class N (-*u/ɔ* in the masculine and óa in the feminine) and for number Q (via the sigmatic plural inflection ós). The clitic paradigm in (3)-(4) is more highly articulated. The pronominal base is *ɖ-*. In the objective forms in (3) *ɖ-* is followed by exactly the same inflections as in (2), i.e. nominal class (-*u/ɔ* and óa) and plural (ós) (cf. Harris 1994 for a comparable analysis of Spanish). On the other hand, clitics, unlike full pronouns are also case inflected. Specifically, dative (4) is associated with the specialized case ending ói, otherwise unattested as a nominal class morphology; the number inflection ós remains unvaried.

(2)  a.    [[$_D$ iss [$_N$ u]]        =himø

       b.    [[$_D$ iss [$_N$ a]]        =herø

       c.    [[$_D$ iss [$_N$ ɔ]] [$_Q$ s]]    =them(m)ø

       d.    [[$_D$ iss [$_N$ a]] [$_Q$ s]]    =them(f)ø

(3)  a.    [[$_D$ ɖ [$_N$ u]]        =himø

       b.    [[$_D$ ɖ [$_N$ a]]        =herø

       c.    [[$_D$ ɖ [$_N$ ɔ]] [$_Q$ s]]    =them(m)ø

       d.    [[$_D$ ɖ [$_N$ a]] [$_Q$ s]]    =them(f)ø

(4)  a.    [$_D$ ɖ [[$_{DAT}$ i]]      =to her/himø

       b.    [$_D$ ɖ [[$_{DAT}$ i]] [$_Q$ s]]  =to themø


Italian also has a single 3$^{rd}$ person series of full pronouns, namely *lui, lei, loro*; however it distinguishes an objective (accusative) series of clitics (*lo, la, li, lo*) inflected for number and nominal class and a dative *gli* /ʎi/ which we can also analyze as including an ó*i* ending for dative.[1] The mismatch between the structural encoding of strong, weak and clitic categories, as proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke in (1), and of actual morphological constituency, as in (2)-(4), can only be accommodated in a realizational conception of the lexicon ó which the authors explicitly endorse (cf. also Starke (2009) on nanosyntax). It is because of a more general lexicalist project that I seek to eliminate weak and strong categorizations in favour of lexical properties compatible with the projectionist view. Projection from the lexicon is at the core of the original minimalist program (Chomsky1995) and intrinsically simpler than the realizational view, since it allows us to cut out the component or components dedicated solely to the readjustment of syntactic structures for the purposes of PF externalization, in particular the Morphological Structure of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993).

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[1] An anonymous reviewer observes that *mi, ti* i.e. the objective 1$^{st}$ and 2$^{nd}$ person singular forms (no accusative-dative distinction) also have an ó*i* inflection. The reviewer concludes that ó*i* should be considered an epenthetic vowel (Kayne 2010). Apart from the fact that the concept of non-phonological epenthesis (cf. also Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008) is not clear, it is also possible to claim that on the contrary *mi, ti* are always dative, because as direct objects they undergo Differential Object Marking. This is supported by syntactic asymmetries between *mi, ti* as direct objects and the *lo, la* etc. 3$^{rd}$ person accusative series. For instance, the latter obligatorily agree with the perfect (participle), while *mi, ti* only optionally do, as is typical of DOM crosslinguistically (Franco and Manzini 2013).

## 2. Italian *loro*

### 2.1 Introducing the data

Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1999) observe that what appears to be a single lexical element, namely Italian *loro* ='they/them', has in fact two different distributions. In the strong distribution, it patterns together with *lui* ='he/him' and *lei* ='she/her' and fills the same positions as any ordinary noun phrase, as shown in (5b-c); in particular as a dative, strong *loro* is embedded under the *a* preposition, as in (5b), and follows the accusative. In the weak distribution, *loro* associates with a Dative Shift position unavailable to *lui/lei*, as in (5a).

(5)  a.  Ho     offerto loro/*lui/*lei  il mio aiuto
         I.have  offered them/him/her my help
         ='I offered them/him/her my help'

     b.  Ho offerto     il mio aiuto    a lui/a lei/a loro
         I.have offered my help         to him/to her/to them
         ='I offered my help to him/her/them'

     c.  Ho visto       lui/ lei/ loro
         I.have seen     him/her/ them
         ='I saw him/her/them'

Cardinaletti and Starke do not mention genitive *loro* in (6); the parallel between dative (5a-b) and (6) is however made by Cardinaletti (1998). In (6b), *loro* has the same distribution as *lui, lei*, namely as the object of a preposition. In (6a), the prenominal genitive position is available for *loro* but not for *lui, lei* ó recreating the same contrast as in (5a) vs. (5b).

(6)  a.  La     loro/*lui/*lei casa
         the     their/his/her home
         ='Their/his/her home'

     b.  La casa di lui/di lei/ di loro
         the home of him/of her/of them
         ='Their/his/her home'

Another element in Italian that behaves like *loro* is relative *cui* ='whom' (cf. Cardinaletti

1998). *Cui* can occur in the same positions as the other relative pronoun *il quale*, in particular as the object of a preposition in (7). However it can also appear in the genitive position, as in (8c), unlike *il quale*. Furthermore, it can lexicalize the dative without the help of any preposition, as in (8a). If we pied-pipe it as part of a larger phrase, the Dative Shift position also seems possible, as in (8b). Again, in the terms of Cardinaletti and Starke, there are two *cui* in Italian, a strong one in (7) and a weak one in (8).

(7)      Lʼuomo      a cui/al quale/ di cui/ del quale      ho parlato

           The man      to whom/      of whom      I.have spoken

(8)      a.      Lʼuomo      cui/*il quale   diedi   il libro

                The man      whom  I.gave  the book

           b.      Lʼuomo      dar cui/*il quale      ragione      sarebbe consigliabile

                The man      give whom      right      would.be advisable

                =The man agreeing with whom would be advisableø

           c.      Lʼuomo      il      cui/*il quale   libro   ho recensito

                The man      the      whose      book   I.have reviewed

                =The man the book of whom/ whose book I reviewed

Cardinaletti and Starke relate the distributional facts in (5)-(8) to other properties. To begin with, they argue that strong pronouns are associated with animacy restrictions while weak pronouns are not. However, *cui* can have any reference even when it is supposedly strong, i.e. embedded under prepositions; thus it refers to an animate in (7) and to an inanimate in (9). In other words, there is no correlation between animacy restrictions and supposedly strong status as far as wh-pronouns are concerned.

(9)      La cosa      a cui      mi      sono dedicato

           The thing      to which      myself I.am devoted

           =The thing which I took care ofø

Consider then *loro*, and in general personal pronouns. According to Cardinaletti and Starke, *loro* can refer to both animates and inanimates when it has the genitive or Dative Shift distribution ó however it can only have animate reference with the strong distribution, for instance when it is embedded under a preposition. The intuitions of the speakers I consulted are that *loro* generally admits of inanimate reference also in the strong distribution. This is supported by corpus data like

(10) from the national newspaper *Repubblica* (Baroni et als. 2004).[2]


(10)  a.   Consideriamo, per un attimo, l'automobile í   Eccola lì. Anzi, eccole lì í   proprio nel

           Consider, for a moment, the car í   There it is. Or better, there they are í   just at the

           momento in cui l' uomo non può più servirsi di loro í   per qualche giorno, pensa

           time when a man can no longer use (of) them í      for a few days he thinks

           che, ecco, in città si può, forse, vivere **senza di loro**

           that, yes, in the city one can, perhaps, live without (of) them

      b.   Quando poií   arriva a dipingere il fondo,   tutto si fa indistinto,   sciolto

           When nextí   he gets to painting the background, all becomes indistinct, melting

           nella luceí   Sarà la fila lunga delle colline che si fanno tutte rosa sotto il pallido

           into the light í   It may be the long line of hills that become all pink under the pale

           azzurro del cielo **sopra di loro**

           blue of the sky above (of) them


There is another series of non-clitic 3$^{rd}$ person pronouns of Italian, namely in the plural *essi/esse* =they/themø For Cardinaletti and Starke *essi/esse* with strong distribution is associated with inanimate referents. In the intuitions I collected, as well as in corpus data from the *Repubblica* newspaper in (11), animate referents are equally possible.


 (11)  a.   la Dc ha bisogno dei laici perché **senza di essi** non potrebbe í   governare

            The DC needs lay people because without (of) them, they could not í   rule

       b.   Borges e Calvino saranno gettati nel grande calderone della storia, dove,

            B and C. will be thrown into the big melting pot of history, where

            **prima di essi**, sono affondati e riemersi Proust e Gadda

            before (of) them, have drowned and come up again P. and G.


For Cardinaletti and Starke, a test of weak status for pronouns is that they cannot be coordinated. It is difficult to have an intuition about the examples of coordination for weak *loro*,

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[2] An anonymous reviewer suggests that strong inanimate *loro* is possible in õlow registersö of Italian. It seems to me that examples like (10) are anything but õlow registerö. This is not a corpus study, and I interrogated the corpus in a completely unsophisticated way, simply asking for expressions which ought to be acceptable in the relevant readings, here õsenza di loroö, õsopra di loroö. The returns were obviously positive. Dotted spaces correspond to my abbreviations of the texts, often quite complex.

since the relevant examples involve coordinating *loro* with itself in the Dative Shift (non focal) position, as in (12). I therefore suggest that judgement should be suspended on this point and that instead coordination should be tested on the genitive position, where *loro* can in principle be coordinated with any possessive pronoun. In the judgements I collected and in the corpus data from *Repubblica* in (13) this coordination yields wellformed results. Cardinaletti (1998: 68) stars comparable examples, but she comments that õin apparent conjunctions of pre-nominal possessives í we very probably have a case of backward deletion in the first conjunctö. The fact remains that the examples cannot be starred ó nor can this test be used to spot weak pronouns.[3]

(12)   ≠Ho   dato   loro e loro   tutti i miei soldi
       I.have given   them and them all the my money
       ÷I gave all my money to them and themø

(13)   a.   (com' era) malsano quel vento dell'Est che, loro, respirarono gioiosamente a pieni
            How unhealthy that wind from the East was that they breathed joyously with full
            polmoni.  E che oggi, per fortuna **loro e nostra**, non soffia più.
            lungs. And that today, for luck their and ours, no longer blows.

       b.   Santagata e Morganti, che negli anni hanno í   ricondotto alla **loro e nostra**
            S. and M., who throughout the years have brought back to their and our
            quotidianità, í   anche i mondi degli autori volta a volta visitati: Dostoevskji í
            daily life,  also the worlds of the authors in turn visited: Dí

In Cardinaletti and Starkeøs judgement, weak *loro* cannot be modified by adverbs, specifically by *only* and *also* ó and this extends to genitive *loro* according to Cardinaletti (1998). Data like (14) are instead acceptable for my speakers, and they are indeed sourced from the *Repubblica* corpus. Note that even if the postnominal position is involved for the possessive in (14b), the weak form *loro* is used, not the strong form preceded by the ÷ofø preposition.[4]

(14)   a.   La diagnosi ha **dato   anche loro** la certezza che erano sane pure le loro figlie
            the diagnosis has given also them the certainty that were healthy their daughters too

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[3] The same reviewer as in fn. 2 suggests that sentences like (13) must be read with a pause after *loro*. But though the texts in (13) are rich in commas, in fact even around *loro* (first line of example (13a)), no comma is found where the anonymous reviewer would expect it, i.e. after possessive *loro*, to indicate the pause that would rescue an otherwise ungrammatical example.

[4] The same reviewer as in fn. 2 and 3 suggests that õstrong possessive *loro*ø is involved in examples like (14b). This would mean that the absence of the prepositional layer is no longer a predictor of weak status.

b.    al Marsiglia mancavano cinque giocatori per squalifica (**colpa anche loro**).

Marseille lacked five players because of disqualification (fault also theirs)

In a nutshell, only the distributional facts in (5)-(8) are truly robust. In the next section I will consider how Cardinaletti and Starke account for them.[5]

## 2.2    *Discussion of Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1999)*

As outlined in (1), Cardinaletti and Starke propose an analysis under which weak *loro* is structurally smaller than strong *loro,* while it is bigger than a clitic. A general issue with this proposal concerns its interpretive predictions. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) observe a number of properties with respect to which pronouns of various kinds may differ in interpretation. For example, not all pronouns can be bound variables; English *one* and English *I* or *we* cannot. Therefore they propose that the internal size of pronouns varies. $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person pronouns are full DPøs; *one* is an NP since it can be preceded by a D as in *this one*. Finally $3^{rd}$ person pronouns, which can be bound variables, are  Ps. As they remark õthe only other proposal that distinguishes pronouns from each other in terms of their categorical identity is that of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)ö (Dechaine and Wiltschko 2002: 438). Interestingly, they identify  Cardinaletti and Starkeøs weak *loro,* strong *a loro* and clitic *gli* with a  P projection, since they all have the same LF properties. A conceptual issue for Cardinaletti and Starkeøs analysis is implicit in this discussion. Introducing a C layer or a  layer in a sentence implies introducing LF-relevant properties. Therefore introducing such a layer in the structure of a pronoun, as in (1), ought to yield LF-relevant distinctions between weak pronouns, strong pronouns and clitics. In reality, they all refer in exactly the same way, i.e. precisely as  Ps in the sense of Déchaine and Wiltschko [6].

As anticipated in section 1, morphology concurs with semantics in supporting an equally

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[5] Note that Cardinaletti and Starke make their empirical claims for Italian, presumably implying some notion of a standard language. In these terms, their data do not hold, given (10)-(14). It remains to be seen whether there are two dialects of Italian, which share the distribution in (5)-(6) but not the other properties under discussion.

[6] The semantic correlates of the strong/weak distinction are in fact discussed by Cardinaletti and Starke. In particular they state that a deficient pronoun may accompany õostensionö but only õin a limited range of contextsö. In particular, õthe deficient elements are permissible í  only if they refer to an entity which is already prominent in the discourseö or in the non-verbal context. Here, I fail to see how this would make weak pronouns different from pronouns in general. Any pronoun can refer deictically only in the presence of a pragmatic or linguistic context supporting deixis. For instance, I fail to see how reference could be successfully achieved in (5b) in the absence of such a context.

complex structuring of the whole 3rd person pronoun set in Romance, including clitics, as illustrated in (2)-(4). In the words of Manzini and Savoia (2007), õclitic pronouns ... are not elementary lexical entries, but correspond to the merger of two separate morphemes, namely an *l/d̯/ʃ* allomorph, introducing definite reference, and inflectional endings introducing the properties traditionally described in terms of number, gender and caseö.[7] Kratzer (2009: 221) draws similar conclusions from the semantic analysis of full pronouns: õthe alleged ÷3rd personøø features are in fact gender features, a variety of descriptive feature ... If [a descriptive feature] is to grow into a pronoun, it has to combine with a feature [def] that turns it into a definite description. If [def] is the familiar feature that can also be pronounced as a definite determiner in certain configurations, it should head its own functional projection, hence be a D. It would then not originate in the same feature set as descriptive features, which are nominal, hence Nsö.

The discussion that precedes is also directly relevant for another important principle that Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) defend is Economy of representations, which they formulate simply as õMinimize structure (up to crash)ö. By it, clitic pronouns take precedence, where possible, over weak pronouns and weak pronouns over strong pronouns. If in morphological and interpretive terms the structure even of a clitic is as rich as that of a full pronoun, cf. (2)-(4), it is far from obvious that the principle õMinimize structureö can derive the desired order of preference. Leaving this aside, the empirical prediction is that a strong pronoun is allowed exactly in those cases in which a weak pronoun õdoes not result in an acceptable derivationö. However this prediction is falsified by some of the data I have already introduced. Thus (7) and (8a) are equally possible.[8] In general, complementary distribution of the type predicted by Economy of representations is difficult

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[7] An anonymous reviewer quotes õweak and clitic pronouns in idioms, with generic or existential readingö as arguments again the conclusion that the *l* morpheme as an element which "introduces definite reference". In the same way, we could of course point to the generic or existential reading of (plural) *l-* determiners in Romance (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1994) and conclude that ÷definitenessø or D is not an appropriate label for them. This line of argument is represented in the literature (e.g. Giusti 1995, who takes Romance *l-* determiners to instantiate the K category for Case). I believe that the right way of proceeding is sharpening the notion of D/definiteness, clarifying its internal articulation and the crosslinguistic variation it gives raise to (cf. Ramchand and Svenonius 2008).

[8] The same anonymous reviewer as in fn. 2-4 suggests that (7) and (8a) are possible in different registers, which are characterized as õwritten Italianö and õcolloquial Italianö respectively. In (i) I give just one example to show that õwritten Italianö of course has *a cui*. In other words (in the literary register) *cui* and *a cui* provide an example of bona fide free alternation, of the type excluded by Economy of representations.

(i)     la storia attesta come riuscisse ad armare contro quel re il duca di Savoia, **a cui** fece perder più di una città
        history attests how he was able to arm against that king the duke of Savoy, to whom he caused the loss of more
        than one city

(A. Manzoni, *I Promessi Sposi*, ch. 1)

to find, as I will further discuss in connection with Lombard and French wh- pronouns in the next sections.

In short, objections from overt morphological constituency can be circumvented in a realizational model of the syntax/lexicon interface (see section 1); however the interpretive issues raised in this section are independent of the projection vs. realization debate. Furthermore, the fact that structures like (2)-(4) admit of a (roughly) compositional interpretation makes it less easy to confine them to the realm of morphemic analysis, with no necessary match to underlying syntactic structuring.

It remains for us to consider how Cardinaletti and Starke account for the crucial distribution in (5a)-(5b). Recall that for them *loro* with Dative Shift and possessive distribution is a weak pronoun characterized by an internal structure lacking the equivalent of the CP sentential layer. In strong *a loro*, this CP layer is present and headed by the preposition *a*, as illustrated in (15). They propose that the CP-like layer of strong pronouns is associated with case, of which the *a* preposition is an instance (as is, presumably, *di*). Since weak *loro* lacks the CP-like case layer, it must occur in a position where it can get case via agreement, namely a [Spec, Agr] position, identified with the Dative Shift position (or, presumably, the possessor position).

(15)
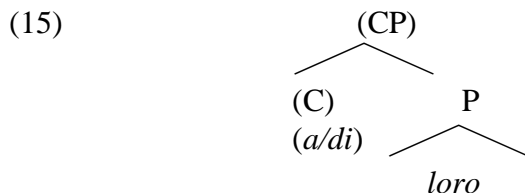


Therefore what matters for the distribution in (5a) and (5b) is whether *loro* and *(a) loro* are or are not associated with case. For Cardinaletti and Starke the presence or absence of the CP layer also accounts for the fact that *(a) loro* but not *loro* is modifiable, coordinable and associated with a human restrictor. However if the examples in section 2.1 are to be believed, these correlations do not hold; if so, the distribution in (5a) vs. (5b) may as well be accounted for directly in terms of case.

*2.3     An alternative analysis*

In section 2.2 we saw that appealing directly to the notion of case is sufficient to explain the distribution of *loro* and *a loro* in (5)-(6) even in the terms of Cardinaletti and Starke. For them, however, it still remains true that *(a) loro* is bigger than *loro*, because *(a) loro* has a case layer that

*loro* lacks. In what follows, I argue that not even this residue of the weak/strong distinction is necessary.

Since I am adopting a projectionist view of the lexicon/syntax interface, let me begin with a morphemic analysis of *loro*. Obviously, *loro* results from the inflectional ending óoro attaching to the definiteness base *l-*. In Latin, the related morphology óru(m) is an oblique plural ending (specifically the genitive plural, cf. Halle and Vaux 1997, Calabrese 2008). In the only Romance language with case inflections on nouns, namely Romanian, *-or* also shows up as the oblique plural, subsuming genitive and dative, and attaching to the *l-* definiteness morphology, as in as in *b ie i-l-or* ‡to/of the boysø, *fete-l-or* ‡to/of the girlsø, *l-or* ‡to/of themø

In Italian *loro* cannot be oblique in contexts where it alternates with *lui/lei*, and specifically in direct case contexts like (5c). At the same time, the possibility may be explored that in the contexts where *loro* does not alternate with *lui/lei*, for instance (5a), ir has an oblique content that *lui, lei* do not have (or no longer have, cf. the discussion of Old Italian by Egerland and Cardinaletti (2010)). In other words my hypothesis is that *loro* is optionally oblique, as in (16). The *loro* that alternates with *lui/lei* is only plural; while the *loro* that does not alternate with *lui/lei* is both plural and oblique.

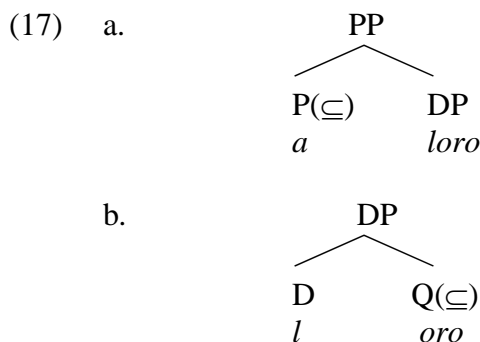(16)    *loro*:    D, plural, (oblique)

I assume that case, and in particular oblique case, denotes a relation.[9] In this respect, oblique case and prepositions like *a* ‡toø, *di* ‡ofø etc. have the same content (even categorically), essentially as proposed by Fillmore (1968). Hence, *loro* and *a loro* do not differ by the absence and presence of case respectively, but rather by the mode of lexicalization of the oblique relation, namely by the inflectional ending *-oro* or by the preposition *a*. As for the actual content of this oblique relation, the obvious answer is possession, namely the content traditionally associated with the genitive. The dative, in turn, has been argued to be connected to possession at least since Kayne (1984); Kayne takes the internal argument of a ditransitive verb like ‡offerø in (5) to be a small clause, where the dative plays the role of possessor to the accusative.

Various strands of literature put forth the idea that possession is a surface manifestation of a

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[9] As is well known, for Chomsky (2001, 2008), Case is a mere byproduct of agreement. However there is an obvious family of problems with this approach, namely that agreement and case fairly commonly split in natural languages. Unexpected splits include EPP arguments of finite sentences in the accusative (Manzini and Savoia (2007) on Albanian vs. Chomsky (2001) on Greek). They further include accusatives assigned in the absence of a vP (Baker and Vinokurova 2010 on Sakha, but their phenomena correspond to the 'extended accusative' of the typological literature, documented in familiar languages like Latin, cf. Moravcsik 1978).

more elementary part-whole relation. Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) propose that the Romance clitic *ne* (syncretic in some varieties between genitive and dative) denotes a superset-of some other argument of the sentence (the theme). Belvin and den Dikken (1997:170) define the relation introduced by *have* as õzonal inclusionö in the following terms: õthe ÷meaningøof have í denotes a special kind of inclusion relation í dubbed ÷zonal inclusionǿ Entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entityí The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity.ö

Following Manzini and Savoia (2011a), I notate the part-whole/superset/zonal inclusion relation with ÷⊆ø This relation can be lexicalized by case endings or it can be lexicalized by prepositions. I correspondingly notate the prepositions *a* ÷toø and *di* ÷ofø as P(⊆), as a reminder of their content. As for oblique endings like *-oro*, since relational content within the nominal domain is associated with Q categories (cf. generalized quantifier theory), I label them as Q(⊆), though nothing hinges on the choice of Q. In terms of this notation, the structure of the PP *a loro* will be as in (17a), the structure of intrinsically oblique *loro* as in (17b).
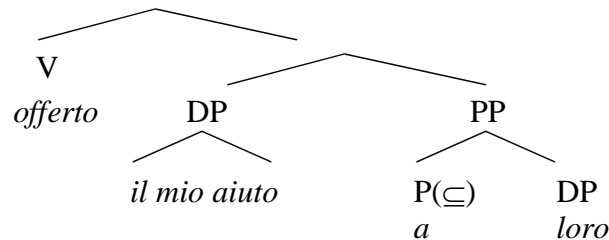
(17)  a.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{P}(\subseteq)\quad \text{DP} \\
a\qquad\ loro
\end{array}
$$

b.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{D}\qquad \text{Q}(\subseteq) \\
l\qquad\ oro
\end{array}
$$

We can now consider the data in (5), beginning with (5b). Following Kayne (1984), as mentioned above, the complement of a ditransitive verb like ÷offerø in (5) is a predication denoting possession. In present terms, *a* is the predicate denoting possession, P(⊆), taking *loro* as its internal argument (the possessor) and the theme of the verb is its external argument (the possessee), as in (18a). [10] Consider next *loro* with Dative Shift distribution in (5a). The present hypothesis is that *loro*

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[10] An anonymous reviewer inquires whether the characterization of oblique provided here is meant to apply beyond ditransitives, for instance to unergatives like (i). The answer must of course be positive. Specifically, Franco and Manzini (2013) argue that unergatives result from the incorporation of a nominal object into a light verb (Hale and Keyser 1993) ó reducing the dative of unergatives to that of di-transitives.
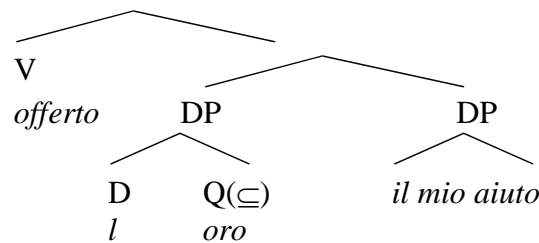
(i)      Ho scritto loro/ a loro

         I wrote them/to them

yields a dative (i.e. possession) interpretation in that it is associated with an inflectional oblique. In other words, the *óoro* ending is a lexicalization of the Q(⊆) relation taking as its internal argument the *l-* pronominal base to which it attaches and as its external argument the theme of the verb. The resulting surface constituency is as in (18b).
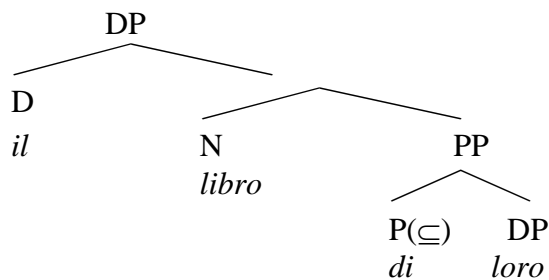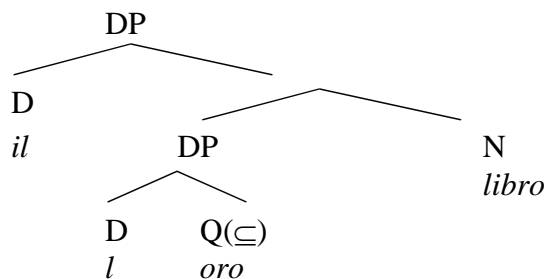
(18)  a.

```
           V
        offerto      DP              PP
                  il mio aiuto    P(⊆)    DP
                                   a      loro
```

b.

```
           V
        offerto      DP              DP
                  D    Q(⊆)      il mio aiuto
                  l    oro
```

The alternation between genitive *loro* structures, as in (6a), and structures where the possessor is introduced by the *di* ÷ofø preposition, as in (6b), reproduces the alternation in (18) ó as schematized in (19). The *di* preposition with P(⊆) content in (19a) takes the possessor as its object to the right and the possessee as its subject to the left. Genitive *loro* yields the inverse order of possessor and possessee, as in (19b).

(19)  a.

```
            DP
         D
         il      N              PP
               libro       P(⊆)    DP
                            di     loro
```

b.

```
            DP
         D
         il      DP             N
               D    Q(⊆)      libro
               l    oro
```

In general, the possessor to the right implies a preposition; the possessor to the left is taken

here to imply some intrinsic (oblique) case properties. Left-right reorderings of arguments obviously invite a treatment in terms of movement. A good example of such treatments is Kayne (1994), who actually deals with both Dative Shift and what we may call Possessor Raising (Szabolcsi 1984). In discussing Heavy NP Shift, Kayne (1994:72-73) takes the ACC-DAT order in (18a) to be base generated ó which means that leftward reordering of the dative in (18b) is due to movement. For the French counterpart of (19a), Kayne (1994:102-103) has a base structure very similar to (19b). In (19a) the possessee moves leftward and the lexicalization of *de* (to licence the possessor) is a byproduct of this movement. This contrasts with Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1984), where it is the possessor that raises to licence dative (hence oblique) case.

Mimicking closely Kayne (1994) on English Dative Shift and Szabolcsi (1984) on Hungarian Possessor Raising, we can say that the case properties of *loro* in (18b) and (19b) require it to be positioned in some functional head higher than (hence to the left of) the base generated position of the V/N head. We may call this the Q($\subseteq$) head; (18b) and (19b) are then to be slightly refined as in (20).[11] Technically, I adopt the representational construal of movement as chain formation at the LF interface (Brody 2003), which among other things, cuts away the role that uninterpretable features have in the derivational model (cf. also fn. 9 on agreement). In representational terms, because of its case properties, *loro* is associated with the Q($\subseteq$) position as well as with a theta-position; spell-out occurs in the higher position.
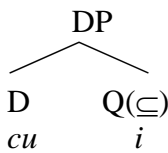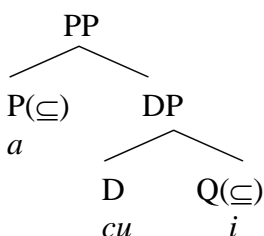
(20)  a.  í offerto  [$_{QP(\subseteq)}$ loro  [$_{VP}$ ~~offerto~~ [il mio aiuto ~~loro~~]

  b.  [$_{DP}$ il  [$_{QP(\subseteq)}$ loro  [$_{NP}$ libro ~~loro~~]

Interestingly, (20a) closely matches Cardinaletti and Starkeøs schema of derivation for Dative Shift *loro* (moved leftward to an AGR functional head). But recall that I did not set out to change their derivation, but only the bases for it. For Cardinaletti and Starke, *loro* moves to a functional position because it is smaller than *a loro*; this is the essence of the strong/weak distinction. In the present approach, *loro* and *a loro* have the same properties, though differently lexicalized, by Q($\subseteq$) and P($\subseteq$) respectively.

Before proceeding to some intermediate conclusions, let us go back briefly to (7)-(8), where I introduced data regarding the wh- pronoun *cui,* which seems to share the same basic distribution as *loro*. Morphologically, *cui* is formed by the lexical base *ku-* for the wh- operator and by the *ói* ending for singular oblique independently found in Italian the 3rd person dative clitic *gl-i* (cf. fn. 1).

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[11] The $\subseteq$ head appears to be the same as the Appl head of Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003) in the dative/sentential domain, though to my knowledge it has never been extended to genitive/ DP-internal contexts.

The same *ói* morphology (ultimately connected to Latin *ói*) can also be seen in the Romanian nominal inflection system, cf. *b̦iat-ulu-i* ='to the boy', *fet-e-i* ='to the girl', *lu-i* ='to him', *le-i* ='to her'. Correspondingly I assume that *cui* has oblique case, as in (21a), and therefore is compatible with the Dative Shift and genitive position. On the other hand, *cui* never occurs in direct case positions (nominative, accusative), leading us to the conclusion that its oblique case is obligatory, as in (21c). This is compatible with embedding under P, as in (21b).

(21)　a.

```
            DP
           /  \
         D     Q(⊆)
         cu    i
```

　　b.

```
            PP
           /  \
        P(⊆)   DP
         a    /  \
            D     Q(⊆)
            cu    i
```

　　c.　　*cui*:　wh-, oblique

*2.4　Conclusions*

Let me summarize my argument concerning *loro* (and *cui*). In section 2.1, I argued that the truly important contribution of Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1999) to the understanding of Italian *loro/ a loro* concern distributional facts.[12] On the contrary, I objected to the notion that there should be a correlation of the distributional facts with the possibility of modifying or coordinating the relevant forms, their animacy restrictions (section 2.1.), their morphological make-up and their interpretation

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[12] One piece of data concerning the distribution of dative *loro* is not discussed by Cardinaletti and Starke, and has correspondingly been ignored here ó namely the fact that it can be found between the auxiliary and the participle, as in (i) in a position usually reserved for adverbs and Q-float. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the data in (i) depend on participle movement ó or rather lack thereof, so that the functional position where *loro* is found happens to be higher than the participle's.

(i)　　　Ho loro offerto il mio aiuto

　　　　I.have them offered my help

　　　　='I offered my help to them'

(section 2.2). If there is no correlation, there is no reason to analyze the distributional facts in terms of the relative size of the pronouns involved (weak vs. strong) ó as opposed to directly in terms of case. Even so, I have argued in favour of *loro* and *a loro* presenting different lexicalizations of case ó as opposed to *loro* lacking case and being smaller than *(a) loro* (section 2.3). As I tried to clarify, what is at stake is not just two different analyses of *loro* ó but rather two different conceptions of the lexicon and of its relation to the computational component (projection vs. realization) which these analyses require/make possible.

Clitics, though briefly introduced in section 1, have not entered the discussion in this section. This is because there is no lack of generative analyses of clitics that do not rely on the reduced size hypothesis of Cardinaletti and Starke (or more recently Roberts (2010)). As is well-known, clitics are singled out by a distinctive distribution. In Romance, they cannot occur in predicate-internal positions, but are uniquely associated with the inflectional domain of the sentence (or the left-peripheral domain, cf. in particular section 3.4). The classical approach to this distribution (Kayne 1975) is to assume that they move from theta-position to V-adjoined position. An alternative approach, pursued in particular by Sportiche (1996) holds that clitics are base generated in specialized inflectional positions. Different ways can be envisaged to connect such inflectional positions to argument positions; for instance, Sportiche argues that *pro*øs move to the Spec of each clitic head from argumental positions. The special distribution of clitics is therefore a byproduct of the fact that they are functional heads. Many phenomena (mutual exclusions, suppletions, etc.) observed in the clitic string but not among arguments (including pronominal ones) favour Sporticheøs view. The same phenomena can also be accounted for under the movement derivation, but they require the rich architecture of a realizational grammar (Harris 1994, Bonet 1995), which is however rejected here.

## 3.    Wh- phrases in Lombard varieties

### 3.1    Introducing the data

Manzini and Savoia (2005), Poletto and Pollock (2009) discuss Lombard varieties with wh- in situ and wh- doubling, where at least some wh- pronouns have three different forms. This leads Poletto and Pollock (2009) to embrace the strong-weak-clitic partition of pronouns in Cardinaletti and Starkeøs (1999) model.

It is worth recalling briefly what the general issues involved in Romance wh- in situ are. Poletto and Pollock (2004, 2009) following the research program of Kayne (1999), analyze wh- in

situ as an instance of remnant movement of sentential material around the left dislocated wh-phrase. They argue for a movement analysis of wh- doubling, under which a wh- head and a wh-phrase are base generated as part of the same ‑big DPø; remnant movement again generates the apparent wh- in situ. Remnant movement is a powerful device, which does not obey restrictions imposed on chomskyan movement/chain formation. Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011b) argue that Lombard (in general Northern Italian) varieties do not provide any argument in favour of a remnant movement treatment of wh- in situ; in other words, there is no empirical disadvantage in taking wh-in situ  to be exactly what it appears to be ó namely the positioning of a wh- phrase in argumental position, rather than in scope position. They also take a representationalist rather than a derivational stance on wh- doubling, which they construe as a chain relation between a wh- element in situ and a wh- element in scope position at LF.

Because of these larger issues, the question whether the three morphological series of wh-pronoun in Lombard varieties support the strong-weak-clitic distinction is largely peripheral in the literature. Vice versa here I focus on it, abstracting from the remnant movement debate. The interest of Lombard varieties lies in the fact that it is difficult to find three morphologically distinct series of pronouns in Romance. For instance, Italian supposedly weak *loro* is lexically identical to supposedly strong *loro* (section 2) ó and what Sportiche (2011) characterizes as strong, weak and clitic *qui* are again lexically identical (section 4).

Consider for instance the *Olgiate* variety in (22).[13] Three forms of the wh-word for ‑whatø can be distinguished. First, *se* in (22a) is prosodically and distributionally a clitic form, consisting of a monosyllabic base and occurring only at the left periphery. Second *ku'zɛ* is prosodically and distributionally non clitic, occurring in argumental position in (22b) and (22c), as well as in left peripheral position in (22b-bø). Finally a distinct form *'kuza* occurs in the left periphery in (23c), prosodically non-clitic, yet with some distributional properties that also set it apart from *ku'zɛ*. Specifically, in doubling, *ku'zɛ* must occur in situ, while the left peripheral element must be either the clitic *se*, as in (22a), or *'kuza*, as in (22c).

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[13]  The relevant Lombard varieties are spoken in the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Lecco (roughly the lake region, North-West of Milan) as well as in Italian-speaking Switzerland (Canton Ticino, dialectologically a Lombard area).  Both Manzini and Savoia (2205) and Poletto and Pollock (2009) have original data from such areas. Poletto and Pollock discuss *Mendrisio* (Canton Ticino, Switzerland, cf. Lurà (1987)). Manzini and Savoia have data from the following varieties: *Grumello del Monte, Cologno al Serio, La Strozza Valle Imagna, Adrara San Rocco*, *Borgo di Terzo* (Bergamo), *Passirano* (Brescia), *S. Fedele Intelvi* (Como), *Civate, Olgiate Molgora* (Lecco).  All data in the text are from Manzini and Savoia; they are transcribed in a broad IPA from fieldwork sessions with native speakers. Stress marks should be paid particular attention to, since they often are distinctive.

(22) a.    se    fa    la    ku'zɛ          *Olgiate Molgora* (Lecco)

         what    does    she    what

         ='What doe she do?ø

     b.    ku'zɛ    fa    la

         what    does    she

         ='What does she do?ø

       bø    so    miŋga    ku'zɛ    maɲ'dʒɔ

         I.know not    what    to.eat

         =I donøt know what to eatø

     c.    'kuza    fa    la    ku'zɛ

         what    does    she    what

         ='What doe she do?ø

The general pattern illustrated in (22) is reproduced in example (23cø) of *La Strozza*. There are three different forms for =whatø, namely clitic *se* and non-clitic *'kuza* and *ko'zɛ*; *ko'zɛ* fills an argumental position, while *'koza* appears in the left periphery doubling it. The data in (23) also show that no lexical tri-partition is found with the wh-word =whoø Therefore *ki* =whoø equally occurs in situ as in (23b), in the left periphery, as in (23a) ó and can double itself, occurring both in situ and in left peripheral position in the same sentence, as in (23c).

(23) a.    ki    tʃamet          *La Strozza Valle Imagna* (Bergamo)

         who    you.call

         =Who are you calling?ø

     b.    tʃamet    ki

         you.call    who

         =Who are you calling?ø

     c.    ki    tʃamet    ki

         who    you.call    who

         =Who are you calling?ø

       cø    so    mia    'koza/ se    por'ta t    ko'zɛ

         I.know not    what    to.bring you    what

         =I do not know what to bring youø

## 3.2    *Discussion of Poletto and Pollock (2009).*

According to Poletto and Pollock (2009), the variety of *Mendrisio* (Ticino) displays a õtripartite distinction among wh- items: not only does it have clitic and strong (÷tonicø) wh- items í   but also weak wh- wordsö.   In examples like (22)-(23), monosyllabic *se* would be a clitic, while forms such as *'kuza, 'koza* would be weak ó contrasting with the strong *ku'zɛ, ko'zɛ*, characterized by stress on the last syllable. Poletto and Pollock justify this tripartition on the basis of several empirical criteria: (i) weak wh- pronouns cannot occur õsentence internallyö; (ii) they must be õadjacent to (the pronominal clitics adjacent to) a finite verbö; (iii) õthey cannot bear focusö. I will consider these criteria in turn.

The õsentence internalö criterion (i) relates to the idea of Cardinaletti and Starke that the deficient status of weak pronouns pushes them to move to a functional projection ó hence to an edge position. Consider however *Grumello* in (24); this is a variety of the type under examination, with wh- in situ in (24a) and two non-clitic wh- words for ÷whatø namely *ko'hɛ* in (24a) and *'koha* in (24b). Yet in (24b) the supposedly weak pronoun *'koha* is embedded in a prepositional phrase, hence definitely not in an edge position. In other words, it is õsentence internalö, flouting this criterion.

(24)  a.  al  fe:t  koŋ ko'hɛ                              *Grumello* (Bergamo)
          it  you.do with what
          ÷What do you do it with?ø
      b.  koŋ 'koha  al  fe:t
          with what  it  you.do
          ÷What do you do it with?ø

The same can be repeated for the variety of *Civate* in (25). Specifically, in (25b) the supposedly weak element *'kuzɛ* is embedded in a prepositional phrase. (25a-aø) show that this variety has wh- in situ and wh- doubling ó as well as the relevant tripartition in the lexicalization of ÷whatø namely *ku'zɛ, 'kuzɛ* and *se*.

(25)  a.  se  fet  ku'zɛ                                  *Civate* (Lecco)
          what  you.do what
          ÷What do you do?ø

|     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| aø  | di  | m   | se  | te  | fet | kuˈzɛ |
| tell | me | what | you | do | what |     |

=Tell me what you do ø

b.   kuŋ ˈkuzɛ   te   l   et   fa:

with what   you   it   have   done

=With what have you done it?ø

Let us then consider criterion (ii) of Poletto and Pollock, namely that weak wh- phrases are õadjacent to (the pronominal clitics adjacent to) a finite verbö. Again, the match to Cardinaletti and Starkeøs discussion is not obvious ó but again it could be connected to the structural deficiency of weak pronouns ó hence to their need to be not only in an edge position, but also adjacent to the verb. Now, in (24b) and (25b), ˈkoha/ˈkuzɛ are linearly left-adjacent to the verbal complex. Yet I doubt that linear adjacency is what Poletto and Pollock have in mind. Rather, I take it that what they are thinking about is structural adjacency, defined by minimal c-command, the spirit of Kayneøs (1994) LCA. If so, (24b)-(25b) do not satisfy this criterion either ó since the supposedly weak wh-phrase is embedded under a PP node.

Finally, consider criterion (iii), namely that weak pronouns õcannot bear focusö (exact words of Poletto and Pollock). In (26) the supposedly weak form *inˈdoe* =whereø is found in sentence final position, which in Romance languages is focussed (Zubizarreta 1998); the example shows that *indoˈɛ* is a possible alternant, establishing that in this variety =whereø also has two different non-clitic forms (seaparated in particular by prosody). It is equally dubious that the adjacency criterion (ii) holds of *inˈdoe* in this example, if what Poletto and Pollock really mean is left-adjacent (mention of the clitic complex supports this conclusion). Finally, the õsentence-internalö criterion (i) is also violated, at least if wh- in situ involves argument positions.[14]

(26)   alla   port   el   inˈdoe/ indoˈɛ                 *Grumello* (Bergamo)

he.it   brings   he   where

=Where does he bring it?ø

---

[14]   A word of caution is in order at this point, as noted by an anonymous reviewer. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) distinguish between contrastive and informational focus. They exclude that weak pronouns (ordinarily) bear contrastive focus; but nothing bars them from bearing informational focus. Therefore if informational focus is involved in (26), this particular property of *(i)nˈdoe* is compatible with its weak status. The fact remains that Poletto and Pollock disregard the distinction between different types of focus.

Another example of a violation of criteria (i)-(iii) is (27). There are three forms of ÷whereø in the *Adrara* variety (without considering allomorphs) ó namely *ndo*, whose monosyllabic form and distribution are compatible with clitic status, and two non-clitic forms. One, *indo'ɛ,* is characterized by final stress ó*'ɛ* morphology, and appears in situ in (27a). The other. *in'do/ n'doe,* is characterized by a different stressed pattern and appears in the left peripheral position in (27a) and in situ in (27b). By analogy with the ÷whatøpattern (and the previous discussion of ÷whereø in (26)), we may want to take *in'do/ n'doe* as the weak pronoun and *indo'ɛ* as the strong one. Yet, crucially in (27b) the in situ position (õsentence-internalö), focal and non-left adjacent to the verb is taken by supposedly weak *n'doe.*

(27) a. in'do   et     indo'ɛ                    *Adrara S. Rocco* (Bergamo)
        where you.go where
        ÷Where are you going?ø

    b. ho    mia   ndo   nda   n'doe
        I.know not     where to.go   where
        ÷I donøt know where to goø

Independently of the specific observations that precede, the Lombard data as whole pose a problem for Cardinaletti and Starkeøs (1999) Economy of representations, which predicts a complementary distribution between strong and weak forms. This complementary distribution is simply not observed in (22)-(27), where supposedly weak and strong forms alternate in the same positions, and sometimes even in the same examples (cf. (26)).[15]

*3.3    An alternative proposal*

The existence of a class of clitic wh- words in Lombard varieties, including forms like *se* ÷whatø in (22a) or *ndo* ÷whereø in (27b), is not questioned here (cf. also section 4 on French). These wh-clitics are associated with a left peripheral distribution which is consistent with the general

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[15] Given the historical, regional, sociological stratification of a national language like Italian one may try to claim that environments where *loro/cui* and *(a) loro/(a) cui* alternate depend on different registers (cf. fn. 2, 4). For obvious reasons, this line of explanation is excluded for the languages at hand whose sole alternant is (some form of) the national language.

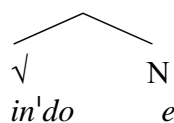characterization of clitics as functional heads outlined in section 2.4.

What I am interested in are non-clitic forms, which are equally found in the left periphery and in situ. For instance, *ku'zɛ* appears in situ in (23a) and in the left periphery in (23b); *in'do/n'doe* appears in the left periphery in (27a) and in situ in (27b). As already noted, there are distributional constraints on non-clitic wh- forms as well. In particular, in wh- doubling examples, forms with final stressed -'ɛ are required to appear in situ and to be doubled by a non -'ɛ form. Note that -'ɛ forms cannot be constrained to appear in situ in general, since they can appear in the left periphery in the absence of doubling, for instance in (23b). Vice versa, the in situ position cannot be restricted to the -'ɛ series, since *in'doe* can felicitously occupy it in (27). To reiterate, the generalization that needs to be explained is that if the language has an -'ɛ form and if this is inserted in a doubling context, then it must necessarily occur in situ. More sweeping generalizations do not seem to hold.

Given the general lexicalist bias of the present discussion, let us begin by a morphological analysis of the wh- pronouns involved. Non-clitic forms divide into two subclasses depending on whether an -'ɛ ending is present or not. This morphologically coincides with the 3rd person singular of the verb *be*. Now, in Romance languages, as in English, the copula has a focussing role in cleft constructions, including questions ó cf. Italian *cos'è (che í )* —lit: what is (it that í )ø We also know that the copula is grammaticalized as a focus particle in other languages, for instance in Somali (Frascarelli and Puglielli 2005). Observations of this type lead one fairly naturally to the conclusion that the -'ɛ morphology of Lombard varieties lexicalizes focus properties.
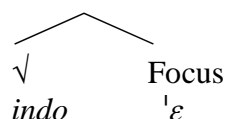
More formally, I propose that the internal structures of wh- word like *indo'ɛ* and *in'doe* (*ku'zɛ* and *'kuza* etc.) is as in (28). In (28a) the wh- base *indo* is associated with a conventional nominal class inflection (cf. personal pronouns in (2)-(4)); the word stress is on the lexical base. In (28b) on the other hand the lexical base is associated with the Focus particle -'ɛ which attracts the main word stress. Thus Lombard varieties like *Adrara* in (28) have a bound morpheme -'ɛ specialized for the lexicalization of Focus, that selects for a subset of wh- bases (excluding in particular *ki* —whoø).

(28)   a.                                                *Adrara*

                      √        N

                    *in'do*    *e*

b.

```
        √           Focus
       indo          'ɛ
```

Let us then return to the distributional restriction observed above, namely that in wh-doubling configuration a wh- element of the type in (28b) can be found only in situ. Wh- doubling is predicated on the assumption that wh- morphology is lexicalized more than once. As I observed in section 3.1, Poletto and Pollock propose a derivational model of this in terms of the so-called ‑big DPø analysis of clitic doubling. Manzini and Savoia (2011b) take a representational stand (Brody 2003) under which both wh- items are generated in their surface position and connected by a chain at the LF interface. Independently of whether a derivational or representational model of doubling is chosen, at the LF interface there is a single position in which the wh- operator is interpreted, namely its scope position (the left peripheral position in syntactic terms). For instance in (29) (cf. (27a)), wh- properties are interpreted in the (Spec, CP) position. In fact, they may also be represented as Specs of a dedicated wh- functional head at the left periphery of the sentence, i.e. WH in (29).

(29)    [$_{CP/WHP}$ in'do   [$_{IP}$ et   [$_{VP}$ e̶t̶ indo'ɛ]

Additionally, questions are associated with a Topic-Focus partition of the sentence ó and in Lombard varieties, wh- and Focus properties are separately lexicalized by wh- and -'ɛ morphology respectively. My proposal as to the distributional restriction observed with the -'ɛ morphology in wh- doubling is that, first of all, -'ɛ cannot be doubled. In other words, Focus properties are not only interpreted once (like wh- properties), but also lexicalized once. This does not quite explain why in wh- doubling -'ɛ is found in the in situ position ó since in the absence of doubling it can equally well be associated with the left periphery of sentences.

Therefore I propose the further assumption that in (Lombard) wh- doubling, wh- and Focus properties split between the doubled elements. As standardly assumed, wh- properties are associated with (Spec, CP), cf. (29). Focus properties are therefore associated with the right peripheral position aligned with Nuclear stress (Zubizarreta 1998). This means that in wh-doubling, the lexicalization of Focus properties, via the dedicated -'ɛ morphology, must occur in this latter position. Following Belletti (2008) we can say that the right peripheral position aligned with focal stress is a dedicated low Focus position sandwiched between IP and CP ó yielding the syntactic representation in (30a). In the absence of doubling -'ɛ morphology can be found in the left periphery, as in (30b) (cf. (22b)) and wh- words without -'ɛ morphology can be found in the right

aligned focal position, as in (30c) (cf. (26)).

(30) a.  [WHP in'do    [CP et        [FocusP indo'ɛ   [VP e̶t̶ ...

b.  [WHP ku'zɛ    [CP fa  [CLP la                  [VP f̶a̶ í

c.  [CLP alla      [CP port [CLP el [FocusP in'doe [VP p̶o̶r̶t̶ í

## 3.4   Conclusions

The existence of three series of wh- pronouns in Lombard varieties, clearly distinct morphologically, and in part also distributionally, seems to provide a good prima facie argument in favour of the clitic/weak/strong tripartition of pronouns. There is no doubt that these varieties have wh- clitics; in terms of the theory of clitics adopted in section 2.4, this means that these are dedicated lexicalizations of a left-peripheral WH head (see also section 4 on French). On the other hand, the weak-strong distinction does not help in predicting the distribution of the two other, non-clitic series of wh- pronouns, with stress on the lexical base and with final -'ɛ morphology, since the same positions, often even in the same example, can host one or the other form. In other words, the complementary distribution predicted by Economy of representations, given different sizes of pronouns, is not observed. Therefore I propose that the wh- pronouns of Lombard varieties are sensitive only to wh- and Focus properties. Specifically in doubling examples, wh- and Focus properties split between the doubled elements, so that if wh- is associated with the left peripheral scope position, Focus (hence -'ɛ morphology) must be associated with the position aligned with Nuclear Stress.

## 4.    French wh- phrases

### 4.1   Introducing the data

As the last case study to be reviewed here, I consider interrogative and relative wh-phrases in French. As in previous sections, I begin with a review of the evidence. I mostly take my examples from Sportiche (2011), whose analysis I later address. Specifically I concentrate on three wh- words of French, whose distribution in questions and relatives is particularly complex, namely *quoi* ='whatø, *que* ='what, thatø and *qui* ='who, thatø Readers familiar with standard French can proceed to

other sections.

Quoi is easily described. First, it is restricted to inanimates. Furthermore, as expected of a full DP, it is found under prepositions and in situ, as in (31). It surfaces bare in the left periphery of interrogatives, only if the latter are infinitival; otherwise it is impossible, as in (32) It never occurs as a bare relative pronoun, as in (33).

(31)  a.    Avec quoi tu as mangé?
            with what you ate?

      b.    rien contre quoi on se bat
            nothing against which we fight

      c.    Tu as vu quoi?
            you saw what?

(32)  a.    *Quoi plait a` Pierre?
            what appeals to Pierre?

      b.    *Je sais quoi Jean a achete´.
            I know what Jean bought

      c.    Quoi faire?
            what to do?

      d.    je ne sais pas quoi faire
            I donøt know what to.do

(33)  a.    *rien quoi tu connais
            nothing what you know

      b.    *rien quoi te plait
            nothing what pleases you

      c.    * quelque chose quoi faire
            something what to do


Let us consider que. It is not embeddable under prepositions and does not appear in situ, as in (34). As a relative pronoun, it restricted to accusatives, as in (36). As an interrogative, in (35), it seems to be restricted to inanimates, it is found only as an object (which could follow from the fact that it is accusative) and furthermore only in matrix finite questions with subject-verb inversion or else in infinitivals.[16]

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[16] Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting the minimal pair in (32d) vs. (35g) ó on which more in section 4.3.

(34)   a.      \*Avec que as-tu mangé?

               with what you ate

               =With what did you eat?ø

      b.      \*rien contre que on se bat

               nothing against which we fight

      c.      \*Tu dis que?

               you are saying what?

(35)   a.      Que fait-il?

               what does he ?

      b.      Que fait Jean?

               what does Jean ?

      c.      \*Que tu dis?

               what you are saying?

      d.      \*On se demande que tu fais.

               we wonder what you are doing

      e.      \*Que tombe du ciel?

               What  is falling from the sky?

      f.      Que faire avec ma vie?

               what to.do with my life

      g.      Je ne sais pas que faire

               I donøt know what to.do

(36)   a.      la fille que tu connais

               the girl that you know

      b.      la ville que tu connais

               the city that you know

      c.      \*la table que sera vendue

               the table that will be sold

Finally, *qui* occurs as the object of prepositions and in situ, as in (37), and in such occurrences it is always interpreted as animate. It is also interpreted as animate in questions, where it is case neutral, as in (38). In relatives, it cooccurs with both animate and inanimate heads, but it is restricted to the nominative, as in (39).

(37)  a.       la fille avec qui tu danses

              the girl with whom you dance

      b.       avec qui tu danses?

              with who you dance?

      c.       tu connais qui?

              you know who?

(38)  a.       qui tu connais?

              who you know?

      b.       qui est venu?

              who has come?

(39)  a.        *la fille qui tu connais

              the girl who you know

      b.       la fille qui est venue

              the girl that came

      c.       la table qui sera vendue

              the table that will be sold

## 4.2   Discussion of Sportiche (2011)

The most recent complete presentation of the French wh- system that I am aware of is Sportiche's (2011), summarized in Tables 1-2 (these partially reproduce Tables 5 and 9 respectively of Sportiche).  Nom, Acc and the [human] features are self-explanatory categories, while +T and ‒T refer to tensed and untensed contexts respectively. Strong, weak and clitic are the pronominal categories addressed here.  The focus of Sportiche's discussion is the *que-qui* rule of French, for which he proposes an analysis treating so-called complementizer *qui* as the relative pronoun *qui*.[17] Therefore Tables 1-2 should not be mistaken for a summary of his results; rather they summarize some of his starting assumptions. This doesn't make it any less relevant to ask whether an analysis of the French wh- system can be achieved by renouncing some of the restrictive richness of Tables 1-2 and in particular the categories of weak and strong pronoun.

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[17] Sportiche is non committal as to whether the so-called complementizer que is also to be identified with the wh-pronoun, as argued in different ways by Manzini and Savoia (2011a), Arsenijevic (2009), Kayne (2010). I also factor away this issue, not to complicate discussion further.

## French restrictive relative pronouns

| Case | | Nom | Acc |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strong | [+human] | *qui* | *qui* |
| Strong | [−human] | *quoi* | *quoi* |
| $+T_{weak}$ | [0human] | qui | que |
| $-T_{weak}$ | [0human] | e | e |

Table 1 (Sportiche 2011)

## Bare interrogative pronouns

| | [+human] | [−human] |
|---|---|---|
| Strong | qui | quoi |
| Weak | qui | que |
| Clitic | qui | que |

Table 2 (Sportiche 2011)

Given the lexicalist bias of this work, I organize my presentation not around the categories of Tables 1-2, but around the three forms *quoi, que, qui*. Consider *quoi*. According to Tables 1-2 there are two *quoi*, namely a relative and an interrogative one. However they are both characterized as strong and [-human] and they both have a distribution independent of case. Because of these shared properties, I shall proceed in the discussion as if there was a single *quoi*. For Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) the presence of an animacy restriction is a defining property of strong pronouns. Therefore one may think that the category strong pronoun, associated with *quoi* in tables 1-2, does in fact predict its animacy restriction. However recall that for Cardinaletti and Starke strength predicts animacy restrictions only for personal pronouns, excluding the Italian strong wh- (*a*) *cui* (section 2.1). Therefore, it seems that at least for wh- pronouns, animacy cannot be predicted from strength.[18]

Strong pronoun status does explain the distribution of *quoi* in PPs and in situ, as in (31), cf.

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[18] Vice versa, strength cannot be predicted from animacy, since in Table 2 Sportiche assumes that interrogative *qui* is animate though weak/clitic.

(40a-b) below; but note that non-clitic (full DP) status also does it. More interestingly, bare interrogative *quoi* cannot attach to the left periphery of a finite sentence, as in (32a-b). For Poletto and Pollock (2009), as reviewed in section 3.2, a criterion for weak wh- pronouns is being left-adjacent to a verbal complex (in practice attaching to IP/ CP). One may therefore surmise that *quoi* is incompatible with left-peripheral attachment because it is strong. However there is no principled incompatibility between *quoi* and left peripheral position in infinitival questions, as in (32c-d). Therefore the category strong is of little use in predicting this distribution. If I read him correctly, Sportiche simply proposes that *quoi* cannot locally cooccur with +T, which I state in (40c) in terms of selection. Finally, as stated in (40d), for Sportiche the fact that *quoi* is always excluded as a bare relative pronoun depends on Cardinaletti and Starkeøs (1999) Economy of representations, given the existence of weak relative *que* (and *qui*). Since the minimal possible lexicalization must be instantiated, *quoi* is excluded.

(40)  *Quoi:* a.  OK complement of P: strong                                    Sportiche (2011)

            b.  OK in situ: strong

            c.  OK bare left-peripheral interrogative pronoun, only in óT contexts:

                 if it selects C, then $C_{-T}$

            d.  *bare relative pronoun:  Economy of representations

Generalization (40d), which crucially refers to Cardinaletti and Starkeøs Economy, will be the main focus of section 4.3. Here I limit myself to the observation that, if *que* covers the distribution of *quoi* in relatives, we would expect the same to be true in questions. But it is not. Not only *que,* but also *quoi* is allowed in infinitival main and embedded questions as is *quoi* ó as illustrated in (32). Therefore if there really is a blocking effect of *que* on *quoi,* it is restricted to relatives. It is difficult however to see why the Economy principle of Cardinaletti and Starke would select the more elementary wh-operator only in certain contexts (relatives rather than interrogatives).

Next, consider *que*. In Tables 1-2 there are again two *que*, which overlap in that both are clitics. One *que* is a relative pronoun with accusative/objective case and no animacy restrictions (Table 1), the other is an interrogative pronoun restricted to [-human] reference and with no case. In reality this partition is not as obvious as it seems. First, the restriction to accusative/objective case is observed not only in relatives, as in (36), but also in questions, as in (35). Second, it is possible to argue that interrogative *que*, like relative *que*, lacks any restriction, ranging over animates, inanimates and in fact events and propositions. Consider its English counterpart *what*. A question

like *what do you see?* admits of the answer *a man* (animate), as well as *a field* (inanimate), *fighting* (event), or *that he is moved* (proposition). The same holds in Romance, suggesting that interrogative *que* does not have any animacy restriction, and removing an important obstacle to the unification of relative and interrogative *que*.[19] Therefore from now on I will proceed as if there was a single *que*.

According to Sportiche, the impossibility of finding *que* in PPs or in situ observed in (34), cf. (41a-b) below, follows from the fact that *que* is not strong, i.e. either weak or a clitic. It equally follows if we cut out the category weak in favour of the category clitic.[20] There are two further restrictions on *que*. First, relative *que* is restricted to tensed contexts, i.e. it cannot appear in infinitival relatives, as in (36). For Sportiche this is an instance of Economy of representations, cf. (41d), since infinitivals have a less structured relative pronoun available, namely a zero form. Second, as an interrogative, *que* is excluded from embedded tensed contexts; Sportiche also reduces this to the weak/ clitic status of *que*, as indicated in (41c), via a requirement that interrogative force should be independently supported by V-in-C. I return to how this works immediately below.

(41)    *Que*:    a.    * complement of P: weak/clitic                    Sportiche (2011)

            b.    * in situ: weak/clitic

            c.    OK bare left-peripheral interrogative pronoun, if matrix tensed or untensed: weak/clitic, interrogative force supplied by V

            d.    OK bare relative pronoun, only if tensed: Economy of representations

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[19] Judgments on this point should not be confused with those on a quite separate issue, namely whether one could ask *what does Mary love?* if intending an animate answer. In that case *who does Mary love?* is of course obligatory. Furthermore *who* will occur in argumental slots restricted to [+human] participants, excluding *what*, e.g. *who/*what loves my book?* (pointed out by an anonymous reviewer). The lexical properties of *what* are not involved here, but rather Gricean maxims (or the Relevance Principle, Sperber and Wilson 1986). *Who,* denoting a subset of the answers denoted by *what* (i.e. [+human] individuals) is obligatorily lexicalized if a [+human] answer is implied. Another way to express the same generalization is by Elsewhere: the unrestricted *what* form cannot satisfy [+human] subcategorization in a language which has the specialized *who* form.

If so-called complementizer *que* identifies with the wh- pronoun *que* (cf. fn. 17), this provides further support to the conclusion that *que* is compatible with propositional denotation as well.

[20] An anonymous reviewer notes a further distributional constraint on *que*, namely that it cannot appear in isolation, as in (i). For Cardinaletti and Starke this is a property of weak pronouns and clitics; it equally follows from a characterization of *que* as a clitic.

(i)    Quoi?/Qui?/*Que? (Je n'ai pas compris)

        What?/who?/what? (I didnøt understand)

Sportiche informally suggests the following explanation of the generalization in (41c): õIn relative clauses, the role of the C system is to provide a lambda-operator, a property that can be carried by strong or weak (or even silent) relative pronouns. In questions, however í  further quantificational force is needed. We can speculate that weak interrogative pronouns, by the very fact that they are deficient, are incapable of carrying such forceí  weak forms are normally excluded for this reason. The only cases in which weak forms will be allowed to appear are those where the requisite quantificational force is encoded in some other wayö. In particular, among the finite examples in (35a-e), the only wellformed ones have subject-verb inversion, i.e. movement of V to C. Since we know that in yes-no questions, interrogative force is carried by V-in-C, we can assume the same for *que* interrogatives.

All that matters for the present discussion is that, as far as I can tell, the same explanation can be run if *que* is simply a clitic, rather than a clitic/weak pronoun. It should also be noted however that this line of explanation must somehow be extended to infinitival questions (which Sportiche does not discuss, cf. Goldsmith 1981). It seems unlikely that the French infinitive moves to C, given the long tradition of studies that concludes in favour of a low position for it (Pollock 1989, Kayne 1991). I suggest a different solution, based on the observation that V-in-C in finite environments associates V with (interrogative) modality in C. Therefore I surmise that *que* is licenced in infinitival questions simply because the infinitival V is associated with (irrealis) modality in the ordinary I position. In other words, the õfurther quantifical forceö of Sportiche is modality, supplied either by V-in-C or by infinitival I.

The application of Economy of representations in (41d) is more directly relevant here because it lends support to the theoretical core of the strong/weak distinction. There are however a couple of problems. First, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) explicitly discuss at least one empty pronominal forms, namely the subject *pro* of Italian. They conclude that it is a weak pronoun, not a clitic. In other words, it does not automatically follow from their lack of phonological realization that the empty relative pronouns of French are smaller in size than *que* ó or at least the smaller, clitic *que*.

More importantly, the complementary distribution of *quoi* and *que*, reviewed in connection with (40d) is very different from that of *que* and zero in (41d). The zero relative pronouns of French must be restricted to untensed environments as part of their lexical entry; otherwise the Economy logic would mean that the zero form covers the entire distribution of *que*. Therefore, the complementary distribution of zero forms and of *que* follows from Elsewhere. Since the zero forms are restricted to untensed contexts, their non-zero alternants surface in the complement set of tensed

sentences. Their relative size and Economy of representations are irrelevant. [21]

Let us then turn to *qui*. In Table 1 there is a relative *qui*$_1$ which is strong, [+human] and case independent and a relative *qui*$_2$ which is weak/clitic, not restricted by animacy and nominative. In Table 2 there is an interrogative *qui* which is strong/weak/clitic, [+human] and case independent, i.e. essentially like relative *qui*$_1$. When animate, *qui* is very similar to *quoi* (inanimate), and when nominative, it is very similar to *que* (objective). Since the main theoretical and descriptive points have been addressed in connection with *quoi* and *que*, I will survey *qui* very briefly, dividing the discussion between animate *qui* and nominative *qui*.

Animate *qui* appears in situ and as object of prepositions (37), very much as we observed for *quoi*. For Sportiche this depends on its strong nature, cf. (42a-b), but see the discussion of *quoi* surrounding (40a-b) above. The distribution of animate *qui* is simpler than that of *quoi* because it freely occurs as a bare interrogative, as in (42c). As a relative, on the other hand, animate *qui* cannot appear bare in left peripheral position. This distribution has again been observed with *quoi* in (40d). The impossibility of finding animate *qui/ quoi* as a left peripheral relative pronoun is attributed by Sportiche (2011) to the existence of the weak/clitic *que/qui* (objective/nominative) system, taking precedence over strong *quoi/qui* (animate/inanimate), cf. (42d). Recall however that this approach, based on Economy of representations, does not explain why the complementary distribution of *quoi* and *que* does not hold in infinitival questions. I return to the matter in section 4.3.

(42)  *Qui*:  animate                                                                 Sportiche (2011)

a.      OK complement of P: strong

b.      OK in situ: strong

c.      OK bare left-peripheral interrogative pronoun

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[21]  Theoretically, I doubt that infinitival relatives are introduced by zero lexical forms (an expensive device, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2011a on Kayne's 2010 =silent categoriesø); empty operators ashould suffice. Empirically, both the Economy and the Elsewhere view are insufficient for other Romance languages. For instance, in Old Italian (Brambilla Ageno 1964) and in several Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005), despite the existence of zero wh- pronouns, *che* =what/thatøcan also introduce infinitival relatives, in particular in negative polarity contexts, as in (i).

(i)       Non ho carlino che in borsa portare

          not I.have penny that in my.purse carry

          =I donøt have a penny to carry in my purseø

(*Cronica aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo* 136, 6)

Manzini (2012) proposes that *che* in Old Italian selects for finiteness, or else it must be read in the scope of polarity operators which include the negation in (i), and the question operator in interrogatives. This suggests that the disjunction between finiteness and interrogative modality in French is primitive. I drop this line of investigation, as I do for others that further complicate the picture.

d.    *bare relative pronoun: by Economy of representations

As for nominative *qui*, its weak/clitic status is invoked by Sportiche in order to explain its distribution in (43a-b) ó though clitic status is sufficient, paralleling *que* in (41a-b). As a relative pronoun, nominative *qui* only occurs in tensed contexts. Differently from *que* in (41d) Economy of representations in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke need not be involved, since nominative is not supported by infinitives anyway, cf. (43d). The other question posed by nominative *qui* concerns (43c), i.e. the fact that it cannot appear in interrogatives. This is stipulated by Sportiche, who simply provides two different Tables for relatives and interrogatives.

(43)   *Qui*:   nominative                                             Sportiche (2011)
       a.    *complement of P: weak/clitic,
       b.    *in situ: weak/clitic
       c.    *bare interrogative pronoun: stipulated
       d.    bare relative pronoun, only +T: by Economy of representations/ nominative

In general, it seems fair to conclude that there arenøt three lexical series or three distributions in French, i.e. strong-weak-clitic, but at most two. In fact, in Table 1, the opposition is between strong and weak relative pronouns ó where the latter are construed as clitic or weak. The same holds for the interrogative system in Table 2, since interrogative weak and clitic forms are systematically homophonous and the single lexical opposition that the Table contains, between *quoi* and *que*, can be described in terms of clitic (*que*) vs. full pronoun (*quoi*). In other words, as far as I can tell, Sporticheøs wh- system could be reproduced on the basis of an opposition between clitic and non-clitic categories.

Second, whether a tripartition or a bipartition is involved, Sportiche adopts the key idea of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) that Economy of representations predicts certain complementary distributions (or near such). I raised doubts about this in the discussion that precedes, since some complementary distributions (*que/qui* vs. zero in relatives) can be formalized simply by Elsewhere. More importantly, another complementary distribution (*quoi* vs. *que*) does not hold at all in infinitival questions, providing a potential argument that Economy of representations is not just unnecessary, it is impossible. I turn to this matter in the next section.

## 4.3   An alternative proposal

Sportiche invokes Cardinaletti and Starke's Economy of lexicalizations to explain why weak/ clitic *que/qui* (accusative/nominative) systematically cover *quoi/qui* (inanimate/animate) in (finite) relative clauses, as illustrated in (44). One issue I raised in section 4.2. concerns the unexpected fact that this is not true in questions, where *quoi* and *que* alternate at least in infinitival contexts, as in (45a) vs. (44a). Furthermore, recall that I suggested that there is no evidence for two different *que*'s, one accusative (relative) and the other inanimate (interrogative); rather, there is a single *que*, with objective case and lacking a restriction. If so, we may further ask why supposedly weak *que* does not cover supposedly strong, i.e. animate, *qui* in (45b) – as it does in (44b).

(44)   a.      rien              que/*quoi      tu connais
               nothing          that            you know
       b.      la fille          que/*qui       tu connais
               the girl          who             you know
(45)   a.      Je ne sais pas          que/quoi      faire
               I not know not          what          to.do
               'I don't know what to do'
       b.      Que/qui        voit-il?
               What/who       sees he
               'What/who does he see?'

    Relatives and questions differ in that in relatives, a lexical restriction for the wh- operator is available in the form of the head of the relative clause. On the other hand, in questions, the only possible restriction on the wh- operator is provided by the content of the wh- word. This observation potentially takes us into a family of constraints, concerned with doubling/identity and its avoidance (Yip 1998, Neeleman and van de Koot 2006, van Riemsdijk 2008, Richards 2010).

    The best known anti-identity constraint, namely the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) of Leben (1973) has been extended from the domain of phonology, where it was originally proposed, to the domain of morphosyntax. For instance, the morphosyntactic OCP is invoked to explain the mutual exclusion between two *l-* clitics in many Romance languages, including dative and accusative in Spanish (Harris (1994), Nevins (2007) for Distributed Morphology treatments, Grimshaw (1997) for an OT approach). Avoidance of doubling does not generally result in ungrammaticality, but rather in alternative lexicalizations. For instance instead of the dative-

accusative *l- l- cluster we find *se* + *l-* in Spanish, *tʃi* (locative) + *l-* in Central Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007), *ne* (partititive) + *l-* in Southern Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia op. cit.). Evidently, the so-called suppletive clitics lack the offending *l-* property. However, as stressed by both Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) and Kayne (2010), there is no sense in which the suppletive form is a subset of the excluded form. For instance, though locative *tʃi* may lack the defininetess property of *l-*, it has a locative property that *l-* clitics lack. In other words, relative size is not involved.[22]

If identity avoidance is at stake, we gain a new insight into why nominative/accusative *qui/que* blocks animate/inanimate *qui/quoi* in the relatives in (44) but not in the questions in (45). Animate/inanimate *qui/quoi* introduce a restriction which is potentially doubled by the head of the relative clause in (44), while it is not independently present in the questions in (45). By identity avoidance, restrictor-less *qui/que* are the sole possible lexicalization in relatives, where a restrictor is independently introduced by the head of the relative, as in (44), but not in questions where it is not, as in (45). Note that *XX constraints are strictly local, so that for instance two *l-* clitics in two different clitic strings are not blocked. I propose that this is the reason why embedding of animate/inanimate *qui/quoi* under a preposition is sufficient to undo the relevant context for identity avoidance in relatives. PP is the local domain for animate/inanimate *qui/quoi,* insulating them from the head of the relative, so that a PP containing animate/inanimate *qui/quoi* is wellformed in relatives as well, as in (31) and in (37).

This approach makes the further prediction that headless relatives allow for animate/inanimate *qui/quoi*. Unfortunately *quoi* has an anti-finiteness restriction excluding it from all finite clauses, for instance the questions in (32), while in infinitival relatives it is excluded by zero operators. However the prediction can be checked with *qui*. The prediction then is that free relatives will have the non-case sensitive animate *qui* which is excluded in relatives like (44b); the prediction is correct, as in (46).

(46) Jø    aime  qui    møaime
     I     love  who    me loves

A final caveat is in order. Though *XX looks like a universal principle (and in fact a ‑third factorø one), its application is parametrized ó in the sense that the doubling excluded by some

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[22] This is a crucial point in the debate opposing Kayne or Manzini and Savoia to Distributed Morphology, where suppletion is determined by Impoverishment, so that suppletive forms are predicted to be a subset of the forms they are suppletive for. In this respect as well, note the depth of the consonance between superficially quite different realizational models, such as DM and Cardinaletti and Starkeøs.

languages is required in others; for instance, French or Italian have the double-*l* clusters such as *le lui* =it to him=, *glie-lo* =to him it= that are excluded in Spanish. We expect the same properties to hold of the mutual exclusion between relative heads and restricted relative pronouns. What holds in a language (e.g. French) need not hold in another. Hence English allows for *the man who í* etc.[23]

Let me draw a summary for *que* and *quoi*, before returning to *qui*. *Quoi* is a full DP, accounting for the distribution in (47a-b). As for the surfacing of *que*, rather than *quoi*, in relatives, as in (47d), I suggest that identity avoidance is at play preventing the doubling of the lexical restrictions introduced by *quoi* and by the head of the relative. I adopt Sportiche's (2011) proposal that *quoi*, when embedding sentential material, requires it to be finite (47c).[24]

(47)   *Quoi:* a.   OK complement of P:                          full DP

b.   OK in situ:                                 full DP

c.   OK bare interrogative pronoun, only in infinitives: if selecting C, then $C_{\text{-finite}}$

d.   *bare relative pronoun:                      *XX

*Que* is a cliticó understood in terms of attachment to specialized positions on the main sentential spine (cf. Sportiche 1996 and section 2.4 here) ó which accounts for its distribution in (48a-b). Like Sportiche (2011) we may assume that relative *que* is restricted to finite relatives, because zero operators are available in infinitivals, as in (48d) (on this, cf. fn. 21). I also follow Sportiche in connecting the further restrictions on interrogative *que* to its need to be supported by a

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[23] As an anonymous reviewer points out, German relative pronouns (demonstratives, rather than wh-pronouns) double phi-features of the head noun, etc. A second anonymous reviewer points out the existence of dialectal French paradigms of the type in (i)-(iii). I take the two apparently identical *qui*s in (i) to be animate *qui* (the interrogative) and nominative *qui* (the so-called complementizer). Animate *qui* is excluded in (ii) by *XX. Double nominative *qui* is also excluded in (ii), may be precisely by *XX. The same reasoning may be applied to double (objective) *que* (but cf. also the V-in-C requirement discussed in section 4.2).

(i)     Qui qui est venu?
        Who that has come

(ii)    *La personne qui qui est venue
        The person who that came

(iii)   *Que que tu veux?
        What that you want

[24] Descriptive finiteness has two components, namely tense and the presence of an inflection agreeing with the subject (the EPP argument). There are indications  that it is the second component that is relevant for the distribution of complementizers/ wh-operators (Kayne 1991, Manzini 2012). Therefore I shall refer to finiteness rather than to Sportiche's T.

verb with modal properties, as in (48c), hence either an infinitive or a V-in-C in finite interrogatives.

(48)  *Que*:  a.  \* complement of P:                                clitic
         b.  \* in situ:                                         clitic
         c.  OK bare interrogative pronoun, only matrix finite or infinitives
                                                           V-in-C/I$_{modal}$
         d.  OK bare relative pronoun, only finite           Elsewhere

Properties of *que* and *quoi* that need to be stated in their lexical entries include the fact that *quoi* is inanimate and that *que* is objective, as well as their selectional requirements with respect to tenseness. Clitic status may be predictable from other properties. French has no pronominal elements marked for case except in the pronominal clitic series and in the left-peripheral wh-pronouns series. In particular, there is no case differentiation among full pronouns, though many Romance languages have a case system at least for P(articipant) pronouns (Loporcaro 2008, Manzini and Savoia 2011a). Among wh- pronouns, the only case marked ones are obligatorily left-peripheral, including nominative *qui*, objective *que* and genitive *dont* ='of whom'. The relevant generalization is stated in (49); in other words, Case is only lexicalized as a functional category on the sentential spine, namely on a clitic (Sportiche 1996, sections 2.4 and 3.4 here). Therefore if *que* is objective, it must be a clitic ó while in the absence of other specifications, *quoi* is a non-clitic.

(49)  Case → functional category on the sentential spine = clitic                (French)

In the end, the lexicon for *quoi* and *que* is quite simplified with respect to Tables 1-2, as shown in (50)-(51).

(50)  *quoi*:  wh-, inanimate
              selects C only if C$_{non-finite}$
(51)  *que*:  wh-, objective

Let us consider *qui*. In section 4.2 we ended up with a disjunction between nominative *qui* (no restrictor, the counterpart to objective *que*) and animate *qui* (no case, the counterpart to inanimate *quoi*). Consider first nominative *qui*. That it is a clitic is now crucially predicted by (49). Furthermore, nominative *qui* never occurs in questions; however we have also seen that its

objective counterpart *que* is severely restricted in interrogatives. Specifically, in (48c) we adopted the idea that *que* requires support by a modal verb (infinitive or V-in-C) in order to be interpreted as an interrogative. Suppose we impose the same condition on nominative *qui*. On the basis of it, we expect to find nominative *qui* in questions with verb-clitic inversion (i.e. V-in-C), as in (52a) ó but this type of question must be independently excluded in any account; in other words, even Sportiche must exclude (52a) with animate interpretation.[25] We also expect nominative *qui* to be wellformed in infinitivalsó except that infinitivals do not support nominative, excluding (52b).

(52)   a.   * Qui a-t-il/elle mangé la pomme?
            Who has-s/he eaten the apple
       b.   *Qui aller?
            Who to go

In short, nominative *qui* is blocked as an interrogative by a conspiracy of (49), forcing it to have a clitic distribution, and the restrictions independently placed on clitic *que* ó as summarized in (53c). The generalization in (49) equally predicts that *qui* in situ or object of preposition will be animate (and not the nominative, which is a clitic), as in (53a-b). In turn, animate *qui* is excluded from relative clauses, in the same way as inanimate *quoi*, namely by the *XX constraint, as in (53d). Finally, following in part Sportiche, relative *qui* (like relative *que*) is restricted to finite clauses because of Elsewhere, given the availability of empty operators for infinitival relatives, as in (53d) again (but see fn. 21).

(53)   *Qui*:   a.   OK complement of P:            only animate
                                                   (nominative→ clitic →*)
                 b.   OK in situ:                   only animate
                                                   (nominative→ clitic →*)
                 c.   OK bare interrogative pronoun:   only animate
                                                   (nominative→ V-in-C/I$_{modal}$→*)
                 d.   OK bare relative pronoun:      only nominative
                                                   (animate →*XX)
                                                   only finite, by Elsewhere

The summary in (53) suggests that though the form *qui* is characterized by a real disjunction

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[25] In the context of the present discussion it is tempting to assume that anti-doubling *XX constraint is again involved.

between animacy and case properties, this can be encoded in a single lexical entry as in (54).


(54)    *qui*:    wh-, animate or nominative


Following the model of sections 2-3, the lexical entries in (49)-(50) and (54) can further be broken down in more elementary constituents. In essence *quoi* /kwa/, *que* /kə/ and *qui* /ki/ are formed from a /k/ base with wh- operator properties and various inflections /wa/, /ə/, /i/ specialized for this base, as in (55). Consider for instance *quoi*. Bouchard and Hirschbuhler (1985) note that the *que/ quoi* alternation is the same as in *me/moi* 'me', *se/soi* 'himself', *te/toi* 'you' ó where these personal pronouns are animate. Evidently the inanimate properties are associated with *quoi* require -*oi* as an inanimate to select the *qu*- base.[26] In (55) we have further associated animacy and case properties with the inflectional endings. On the other hand no selection for finiteness is associated with either the *qu*- base or its inflections. We keep assume that these properties are listed for the items that result from the composition of the elementary morphologies in (55). Recall that idiosyncratic properties occur at all levels of syntactic compositions, even at the phrasal level (idioms, cf. Borer 2009) and will have to be listed.


(55)    a.    *qu-:*    wh-

        b.    *-oi*:    inanimate, selects for *qu*-

        c.    *-e:*    objective, selects for *qu*-

        d.    *-i:*    nominative or animate, selects for *qu*-


*2.4    Conclusions*


The lexicon I propose for the wh- pronouns of French in (49)-(50) and (54)-(55) is quite distinct from the lexicon depicted by Tables 1-2. No role is played in the present lexicon by the strong/weak categorization ó nor more importantly by the idea tha different series of pronouns (including the clitic vs. full DP series recognized here) vary because of their different structural size. (Near) complementary distributions may be governed by Economy considerations ó but not relating to abstract constituency. Other properties of the lexicon proposed here are also compatible with the lexicalist view I adopt. Thus lexical entries are associated only with bona fide intrinsic properties or

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[26] Similarly the -'$\varepsilon$ morphology in section 3 selects a *wh*- base (as opposed to any other base that can in principle bear Focus) and the *-oro* morphology in section 2 selects the *l*- base (as opposed to any nominal base in Romanian).

with selectional properties ó and nothing else. Specifically, relative and interrogative also disappear from the categorial inventory.

As emphasized for *loro* in section 2, it is important to realize that the purpose of this discussion was not to change the lexicon for *que, qui, quoi* per se, not even in order to have a leaner lexicon, or a poorer categorial inventory. The interesting difference between the lexicons in Tables 1-2 and in (49)-(50) and (54)- (55) is that the latter defines no paradigmatic distribution. Some properties are relevant for the syntax and interpretation of certain wh- pronouns, but not of others. Therefore the resulting pattern is somewhat irregular with both overlappings and in fact potential distributions not convered by any of the items involved. As is well-known, French matrix questions bearing on a non-restricted subject require the cleft structure in (56a) ó while any embedded unrestricted finite question requires the complex form *ce que/qui* (lit: 'that which') in (56b).

(56)  a.      Que est-ce qui se passe?
            What is it that is happening
      b.      Je me demande ce qui se passe
            I wonder what is happening

Surface irregularities may of course be regularized by assigning a category to each distribution and to each interpretation and by assuming that each crossing of an interpretation with a distribution results in a lexicalization, no matter how syncretic. This is consistent with a realizational conception of the lexicon, where forms like *qui, que, quoi* are mere exponents, while the substance of language is represented by abstract underlying schemas of organization ó hence the abstract constituency of Cardinaletti and Starke or of Distributed Morphology. In the projectionist conception supported here, the mediation of such abstract schemas is cut out altogether (exactly as traditional paradigms are).

## 5.      General Conclusions

In this article I have tackled three different empirical domains where the literature has invoked the strong vs. weak categorization of pronouns and the attending notion that the complementary distribution between different series of pronouns results from an Economy principle based on their relative size. Specifically, I have considered Italian *loro*, which is discussed in the seminal paper by Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1999). I have further studied Lombard varieties where three series of

wh- pronouns are lexically distinguished. Finally I have tackled the wh- system of French. That languages have multiple lexical series for the same pronominal reference is an obvious fact. However I argued that the interesting (and widely followed) attempt by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) to reduce these alternations to a single series of categorial splits ultimately fails. Part of my argument is that the various authors who adopt the strong/ weak categorization do not adhere to a consistent characterization of it ó the only constant is precisely the bigger or small constituency of the forms involved. But often the latter has no correlation with actual morphological constituency. Furthermore, the perfect complementary distribution between bigger and smaller items predicted by Economy of representations is hardly observed.

In all three case studies, I sought to show that the strong/weak categorization can be eliminated without loss of empirical coverage or generality. The distribution of *loro* is determined by its intrinsic oblique case, which makes the genitive and Dative Shift position available to it. The distribution of wh- elements in Lombard varieties is governed by Focus, in the sense that -$^{\prime}\varepsilon$ inflected wh- pronouns provide the lexicalization of focus in the in situ position in wh-doubling. Independently needed categories of case, animacy and finiteness combine to yield the distribution of relative/interrogative *que, qui, quoi* in French.

As stressed in section 1, and throughout this article, this is not meant simply as an exercise towards a more parsimonious categorial inventory. Rather, I have tried to show at various points how the strong/ weak categorization for pronouns requires a realizational conception of the syntax/ PF interface ó and therefore potentially undermines models of pronominal systems built on projectionist premises. In this respect, the aim of the present work was to show that complex distributions of the type studied here need not stand in the way of a strictly lexicalist view, under which which syntax is projected from the lexicon. In other word the issue here is not the strong and weak categorization per se ó but rather the different views of the pronominal system embedded by the structures in (1) vs. (2)-(4), and ultimately the view of the lexicon that underlies them.

The real raison dœetre of a category like that of weak pronoun is exquisitely theoretical ó namely upholding a certain conception of the organization of the lexicon, hence of grammar. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) motivate the categories strong and weak pronoun on the basis of a classical criterion, crossing morphology and distribution. In general, given a morphology M specialized for distribution D, one says that M + D individuate category C. For instance the morphology *loro* (M) with Dative Shift distribution (D), as in (5a) individuates the category weak pronoun (M+D). This differs both from the morphology *(a) loro* with ordinary (P-) DP distribution (strong pronoun) and from the morphology *gli* with clitic distribution. If the crossing of a particular morphology with a particular distribution is a valid criterion for establishing a categorization, one

obtains essentially the same paradigms as in a descriptive or normative grammar, with a proliferation of syncretisms and homophonies. Thus categorizations like that of weak and strong pronouns are associated with partial lexicons of the type illustrated by Tables 1 and 2 of section 4. What appears to be important in such lexicons is the underlying regularity of abstract categories; the amount of opacity present at the PF interface (in the form of homophony or syncretism/neutralization) is irrelevant. In other words a (near) invariant syntactic-semantic structure combines with (near) arbitrary variation at the PF interface.

I have argued that Romance pronouns can be accounted for (without loss of empirical adequacy or theoretical generality) by ignoring such schemas of organization. Under a lexicalist conception of the architecture of grammar, lexical items carve directly the universal conceptual space, In other words, the mapping between LF content and PF content, with its potential for variation, is carried out by the lexicon ó and the computational component operates on lexical items and not on abstract properties. Under such a view, nothing leads us to expect that categories are represented uniformly in all languages/ or by all lexical series in the same language.

Importantly, the alternative that I propose to the weak-strong categorization is far from a surrender to the linguistic continuum. I obviously adhere to the discrete conception of natural languages embedded in the generative grammar framework I adopt. Rather it is part of my argument that discrete points on the continuum are not typically individuated by macro-categories like weak and strong pronouns and in general by macrostructures of the type associated with realizational conceptions of the lexicon. In the present view, surface linguistic continua are broken along fine fault-lines bettter corresponding to a lexicalist, micro-parametric view of grammar.

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