On the distribution of deictic resumptive elements in some V2 languages of Northern Italy

Jan Casalicchio & Federica Cognola
Utrecht University - Università di Trento

Intro. The aim of this talk is to investigate the relationship between the nature of the fronted constituent and the type of resumption in constructions involving XP fronting and a resumptive deictic element (Salvesen 2017, Greco & Haegeman 2017, a.o.). The varieties considered are Tyrolean, Mòcheno, and Ladin dialects, which are all V2 languages spoken in Northern Italy. It will be shown that although they belong to two different language families (German and Romance), in all of them this construction is possible with two different forms of resumptive elements, whose distribution is determined by the nature of the fronted XP.

The puzzle. As is well-known, in standard German the so-called *Linksversetzung* (i.e. resumption of the fronted XP through a deictic element) requires that a fronted argument is doubled by the demonstrative pronoun *der* ('this', marked for case, number and gender), and a fronted adverbial by the adverb *da* ('here/there').[1] Both types of resumptive element precede the finite verb – thus leading to V3 word order:

(1) a. Dem Johann, dem habe ich das Buch gegeben
     the.DAT Johann, this.M.DAT have I the book given

   b. Die Frau dort, die habe ich gestern getroffen
     the.ACC woman there, this.F.ACC have I yesterday met

   c. In den Niederlanden, da regnet es oft
     in the Netherlands, *da* rains it often

   d. Letzte Woche, da war ich im Urlaub
     last week, *da* was I on holidays

In the talk we show that the V2 languages spoken in the Italian region Trentino - South Tyrol display a more complex pattern with respect to the use and distribution of resumptive elements. In these varieties there are two series of elements: a proximal and a distal one. In this abstract we illustrate this with the Tyrolean dialect spoken in Merano/Meran, but similar patterns will be also illustrated for the other languages considered. In *Meranerisch*, fronted arguments can be resumed by the the proximal demonstrative *dər* (corresponding to Standard German *dieser*, "this") and by the distal demonstrative *dər sèl* (corresponding to Standard German *jener*, literally "the that"). Temporal and Locative adverbials are resumed by the proximal adverb *do* ('here', similar to German *da*) or by the distal adverb *sem* ('there').[2]

The distribution of these two forms tends to be complementary and can be resumed as follows: i) with proper names, *dər sèl* is the only grammatical option (except for the nominative, where also *dər* is sometimes possible):

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[1] Not all adverbials can be resumed in German, see Salvesen 2017.
[2] Note that *sem* and *sel* share the same etymology: both derive from Tyr. *(in) selbem*.

(2) a.   N Johann, n sel / ^{??}den hon i gestern getroffen
           the.ACC Johann, that.M.ACC / this.M.ACC have I yesterday met

ii) with fronted light definite or indefinite DPs , *dər* must be used (unless there is a strong deictic distal context):
(3)   A Frau, *die sel / de hot grot ungleitet und hot mit dir redn gwellt
           a woman, that.F.NOM. / this.F.NOM has just called and has with you speak wanted
iii) with fronted adverbials, *do* is used when the adverbial coincide with the speaker's place/time, *sem* is used elsewhere:
(4) a.   In Hollond, do regnet's oft   (Sentence uttered in Amsterdam)
           in Holland, here rains it often
     b.   In Hollond, sem regnet's oft   (Sentence uttered in Meran/Merano)
           in Holland, there rains it often
(5) a.   Heint Nomittog, do bleib i liaber dahoam   (Sentence uttered at 15.00)
           today afternoon, here stay I preferably at-home
     b.   Heint Nomittog, sem bleib i liaber dahoam   (Sentence uttered at 10.00)
           today afternoon, there stay I preferably at-home

Note that in no variety is the distribution of the two competing forms fed by information structure but it appears to follow from pure syntactic factors.

More on the nature of resumptive elements. On the basis of this data and on other contexts, we will establish a hierarchy of pronominal resumptive elements for the languages considered. Focusing on Tyrolean: *dər sèl* and *sem* will be shown to have be a more generic value: *dər sèl* is used with definite DPs like proper nouns, *sem* establishes more loose connections with the time or space (note that time expressions can be resumed with *sem* both if they refer to the past or to the future). *Der* and *do*, on the other hand, will be shown to be richer, because *der* permits to resume definite and indefinite nouns other than proper nouns, and *do* establishes a direct relation between the temporal/local indication and the utterance time. These fine-grained differences are absent in Standard German, where there is just one single resuming element for arguments and one for adverbials in all instances of *Linksversetzung*.