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Introduction

Elisa Di Domenico
Cornelia Hamann
Simona Matteini

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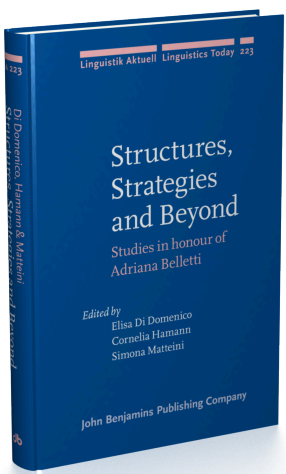

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Introduction

Elisa Di Domenico, Cornelia Hamann & Simona Matteini

This volume contains 18 contributions written in honour of Adriana Belletti for the occasion of her 60th birthday. Not only are these papers dedicated to Adriana Belletti, they are all related to her work, which, along the years, has touched and deepened many central themes in linguistic theory. The aim was to assemble reflections, debate, data and developments by senior and junior scholars, also from fields different from syntax, on some of Adriana's proposals, which would not only testify to the importance of her contribution to linguistic theory and acquisition studies, but also push some of her relevant insights one step forward. Of course, not all papers are equally related to Adriana Belletti's work: some have a thematic and methodological relation, while others more tightly target specific points and analyses of Adriana's, discussing them from various angles, giving them support, or expanding them in new directions. As it turns out, these 18 contributions cannot cover all the areas investigated by Adriana Belletti in her research, but can be grouped around basically three core issues with far reaching consequences for the understanding of language and the language faculty, as well as for the methodological assessment of linguistic theory.

These core issues grow from the theoretical investigation of the architecture and the mechanisms of the computational component, which Adriana has investigated practically from her student days onwards. Exciting changes in the theoretical framework from the Extended Standard Theory, via Government and Binding, Principles and Parameters, and Minimalism to post-minimalist discussion[1] have not only accompanied her work but were driven by her penetrating inquiries into particular empirical issues such as the nature and position of subjects or the properties of dedicated functional positions. The cartographic enterprise almost seems like a natural extension of her early studies of particular functional positions, be it participle agreement or Romance pronominal clitics. Equally important in her investigations were questions about the constraints holding for syntactic computations, such as locality of derivation as defined by Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990, 2004) and questions about the realization of structure relative to discourse or referential dependencies. The goals of delineating in more and more detail which kinds of syntactic elements can

1. See Chomsky (1973, 1981, 1995, 2001 and 2005) for these theoretical proposals.

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intervene in a derivation and of determining how and in which positions discourse requirements can be coded in syntax have led Adriana to recently investigate two areas in particular depths: intervention effects and the vP periphery.

All of these fundamental interests are mirrored in this volume, as is another aspect of her work, the comparative approach to language. Comparative work always was an essential component in Adriana Belletti's investigations and acquired a new dimension when she moved from cross-linguistic comparisons to taking into account data from language acquisition and different modes of acquisition. In this field she has quickly become a leading figure since she has always insisted on promoting the discussion of linguistic theory and applied studies and has always stressed that "linguistic theory must have a guiding function not only in the selection of empirical domains of study but also in the selection of broader issues of investigation" – as formulated in the proposal for a workshop at the 2013 International Congress of Linguists.[2]

The papers collected here all testify to the same spirit: they investigate properties of the computational component such as labeling, halting and freezing, locality and intervention; they single out areas of theoretical relevance such as the properties of agreement, pronouns and focus; they pursue the comparative approach in investigating and comparing different languages and dialects or in comparing different modes of acquisition and language pathologies. In fact, the papers could have been grouped in many different ways, but we opted for a first part dealing with theoretical issues of the computational component and its architecture, issues such as labeling, the cartography of structures and the locality of derivations in a broad sense. In a second part, we assembled the papers concentrating on the realization of structure relative to discourse, particularly in the vP periphery, and on referential dependencies. The third part takes up the question of locality, but collects papers that specifically deal with intervention effects as apparent in different populations, often comparing structures that do not involve intervention with structures that do, i.e. different types of relative clauses and passives.

1. The architecture of the computational component

In recent work Adriana Belletti (Belletti 2001, 2004) has proposed that post- verbal subjects in Italian in effect occupy a position in the periphery of the vP. This proposal has contributed to enrich the vP periphery with dedicated positions strictly related to focalization and topicalization, similarly to what has been proposed for the clause external (left) periphery (Rizzi 1997; Poletto 2000; Benincà 2001, among many others).

2. Geneva, July 21–27, 2013.

In particular, she assumes that the post-verbal subject in Italian can occupy a position dedicated to New Information Focus. This proposal is, on the one hand, a clear commitment to the cartographic approach and, on the other hand, answers and raises theoretical issues about the nature of subjects and ultimately the nature of derivations. Put crudely, what defines a "canonical" subject position, why and under which conditions do subjects move there, and why does subject (or other) movement stop? These issues are taken up in **Chomsky**'s and **Rizzi**'s contributions.

Freezing effects on subjects are given 'further explanation' in terms of more basic computational operations such as labeling (along the lines of Chomsky 2013) in **Chomsky**'s contribution to this volume, "Problems of Projection: Extensions". Special properties of subjects of CPs (the Extended Projection Principle and the Empty Category Principle) receive a unified analysis under the theory of labeling assumed, an analysis which is finally extended to the v*P phase, where a raised object is in a structural position analogous to subjects of CPs. **Rizzi**'s exploration "Notes on Labeling and Subject Positions" starts from the consideration that subjects must vacate their thematic position, which in turn raises the question of where they have to stop (the 'halting problem'). The author concentrates on the properties of the different stopping points for subjects, the preverbal subject position and the low, clause internal, subject position proposed by Belletti (2001, 2004) which is shown to give rise to freezing effects as well.

The papers by Chomsky and Rizzi seem to represent an ongoing scientific dialogue since an explanation of freezing effects on subjects in terms of the labeling algorithm is also explored by Rizzi's contribution to this volume. However, Rizzi, contrary to Chomsky, assumes a Subject Criterion. The approach based on the Subject Criterion imposes no timing on labeling, which must only be complete when the structure is transferred to the interfaces.[3]

Similar notions are explored in **Bianchi & Chesi**'s contribution "On a PP/DP Asymmetry in Extraction". They start from a PP/DP asymmetry, in English (1a,b), in extractions from preverbal subject islands which, according to Chomsky (1986: 32), has been noted by Adriana Belletti:

(1) a. *the man who [pictures of t_{DP}] are on the table
b. he is the person of whom [pictures t_{PP}] are on the table
(Chomsky 1986, (61a), (64))

Assuming a top-down computation, the authors propose that the acceptability of extraction from preverbal subjects depends on the possibility, tied to the thetic vs.

3. In Chomsky's approach, labeling must take place at the end of the phase. See Footnote 9 of Rizzi's contribution for discussion.

categorical status of subjects, of delaying their completion until they are re-merged in their thematic position. P-stranding within preverbal subjects is however incompatible with delayed completion since in the preverbal position, the selectional requirement of the N head for a PP is not computed yet.

The enrichment of the clausal architecture with dedicated projections for functional, lexical and discourse-related content is at the root of the cartographic enterprise, for which Adriana Belletti's work has been a driving force. Belletti's inquiries starting from the early 90's – even if not yet framed within the cartographic research project – have contributed to a fine grained mapping of the VP node (Belletti 1990 and subsequent work) and, more recently, of the vP periphery (Belletti 2001, 2004).

As to this detailed mapping of the VP-node, the intriguing behavior of inflected, infinitival and past participle verbs in Italian has provided a fruitful area of early as well as more recent research for Adriana (Belletti 1990, 2006, to appear). Specifically, the morphosyntactic phenomena involved in past participle agreement in a comparative perspective (mainly Romance languages) have been her focus of investigation. Based on the fact that in a language like Italian past participle agreement mainly involves arguments belonging to the lowest level of the vP projection (typically the direct object), Belletti has recently proposed an analysis of participle agreement as a vP internal phenomenon (Belletti 2006, to appear) in that past participles are VPs with an impoverished (unaccusative) argument structure. Thus only the internal argument can target the Spec position of the relevant Agr node (AgrPstPrt in Belletti's terms) and can trigger agreement. Moreover, the comparative approach leads Belletti to propose that the possibility to activate past participle agreement can be parametrized. This early and recent work on participle agreement documents the deep insights that can be gained when a cartographic approach is assumed and explored.

Cinque's contribution "Augmentative, pejorative, diminutive and endearing heads in the extended nominal projection" is perfectly situated in the cartographic framework focusing on another syntactic domain which has been extensively investigated in the cartographic project: the extended nominal projection. Further developing Cinque's (2007) analysis on the order of diminutive and endearing heads, the author refines his proposal including augmentative and pejorative morphemes and thus defining a hierarchy of the four heads with respect to each other. The in-depth analysis gives interesting insights into the distributional properties of Italian most productive diminutive (*om-ino* 'small man'), endearing (*om-etto*, 'frail man'), augmentative (*om-one* 'big man'), and pejorative suffixes (*om-accio*, 'ugly man'). Moreover, cross-linguistic evidence coming from a number of languages (i.e. German, Russian, Piampoco, Papuan languages of New Guinea) seem to confirm both the proposed orderings of functional heads (at least for diminutive and endearing nodes) and the position of such functional heads within the extended nominal projection. Finally, Cinque also adds interesting facts on the distribution of the AP *little* in English, which leads the author to propose that the

diminutive node (hosting the augmentative, pejorative, and endearing projections) is projected immediately below the ValueP head and preceding the other AP nodes (based on Sproat & Shih 1990; Cinque 1994, 2010). Cinque concludes that, if further cross-linguistic evidence should confirm such a hierarchy, the next interesting step is to determine the reasons behind this ordering, given that semantics cannot provide the only key to interpretation.

Belletti's work on participle agreement also demonstrates her interest in constraints on derivations, especially the locality constraints operative in the agreement relations. Locality constraints for A′-movement, especially intervention effects, have been in the center of much recent research, and are the focus of Part III of this volume. The two following papers demonstrate featural intervention effects for agreement relations but also on a different level of computation: in the morpho-phonological component.

In the spirit of much of Adriana Belletti's recent work, "A Note on Parallels Between Agreement and Intervention" by **Costa** first investigates the agreement properties of the (pluringular) pronoun "a gente" in European Portuguese in order to derive more evidence for the properties of agreement relations described in previous work (Costa & Pereira 2013) and then compares intervention effects in agreement relations, i.e. in adult grammars, to the intervention effects found in language acquisition, specifically in the relative configurations discussed in the articles in Part III. Costa makes two important points, namely that the parallels between agreement constraints and the intervention effects found in child language have to be captured by locality constraints and are feature based. Moreover, it is only grammatical features that count, not semantic features, which only seem to play a role in the resolution of non-local dependencies. Very much in the tradition of Adriana Belletti's comparative reasoning, he concludes that this kind of evidence from adult grammar, but crucially from language acquisition, clearly shows that feature based theories of grammatical computation are on the right track.

Calabrese's contribution "Locality effects in Italian verbal morphology" takes up the morphology of Italian participles and the locality issue. Focused on the morpho-phonological level, it targets past participles and perfect forms, adopting a syntactic approach to the analysis of morphology which crucially assumes the input to morphology to be syntactic structure (Halle & Marantz 1993). It shows that certain interactions in Italian verbal morphology only apply when elements are hierarchically and linearly ordered (Embick 2010, 2013). This is precisely the case of irregular morphology in Italian perfect and past participle forms, where a correlation between presence vs. absence of regular morphology and presence vs. absence of thematic vowels (TV) holds. In fact, irregular morphology appears only when the thematic vowel is absent so that both the root and the Tense morpheme are locally positioned and can interact morpho-phonologically. Crucially, the presence of the TV blocks such interaction and

regular morphology is inserted. Through this analysis, the different allomorphes of irregular verbs are readily derived from their underlying roots, whereas the notion of morphological locality becomes crucial. Calabrese thus ties together two basic issues of Adriana Belletti's work: past participles and the notion of locality which here operates on the morpho-phonological level.

2. The realization of structure relative to discourse and referential dependencies: Focus, the vP periphery, and pronominal reference

Among the insights of Adriana's research is the proposal (Belletti 2001, 2004) that the vP periphery is analogous to the left periphery of the clause (as outlined in Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work) in that it contains Topic and Focus positions. In null subject languages like Italian, post-verbal subjects can occupy the focus position in the vP periphery where they receive a new information focus interpretation, while the preverbal subject position is occupied by a referential *pro* (a 'doubling derivation', see Belletti 2005b, with *pro* moved from an original 'big DP' which fills the preverbal subject position, containing both *pro* and the lexical subject, the latter then stranded in the vP peripheral focus position).

A distinction is thus introduced between two kinds of focus interpretations (the corrective/contrastive interpretation and the new information interpretation), realized through two different focus positions, one in the left periphery of the clause and one in the vP periphery. In Italian, movement of the focalized element to the specifier of the focus position in the left periphery ('Fronting') gives rise to a contrastive/corrective interpretation (2a,b), while movement to the focus position in the vP periphery results in a new information focus interpretation (3a,b):[4]

(2) a. Gianni è` arrivato (, non Paolo)
Gianni bePres3S come (, not Paolo)

b. Gianni ho incontrato (, non Paolo)
Gianni havePres1S met (, not Paolo)

(3) a. E' arrivato Gianni
BePres3S come Gianni

b. Ho incontrato Gianni
HavePres1S met Gianni

4. The a. examples in (2) and (3) illustrate subject focalization, the b. examples object focalization.

In "Be Careful How You Use the Left Periphery", **Haegeman & Lohndal** develop an analysis of gapping structures (4), in which the vP periphery detailed in Belletti (2001, 2004) is crucial, thus giving independent evidence for it.

(4) Harry cooked the beans and Henry the potatoes

According to the authors, the vP periphery is the target of the movement deriving gapping remnants, i.e. the constituents that survive ellipsis in gapping. This movement is information structure driven (*Henry* attracted to TopP and *the potatoes* to FocP, TP ellipsis following), as claimed in previous analyses, but if gapping were a phenomenon involving the left periphery of the clause, it should only be possible, contrary to empirical evidence, in clausal domains with a left peripheral space. Instead, gapping is available, as the authors show, in a number of clausal domains which are incompatible with wh- fronting.[5]

The semantics of focus interpretation is an issue that requires refinement. As Belletti (2009: 315) points out: "I make use of the labels Focus and Topic here as commonly done in the current literature, but these labels are just a first approximation to a more adequate way of expressing aspects of the relation between discourse and syntactic configuration."

The contrastive/corrective focus interpretation is analyzed by **Delfitto & Fiorin** in "Exhaustivity Operators and Fronted Focus in Italian". They propose that Fronted Focus can be decomposed into Contrast and the Exhaustivity Operator involved in the computation of grammaticalized implicatures. The authors argue that Focus is irrelevant for the interpretation of fronted constituents: what is at stake is a specific null exhaustivity operator which derives its peculiar properties from a mechanism of 'association with Contrast' analogous to the mechanism of 'association with Focus'. The phonologically empty operator *Exh* (whose overt variant is the *only* operator found in 'association with focus' structures along the lines of Krifka 2006) responsible for focus fronting in Italian is analogous to the exhaustivity operator advocated for focus movement in Hungarian (É. Kiss 1998; Horvath 2010) and for the computation of grammaticalized local implicatures (Chierchia, Fox & Spector 2010; Sauerland 2012).

Given the new analysis of the Italian post-verbal subject, focalization strategies are the center of investigation for many contributions in this volume. Belletti (2005a, 2007, 2008, 2009 and subsequent work, e.g. Belletti 2015) points out that while the vP periphery of declarative sentences can be, in principle, freely available for objects in all

5. Arguments to support a crucial role of the vP periphery in the derivation of *it* clefts, traditionally analyzed as involving the external left periphery are developed in Haegeman, Meinunger and Vercauteren (2014).

languages, non-null subject languages, having no *pro* at disposal to fill the preverbal subject position, have to resort to different strategies to new-information-focalize a subject.

Analyzing answering strategies in different languages, Belletti notes that one way non-null subject languages have to make the post-verbal position available for subjects is to resort to clefts, as in the case of French. In her analysis of clefts, a crucial role is played by the copula in making available two different focus positions, one in the vP periphery of the matrix clause containing the copula (dedicated to new information focus), and one in the left periphery of the small clause complement of the copula, dedicated to contrastive/corrective focalization. The position in the vP periphery of the matrix clause of a cleft can be targeted only by subjects, for locality reasons.[6] This has the consequence that, in languages that differentiate two focus interpretations in two focus positions (with the position in the vP periphery dedicated to new information focus) only subjects can be new-information-focalized through clefts, as the French contrast in (5) and (6) shows:

(5) a. Qui (est-ce que qui) a parlé?
who spoke

b. C'est Jean (qui a parlé)
it is Jean (who spoke) [Belletti 2008: 8]

(6) Q: Qu'est-ce-que t'as acheté (/Qu'as-tu acheté)?
what have you bought
A: *C'est un livre
it is a book [Belletti 2008: 12]

Such a contrast should not hold in a language where both new information and corrective/contrastive focus are realized in the left peripheral focus position: in these languages, all other things being equal, both subject and non-subject clefts should be possible answering strategies to questions of information (Belletti 2008: 12).

Cruschina, in "Some Notes on Clefting and Fronting", tests the distribution of clefts (in correlation with fronting) in the Sicilian variety of Musumeli. In this language both new information and contrastive focus are realized in the left periphery of the clause. Results show that clefts are only marginally admitted in this language, and only with contrastive/corrective interpretation. In this case, a dissociation is observed between subject and non-subject clefts, the former obtaining significantly higher acceptability rates. This dissociation, according to the author, 'highlights common

6. Relativized Minimality would be violated moving an object across the intervening subject. Left peripheral focalization within the CP complement of the copula being A' movement, no RM violation is produced in this derivation.

properties of CC [Cleft Constructions] that can only be accounted for in terms of a structural and derivational distinction, as proposed in Belletti's work' [p. 204].

"A Case of Focal Adverb Preposing in French" by **Lahousse** analyzes a peculiar French focal construction, restricted to the formal/written register, in which the preposing of the focal adverb *ainsi* necessarily triggers the VS order, see (7), unattested in other focal contexts in French:

(7) … *AINSI* écrivait Alexandre, …
… IN THAT WAY wrote Alexandre,

The author analyzes the peculiar discourse contexts in which this construction may occur, and shows that it is the result of movement of the focal adverb *ainsi* to a focus position in the clausal left periphery. In line with this analysis, the author finally shows that, like other instances of focus preposing in other languages, preposing of focal *ainsi* is a main clause phenomenon.

In a number of papers, Adriana Belletti studies answering strategies in L2 acquisition. Belletti (2007), based on experimental work by Belletti and Leonini (2004) and Belletti, Bennati and Sorace (2007), discusses the finding that answering strategies are characteristically transferred from the L1 when acquiring an L2. In answers requiring the identification of the subject in L2 Italian, L1 speakers of French answer with a cleft, while L1 English speakers answer with SV, i.e. with the prevailing answering strategy in their respective L1.

In her contribution "Transferring Strategies and the Nature of Transfer" **Di Domenico** focuses on the transfer of answering strategies, arguing that it is the result of basic properties of *pro* not yet acquired. The author proposes that the acquisition of a lexical item's sound/meaning pair (Borer 2005) and of its functional structure are dissociated, and transfer may optionally occur precisely when the functional structure of a lexical item (or parts of it) is not acquired. In the case at stake, while *pro* is acquired, its property of triggering a doubling derivation is not. Another property of *pro* (taking a [+ aboutness] antecedent, in the sense of Rizzi 2005, this volume) is identified by the author as the source of another finding of (a.o.) Belletti, Bennati and Sorace (2007): the overuse of overt subject pronouns in L2 Italian and, on the comprehension side, their interpretation as coreferent with a topical antecedent.

Contemori, Dal Pozzo and Matteini provide an interesting comparison of off-line and on- line experimental evidence concerning antecedent assignment with forward anaphora in their contribution "Resolving Pronominal Anaphora in Real Time: a Comparison Between Italian Native and Near-native Speakers". In the off-line task, near native participants accepted the subject of the main clause to be the antecedent of the overt pronoun to a wider extent than native speakers. In the on-line (self-paced reading) task, in contrast, no difficulty is observed in near native speakers: native and near-native speakers show a similar processing pattern. This contrast is interpreted

by the authors as indicating that the difficulty for near natives must be attributed to competition for processing resources in different languages rather than to specific processing difficulties.

3. Complex clauses in linguistic theory and acquisition: The role of intervention

In the broader enterprise of defining constraints on derivations and capturing the properties of locality, a recent topic of Adriana Belletti's research is concerned with relative clauses and their acquisition. In adult processing, but also in first as well as in second language acquisition, bilingualism and language pathologies, such as agrammatism, specific language impairment (SLI) or dyslexia, certain structures seem to cause inordinate difficulties in production and comprehension. Usually, such structures turn out to be syntactically complex in well-defined ways. Recent theoretical discussion has focused on the difficulties observed in the production and comprehension of object relative clauses in the above populations, for which cross-linguistic data show an asymmetry of subject (SR) and object (OR) relatives. Attempts to account for this asymmetry range from the idea that the distance between the filler and the gap is greater in ORs than in SRs as measured in new referents (Gibson 1998) or that the similarity of an intervening element to the filler causes the difficulty (Gordon et al. 2001), to syntactic accounts which are framed in versions of relativized minimality (RM), see Rizzi (2004, 2013).

For such syntactic accounts the nature of the intervener and especially the syntactic features relevant for intervention have been the focus of investigation. Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi (2009) proposed that in relative clauses like (8) it is the [+NP] feature which is creating an intervention effect for children, not for adults.

(8) Show me the lion that the zebra is kissing _____
+R [+NP] [+NP] +R [+NP]

The idea is that children have difficulty in computing relations between feature sets, the subset relation in particular. In more recent work such as Belletti et al. (2012) it was established that syntactic features which are relevant for the derivation of the clause, and in particular the subject, create intervention effects. This is important since it demonstrates that only syntactically active features are relevant for intervention, whereas cognitive features in general, as suggested by earlier processing work, are not. Such findings therefore are immensely relevant for delineating and separating the role of linguistic computation and the role of processing constraints.

Interestingly, when eliciting relative clauses, Belletti and Contemori (2010) found that children often produce passives of various types instead of target ORs. This

result – often replicated since – finds a natural explanation, proposed by Belletti (2014) and Belletti and Rizzi (2012), in the idea that passives when derived by smuggling (Collins 2005) do not involve intervention. Much of Adriana Belletti's recent work was thus concerned with showing that different causative or passive constructions (*si fare* passives, in particular) naturally lend themselves to a syntactic analysis which does not involve intervention and that passives are indeed acquired early (Manetti & Belletti 2015): they are easier than constructions which necessarily involve intervention configurations.

These topics, the nature of intervention, i.e. the syntactic features involved, and the nature of passives have recently inspired much theoretical and empirical work of which six articles are brought together in this section. Four of these articles expand the empirical evidence on theoretical points raised by Belletti's work, one of them concentrates on points of theoretical analyses of the structures which have been in the focus of her interest proposing a different approach, and one of them contributes to the general understanding of the structure of relative clauses. The unifying topic for all of them is intervention effects in relative clauses or the lack of them in passives.

Among the four papers investigating child language and language pathologies, there are many parallels not only in methodology and findings but also in the interpretation of the results. In their paper "On the Comprehension and Production of Passive Sentences and Relative Clauses by Italian University Students with Dyslexia", **Cardinaletti and Volpato** show that object relatives are comprehended and produced with difficulty by this population whereas passive sentences are better preserved. Some of these dyslexic students had problems with relative clauses and with passives, however, showing a general difficulty with dependencies. Cardinaletti and Volpato discuss the difference of A- and A′-chains as a possible reason for this difference in performance, but also point to the length and type of the dependency as causing particular difficulties when memory resources are limited, as is generally proposed for dyslexic subjects. By investigating dyslexic adults they provide new and interesting data on the interplay of linguistic computation and processing constraints such as working memory.

Investigating another language pathology, SLI, **Friedmann, Yachini and Szterman**, in their article "Relatively easy relatives: Children with syntactic SLI avoid intervention", strengthen the previous findings of Friedmann et al. (2009) for typical children in demonstrating that Hebrew speaking children with syntactic SLI have great difficulties producing relatives in general and object relatives of type (8) in particular. A fine grained analysis of the avoidance strategies shows that some children with SLI avoid relative clauses in general and others, those who produce subject relatives correctly, alternatively use strategies to avoid movement in their ORs by filling the gap with a resumptive pronoun, strategies to avoid an intervention configuration by producing a subject relative (see also Cardinaletti and Volpato), or strategies to avoid [+NP] intervention by the omission of an NP in the relative, the use of a pronoun

head (*the one*), the use of a subject relative with passive or the use of an arbitrary *pro* subject in the relative. The different patterns found in different children allow the authors a more subtle identification of the deficit in particular children: some children have a general deficit in building syntactic trees, others have more specific deficits in (Wh/A′)-movement and intervention configurations.

In their article "Intervention Effects in the Spontaneous Production of Relative Clauses in (A)typical Language Development of French Children and Adolescents" **Hamann and Tuller** study the spontaneous productions of four groups of typically developing French children of different ages and a group of French children with SLI. They basically corroborate Friedmann et al. (2009) and find very similar avoidance strategies as described in Friedmann, Yachini and Szterman: ORs of type (8) are produced only by the typical 14-year olds, intervention is avoided by all groups, predominantly by the use of a pronoun as relative subject. Their study truly complements Belletti's or Cardinaletti and Volpato's work in so far as, crucially, passives were not found as avoidance strategy in spontaneous production. This points to the necessity of using different methodologies for studying production, elicitation but also spontaneous production which naturally controls for discourse effects and allows the study of the feature combinations which can alleviate or remove intervention.

In a spirit similar to Belletti's work, but different in the basic assumption about the availability of RM for children, **Snyder and Hyams** describe "Minimality Effects in Children's Passives". They show that passives are available only from the age of 4 years and explain this finding by the proposal that smuggling is available only at this age. The reason for a late availability of smuggling lies in the discussion of the ingredients of Collin's analysis: smuggling of the PartP, followed by raising, which can only take place if this is a context where the Freezing Principle fails to apply. Given these ingredients, Snyder and Hyams propose Universal Freezing, i.e. the Freezing Principle always applies for the immature child. It follows that smuggling+raising is not available and so RM blocks passivization in early child grammar. The authors also propose that a maturational change makes smuggling available first for actional passives, around the age of four, and later, at the age of six to seven, also for non-actional verbs (see also the differences for actional and non-actional passives mentioned by Cardinaletti and Volpato).

Cecchetto and Donati view intervention from a theoretical perspective and invoke evidence from acquisition for future verification of the theory. In their article on "Subject Intervention in Free Relatives", they start from the observation of subject intervention effects in the adult grammar of Romance languages and propose a theory of labelling and (un)probed merge which predicts classical RM effects in the case of probed merge in embedded contexts and so called Gross Minimality effects in cases

of unprobed merge at the root. Gross Minimality (see also Cecchetto & Donati 2015) occurs when no probing is involved and therefore any feature shared by the highest copy can disrupt the computation. This is the case for subjects (sharing the D-feature) which intervene by Gross Minimality in root questions and *who* free relatives in Italian and French as analysed by Cecchetto and Donati, who also propose that Italian and French *what* "free" relatives are in fact pronominal relatives and thus do not involve Gross Minimality. This account can be extended to acquisition facts in that Cecchetto and Donati suggest that children are "more liberal with unprobed movement" and use it not only in root questions but also in relatives. Crucially, this account challenges the intervention account proposed by Friedmann et al. (2009) by assuming that children are sensitive to RM but over-extend Gross Minimality. It turns on (future) empirical evidence concerning the acquisition of free relatives, not pronominal relatives as the authors point out, since in this area Gross Minimality and the account relying on the presence/absence of an [NP] feature make opposite predictions.

The article "Relative Clauses in Cimbrian" by **Grewendorf and Poletto** investigates the properties of the complex complementizer *bo+da* in the Cimbrian dialect, focussing especially on the sentential particle *da*, its function and position. The article argues in particular that *bo+da* is a complex relative complementizer in Cimbrian very much like *wo+da* in Bavarian and Hessian, but that the particle *da* cannot be analysed as the homophonous locative particle or as a subject expletive as seems likely for Bavarian and Hessian. In fact, the authors show that *da* is obligatory with full subject DPs, and also occurs with clitic subjects or with tonic subject pronouns. It is incompatible only with weak subject pronouns, which leads the authors to propose that the particle occupies a specifier in the Wackernagel space, namely SpecGround, thus "marking the Ground context with respect to the head noun individuated by the relative clause". This investigation of the left periphery of restrictive relatives and the assumption of a GroundP for such clauses spelled out by this particle, clearly contributes to further cross-linguistic analyses of relative clauses. It might even lead to speculation whether an overt GroundP could alleviate intervention effects – a thought not mentioned by the authors.

The authors whose contributions have been described above have met Adriana Belletti at different times and worked with her for shorter or longer periods as mentors, colleagues or students, but we all share the experience of long and fruitful discussions – at different places in the world such as Pisa, Paris, Cambridge MA, Geneva or Siena. Many of us have had the privilege not only of sharing her (linguistic) thoughts but also enjoying her generous hospitality (and her cooking).

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