

# When low adverbs are high: On adverb movement in Abruzzese\*

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## 1 Introduction

Cinque (1999) and subsequent studies on the structural hierarchy of functional projections of the clause have considered the different observable positions of the inflected verb and of the past participle in languages like Italian as evidence that adverbs occupy specifier positions and the verb moves through head positions. The main argument in favor of the idea that adverbs do not move is that their relative order does not change independently from the position of the verbal forms. In (1) it is shown that in standard Italian the negative adverb *mica* and the aspectual adverb *più* ‘no longer’ always appear in the order *mica-più*, independently from the position of the inflected verb and the past participle.

- (1) a. Non hanno mica più mangiato. (Cinque, 1999: 47)  
not have.3PL not no-longer eaten  
‘They have not eaten any longer.’  
b. Non hanno mangiato mica più.  
c. \*Non hanno più mica mangiato.  
d. \*Non hanno mangiato più mica.  
e. Non hanno mica mangiato più.  
f. \*Non hanno più mangiato mica.

Since verbal forms can surface at different structural heights, it is possible to determine their position in the hierarchy only taking into account sentences with at least two adverbs. This is shown in (2):

- (2) a. Gianni (ha) saggiamente (ha) accettato. (Cinque, 1999: 49)  
Gianni has wisely has accepted

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It is our pleasure to dedicate this paper to Josef Bayer, who has been through the years a source of inspiration and a model to us for his non-conventional way of thinking and his impulse to enter unexplored territories of linguistic knowledge.

- b. Gianni (ha) fortunatamente (ha) accettato.  
Gianni has luckily has accepted
- c. \*Gianni saggiamente ha fortunatamente accettato.

Notice that (2) also shows that free adjunction of adverbs does not explain the ungrammaticality of (2c). The range of positions where the inflected verb and the past participle (or other non-finite forms) surface varies across the Romance domain (see Ledgeway & Lombardi, 2005; Schifano, 2011, and Schifano, 2014, among many others<sup>1</sup>). The lowest position where the inflected verb can appear in standard Italian is immediately below negative *mica*, as it cannot appear lower than *già* ‘already’. However, in many varieties of Southern Italy the order ‘already’-V is the most common one. More precisely, the verb usually follows *già* but tends to precede the other aspectual adverbs. This has clearly been shown by Ledgeway (2009) for Neapolitan. We summarize here Ledgeway’s findings based on a corpus of three authors: with a simple finite verb, (g)*già* ‘already’ precedes the verb in 27 cases out of 39, as in (3a), while (c)*chiù* ‘no longer’ precedes it only in 4 cases out of 281 (3b), and *sempe* ‘always’ precedes it in 45 cases out of 295 (3c):

- (3) a. Già se tene contento (Basile, Ledgeway, 2009: 780)  
already REFL=keeps content  
‘He is already content.’
- b. né chiù me movo a zinno (Basile, Ledgeway, 2009: 780)  
and-not no-longer me=move.1SG at nod  
‘I do not move at a nod anymore.’
- c. chillo sempe m’obligava a spusà la figlia (Basile, Ledgeway, 2009: 780)  
he always me=forced.3SG to marry the daughter  
‘He was always forcing me to marry his daughter.’

Thus, in most cases aspectual adverbs follow the verb, like in standard Italian:

- (4) a. non ne parlammo cchiù (Scarpetta, Ledgeway, 2009: 779)  
not of-it=talked.1PL no-longer  
‘We did not talk anymore about it.’
- b. ce staie sempre vicino (De Filippo, Ledgeway, 2009: 780)  
to-us=stays always near  
‘He is always near to us.’

With complex verbs, aspectual adverbs are usually found after the nonfinite lexical verb, with the exception of (g)*già*, which surfaces between the auxiliary and the lexical verb in 5 cases out of 8 in Ledgeway’s corpus, while, for instance, (c)*chiù* is found in this position in 2 cases out of 20, and *sempe* in 14 cases out of 47:

- (5) a. era già trasuta ‘m barca (Basile, Ledgeway, 2009: 783)  
was already entered in boat  
‘She already boarded the boat.’

1 For a theoretical discussion about the relation between verb movement and morphological richness see Belletti (1990) and Holmberg & Roberts (2012).

- b. nun ce simme cchiù viste (Scarpetta, Ledgeway, 2009: 783)  
 not us=are no-longer seen  
 ‘We did not see each other anymore.’
- c. l’aggiu sempe tenute li granfe ncuollo  
 to-him=have.1SG always kept the claws on  
 ‘I always kept my hands on him.’ (Scarpetta, Ledgeway, 2009: 783)

Ledgeway’s conclusion is that Neapolitan is different from standard Italian only in the position of adverbs with complex verbs. Considering these data in the light of Cinque’s (1999) theory, there are two further possible considerations: first, in Neapolitan the finite verb is usually lower than in Italian, as it follows the adverb corresponding to ‘already’; second, nonfinite verb forms seem to surface higher than in Italian, as they tend to precede aspectual adverbs (with the exception of ‘already’).

In this article we take into consideration the position of aspectual adverbs in another domain of Southern Italian dialects, namely Abruzzese, and compare these dialects with standard Italian and Neapolitan. Our main claim is that in Abruzzese there is no need to postulate that finite verbs are lower than in Italian. More precisely, we propose that, exactly like other constituents, adverbs can surface in the left periphery of the clause.

The article is structured in the following way: in section 2 we describe the Abruzzese data and anticipate the main points of the proposal; in section 3 we present our analysis; in section 4 we discuss some cases showing that Italo-Romance has adverbs in the CP area; section 5 contains some conclusive remarks.

## 2 Posing the problem

Many examples from the corpus of the ASIt project show that in Abruzzese varieties finite verbs, including auxiliaries, can follow low aspectual adverbs. In (6) we provide some examples from different dialects:

- (6) a. LISCIA  
 Già so magnetə  
 already am eaten  
 ‘I have already eaten.’
- b. ARIELLI  
 Sta figurinə ggìa li tinetə  
 this card already it=have.2PL  
 ‘You already have this card.’
- c. LANCIANO  
 N’angorə li sə ccattatə?  
 not=yet it=are bought
- d. PENNAPIEDIMONTE  
 Angurə lə ji ‘ccattotə?  
 yet it=are bought  
 ‘Haven’t you bought it yet?’

The order Adverb-Verb exemplified in (6) is marginal or even ungrammatical in standard Italian and in Northern Italian dialects, but it is not uncommon in Romance. Cinque (1999) compares standard Italian with languages where the verb surfaces after low aspectual adverbs (like in Romanian, (7a-b)):<sup>2</sup>

- (7) a. \*Nu cred mai cà e posibil (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994: 10)  
 not believe.1SG no-longer that is possible  
 b. Nu mai cred cà e posibil  
 not no-longer believe.1SG that is possible  
 ‘I do not think anymore that it is possible.’

In Garzonio & Poletto (2013) we considered some dialects from the Marche region that share the property of allowing the verb to surface after aspectual adverbs, as shown in (8):

- (8) a. MONTEFELCINO  
 Già ho magnèt  
 already have.1SG eaten  
 b. SASSOFERRATO  
 Già ho magnado  
 already have.1SG eaten  
 ‘I have already eaten.’  
 c. MACERATA  
 Manco lu/lo véco  
 not-even him=see.1SG  
 ‘I do not even see him.’  
 d. SASSOFERRATO  
 Manco ce penso  
 Not-even about-it=think.1SG  
 ‘I do not even think about that.’

As discussed in Garzonio & Poletto (2013), there are two possible explanations for this distribution. On the one hand, it is possible that these dialects are similar to the Calabrian varieties analyzed by Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005), where the verb remains in the low portion of the IP layer. However, the dialects represented in (6) and (8) lack the property of clitic interpolation, which is the main piece of evidence in favor of the idea that the finite verb is located in the low IP. On the other hand, one can assume that sentences like those in (8) are derived through constituent movement of adverbs to the pre-subject space. The two possible analyses are sketched as in (9):

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<sup>2</sup> See Schifano (2014) for a more detailed picture about other Romance varieties where the verb does not surface higher than ‘no longer’ and ‘still’, like European Portuguese:

- (i) A Maria (\*se recorda) ainda se recorda desta história. (Schifano, 2014: ex. 12b)  
 the Mary herself=remembers still herself=remembers of-this story  
 ‘Mary still remembers this story.’

- (9) a. [CP [T<sub>AnteriorP</sub> already [FP V [AspP [vP ] ... ] ]  
 b. [CP already [TP V [T<sub>AnteriorP</sub> already [FP V [AspP [vP ] ... ] ]

Even if the ASIt data cannot be used for a quantitative survey similar to the one Ledgeway (2009) has conducted on Neapolitan texts, it is possible to formulate some generalizations. The first observation about Abruzzese varieties is that only some adverbs appear regularly before the inflected verb. Negative adverbs and the adverbs corresponding to ‘already’ and ‘yet’ are very often in preverbal position, while ‘no longer’, ‘always’ and ‘well’ are in most cases postverbal. The distribution is exemplified in (10):

- (10) a. Negative Adverbs Adv-V  
 (i) SAN VALENTINO  
 Mànghe ce pènze  
 not-even to-it=think.1SG  
 ‘I do not even think about that.’  
 (ii) ARIELLI  
 Michə li so fattə  
 not it=am done  
 ‘I have not done it.’
- b. ‘Already’ Adv-V  
 (i) SAN VALENTINO  
 Ggià e magnatə  
 already have.1SG eaten  
 ‘I have already eaten.’  
 (ii) TERAMO  
 Tandə giuvənə e già te da mandenè na famijə  
 so young and already has to maintain.INF a family  
 ‘He is so young and must already support a family.’
- c. ‘No longer’ V-Adv  
 (i) ARIELLI  
 Da chi lu jurnə ni li so vistə cchiù  
 from that day not him=am seen no-longer  
 (ii) PENNAPIEDIMONTE  
 Da chə lu jurnə ne lə su arəvistə cchiò  
 from that day not him=am seen no-longer  
 ‘From that day I have not seen him anymore.’
- d. ‘Yet’ Adv-V  
 (i) SAN VALENTINO  
 Angure nen l’i cumbrate?  
 yet not it=are bought  
 ‘Haven’t you bought it yet?’
- e. ‘Always’ V-Adv  
 (i) LANCIANO  
 Mamma ha sempərə allavatə bbonə lə tendə də la nonna  
 mum has always cleaned well the curtains of the grandmother

- (ii) CASTIGLIONE MESSER MARINO  
 Mamma ha sembrə arravetə bbunə lə toendə a la chesà də mammeuccia  
 mum has always cleaned well the curtains at the home of grandma  
 ‘Mum has always cleaned well grandma’s curtains.’
- f. ‘Well’ V-Adv
- (i) TERAMO  
 Lu lavorə su lu fa bonə  
 the job his it=does well  
 ‘He does well his job.’

This suggests that in Abruzzese (like in Neapolitan) the inflected verb moves less than in standard Italian and Northern Italian dialects (past lower adverbs like ‘always’ and ‘well’ but stopping before crossing ‘already’ and ‘still/yet’). This points to the analysis in (9a). However, there are further elements that should be taken into consideration. Speakers of several varieties agree that a preverbal adverb, even ‘already’, is not compatible with a quantifier subject, which cannot be left dislocated:

- (11) TERAMO
- a. Nisciun ha già finitə də leggə ssu libbrə  
 nobody has already finished to read.inf this book
- b. Nisciun ha finitə già də leggə ssu libbrə  
 nobody has finished already to read.inf this book
- c. \*Nisciunə già ha finitə də leggə ssu libbrə  
 nobody already has finished to read.inf this book  
 ‘Nobody has already finished reading this book.’

Furthermore, the sentences in (11) also show that ‘already’ can indeed appear after the past participle. This order is not uncommon with the other aspectual adverbs, and is very frequent with ‘no longer’:

- (12) a. ARIELLI  
 Da chi lu jurnə ni li so vistə cchiù  
 from that day not him=am seen no-longer  
 ‘From that day I have not seen him anymore.’
- b. LANCIANO  
 Nən lə sə ccattatə angorə?  
 not it=are bought yet  
 ‘Haven’t you bought it yet?’
- c. LANCIANO  
 Mammà l’ha lavatə sembrə bonə  
 mum them=has cleaned always well  
 ‘Mum has always cleaned them well.’

Thus, a problem similar to the one described by Ledgeway (2009) for Neapolitan arises: inflected verbs seem to be lower than in Italian, while past participles seem to be higher. More

in general, this distribution is potentially a problem for Cinque's (1999) theory: assuming that auxiliaries are generated lower than in Italian (for instance immediately under 'already' in TAnterior<sup>0</sup> or even lower), it is not clear how past participles can move across this position without violating (any minimalist version of) the Head Movement Constraint or even Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990). This problem has been discussed by Bobaljik (1999) who points out that in standard Italian examples like those in (13) the past participle should not be able to move across the trace of the inflected auxiliary (13d):

- (13) a. Non hanno (mica più) mangiato (mica più) (Cinque, 1999: 47)  
 NEG they-have not/any longer eaten not/any longer  
 b. Non hanno mica mangiato più  
 'They haven't eaten (any longer).'  
 c. Gianni purtroppo forse stupidamente mica gli ha più telefonato  
 Gianni unfortunately perhaps stupidly not to-him has any longer telephoned.  
 (Cinque, 1999: 51)

- d. [non hanno [<sub>FP</sub> mangiato [<sub>micaP</sub> mica *t*<sub>AUX</sub> *t*<sub>PART</sub> [<sub>piùP</sub> più *t*<sub>PART</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>PART</sub> ]]]]]

More in general, these facts could be interpreted as evidence that the order of adverbs in Romance is not a product of their Merge order, but of some linear (that is post-syntactic) mechanism. We will argue, however, that the general idea proposed by Cinque (1999) is correct, and that some of the observed variation does not depend uniquely on the height of verbal forms, but also on the limited possibility of adverb movement.

### 3 The analysis

So far we have shown that some of the aspectual adverbs in Abruzzese can also appear before the inflected verb (both auxiliaries and lexical verbs). As discussed above, assuming that Cinque's theory is on the right track, this linear order might suggest that in Abruzzese inflected verbs reach a lower position than in other Italian varieties. Notice, however, that if this is the explanation, it is not clear why the adverb corresponding to 'already', which normally precedes the verb, is not found in preverbal position if the subject is a quantifier (11c). Our proposal is to consider this restriction as a piece of evidence that the preverbal position of adverbs like 'already' is to be interpreted as operator movement of the adverb to the left periphery (targeting a projection located in the Focus field and already identified by Benincà & Poletto (2004) on the basis of Rhaetoromance varieties, which have a dedicated position for lower adverbs precisely in the Focus CP domain), but the presence of another operator element, like a quantified subject, which is a potential intervener, blocks this movement, presumably for some type of Relativized Minimality effect (Rizzi, 1990). This intuition leads to the analysis represented in (14):

- (14) [<sub>FocusP</sub> [Nisciun [<sub>FP</sub> ha [<sub>TAnteriorP</sub> già [finitə də leggə ssu libbrə]]]]]]
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- The diagram shows a syntactic tree structure for the sentence in (14). The root node is [<sub>FocusP</sub>]. Its left child is the quantifier 'Nisciun'. Its right child is [<sub>FP</sub>]. The left child of [<sub>FP</sub>] is the auxiliary 'ha'. The right child of [<sub>FP</sub>] is [<sub>TAnteriorP</sub>]. The left child of [<sub>TAnteriorP</sub>] is the adverb 'già'. The right child of [<sub>TAnteriorP</sub>] is a VP projection [finitə də leggə ssu libbrə]. A horizontal arrow points from 'già' to the left periphery of the FocusP domain, indicating movement. A vertical arrow points from 'già' to the auxiliary 'ha', indicating its base position. A large 'X' is drawn over the arrow pointing to the left periphery, indicating that this movement is blocked by the presence of the quantifier 'Nisciun' in the FocusP domain.

It should be pointed out that there is no indication that the quantifier subject in (11) and (14) is in the standard subject position (let's assume it is the specifier of TP). We leave this problem aside here, as it could be hypothesized that 'nobody' itself targets a position in the Focus layer or that there is a special position for bare quantifiers in the split left periphery. Notice, however, that if our hypothesis is correct, it has the consequence that (non-quantified) subjects are in the left periphery, presumably in a Topic projection, as they normally precede aspectual and negative adverbs when they are found at the left of the inflected verb. This is shown in (15) for standard Italian:

- (15) a. ?Gianni già è partito  
           John already is left  
           'John has already left.'  
       b. \*Già Gianni è partito

In Cinque's (1999) analysis, subjects are always in the IP, so examples like those in (15) were considered further evidence that adverbs do not move and only verbal forms can be found at different structural heights. We propose to revise this view and assume that when there is an operator-like element in the left periphery (like a moved adverb), a subject preceding it is in a Topic position. This is coherent with Cruschina's (2012) Syntactic Extraposition (SE) Principle.

If low aspectual adverbs preceding the inflected verb are in the CP, one could expect some restrictions on the possibility of having two preverbal adverbs. This prediction is not easy to test, as the adverbs that can be found in preverbal position are in most cases not compatible semantically and when there are two adverbs, only 'already' can appear before the verb, while the lower ones in such cases follow the past participle:

- (16) a. TERAMO  
           assə già lu sa simbrə com te da fa  
           he already it=knows always how has to do.INF  
           'He already always knows how he has to solve the problem.'  
       b. TERAMO  
           Dapù n'ha vində chiù simbrə  
           since-then not has won no-longer always  
           'He has not always won anymore.'

These examples confirm that the idea that adverbs do not move and past participles can bypass the position where auxiliaries are merged presupposes a violation of the Head Movement Constraint. On the other hand, it seems that only the higher aspectual adverbs can be moved to CP. One possible explanation for this fact is that also the inflected verb activates Relativized Minimality effects. Or, alternatively, negative adverbs and some of the aspectual adverbs share a quantificational feature that can be valued in the Focus field. The only case we found where two adverbs occur before the inflected verb involves the negative adverb corresponding to Italian *mica* and 'already'. However this combination is possible only in interrogatives:



- (17) ARIELLI  
 Miche già      ji l'a              ditte a cullù?  
 not    already to-him=it=has said to that-one  
 'He has not already told it to that one, right?'

In a similar way, the vast majority of cases we observed in the ASIt database where 'yet' precedes the inflected verb are questions, as in (6c)-(6d) and (10d-i). We propose that in all these cases the adverb is moved to a higher position in the CP where polar interrogative force is encoded (we label it IntP following established cartographic terminology). Notice that in some varieties the clitic negative marker has a reduced form or totally disappears when 'yet' is moved in interrogatives, as represented in (18). The analysis we propose is (19).

- (18) a. LANCIANO =(6c)  
 N'angorə li sə ccattatə?  
 not=yet it=are bought  
 b. LANCIANO  
 Nən lə sə ccattatə angorə?  
 not it=are bought yet  
 c. PENNAPIEDIMONTE =(6d)  
 Angurə lə ji 'ccattotə?  
 yet it=are bought  
 'Haven't you bought it yet?'

- (19) [IntP N'angorə [FP li sə [AspContinuativeP angorə [VP ccattatə] ... ]

We will come back to the relation between 'yet' and the negation in the next section.

Summarizing, we propose that in these varieties (and possibly in other Southern Italian dialects) some of the low adverbs can undergo operator movement to the left periphery of the clause, probably because they are intrinsically quantificational. Besides the observed linear order, this analysis is based on the fact that preverbal adverbs are not compatible with other operators like quantifier subjects and that in some cases the preverbal position of an adverb correlates with interrogative force. In the next section we present further evidence that in Italo-Romance there is a position for adverbs in the CP layer.

## 4 Adverbs in CP

In Garzonio & Poletto (2013) we have examined several cases of adverbs in the left periphery in Italo-Romance. In this section we illustrate some of those phenomena in order to show that so called "low" adverbs can be in the pre-subject space even if they are not contrastively focalized.

As described by Munaro (2009), standard Italian presents many cases of aspectual adverbs in initial position followed by a complementizer. It is important to stress that in these cases the adverb is not focalized. From a semantic point of view, the aspectual meaning is substituted or accompanied by an evaluative or discourse related one (Cinque, 1999, points out that adverbs can display structural and lexical ambiguities). In (20) some examples are provided:

- (20) a. Già che vai al mercato, comprami un chilo di mele  
 already that go.2SG to-the market buy=me a kilo of apples  
 ‘Since you go to the market in any case, buy me a kilo of apples.’  
 (Munaro, 2009: ex. 17ff.)
- b. Sempre che studia  
 always that studies  
 ‘He is always studying!’
- c. Ancora che mangi?!  
 still that eat.2SG  
 ‘You are still eating?!’

In these examples the presence of the complementizer is evidence that adverbs are located in the CP. Since the aspectual meaning is not cancelled in most cases, we assume that these sentences are derived through adverb movement from the IP to the CP. More precisely, the adverb is moved to the higher field of the left periphery, where discourse and speaker related features are encoded.

More evidence for adverb movement is provided by the diachrony of Italian. Old Italian was a verb second language, with frequent verb third and verb fourth cases (Benincà, 2006; Poletto, 2014). Adverbs, like DPs and PPs, occupied often the first position, as shown in (21):

- (21) a. ... quelle cose che già sono pervenute ...  
 those things that already are come  
 ‘...things that already came ...’  
 (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, 64)
- b. Già è detto sufficientemente dell’ufficio e della fine di rettorica  
 already is said enough of.the duty and of the goal of rhetoric  
 ‘We already said enough about the duty and the goal of rhetoric.’  
 (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, 53)

Verb second grammar disappears in the course of the XIV century, but crucially, while preverbal non-subject DPs and PPs become rare, preverbal aspectual adverbs are still quite common through the XV and XVI centuries. This can be observed for instance in Machiavelli’s work: in the first 20 chapters of “*Il Principe*” there are only three cases of auxiliary-subject inversion and eight cases of modal-subject inversion, while preverbal aspectual adverbs, even the “lower” ones like ‘always’ and ‘never’, are very frequent:

- (22) a. Sempre si trova dei malcontenti ... (*Il Principe*, 4)  
 always one finds of-the displeasures  
 ‘There is always discontent ...’
- b. Mai si troverà ingannato da lui ... (*Il Principe*, 9)  
 never REFL will-find.3SG cheated by him  
 ‘He will never be cheated by him ...’

This residual verb second with adverbs is to be interpreted as a by-product of the progressive loss of verb movement to the higher part of the split CP (FocusP or above). In other words,

it seems that there is a dedicated position for moved aspectual adverbs in the low part of the left periphery even though V2 is not obligatory anymore.

The last example of adverbs in the CP we take into consideration is the most relevant one as it is a phenomenon already described in an Abruzzese dialect. Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2010) have discussed the peculiar distribution of *angorə* 'still, yet' in the dialect of Arielli (the ASIt data suggest that the phenomenon is present also in other varieties, like that of Pennapiedimonte). In Ariellese, *angorə* can appear both in preverbal and postverbal position. When it follows the inflected verb, it is interpreted as Italian *ancora* in similar contexts, that is as English *still*. However, if it appears before the inflected verb it corresponds to the negative polarity variant, that is to Italian *non ... ancora* and English *not ... yet*. Notice that there is no negative marker and the verb keeps present tense morphology even if it receives counterfactual interpretation:

- (23) ARIELLI
- a. Magnə angorə  
eats ANGORƏ  
'He is still eating.'
  - b. Angorə magnə 'He has not eaten yet.'  
ANGORƏ eats
  - c. Mə tene' 'ngorə famə  
to.me had.1SG ANGORƏ hunger  
'I was still hungry.'
  - d. Angorə mə tene' 'famə  
ANGORƏ to.me had.1SG hunger  
'I was not hungry yet.'

Biberauer and D'Alessandro explain the phenomenon in terms of reanalysis of a focalized adverb (that is moved to the preverbal space) that takes over from the complex constituent 'not yet', in a way similar to focalized n-words in Italian, which do not require the preverbal negative marker typical of Negative Concord even if they originate in postverbal position.<sup>3</sup>

- (24) a. Non vedo nessuno  
not see.1sg nobody  
'I do not see anyone.'
- b. NESSUNO vedo  
'I see NOBODY.'

Leaving aside the reanalysis solution, which could imply that we are dealing with two separate lexical items in synchrony, a further problem for Cinque's hierarchy, the phenomenon clearly shows that adverb movement is possible in these varieties.

3 "angore2 has its origins in an emphatic use of *angore1*, which subsequently became bleached of its emphatic connotations, with the result that it could take over from *non angore* ("not yet"), which became obsolete (...). As an emphatic element, *angore1* may be thought of as contained within a FocusP, i.e. "sealed off" from the rest of the clause – cf. the behaviour of focused elements in Negative Concord (NC) contexts." (from Biberauer & D'Alessandro, 2010. Notice that *angore2* refers to the preverbal variant, *angore1* to the postverbal one).

To summarize, in this section we have briefly presented three cases of adverb movement in Italo-Romance. These phenomena cannot be ignored when dealing with adverb-inflected verb orders like those we presented in section 2: while in some cases it can be demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that the verb moves less than in standard Italian or in Northern Italian dialects, in other cases the possibility that adverbs reach the CP layer cannot be ruled out.

## 5 Conclusions

We have examined the relative order of verbs and aspectual adverbs in Abruzzese varieties. We have shown that some adverbs, in particular negative adverbs and ‘already’ appear in most cases in preverbal position. We have argued that this linear order is not automatically evidence that verbs move less in these dialects than in the rest of the Italo-Romance domain. If the relation between height of the verb in the IP hierarchy and its visible morphology is to be taken seriously, it is not clear why in these dialects the verb should move less, as the morphology is not poorer than in other Italian varieties.

It is important to stress the fact that adverb movement to the CP layer is a kind of operator movement, but it is not related to contrastive focalization. Contrastively focalized adverbs are possible also in standard Italian (25), but in the cases we have examined there is no trace of special informational interpretations.

- (25) SEMPRE si è alzato tardi, non a volte  
 always REFL is got-up late not at times  
 ‘ALWAYS he has got up late, not just sometimes.’

For this reason we suspect that preverbal adverbs target a different operator position in the left periphery, possibly a dedicated position for aspectual adverbs. Renaissance Italian data we mentioned in section 4 lead to a similar speculation. A possibility that we intend to pursue in further research is that also the inflected verb is in the CP, as it seems that other constituents cannot be inserted between a moved adverb and the verb (an issue related to the position of subjects that we discussed in section 3). If this hypothesis is correct, it can shed some light on the dynamics of residual verb second.

More in general, we think that allowing adverb movement to the CP it is possible to keep Cinque’s core idea without facing the problem of HMC violations by past participle movement: if we admit that ‘already’ can reach the CP, an auxiliary verb to the right of ‘already’ is not necessarily in its Merge position (it is higher); consequently a past participle can move higher than a postverbal (that is a “not moved”) ‘already’ without violating the HMC. The two different structures are represented in (26):

- (26) a. [CP già [FP1 ha [Aux ha [FP2 [T<sup>Anterior</sup> già [VP finitə də leggə ssu libbrə] ... ]  
 b. [CP [FP1 ha [Aux ha [FP2 finitə [T<sup>Anterior</sup> già [VP finitə də leggə ssu libbrə] ... ]

Only some aspectual adverbs can move to the CP. One possible explanation is that they have intrinsic quantificational meaning. This hypothesis has to be tested in further research, checking, for instance, if adverbs that can receive different interpretations, receive only one

of them in preverbal position, or if there are other cases of interactions between adverbs and operators.

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