Splitting up Force, evidence from discourse particles[*]

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1. Introduction

The term 'discourse particles' is usually referred to a special class of elements in different languages, which have an 'adverbial' function *lato sensu*. In contrast to the traditional class of adverbs, discourse particles have more abstract functions and meanings. They are used to introduce the speaker's point of view in the discourse. By means of discourse particles, the speaker wants to stress her attitude or opinion with respect to the propositional content of the utterance.

An example of the wide and heterogeneous group of discourse particles are those lexical elements which are usually referred to as *Modalpartikeln* or *Abtönungspartikeln* ('modal' or 'shading particles' respectively, henceforth MPs) in the long German tradition of studies on this topic (cf. Thurmair 1989). This is a special class of words (such as *denn*, *doch*, *ja*, *schon*, *wohl*, etc.) that may only occur in the IP, whose meaning and function depend on the context of use. Consequently, they cannot be easily translated into other languages.

The importance of these elements becomes particularly evident in spoken language, since they are typical of spontaneous speech. Although they are avoided in written language, they turn up to be necessary in spoken language in order to make an utterance sound more natural and expressive. Let us consider the following example for German:

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(1)　Kann　er *denn* schwimmen?

　　　can　he Prt　swim

　　　'Is it true that he can swim?'

By using *denn*, the speaker wants to stress her particular interest or concern with respect to the information asked for. The question in (1) is grammatical even in the absence of the particle. However, the sentence would lose its particular flavour.

　　In some cases, then, MPs turn out to be (nearly) mandatory, as for instance in the following optative clause in German:

(2)　Hätt　ich　meiner　Tochter　*nur/bloß/doch*　geglaubt!　　　(Thurmair 1989:24)[1]

　　　had　I　　to-my　　daughter　Prt/Prt/Prt　　believed

　　　'If only I had believed my daughter!'

As one can see in the examples, MPs (or discourse particles in general) are not part of the proposition, i.e. of that part of the utterance that constitutes the nucleus of the predication and determines its truth value (cf. Bußmann 2002:542). They are external to the proposition, since they provide additional information about the speaker's opinions and intentions. Thus, they pertain to the illocutionary layer. In particular, discourse particles display a crucial twofold behaviour. On the one hand, they interact with the clause type, i.e. with the syntactic form of the clause they occur in, since it is a well-known fact that each particle can only occur in certain types of clauses: declarative, interrogative, etc. (cf. Thurmair 1989:49). On the other hand, they interact with the illocutionary force (assertive, directive, etc.), since they contribute to express the speaker's intention by modifying it (cf. Jacobs 1986, 1991).

　　The idea we would like to pursue in this paper is that the interaction of discourse particles with both clause type and illocutionary force can give us some hints about the

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[1]. Beside optative clauses, such as (2), Thurmair (1989:24f) mentions the following two other cases, in which the usage of MPs in German is (almost) obligatory:

　i.　V1 sentences with *doch*:

　　　Dann kam der Ölschock. Die Krise traf Marseille extrem schmerzhaft, ist *doch* der riesige Hafen zu achtzig Prozent vom Ölgeschäft abhängig. ('Then came the oil shock. The crisis hit Marseille very hard, the huge port depends on oil for eighty percent of its total business.')

　ii.　independent verb-last sentences:

　　　Dass du *JA* rechtzeitig heimkommst! ('Make sure you are home in time!')

syntactic distinction of the two categories, which are generally assumed to be encoded in one and the same projection, namely Rizzi's (1997) ForceP, or are not clearly kept distinct in syntax.

This paper is organized as follows. We will first show what the functions of discourse particles are. In doing this, we will base our analysis on the long tradition of studies on German MPs. Furthermore, we will then take into account some discourse particles in Italian and Romanian. In particular, we will discuss their syntactic and pragmatic properties, i.e. on the one hand their clause type restriction and, on the other hand, their interaction with illocutionary force. Finally we will show how the interaction of discourse particles with both clause type and illocutionary force can be accounted for in syntax. We will argue that their syntactic behaviour is a piece of evidence for splitting up Rizzi's (1997) ForceP and for postulating two distinct projections for illocutionary force and clause type.

1.1. Syntactic and pragmatic properties of discourse particles

The studies on discourse particles started from the research done for German and other Germanic languages. In particular, it was shown that German displays a class of adverbial elements, which have been referred to in various ways: 'Modalpartikeln', 'Abtönungspartikeln', etc. (see, for instance, Abraham 1995, 2009a, Bayer 2001, 2008, Borst 1985, Hentschel 1986, Meibauer 1994, Ormelius-Sandblom 1997a,b, Thurmair 1989, 1991). Gradually crosslinguistic evidence has proved them to be a more widespread phenomenon. We will claim that such elements are available in Romance languages, too, such as in Italian and Romanian.

As pointed out in the previous section, discourse particles are used by the speaker to express her attitude, belief or opinion with respect to the propositional part of her utterance (cf. Thurmair 1989). Let us consider the following German sentence:

(3) Er kann *ja* schon schwimmen.
     he can Prt already swim
     'He can already swim (it is evident / as you know).'

In this example, the speaker uses the particle *ja* to emphasize that the propositional content of her utterance ('he can already swim') is evident and, hence, potentially known to the addressee (cf. Thurmair 1989:200). On the one hand, the speaker utters the

'proposition', while on the other hand she adds her personal assessment and opinions about certain aspects of this proposition (cf. Abraham 2009b).

It has been argued that German MPs only occur in the *Mittelfeld* ('middle field') of the clause, i.e. in that part of a (main) clause in German which is delimited by the finite verb, on the left, and by the non-finite part of the verb, on the right (also see section 2).[2] The following sentences, derived from example (3), are ungrammatical:

(4)   * Er kann schon schwimmen (,) *ja*.

(5)   * *Ja* kann er schon schwimmen.

A particle such as *ja* can occur neither in the *Nachfeld* ('final field') nor in the *Vorfeld* ('initial field'), i.e. before the finite verb or after the non-finite verb, respectively.[3]

Beside their being confined to the clausal middle field, we would like to point out another crucial syntactic property of discourse particles. As already mentioned above, each particle is only compatible with specific clause types. For instance, the unstressed particle *ja* may only occur in declarative clause (Thurmair 1989), such as (3) above. In contrast, the particle *denn* may only occur in questions (Thurmair 1989, Wegener 2002, Grosz 2005, Bayer 2008), as in (1), repeated as (6) below. Example (7) is ungrammatical since the particle is incompatible with the declarative type.

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[2]. Notice that, in contrast to Cinque's (1999) adverbs, German MPs do not occupy a fixed position in the IP. As was shown in Coniglio (2005, 2007a,b), they may occupy one or more positions in between 'higher' adverbs, but cannot occur after the (higher) class of repetitive adverbs:

(i)   *Positions accessible to MPs in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of functional projections:*

(!) > $Mood_{speech\ act}$ > (!) > $Mood_{evaluative}$ > (!) > $Mood_{evidential}$ > (!) > $Mod_{epistemic}$ >

(!) > T(Past) > (!) > T(Future) > (!) > $Mood_{irrealis}$ > (!) > $Mod_{necessity}$ >

(!) > $Mod_{possibility}$ > (!) > $Asp_{habitual}$ > ! > $Asp_{repetitive(I)}$ > * > $Asp_{frequentative(I)}$ > * > ...

Similar observations can be made with respect to Italian. Cf. Coniglio (2008, to appear).

[3]. The property of MPs of occurring in the middle field of the clause led some scholars to assume that they are phenomena typical of Germanic languages, since these languages display a middle field or similar structures (Abraham 1991a). See section 2.

(6) Kann er *denn* schwimmen?
 can he Prt swim
 'Is it true that he can swim?'

(7) Er kann (*denn) schwimmen.
 he can Prt swim
 'He can swim.'

Based on Altmann (1984:137), Thurmair (1989:44ff) lists seven clause types for German:

 i. declaratives
 ii. *yes/no* questions
 iii. *wh* questions
 iv. imperatives
 v. optatives
 vi. exclamatives
 vii. *wh* exclamatives

In particular, *denn* may occur in polarity and *wh* questions, (unstressed) *ja* only in declaratives, etc. Hence, each particle occurs in a subset of the seven types listed above. Besides clause type, what is fundamental for the licensing of discourse particles is illocutionary force (cf. Jacobs 1986, 1991, Thurmair 1989, Abraham 1991b, Zimmermann 2004a, b, etc.). By illocutionary force, we mean the speaker's intention in producing an utterance, in the sense of Austin (1962) and Searle (1975a). When uttering a sentence, the speaker performs a 'speech act'. According to Searle (1975a), we could distinguishes five main categories of speech acts:

 i. assertives
 ii. directives
 iii. commissives
 iv. expressives
 v. declarations

The illocutionary force is assertive when the speaker wants to assert the truth of the proposition, the force is directive in orders and requests (requesting an action or a piece of information) and so on.

One can usually observe a one-to-one relation between clause type (CT) and illocutionary force (ILL). Thus, for instance, a directive (requesting an action) typically corresponds to an imperative clause, as for example in (8). However, it often occurs that, for reasons of politeness, an order is indirectly expressed by means of a question, as in (9). This is what Searle (1975b) calls 'indirect speech acts'.

(8)   Call the police!   ILL = directive   CT = imperative

(9)   Could you call the police?   ILL = directive   CT = interrogative

With all these in mind, let us now consider discourse particles again. We have seen that particles may only occur in certain clause types. However, if we take into account the function of discourse particles, we notice that these elements do not modify the type, but rather the illocutionary force of the clause (cf. Jacobs 1986, 1991, Thurmair 1989, and Zimmermann 2004a,b).

This claim may be proven by taking into account an example from German, where the great number of particles sometimes allows for a fine-grained nuancing of the illocutionary force. For instance, German has a wide number of particles which are compatible with imperative clauses. Some examples are *halt, mal, doch,* (stressed) *JA,* etc. Let's consider example (10):

(10) Ruf die Polizei!
      'Call the police!'

      a) Ruf *halt* die Polizei!
      b) Ruf *mal* die Polizei!
      c) Ruf *doch* die Polizei!
      d) Ruf *JA* die Polizei!

                                    cogent order

      bloss, nur, etc.

The insertion of a discourse particle does not modify the clause type of the sentence – which is imperative in all cases– but it contributes to modify the speaker's intention, i.e.

the illocutionary force of the utterance. Although the arrow in (10) may be simplifying empirical facts, it is true that the use of a particle can turn the (default) sentence into a simple suggestion, an order, a compelling command, etc.

Therefore, the particle has the function of modifying the illocutionary force of the utterance, in the sense that it may nuance it in accordance with the speaker's intentions. As claimed by Jacobs (1986, 1991), particles take on the illocutionary force of a given clause (X) and turn it into a different, more precisely specified illocutionary force (X'). This idea could be represented as follows:

(11) $X + Prt = X'$ (where X stands for illocutionary force)

In the following part of the paper, we will base our investigation into some elements in Italian and Romanian on the hypothesis that, on the one hand, discourse particles must be compatible with the clause type (declarative, interrogative, exclamative, etc.) for their syntactic licensing, but, on the other hand, they modify illocutionary force (assertive, directive, etc.) on the pragmatic level.

2. Italian and Romanian data

During the last decades, most research concentrated on German particles, but more recently greater attention has been paid to Germanic languages in general. A number of studies were conducted on Dutch (cf. Westheide 1986, van der Wouden 2000), Swedish (cf. Beijer 2005), etc.

Interestingly, the presence of particles in these languages was linked by Abraham (1991a) to a peculiar syntactic property of them, namely the availability of a *Mittelfeld* or of a similar syntactic space (see 1.1.).[4] Traditionally, the term 'middle field' refers to the medial part of the sentence, i.e. the one delimited, in a main clause, by the finite verb in the second position and by the non-finite verb in the last position:[5]

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[4]. Also see Abraham (1991b:249): "[...] languages with an extensive use of truely modal particles are of the structural MF-type, and the occurrence of MPs is restricted to this MF."

[5]. In North Germanic languages, we find a similar sentence-internal space in between the finite and non-finite verbal elements, the *nexus field* (cf. Abraham 1991a:346ff).

(12) Er <u>hat</u> *ja*   das Buch <u>gelesen</u>.
      he has Prt the book   read
      'He read the book (as you know).'

However intriguing, Abraham's (1991a) generalisation is contradicted by the existence of a (probably smaller) inventory of particles in languages for which the existence of a middle field has never been assumed. For instance, Italian and Romanian, two Romance languages, display such discourse particles, as we will show in the following part of the paper.

To this point, it should be noted that, cross-linguistically, particles which denote the speaker's intentions do not always occur in the IP (as is the case for German particles), but may also occur in the CP.[6] In the following part of the paper, we will call all types of particles (both CP and IP particles) 'discourse particles'. However, when referring to the specific type of sentence-internal German-like particles, we will sometimes make use of the (more restrictive) term 'modal particles'. We will see how the recent syntactic studies, in particular those within the cartographic framework, can help us distinguish the positions occupied by each type of particles.

As for Italian, there is evidence of the existence of discourse particles (cf. Burkhardt 1985, Cardinaletti 2009, Coniglio 2008, to appear, Held 1985, Radtke 1985). In particular, the presence of German-like IP particles in Italian has already been claimed by Coniglio (2008, to appear): *pure, mai, poi*, etc. Consider the following examples:

(13) Chiama *pure* la   polizia!
      call   Prt   the police
      'Call the police! (if you feel like it)'

(14) Cosa significheranno *mai* quelle parole?
      what will.mean   Prt   those   words
      'What (on earth) do those words mean after all?'

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[6]. There are languages, such as Cantonese (cf. Law 2002) and Veneto dialects (cf. Munaro and Poletto 2004), which also display sentence-final particles. These have been generally considered CP particles, which – due to the movement of the rest of sentence to a higher position – occupy the last position in the sentence (see, for instance, Munaro and Poletto 2004). Also see Cardinaletti (2009) for evidence that sentence-final particles are IP particles, instead (see fn. 11).

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It may be the case that Italian also displays particles that can occur in the CP. Under certain conditions, some potential candidates are *almeno, magari, proprio, tanto,* etc. (also cf. Bazzanella 1995, Bonvino, Frascarelli and Pietrandrea 2008).[7] Consider the following sentence:

(15) *Tanto* il libro non lo leggo.
     Prt   *the book not* *it I.read*
     'I won't read the book in any case.'

Particles such as *tanto* seem to occupy a CP internal position. The same observation holds for a larger group of elements in Italian. However, no specific cartographic studies for these elements are available so far.

A possible distinction between IP and CP particles can be drawn for Romanian, too. There is hardly any syntactic literature on this topic on Romanian.[8] Nonetheless, we can assume that there is a class of particles in this language as well. One example of discourse particle in Romanian is *doar*, which may occur either in the CP or in the IP:

(16) *<Doar>* de   mâine   cineva   va veni   *<doar>* cu o solu"ie.[9]
     Prt   *from tomorrow* *somebody* *will come.up* *Prt*   *with a solution*
     'From tomorrow on somebody will (evidently) come up with a solution.'

In (16), the first occurrence of *doar* is in the CP, since it precedes the topicalized element *de mâine*, while the second one is in the IP, since it follows a bare quantifier in preverbal subject position –which occupies SpecTP in indicatives (cf. Cinque 1990)– and the inflected verb. Not all Romanian particles behave like this, since there are cases

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[7]. We should notice that there are probably different types of CP particles. Those taken into consideration here are only the sentence-integrated ones, i.e. those which are not separated by a comma intonation from the rest of the sentence.

[8]. Cf. Thun 1984 for a comparison between German and Romanian discourse particles based on their semantic-pragmatic properties.

[9]. The use of *doar* here can be ambiguous between the reading as modifier of the PP *cu o solu!ie*, in which case *doar* is the equivalent of English *only*, and the discourse particle reading.

of particles that may occur either only in the CP or in the IP. Section 2.2 will shed some light on the properties of Romanian discourse particles.

The existence of discourse particles of different languages, which occur either in the CP or in the IP, is nothing new. See, for instance, the typology proposed in Del Gobbo and Poletto (2008), based on the results of interlinguistic investigation (such as Munaro and Poletto (2004) on Veneto dialects and Coniglio (2005)[10] on German).[11] Interestingly, however, one property seems to be common to all particles, regardless of their syntactic distribution, i.e. they depend on the clause type for their syntactic licensing and on illocutionary force for their pragmatic and discourse functions.

2.1. Italian discourse particles

As was shown in Coniglio (2008), Italian displays a group of German-like IP particles (also cf. Cardinaletti 2007, 2009). Some examples of this kind of particles are *mai*, *mica*, *poi*, *pure*, etc.[12] As already mentioned, we can argue for the existence of CP particles in Italian, as well. However, since cartographic studies on these elements are not yet available, we will concentrate here on IP particles in this language.

As observed for German MPs, Italian particles, too, must be compatible with clause type (cf. Coniglio 2008). For instance, the particle *mai* may only occur in interrogative clauses (also see Obenauer and Poletto 2000):[13]

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[10]. Notice that, although German particles are confined to the highest projections in Cinque's (1999) functional structure of the IP (cf. (12), for instance), they are probably syntactically linked to CP layer (Coniglio 2007c, 2009, to appear).

[11]. Cardinaletti (2009) claims that sentence-final particles in Veneto dialects (and in Italian), which are assumed to be merged in the CP by Munaro and Poletto (2004), are actually generated in the IP. In contrast, sentence-initial particles are to be posited in the CP (or higher) and have different semantics.

[12]. All these elements are polyfunctional. Here, we only refer to their particle function.

[13]. Thus, for instance, the particle cannot occur in a declarative clause. Notice, however, that the homophonous temporal adverb meaning 'never' is possible in the latter context.

(17) Avrà   *mai* letto quel libro?

  s/he.will.have Prt read that book

  '(I wonder:) Did s/he really read that book?'

Although discouse particles are dependent on the clause type for their syntactic licensing, on the pragmatic level they interact and modify the illocutionary force. For instance, the particle *pure* in example (13), repeated as (19) here, has the effect of modifying the illocutionary force of the clause by weakening the order. In other words, the sentence in (19) differs from the one in (18) –i.e., the same sentence without the particle *pure*– in as much as the speaker's order in (19) is not as cogent as in (18): the speaker just wants to emphasize that she does not intend to force the addressee to call the police.

(18) Chiama la polizia!

  call   the police

  'Call the police!'

(19) Chiama *pure* la polizia!

  call   Prt the police

  'Call the police (if you feel like it)!'

As mentioned in 1.1., in indirect speech acts (cf. Searle 1975b), there can be a kind of mismatch between illocutionary force and clause type. Consider the following example:

(20) Puoi   *pure* chiamare la   polizia.

  you.can Prt call   the police

  'You can call the police (if you feel like it).'
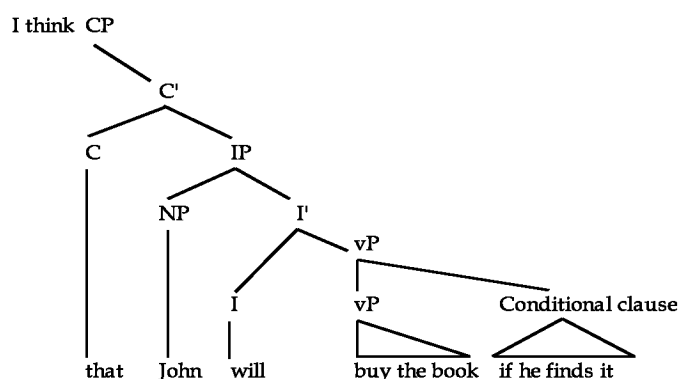
  ILL = directive; CT = declarative

In (20) the clause type is declarative, even though we are dealing with a concealed order by the speaker, who wants the addressee to call the police. Interestingly, probably because of the presence of the modal verb *puoi* ('you can/may'), the particle *pure*, which is typical of imperative contexts, may also occur in a declarative clause. Crucially, although the particle must check its compatibility with the clause type, its

function is that of modifying the directive force of the utterance, in the sense that it weakens the strength of the order.[14]

That discourse particles interact with the illocutionary force of the clause is proven by another fact. Their distribution shows that they are to be considered main clause phenomena (in the sense of Emonds 1970). More specifically, they can only be licensed in those clauses, which –according to Haegeman (2002, 2004a,b, 2006)– are endowed with illocutionary force (see Coniglio 2007c, 2009, to appear).

In some recent studies, Haegeman distinguishes two types of subordinate clauses, namely those generated inside the IP of the main clause, i.e. central adverbials (21),[15] and those merged only after the CP of the matrix clause was projected, i.e. peripheral adverbials (22):

(21) *Central adverbials* (Haegeman 2002:131)

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I think CP
          \
           C'
          / \
         C   IP
         |   / \
         |  NP   I'
         |  |   / \
         |  |  I    vP
         |  |  |   / \
         |  |  |  vP   Conditional clause
       that John will buy the book  if he finds it
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[14]. Note that, in (20), the function of weakening the strength of the order is typical for *pure* when occurring in imperatives but not when occurring in declaratives, where the particle has a 'concessive' function, instead: it underlines that the speaker has no evidence to prove that her assertion is true, but she still thinks it logical to suppose that it must be true.

[15]. The same is true of complement clauses, as well. Notice, however, that complement clauses, although being syntactically 'central', they should be distinguished in factive and non-factive clauses, according to Haegeman (2006). In particular, the latter would share some properties of peripheral adverbials, such as the availability of a syntactic projection where illocutionary force is encoded.

(22) *Peripheral adverbials* (Haegeman 2002:132)
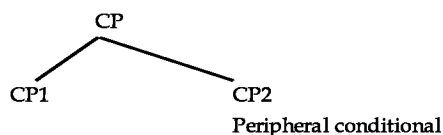
According to Haegeman (2002 and following work), not only do the two types of clauses differ because of their different merging position, but they also have different internal structure. Based on Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP hypothesis,[16] Haegeman (2002:159) makes a step forward and claims that the CP is extended more in peripheral adverbials than in central adverbials:

(23)		Sub	Force	Top*	Focus	Mod*	Fin
a	Central adverbials:	Sub				Mod*	Fin
b	Peripheral adverbials:	Sub	Force	Top*	Focus	Mod*	Fin
c	Root clauses:		Force	Top*	Focus	Mod*	Fin

The crucial difference between central and peripheral clauses consists in the presence or absence of the syntactic projection ForceP, where illocutionary force is encoded.

If we now consider discourse particles again, we observe that they may only occur in those clauses, which are endowed with illocutionary force, namely in peripheral adverbials, in non-factive complement clauses, and in appositive relatives. The following examples are taken from Coniglio (2008:117f). Also see Coniglio (to appear).

(24) Se Gianni ha (**pur*) detto che non verrà,   allora non verrà.
  if Gianni has Prt   said that not he'll.come then   not he'll.come
  'If Gianni said that he won't come, then he won't come.'

(25) Se Gianni – come dici   – ha *pur* detto che non verrà,
  if   Gianni   as   you.say   has Prt said that not he'll.come
  perché allora ha   prenotato l'hotel?
  why   then   he.has booked   the-hotel
  'If Gianni – as you say – said that he won't come, then why did he book the hotel?'

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[16]. Rizzi's (1997) proposes the following structure for the left periphery of the clause:

(i)   Force (Top*)   Foc (Top*)   Fin IP

The particle *pur(e)* is allowed in the conditional in (25), which is a peripheral adverbial in Haegeman's terms, but not in the central conditional in (24).

To sum up, it was shown for Italian that discourse particles have properties similar to those pointed out for German. In the next section, we will show that a similar scenario can be sketched out for Romanian particles, too.

2.2. Romanian discourse particles

Romanian traditional grammars cluster together under the category of 'adverbs' many elements that have different properties in syntax, semantics, phonology and pragmatics. In certain contexts however, some (of these) elements appear to behave similarly to discourse particles. See for instance Manoliu Manea (1985), who analyses *chiar* as an 'insinuating particle', Manoliu Manea (1993) for *doar* as element negating expectations defined as pragmatic presuppositions, Hill (2002) and Ra'iu (2010), who treat *oare* as an optional 'question marker/word'. A finer grained distinction is thus in order in the light of recent studies and approaches to such elements.[17] On the basis of syntactic, semantic and morphophonologic evidence, candidates for the category of discourse particles have been identified.

The group of possible candidates is a small class of words which are often homophonous with adverbs, or even with conjunctions (*dar*, see fn. 19) or interjections (*p"i*).[18] It is thus difficult to distinguish between their uses as discourse particles and

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[17]. The present claim, based on syntactic grounds, for the existence of "particles" in Romanian can also be found in recent literature. See, for instance, Hill (2007) for Romanian particles 'of direct address', which mark the speaker's point of view, and particles 'of indirect address', which identify the hearer (Hill 2007:2080). Traditionally treated as interjections (Croitor-Balaciu 2006), these particles are claimed to be syntactically constrained, and to appear in a pragmatic field, the Speech Act Phrase (following Speas and Tenny 2003) at the left periphery. Also see Zegrean (in preparation) for a thorough syntactic argumentation for the presence of discourse particles in Romanian.

[18]. For instance, *doar* can be an adverb (or scalar particle) just like English *only*, or a temporal adverb (i), among other uses.

(i) *Doar*   ce-a   ajuns   acas#, c#   a $i   aprins   radioul.

      as soon as   *what-has*   *arrived*   *home*   *that has*   *immediately*   *turned.on*   *radio-the*

      'As soon as he arrived home he turned on the radio.'

their adverbial/ conjunction/ filler word functions. This polyfunctionality is not typical only of Romanian particles (cf. for instance Cardinaletti 2007, 2009, who notes that, in Italian and German, particles and adverbs are (almost) always interrelated).

A (non-exhaustive) list of such elements is given in (26) below. Some evidence for their position in the left periphery of the clause or in the IP will be given below.

(26) CP: *oare, m"car, tocmai, ?or, ?p"i, ?apoi*[19]

     IP/CP: *doar, numai, m"car, barem*

     IP: *chiar, cam, prea, ?#i, ?tot*

In what follows, we will briefly tackle the issue of the distinction between CP and IP particles in Romanian. We must however bear in mind that like Italian, Romanian does not have a *Mittelfeld* in the Germanic sense.[20]

The question of the position of discourse particles has been raised in recent literature (Cardinaletti 2009, Coniglio 2005, 2007a,b, to appear, Del Gobbo and Poletto 2008). Although MPs have been claimed to be base-generated in the IP field (cf. Coniglio 2005), some analyses have suggested that they may covertly raise to the left periphery of the clause (Abraham 1995, Coniglio to appear, Zimmermann 2004a,b). This assumption seems necessary in order to ensure the scope of the particle over the entire clause.

However, there are particles for which there is no evidence that they have been merged in the IP. Instead, there is positive evidence of their occurrence in the CP (see Italian *tanto* in (15) above). Therefore, we could assume the logical alternative to the movement analysis, namely the base generation of discourse particles in the CP. We suggest that Romanian *oare* is one such particle.[21]

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[19]. Geographically-dependent variants of the same item can be found, such as *apoi/ap"i, doar/doar"/dar.* This is unsurprising, since they notoriously belong to spoken language.

[20]. What could be suggested to function as German-like MPs (alongside with their adverbial use) is a very small class of so-called 'semiadverbs' such as *cam, prea,* etc. Each 'semiadverb' is confined to a specific position in the string of clitic elements which are obligatorily adjacent to the verb in Romanian. However, a more in-depth analysis of these elements is left for further research.

[21]. Also cf. Cardinaletti (2009) for sentence-initial particles in Veneto dialects located in the CP or higher (see above).

Some evidence pointing in this direction is the position of the particle with respect to elements in the left periphery: *oare* can precede a left-dislocated element (27) or a *wh* element (28).[22]

(27) *Oare* Și maȘina Și-a vândut-o Ion pân# la urm#?
    Prt also car-the refl has sold it_{CL} Ion until at end
    'Has Ion sold his car, too, in the end (, I wonder)?'

(28) *Oare* unde va pleca Ion mâine?
    Prt where will leave Ion tomorrow
    'Where will Ion leave tomorrow (, I wonder)?'

It can be argued that other particles, such as *doar*, are located either in the CP or in the IP, see the discussion around (16) above, repeated here as (29).

(29) *<Doar>* de mâine cineva va veni *<doar>* cu o solu"ie.[23]
    Prt from tomorrow somebody will come.up Prt with a solution
    'From tomorrow on somebody will (evidently) come up with a solution.'

Other particles appear to be confined to the IP layer only. This has been shown for Italian and German in Coniglio (2005, 2008). Such particles seem to be present in Romanian too, i.e. *chiar, cam, prea*, and few others (Zegrean, in preparation).
The exact position of the particle is not crucial for the main proposal in the present paper. The theoretical account proposed in section 3 and 4 below holds for all particles in the CP layer or lower, but it does not apply to elements merged outside the CP (for particles external to the CP see, for instance, Cardinaletti 2009).[24]

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[22]. See also Hill (2002) who argues for the head status of *oare* merged as an optional complementizer in the lowest C head, namely Fin°. While we do not believe that *oare* is an (optional) complementizer, we do take her extensive syntactic support, too, as evidence for its merging in the left periphery of the clause.

[23]. The second occurrence of *doar* here can be ambiguous between a modifier of the PP *cu o solu!ie*, in which case *doar* is the equivalent of English *only*, and a discourse particle.

[24]. A mechanism similar to that in sections 3 and 4 could be developed in the case of elements (possibly present in languages other than the ones we consider in this paper) merged in one of the two highest projections that we propose, namely ILL or CT.

What is more important, instead, is the distribution of discourse particles with respect to clause type. As claimed above for Italian and German, Romanian discourse particles occur in main clauses and in peripheral subordinates, which have an articulated, root-like left periphery as in (23b,c) above. As expected, each particle is compatible with specific clause types.

Oare occurs in main (30a) and embedded interrogative clauses (31). In both these examples, *oare* strengthens the interrogative value of the clause.[25] (30b) exemplifies the incompatibility of *oare* with the exclamative clause type.

(30) a. *Oare* a   telefonat Maria asear#   (a$a cum a promis)?
      Prt   has called   Maria last.night as   how   has promised
      'Has Maria called last night, as she promised (, I wonder)?'

    b. (**Oare*) ce   târziu a telefonat Maria   asear#!
        Prt   what late   has called Maria   last.night
        'Maria called so late last night!'

(31) Cu   Ioana am   vorbit   la telefon   mai devreme,
    with Ioana I.have talked   at phone   more early
    în timp ce   *oare* Maria a telefonat   azi?
    while   Prt   Maria has called   today?
    'I talked to Ioana earlier on the phone, (while) has Mary called today (,I wonder)?'

Doar can appear in interrogatives, declaratives, and exclamatives (32). It has an adversative flavour: the speaker rejects all possibly different beliefs.[26] Of the subordinate clauses, this particle occurs in peripheral contexts, i.e. in non-factive complement clauses, peripheral adverbials, and appositive relatives (33). The ban on its occurrence in clauses deeply embedded in a superordinate structure is exemplified with a restrictive relative in (34).

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[25]. While still expecting a *yes/no* answer, the question is marked, since *oare* "adds a stylistic dimension to the question (e.g., doubt, wonder, irony, etc.) which is not transparent in its absence" (Hill 2002:14).

[26]. Depending on the intonation of the clause, *doar* may also express evidentiality, similarly to English 'for sure' (Manoliu Manea 1993).

(32) *Doar* cât de naiv   trebuie s#   fie   Ion (, dac# înc#
     Prt   how of naïve   must   that be_SUBJ Ion   if still
     nu $i-a   dat seama c#   a fost luat peste picior)!
     not refl has realized   that has been taken over foot
     '(Isn't it obvious) How naïve must Ion be (, if he still hasn't realized that he was fooled at)!'

(33) Nu 1   -am   mai vazut de-atunci   pe Ion, c#ruia
     not him_CL I.have more seen since   Ion_ACC who_DAT
     doar i   -am spus   s#   treac#   pe-aici când vrea.
     Prt   he_CL.DAT I.have told   that pass.by_SUBJ here   when he.wants
     'I haven't seen John since then, to whom I DID tell to pass by whenever he wanted.'

(34) Nu 1   -am   mai vazut de-atunci pe b#iatul   c#ruia
     not him_CL I.have more seen   since   boy-the_ACC who_DAT
     (**doar*) i   -am spus s#   treac#   pe-aici când   vrea.
     Prt   he_CL.DAT I.have told that pass.by_SUBJ here   when he.wants
     'Since then, I haven't seen the boy to whom I DID tell to pass by whenever he wanted.'

Summing up, we have seen that discourse particles are present not only in Germanic languages, but also in Romance. In particular, we have shown that Italian and Romanian particles have a similar behaviour: they modify the illocutionary force of the utterance and their distribution depends on the clause type.

3. The syntactic representation of illocutionary force and clause type as two distinct projections

Our analysis of the syntactic representation of particles and of their relation with the discourse/pragmatic field, on the one hand, and with the clausal properties, on the other hand, relies on the proposal of splitting up Rizzi's (1997) ForceP. Specifically, we assume that the highest projection of the CP layer can be divided into two projections: ILL(ocutionary Force), where the speaker's intentions are encoded, and C(lause)

T(ype), where features ensuring the realization of syntactic operations proper of each clause type are present.

One piece of evidence that CT must be distinguished from ILL comes from the mismatch between the (intended) illocutionary force of an indirect speech act and its concrete syntactic realization. Although surfacing as an interrogative clause, (35) for instance, is not a request of an information (in fact an answer to it would be odd), but it is a directive requesting an action on behalf of the addressee (also cf. (8) and (9) above).

(35) Could you close the window, please? (*Yes, I can/could.)
      ILL = directive (requesting an action); CT = interrogative

If we consider central subordinates, although it has been claimed that they do not have illocutionary force (Haegeman 2002 and further work), they do have a clause type, namely a 'default' one (which is generally similar to a declarative in root contexts). This may be taken as a further piece of evidence that CT must be encoded in a projection that is distinct from ILL.

(36) Se   piove(*?/*!), mi   bagno.
      if   it.rains,   refl I.get.wet
      'If it rains, I'll get wet.'

We assume that, even though central subordinates do not have *independent* illocutionary force, they do nonetheless have the projection ILL (which encodes the speaker's coordinates, allegedly by inheriting them anaphorically from the superordinate clause). Therefore, ILL will be present both in central and peripheral clauses.

Along these lines of reasoning we observe that if ILL is full-fledged, as in root contexts, all possible clause types are available (interrogative, declarative, imperative, etc.). In contrast, given that ILL is assumed to be impoverished in central subordinate clauses (since they have no independent illocutionary force), it can only be associated with the 'default' declarative CT.

We further suggest that CT must be lower than ILL, because:[27]

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[27]. In the present analysis, CT results from the splitting of ForceP, thus it is also assumed to be higher than the positions where CP particles are merged. However, we have little to say, for the time being, on the precise merging position of CP particles. Judgements are subtle, but it seems to us that Italian and

a. CT closely interacts with FinP and with the IP, since it is the projection that conveys information about the syntactic structure (i.e. information on constituent movement requirements in interrogatives or exclamatives). In other words, the information in CT is accessible to the internal syntax of a clause.[28]

b. ILL is the syntactic projection which encodes the speaker and her attitude/intentions in relation to the discourse. It lies at the interface between syntax and pragmatics and is visible at the discourse level.

The proposal that ILL is the highest projection of the left periphery goes along the lines of previous accounts of the syntactic representation of the Speaker in the CP domain, possibly in its most peripheral position, where it can function as an interface to the discourse. For instance, Giorgi (2008, 2009, 2010) argues for the syntactic presence of the speaker's temporal (and spatial) coordinates in a specialized projection C-speaker as "the highest, leftmost, position in the Complementizer-layer" (Giorgi 2009:134). Further, Speas and Tenny (2003) postulate a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) that selects the CP. In their account, the SAP is the place where the assignment of pragmatic roles (Speaker, Hearer and Utterance Content) is related to the configuration in which they appear. In particular, they follow Rizzi (1997), Ambar (1999, 2002), and Cinque (1999) in claiming that "syntactic structures include a projection whose head encodes illocutionary force", and suggest that "this head is overt in languages that have sentence particles, clitics or morphemes indicating whether the sentence is a statement, question, etc." (Speas and Tenny 2003:317).

In what follows we will account for the interaction between the two (leftmost) projections of the CP in our proposal, namely ILL and CT, and the overt elements that express the speaker's intentions/attitude, that is discourse particles.

Romanian CP particles appear to precede FamiliarTopic (and probably also ContrastiveTopic), but they do not occur higher than GroundTopic (in the sense of Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007).

[28]. In our 'Split-Force' proposal, the high complementizer *che* in Italian, which in Rizzi (1997) is in Force°, will head the CT projection.

4. A feature-based proposal for the interaction between illocutionary force, clause type, and discourse particles

Given what we have said so far on the properties of discourse particles (*Prt*), in our proposal a *Prt* is assumed to always have two interpretable features, a feature which refers to the speaker encoded in ILL and one which ensures syntactic compatibility with CT.

Accordingly, *Prt* has an interpretable feature [*i*intent(ionality)] related to the illocutionary force, and an interpretable feature [*i*type] related to clause type. In assuming this, we follow Bayer (2008), who makes a feature-based proposal for the German particle *denn*.

(37) *Prt* [*i*type; *i*intent]

Since all clause types are associated with a specific syntax (i.e., word order), the type feature of CT will be interpretable.[29]

(38) CT [*i*type]

Along these lines of analysis, ILL has an uninterpretable feature related to the clause type [*u*type] and an uninterpretable feature related to intentionality [*u*intent].

(39) ILL [*u*type; *u*intent]

Whereas the [*u*intent] feature on ILL will probe for its interpretable counterpart on *Prt*, both features [*i*type] (on CT and on *Prt*) will be probed by [*u*type] in ILL.[30]

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[29]. For Adger (2003), an interpretable [clause-type] feature is present on C, which "determines whether a CP is interpreted as a question or as a declarative statement" (Adger 2003:333). In our system of 'Split-Force', this feature is found on CT.

[30]. In central subordinates, ILL has an uninterpretable feature for what we call 'default' type (see section 3), which will find its perfect match on CT. For Multiple AGREE (see (41)), ILL will continue probing in its domain. If a *Prt* is present, ILL will find a non-matching type feature on the particle, thus AGREE cannot apply to both goals, causing the derivation to crash. Consequently, particles cannot appear in central subordinates.

(40)   ILL [*u*type; *u*intent] > CT [*i*type] > *Prt* [*i*type; *i*intent]

Our account for the matching of one uninterpretable feature ([*u*type] in ILL) against two interpretable features of the same kind ([*i*type] in CT and *Prt*) relies on the Multiple AGREE mechanism as a single simultaneous operation (based on Covert Multiple Feature-Checking without MOVE), as represented below:[31]

(41)   *Multiple AGREE* (Hiraiwa 2000:70)

% > & > '
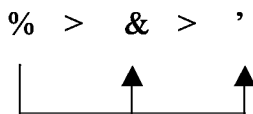
(AGREE (%, &, '), where % is a probe and both & and ' are matching goals for %)

Therefore, the probe ILL looks for all matching goals in its domain (i.e., it does not stop probing, once it has found the closest matching goal, namely CT). Once the probe has found (all) its goals (CT and *Prt*) in the same domain, Multiple AGREE will apply simultaneously.

Given Multiple AGREE, if two (or more) particles co-occur, their features [*i*intent] will be both licensed by ILL in one single operation. As for particles which are merged above the CP layer, this mechanism would also explain their different semantics with respect to particles merged in the CP/IP layers (cf. Cardinaletti 2009).

[31]. Multiple AGREE avoids the Defective Intervention Constraint, which prohibits the establishment of an AGREE relation when a closer but inactive goal (due to prior AGREE with a probe) is present. The latter would intervene between a probe and another goal (Chomsky 2000:123). Thus, the DIC would block a further AGREE relation at a distance (cf. Hiraiwa 2000).

(i)   *Defective Intervention Constraint* (Chomsky 2000:123)

*   % > & > '

\\----------------/
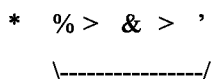
5. Conclusions

In this paper, we argued for the necessity of splitting up Force (Rizzi 1997) into two projections – namely ILL(ocutionary Force) and C(lause) T(ype) – on the basis of the functions and distribution of discourse particles.

All clauses have a clause type. The distribution of discourse particles indicates that each of them has to be compatible with specific clause types (cf. Thurmair 1989). We assumed a syntactic interaction between the particles and the clause type.

Further, we have shown that, at the same time, discourse particles interact with the illocutionary force of the clause. They are typical main clause phenomena. Hence, they can only appear in root contexts (main clauses and peripheral subordinates, cf. Haegeman 2002 and following work), which can be considered to have independent illocutionary force and thus to be speech acts. In particular, we have argued that the function of discourse particles is that of modifying the illocutionary force (cf. Jacobs 1986, 1991) and that this interaction must be reflected in syntax.

Once we have claimed that it is necessary to represent illocutionary force and clause type distinctly in syntax, we have assumed a Multiple AGREE mechanism of feature checking (cf. Hiraiwa 2000) in order to account for the syntactic relations between illocutionary force, clause type and discourse particles.

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