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Scene setting adverbs: a cross-linguistic analysis of Italian and Russian left periphery

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АБСТРАКТ

Данная дипломная работа посвящена сравнительному анализу определённой категории наречий, находящихся на левой периферии предложения, – так называемых *Scene setting adverbs*. Такие наречия, как, например, *вчера* или *сегодня*, определяют время или место предложения. В работе также анализируется левая периферия предложения в русском и итальянском языках.

Перед тем, как проводить сравнительный анализ данного типа наречий, необходимо рассмотреть левую периферию предложения и её компоненты, в частности, Топик и Фокус. Работа начинается с исследования итальянского лингвиста Луиджи Рицци (1997) левой периферии предложения и продолжается анализом различных исследований темы Топика и Фокуса в русском и итальянском языках. В последней части работы сравниваются русские наречия типа *Scene setting* с итальянскими на примерах из Национального корпуса русского языка.

Цель данной дипломной работы – рассмотреть местоположение данных наречий в левой периферии предложения и сравнить русскую структуру с итальянской.

Работа состоит из введения, трёх глав и заключения.

Во введении представляется содержание данной дипломной работы. В нём также описываются методы анализа и цель работы.

В первой главе представлено исследование итальянского лингвиста Луиджи Рицци левой периферии предложения. Структура левой периферии предложения была разработана им в 1997 году и впервые описана в его работе *The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery*. Данная структура была не раз изменена, в частности, в 2001 и в 2004 годах. В своей работе, перед тем, как анализировать левую периферию предложения, Рицци объясняет общую архитектуру клаузы. Итальянский лингвист выделяет три крупные синтаксические группы, которые можно представить в виде функциональных проекций: глагольная группа (VP), группа склонения (IP) и группа комплементатора (CP). Автор анализирует в частности группу CP, т.е. группу комплементатора, названную им левой периферией предложения. По мнению Рицци, нельзя считать данную группу простой функциональной проекцией, но необходимо детально проанализировать её содержание, так как там находится важная для интерпретации предложения информация. Левая периферия предложения состоит из двух систем: системы *Force-Finitness* и системы *Topic-Focus*. *Force* – это информация, которая определяет тип предложения. *Finitness* определяет информацию, связанную с IP, как,

например, информацию о времени предложения, детальнее раскрываемую в IP.

Система *Topic-Focus* состоит из двух конструкций: конструкции топик-коммента (*topic-comment articulation*) и конструкции фокус-предположения (*focus-presupposition articulation*). Вообще, Топик определяет известную информацию, а Фокус – новую. Фокус маркирован фокальным акцентом. В результате эмпирического исследования, проведённого автором на материале итальянского и английского языков, Рицци выделяет пять различий между Топиком и Фокусом. В конце своей работы, Рицци доказывает, что Фокус является квантификационным элементом, в отличие от Топика.

В 2001 году Рицци расширил структуру левой периферии предложения, добавив ещё два элемента: IntP (вопросительную группу) и ModP (группу модификатора). Обе группы находятся под группой *Force*. Итальянский лингвист выделил независимую позицию для вопросительной группы в CP, изучая итальянский союз *se* (если). Данный союз встречается перед Топиком или после Топика. Что касается Фокуса, то он может стоять только перед ним. Автор полагает, что *se* находится на вершине функциональной проекции, а другие элементы, как, например, вопросительные местоимения, находятся в позиции спецификатора. Что касается группы модификатора, то Рицци пишет, что в данной группе находятся наречия, которые двигаются в начальную позицию предложения. Данные наречия кажутся Топиками, так как их интонационный контур похож на контур Топикализации. Однако, в отличие от Топиков, они не должны быть связаны с известной информацией предложения. Различия между данными наречиями и Топиками можно найти в синтаксисе. Рицци пишет о модификаторах и в своей работе о Релятивизированной Минимальности (*Relativized Minimality*, 1990), которая кратко рассматривается в данной дипломной работе. Релятивизированная Минимальность является параметром, согласно которому структурные отношения синтаксических элементов являются локальными, т.е. два элемента находятся в соседних позициях. В частности, если третий элемент принимает участие в отношениях между двумя соседними элементами в качестве интерференции, то связь не является локальной. Рицци рассматривает данный параметр в связи с наречиями, и полагает, что у наречий существует особая функциональная проекция, ModP, на вершине которой встречаются наречия. По мнению автора, данная проекция похожа на проекцию Топика, TopP, но, в отличие от неё, не требует связи с контекстом. Данная проекция также отличается от FocP тем, что она не требует фокального акцента.

В последней части первой главы представлен картографический метод, разработанный Рицци (1997) и Чинкве (1999). Данный метод был использован Рицци для описания структуры левой периферии предложения. Цель этого метода – детальное и точное изображение структуры синтаксических элементов. Картографический метод был разработан в 90-х годах, в

частности, после работы Хомского (1986) о расширении функциональных проекций. Авторы предполагают, что существует общая структура для всех языков. По их мнению, необходимо считать клаузы и их компоненты иерархическими структурами. Данные структуры состоят из двух ступеней: первая ступень – самая нижняя. На ней находятся проекции лексических категорий, как, например, глаголов или имен существительных. На второй ступени находятся абстрактные, семантические категории, как, например, время, наклонение и вид глагола. Картографический метод доказывает также, что существует много функциональных категорий, кроме уже известных. Например, можно считать функциональными категориями не только комплементаторы и определители, но и вспомогательные глаголы, время, наклонение, глаголы-связки, числительные, указательные прилагательные, квантификаторы, и так далее. Данный метод использовали также Кинг (1993) и Дьяконова (2009) при изучении русского синтаксиса.

Во второй главе содержится анализ Топика и Фокуса в русском и итальянском языках. Глава начинается с рассмотрения исследований Крускины (2009) и Ламбрехта (1994). Итальянский лингвист Крускина предполагает, что Топик и Фокус важны для определения порядка слов. По его мнению, данные элементы, которые он считает качествами, зависимыми от речи (*discourse-related features*), кодифицированы в синтаксисе, а не в семантике или в прагматике, как предполагали другие языковеды. Благодаря синтаксическим движениям, они вносят вклад в информационную структуру (IS). Автор изучал эти элементы при помощи эмпирического исследования на материале романских языков, в частности, сицилийского языка. Сначала автор анализирует Топик и считает, что Топикализация бывает и в сицилийском языке. Крускина не согласен с Рицци, по мнению которого Топики являются рекурсивными. Лингвист принимает во внимание исследование Фраскарелли и Хинтерхолцла (2007), которые выделяют три типа Топиков, и утверждает, что у каждого типа существует особая позиция в левой периферии предложения. Затем, автор анализирует Фокус, в частности, феномен *Focus Fronting*. По его мнению, в левой периферии предложения существует особая позиция, в которую двигаются элементы, которые нельзя считать контрастивными Фокусами. В данной структуре глагол находится в конце клаузы. *Focus Fronting* обычно бывает в восклицательных и вопросительных предложениях.

Объект анализа Ламбрехта – информационная структура. Информационная структура – компонент грамматики, который связывает синтаксические и лексические компоненты с мыслительными состояниями говорящего и зрителя. Данную структуру изучали многие лингвисты XX-го века, и каждый использовал свою терминологию. Ламбрехт принимает терминологию лингвиста Холлидея (1967), который называет данную структуру

Информационной структурой. Данная структура связана с синтаксисом, т.к. IS проверяет, насколько предложения подходят к данному контексту. В своей работе Ламбрехт описывает понятия отождествляемости и активации (*identifiability* и *activation*), связанные с IS. Оба понятия являются когнитивными категориями, они проанализированы и Слюсарь в её работе о русской Информационной структуре. Отождествляемость определяет знакомые зрителю элементы, а активация определяет элементы, о которых идёт речь. Активные элементы находятся в сознании, а неактивные находятся в долговременной памяти. Ламбрехт пишет и о Топике и Фокусе, которые он считает не только грамматическими, но и прагматическими качествами (*pragmatic features*).

Во второй части главы содержится сравнительный анализ Топика и Фокуса в итальянском и русском языках. Сначала анализируется Топик в обоих языках, а затем Фокус. При изучении русской структуры принимались во внимание исследования таких лингвистов, как Кинг (1993), Слюсарь (2007), Дьяконова (2009) и Бейлин (2011).

Кинг (1993) утверждает, что немаркированный порядок слов в русском языке – VSO. По её мнению, элементы предложения двигаются, чтобы получить интерпретацию в речи. Что касается Топика, то автор различает два типа русских Топиков: внутренний и внешний. Самый распространённый в языке – внутренний Топик, который обычно находится перед глаголом и добавляется к IP. Внешний Топик встречается реже внутреннего, но его можно узнать легче, благодаря порядку слов. Внешние Топики обычно встречаются в начальной позиции, и они связаны с местоимениями, находящимися в остальной части предложения.

Слюсарь (2007) пишет, в частности, об информационной структуре русского предложения. По её мнению, Топик и Фокус не являются синтаксическими качествами, но они кодифицированы в Информационной структуре. Автор соглашается с Ламбрехтом, который полагает, что Топик выражает то, о чём идёт речь. Однако, Слюсарь считает, что сложно точно определить Топики, так как в грамматике не существует специфических критериев для их кодификации. Поэтому автор утверждает, что категория Топика принадлежит не грамматике, а речи и семантике. Тем не менее, в грамматике существуют некоторые элементы, связанные с Топиком, как, например, Топикализация и ударение Топика. О Топикализации пишет Дьяконова (2009). Автор считает, что Топикализация существует и в русском языке и что порядок Топиков,двигающихся в CP, довольно свободный. В отличие от Рицци, по мнению которого Топики рекурсивны, Дьяконова считает, что у Топиков есть специфический порядок, и что Топики, названные ею сильными Топиками (*Strong Topics*, или *TopPs*), не могут быть рекурсивными, так как они маркированы качеством [+aboutness]. Существует ещё один тип Топиков, названный Дьяконовой слабым Топиком (*Weak Topic*, или *topP*), который она считает рекурсивным. Кроме того, она выделяет категорию *FramePs*, функция

которой похожа на функцию Топиков. Данная категория детальнее анализируется в следующей главе. Бейлин (2011) различает три типа топиализации: Топикализацию типа *Left-Edge*, Левую Дислокацию и Топикализацию типа *Middle-Field*. Топикализация типа *Left-Edge* и Левая Дислокация кажутся похожими, так как в обоих структурах Топик находится в начале предложения. В действительности эти структуры отличаются друг от друга. Топик, находящийся в структуре Топикализации типа *Left-Edge*, двигается в начальную позицию предложения, оставляя свободное место в остальной части клаузы, и он маркирован соответствующим падежом. Топик, находящийся в структуре Левого Дислокации, связан со свободным местом в остальной части предложения через просодическое местоимение. Он обычно стоит в именительном падеже.

Анализа Топика в итальянском языке представлен в исследованиях Бенинки и Полетто (2004), а также Фраскарелли и Хинтерхолцла (2007). Бенинка и Полетто (2004) замечают, что Топик никогда не бывает ниже Фокуса. Авторы описывают два типа Топика: Левую Дислокацию и *Hanging Topic*. Они отличаются друг от друга некоторыми синтаксическими особенностями, как, например, падежом или позицией в предложении. Авторы предполагают, что *Hanging Topic* находится перед Левого Дислокацией. По их мнению, у каждого предложения может быть только одна позиция для *Hanging Topic*, в отличие от Левого Дислокации, которая можно встречаться в предложении много раз. Бенинка и Полетто анализируют и наречия типа *Scene setting*, но об этом речь идёт в третьей главе. Фраскарелли и Хинтерхолцл (2007) анализируют итальянские и немецкие Топики. По их мнению, существуют три типа Топика: Топик типа *Aboutness*, т.е. Топик, описывающий то, о чём идёт речь; Контрастивный Топик, представляющий новый элемент в предложении, и Знакомый Топик, связанный с известным элементом предложения. Знакомый Топик обычно бывает в форме местоимения. У всех типов Топиков есть различные синтаксические и фонологические черты, поэтому они занимают разные позиции в СР. Топики типа *Aboutness* находятся в высочайшей позиции левой периферии предложения; Знакомые Топики встречаются в нижней проекции *TopP* и могут быть и в левой, и в правой периферии предложения; Контрастивные Топики находятся между Топиками типа *Aboutness* и Знакомыми Топиками. Топики типа *Aboutness* и Контрастивные Топики не являются рекурсивными и они не встречаются в правой периферии предложения.

Что касается анализа Фокуса в русском языке, то Кинг (1993) различает три типа Фокуса, связанных с интонацией и с порядком слов: Контрастивный Фокус, Фокус, определяющий новую информацию (*New-information Focus*), и Представляющий Фокус (*Presentational Focus*). Автор выделяет и два типа предложения: эмоциональные и неэмоциональные. Эмоциональные предложения свойственны разговорной речи, а неэмоциональные

официальному стилю. В неэмоциональных предложениях знакомая информация (Тема) находится перед новой (Рема). Интонационный контур, маркирующий этот тип предложений – ИК-1, самый нейтральный. В эмоциональных предложениях ударение надо ставить на Фокус, который может находиться в любой позиции. Слюсарь (2007) считает, что Фокус не кодифицирован в грамматике. Автор утверждает, что данный элемент может быть проанализирован в связи с другими элементами предложения. По её мнению, нелегко анализировать Фокус, т.к. контрастивность не является достаточным критерием для определения Фокуса. Действительно, не всегда ясно, какой элемент можно считать контрастивным. В своей работе автор принимает во внимание, в частности, анализ Ламбрехта (1994) и Рута (1992). Она согласна с Руттом, который утверждает, что просодия важна для интерпретации Фокуса. Дьяконова (2009) анализирует русский Фокус в левой периферии предложения, в частности, в предглагольной позиции. Автор считает, что в русской левой периферии не бывает больше одного Фокуса. Так же, как Бенинки и Полетто (2004), она считает, что Фокус не может находиться перед Топиком, маркированным энклитической частицей *-то*. Она считает, что у Фокуса есть специфическая позиция в связи с сильными Топиками, а в связи со слабыми Топиками Фокус является более гибким. Бейлин (2011) различает два типа Фокуса: информационный и контрастивный. Информационный Фокус определяет новую информацию и находится в правой периферии предложения. Он обычно маркирован интонационным контуром ИК-1. Контрастивный Фокус маркирован интонационным контуром ИК-2. Обычно, русские Фокусы встречаются в конце предложения. Однако, Бейлин утверждает, что Фокусы могут находиться и в левой периферии предложения. Их функция – определять новую информацию. Они маркированы фокальной интонацией. Так же, как и Дьяконова, Бейлин полагает, что Фокус может встречаться и в *Middlefield*. Автор называет данный Фокус *M-FOC* и считает, что он тоже маркирован фокальной интонацией. Что касается итальянского Фокуса, согласно Бенинке и Полетто (2004), существуют два типа Фокуса: информационный и контрастивный. Информационный Фокус часто находится в начале предложения. Контрастивный Фокус маркирован особой интонацией. В группе Фокуса могут находиться неопределённые местоимения.

Последняя часть главы посвящена анализу интонации, в частности, в русском языке. Здесь рассматриваются исследования Брызгуновой (1969, 1977), которая выделяет семь типов интонационных конструкций (ИК). Первая интонационная конструкция – самая нейтральная. Ударение падает на слово, определяющее новую информацию. Второй тип интонационной конструкции обычно маркирует вопросительные предложения. Существует и вариант данной интонационной конструкции, который характерен для эмоциональных предложений. Третий тип также маркирует вопросительные предложения, но, в отличие от второго типа, он

маркирует предложения, у которых нет вопросительного местоимения. Четвёртый тип маркирует вопросы, начинающиеся с *a*. Пятая интонационная конструкция маркирует восклицательные предложения. Шестая интонационная конструкция также маркирует восклицательные предложения. Она похожа на четвёртый тип интонационного контура. Эти контуры различаются друг от друга тем, что тон шестого контура выше четвёртого. Седьмая интонационная конструкция характерна для предложений, начинающихся с местоименных слов, которые выражают, например, невозможность действия или состояния. Она похожа на третий тип интонационного контура, но в третьем типе перерыв звучания гласного длиннее, чем в седьмом. О просодии пишет и Фунтова (2009), которая изучает интонационные контуры, свойственные эмоциональным и неэмоциональным предложениям. Автор отличает неэмоциональные, нейтральные контуры (ИК-1, ИК-2, ИК-3, ИК-4) от контуров, используемых в эмоциональных контекстах (ИК-2а, ИК-5, ИК-6 (4а) и ИК-7).

В последней главе анализируются наречия типа *Scene setting* и их местоположение в русских и итальянских предложениях. Сначала рассматриваются различные исследования по данной теме, в частности, работы Чинкве (1999), Хегеман (2003), Бенинки и Полетто (2004), Дьяконовой (2009) и Джорджи (2012).

Анализ начинается с исследования итальянского лингвиста Чинкве различных типов наречий. Автор пишет, что наречия типа *Scene setting* принадлежат большой группе наречий, среди которых находятся и наречия времени, места, цели. Такие наречия находятся в высокой позиции в синтаксической структуре, рядом с левой периферией предложения и разделяются на две категории. К первой категории принадлежат наречия типа *Scene setting*, определяющие время и место предложения. Хегеман (2003) согласна с Полетто, и считает, что такой тип наречий – добавления, которые двигаются к группе комплементатора короткими синтаксическими движениями. Автор не согласна с Рицци, который утверждает, что данные элементы добавляются к TopP. Она полагает, что наречия времени могут находиться в особой проекции. Бенинка и Полетто (2004) считают, что наречия типа *Scene setting* находятся в группе Топика (*Topic Field*). Авторы полагают, что такие наречия бывают только в главных предложениях и находятся в высокой позиции. По их мнению, может существовать независимая позиция для таких наречий, но этот вопрос они детально не рассматривают. Чтобы подтвердить свою гипотезу, Бенинка и Полетто проводят эмпирическое исследование на материале итальянского и ретороманского языков. Результаты исследования показывают, что наречия типа *Scene setting* находятся вышелевой Дислокации, но ниже, чем *Hanging Topic*. Кроме того, авторы замечают, что в придаточных предложениях ретороманского языка не существует независимой позиции для таких наречий. Джорджи (2012) пишет о просодии.

Автор предполагает, что синтаксис может быть сложнее и богаче, чем мы думаем. По её мнению, возможно, что в синтаксисе находятся и элементы, которые мы считаем принадлежностью других ступеней грамматики. Она анализирует несобственно-прямую речь. Согласно её анализу, в левой позиции CP находятся координаты времени и места говорящего. Ступень комплементатора (*C-layer*) соединяет синтаксис с контекстом. Джорджи разрабатывает новую проекцию, KP, в которой могут находиться наречия типа *Scene setting*, так как функция данной проекции – установить координаты времени и места предложения. Автор описывает и феномен, который она называет *resetting*, связанный с координатами времени и места предложения, которые, по её мнению, находятся в группе комплементатора. Данный феномен встречается в несобственно-прямой речи, где можно найти два источника речи: внутренний и внешний. Внутренний источник (*internal source*) – лицо, эмоции и чувства которого выражаются в речи. Внешний источник (*external source*) – создатель текста. В контексте *resetting*, координаты времени и места принадлежат внутреннему источнику, а не внешнему. Последнее исследование по данной теме – работа Дьяконовой (2009). Автор полагает, что наречия типа *Scene setting* находятся в проекции *FrameP*. В данной позиции находятся так называемые *framing adverbials*, функция которых похожа на функцию так называемых сильных Топиков (*TopPs*), так как они оба организуют информацию, находящуюся в Теме. *Frames* обычно бывают перед сильными Топиками, но, в отличие от них, *Frames* не маркированы качеством [+*about*]. Наречия типа *Scene setting* находятся в позиции спецификатора проекции *FrameP*, [*Spec, FrameP*]. Обычный порядок таких наречий – время > место. В своём анализе я принимаю во внимание, в частности, перспективу Дьяконовой, так как считаю, что она больше подходит к русскому языку.

Перед тем, как проводить эмпирическое исследование русских наречий, в главе кратко анализируется порядок слов в русском языке. Русский считается языком со свободным порядком слов, так как возможны все сочетания и кажется, что смысл предложения не меняется при употреблении любого сочетания. Однако, порядок слов не совсем свободный, потому что он зависит от того, как говорящий хочет выразить информацию. По исследованию Гринберга (1963), нейтральный, немаркированный порядок слов в русском языке – SVO. Как и многие другие, Бейлин и Слюсарь согласны с лингвистом, а Кинг считает, что немаркированный порядок слов в русском языке – VSO.

Во второй части данной главы анализируются наречия типа *Scene setting* в русском языке и сравниваются с их употреблением в итальянском. По мнению американского лингвиста Герингера (1998), такие наречия в русском языке относятся к макрокатегории, которую можно разделить на две группы: наречия дейксиса и наречия частотности. Оба типа наречий могут быть простыми или сложными. В данной работе анализируются главным образом

наречия дейксиса. Такие наречия указывают специфическое время действия, как, например, *вчера* или *тогда*, которые являются простыми наречиями дейксиса, и *летом* или *на прошлой неделе*, которые являются сложными наречиями дейксиса. Наречиями частотности являются такие наречия, которые указывают частотность действия, как, например, *всегда* или *часто* (простые наречия частотности) и *по субботам* или *каждую осень* (сложные наречия частотности). Что касается порядка слов, то Герингер утверждает, что обычная, нейтральная позиция наречий – позиция перед глаголом.

В конце главы представлено эмпирическое исследование русских наречий. Образцы русских предложений взяты из *Национального корпуса русского языка*. Я пробовала искать образцы с наречиями типа *Scene setting* в главных и придаточных контекстах. Порядок слов всех взятых мной предложений – SVO, согласно Бейлину и Слюсарь. Были выбраны образцы и из официального стиля, и из разговорной речи для того, чтобы проанализировать разные коммуникативные ситуации.

Сначала были проанализированы главные предложения. Я заметила, что наречия типа *Scene setting* в этих контекстах находятся перед подлежащим. Как показали исследования, проанализированные мной в предыдущей части главы, данные наречия находятся в высокой позиции, так как координаты времени и места необходимо установить в начале предложения. По моему мнению, данные наречия находятся в группе Топика и являются частью Темы. Далее я заметила, что наречия времени и места могут быть в конце предложения и в группе Фокуса. Образцы такого типа я нашла, в частности, в разговорной речи. Однако, я думаю, что в этом случае они не могут считаться наречиями типа *Scene setting*. По моему мнению, наречия времени и места, находящиеся в высокой позиции, маркированы качеством [+ *Topic*]. В своём анализе я принимала во внимание перспективу Дьяконовой над *FramePs*. Я согласна с автором и думаю, что такие наречия бывают в данной проекции, так как нельзя считать их сильными Топиками (*Strong Topics*), и они похожи на слабые Топики (*Weak Topics*). Что касается интонации, я считаю, что в предложениях с порядком слов SVO они маркированы интонационным контуром ИК-1. Такая структура встречается и в придаточных предложениях. В них тоже наречия типа *Scene setting* бывают в высокой позиции, т.к. они должны установить координаты времени и места предложения.

Далее был проведён анализ наречий типа *Scene setting* в контексте *Middlefield*. *Middlefield* – часть предложения между подлежащим и глаголом, которая до сих пор ещё недостаточно исследована. В данной работе этот элемент также рассматривается не подробно, а в связи с тем, что наречия, проанализированные мной, встречаются и в таком контексте. Я предполагаю, что в этом случае, данные наречия двигаются в *Middlefield* по коммуникативным причинам, так как синтаксические элементы не могут двигаться без

причин. Данное движение анализирует и Слюсарь, которая называет его *Scrambling*. *Scrambling* также проанализирован Дьяконовой, по мнению которой оно является одной из главных причин реорганизации порядка слов.

В последней части работы проводится сравнение русского и итальянского языков. Для того, чтобы провести точный анализ, я перевела на итальянский несколько русских предложений, взятых из Национального корпуса русского языка. Я заметила, что в главных предложениях наречия типа *Scene setting* на итальянском языке встречаются в той же позиции, что и русские, т.е. в группе Топика. По моему мнению, в итальянском языке такие наречия встречаются перед подлежащим чаще, чем в русском, в котором, особенно в разговорной речи, они часто находятся перед глаголом и после подлежащего. В итальянском языке они тоже могут быть перед глаголом и после подлежащего, но я полагаю, что в этом случае смысл предложения немного меняется. По моему мнению, когда наречие типа *Scene setting* находится в начальной позиции, предложение является нейтральным. Далее я заметила, что когда подлежащее состоит из разных элементов (например, *террористическая группа из Дагестана*), в обоих языках наречия типа *Scene setting* стоят в начале предложения, перед подлежащим. В этом случае начальная позиция наречия типа *Scene setting* больше подходит к предложению, т.к. подлежащее является слишком длинным. В конце главы анализируется феномен *Resetting* и доказывается, что он бывает и в русском языке. При изучении данного феномена, я сначала взяла несколько итальянских предложений и сравнивала их с прямым переводом на русский. Затем, я анализировала русскую несобственно-прямую речь, на примерах, взятых из Национального корпуса русского языка. Данный феномен есть и в итальянском языке.

В заключении описываются результаты сравнительного анализа, проведённого в данной дипломной работе. Сначала, я проанализировала исследование Рицци левой периферии предложения и их компонентов, в частности, Топика и Фокуса. Данные элементы подробно проанализированы во второй главе, в которой кратко рассматриваются различные исследования о Топике и Фокусе в русском и итальянском языках. В третьей главе, опираясь на исследования лингвистов, которые изучали тему наречий типа *Scene setting*, я смогла провести сравнительный анализ между русским и итальянским языками. Результаты анализа показывают, что структура русского языка похожа на итальянскую. В обоих языках наречия типа *Scene setting* встречаются в группе Топика (*Topic Field*) и не могут находиться в группе Фокуса (*Focus Field*). По моему мнению, наречия времени и места, входящие в группу Фокуса, нужно считать не наречиями типа *Scene setting*, а простыми наречиями времени или места. Я доказала, что наречия, находящиеся в высокой позиции в левой периферии

предложения, маркированы качеством [+ *Topic*]. Такое качество необходимо для того, чтобы установить координаты времени и места предложения, которые устанавливаются в начале предложения, поэтому наречия типа *Scene setting* встречаются в данном контексте. В своём анализе, я принимала во внимание, в частности, перспективу Дьяконовой, которая полагает, что данный тип наречий находится в особой функциональной проекции, т.е. *FrameP*. Далее, я продемонстрировала, что в обоих языках встречается феномен *Resetting*, проанализированный Джорджи. Данный феномен встречается в несобственно-прямой речи.

CHAPTER 1: Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the sentence

1.1 Introduction

My dissertation will begin with a brief introduction to Rizzi's analysis of the structure of the left periphery of the sentence, first elaborated in his work *The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery* (1997), later revised in 2001 and 2004. This overview will help gain a better knowledge on the matter, and it will be useful in the next chapters in which specific elements of the left periphery will be discussed in a cross-linguistic perspective. Through the use of the Cartographic approach, elaborated by both Rizzi and Cinque, the author proceeds to analyse the left periphery of the sentence, what is generally called CP, or pre-IP position. Rizzi explains how CP, as well as IP, already analysed by other linguists (cfr. Haegeman), cannot be considered just an X-bar projection, but contains features expressing information crucial to the utterance. His structure, first modeled on the Italian language has been widely accepted in literature and, as I will mention later in my dissertation, has been discussed by other few linguists. Among all the elements placed within Rizzi's structure, I will focus on the Topic-Focus system, crucial for the comparative analysis of Italian and Russian and for my research on Scene setting adverbs. I will also discuss Rizzi's revision of the structure by adding two more functional projections: IntP (2001) and ModP (2004). Then, I will briefly mention the author's analysis on Relativized Minimality and its interaction with the Cartographic approach. Last subsection is dedicated to the Cartographic Approach, i.e. the mapping of functional categories in order to obtain a unique hierarchical pattern which can account for all the languages.

1.2 The left periphery of the sentence

1.2.1 Introduction to the general structure of the sentence

Before starting off with the analysis of the CP, it is necessary to take a step back and make an overview of the general structure of the sentence. According to Rizzi, the structure of a clause is made up by three kinds of structural layers, each represented through the X-bar schema: the VP, or lexical layer, headed by the verb, in which constituents are assigned a theta role; the IP, or inflectional layer, headed by functional heads expressing morphological specifications on the verb, which is responsible for Case and agreement and the CP, or complementizer layer, headed by a free functional morpheme, which hosts Topics, Foci, operator-like elements, interrogative and relative pronouns.

In the clausal structure, the complementizer serves as an interface between the IP, which expresses propositional content, and the superordinate structure, which could be a higher clause or the articulation of the discourse, if we consider a main clause. Hence, the complementizer expresses two kinds of information: an outside and an inside information. As for the outside information, the complementizer expresses which kind of sentence we are facing: relative, interrogative, declarative et cetera. This is expressed by an element which Rizzi calls Force. The inside information corresponds to the content of the IP, which is placed under CP. An example of inside information is a rudimentary version of the tense expressed by IP, which, in the complementizer, is expressed by the element Finiteness. Force and Finiteness are combined together to form the so-called Force-Finiteness system, which will be analysed in next subsection.

Finally, it has to be mentioned a criterion, which serves as a guideline to the analysis of the left periphery of the sentence: the “last resort” criterion. This idea first came up in Chomsky (1993), who claimed that no syntactic movement can occur without a purpose. Constituents usually move in order to satisfy certain requirements of heads.

1.2.2 The Force-Finiteness system

The first elements introduced by Rizzi are Force and Finiteness. Force, a term first used by Chomsky (1995), is the information that identifies the type of clause (indeed it can also be called clausal type, as does Cheng 1991). It can be expressed either by an overt morphological C on the head, or by an operator hosted by a specific structure requiring an operator of that kind, or both options. Finiteness expresses IP-related characteristics: a tense specification is contained in C, and it matches the one expressed by the lower IP. However, the tense expressed in C is quite rudimentary compared to that located in IP, which contains a more detailed set of information about other inflectional specifications on the verbal system. The morphological realization of Finiteness can vary according to the language. Rizzi believes that the C-system, contrary to the I-system, is not V-related, meaning that, although Finiteness expresses information related to I, CP does not have to be considerate an extension of IP, and ultimately of VP.

1.2.3 The Topic-Focus system

More relevant for my dissertation is the Topic-Focus system, which I will briefly introduce in this section, in order to have a general overview on the matter, which will be analysed in detail in the next chapters. Contrary to Force and Finiteness, which have a selectional relation with the higher and lower structures, Topic and Focus seem to be independent from selectional constraints.

The two articulations that Rizzi takes into account in order to explain the Topic-Focus system are

the topic and comment articulation and the focus-presupposition articulation. Topic is defined by the author as “a preposed element characteristically set off from the rest of the clause by 'comma intonation' and normally expressing old information, somehow available and salient in previous discourse; the comment is a kind of complex predicate, an open sentence predicated of the topic and introducing new information.” (Rizzi 1997:285) Consider the following examples:

(1) Your book, you should give t to Paul (not Bill)

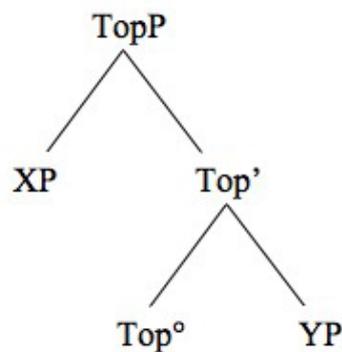
(2) YOUR BOOK you should give t to Paul (not mine)

(Rizzi 1997:285)

Although they seem similar, the two sentences differ with respect to articulation: the former is constructed through the topic and comment articulation, the latter through the focus-presupposition. In the second sentence the preposed element bears focal stress and expresses new information, while in the first *your book* is the given information shared by both the speaker and the hearer.

For each element, Rizzi sketches an X-bar structure. Starting from the Topic, there is a head Top° , which takes Topic as a specifier and comment as a complement.

(3)



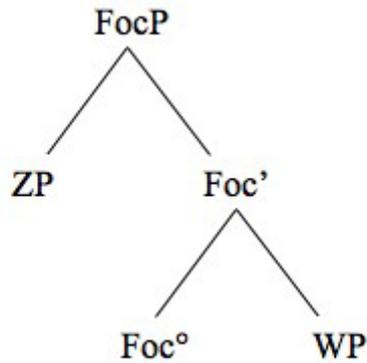
XP = topic

YP = comment

(Rizzi 1997:286)

As for the Focus scheme, the head of the functional projection is Foc° , and takes the Focus as its specifier and the presupposition as its complement.

(4)



ZP = Focus

WP = presupposition

(Rizzi 1997:287)

Rizzi's research is based mainly on Italian and English empirical data. In Italian, as well as in other Romance languages the topic-comment articulation is expressed by a phenomenon described by Cinque (1990): Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). This constructions involves a resumptive clitic coreferential to the Topic:

(5) Il tuo libro, lo ho letto.

“Your book, I have read it.”

(Rizzi, 1997:286)

The focus-presupposition articulation is constructed through focal stress:

(6) IL TUO LIBRO, ho letto (, non il suo)

“Your book I read (, not his).”

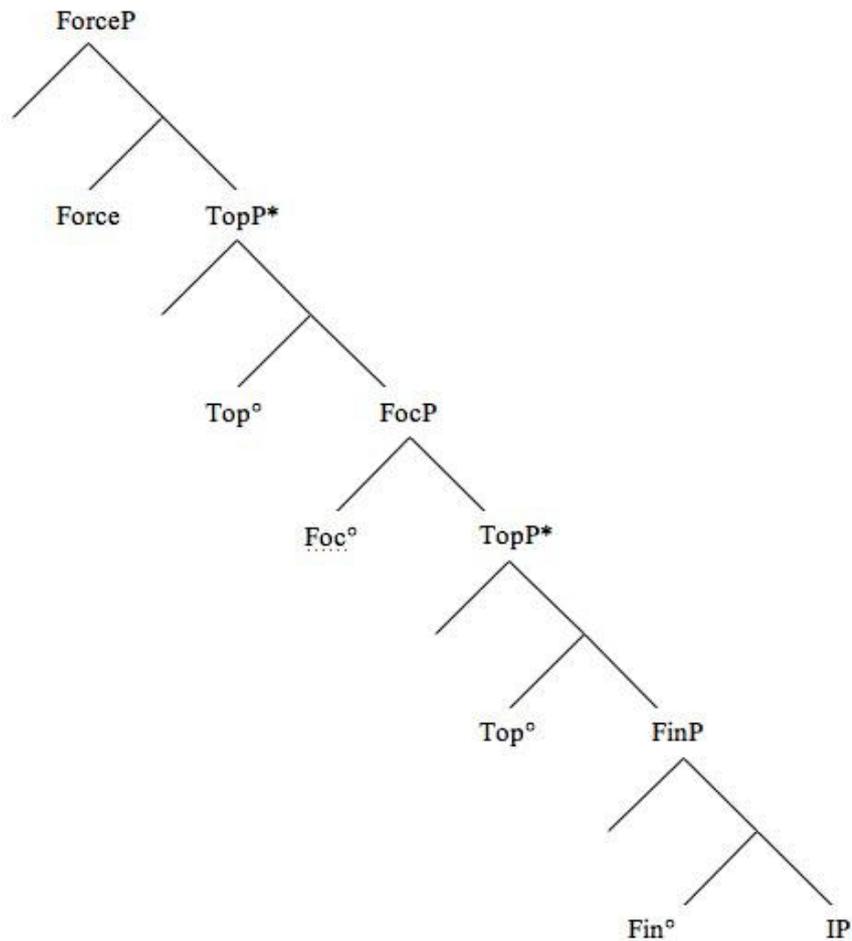
(Rizzi, 1997:286)

As for the position of the Topic-Focus system within the left periphery, Rizzi places it in between the Force-Finiteness one, these two elements having to be placed respectively at the very beginning and at the end of the CP in order to select the IP elements meeting the requirements needed. The structure results thus as follow:

(7) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin IP

(Rizzi 1997:288)

(8)



Despite the fact that Topic and Focus are both placed in the left periphery and they are structurally similar, Rizzi pinpoints five salient differences that distinguish the two elements, relying on Cinque's (1999) analysis:

1. The presence of a resumptive clitic (CLLD), which is obligatory with topicalized constituents, as shows (9), while focalized ones do not require it, and give rise to inconsistencies, as can be seen from (11):

(9) Il tuo libro, lo ho comprato.

“Your book, I bought it.”

(10) IL TUO LIBRO ho comprato t (non il suo).

“YOUR BOOK I bought (not his).”

(11)*IL TUO LIBRO, lo ho comprato (non il suo).

“YOUR BOOK, I bought it (not his).”

(Rizzi 1997:289-290)

2. Weak crossover, whose effect can be seen in Focus constructions rather than in Topic ones, although it can still be difficult to detach such effects even in a focal environment:

(12) Gianni, sua madre lo ha sempre apprezzato.

“Gianni, his mother always appreciated him.”

(13) ??GIANNI sua madre ha sempre apprezzato t (non Piero).

“GIANNI, his mother always appreciated, not Piero.”

(Rizzi 1997:290)

3. Bare quantificational elements, which easily allow focalization, while they do not accept Topics with CLLD constructions:

(14) *Nessuno, lo ho visto.

“No-one, I saw him.”

(15) NESSUNO ho visto t.

“NO-ONE I saw.”

(Rizzi 1997:290)

4. Uniqueness, which is typical of the Focus. A clause can contain multiple Topics (although many linguists do not agree with Rizzi in considering Topics recursive), but there can be a unique Focus element:

(16) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz'altro.

(17) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovete dire.

“To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, you should tell him.”

(Rizzi 1997:291)

5. Compatibility with Wh operators. This characteristic is associated with Topics, while Foci are incompatible with Wh operators:

(18) A Gianni, che cosa gli hai detto?

“To Gianni, what did you tell him?”

(19) *A GIANNI che cosa hai detto (, non a Piero)?

“TO GIANNI what did you tell (, not to Piero)?

(Rizzi 1997:291)

Rizzi notes the fact that there are three differences (2-3-4) applying to Focus and not to Topic, this leading him to make a crucial distinction between the two: Focus is quantificational, while Topic is not. Starting from Weak crossover, the author follows Lasnik and Stowell's (1991) analysis, claiming that WCO is a distinct characteristic of A' relations involving quantification, splitting A' dependencies into those involving a non-quantificational A' binding and those involving a quantifier binding a variable (Rizzi, 2001). Focalized constructions involve a quantificational variable, while topicalized ones do not, thus Rizzi concludes that Focus has a quantificational nature. Property number 3 (the compatibility of bare quantificational elements with focalized constructions) is the natural consequence of Rizzi's assumption: if Focus is quantificational, then it is plausible that it allows bare quantificational elements.

1.2.4 Adjacency effects within the complementizer system

Rizzi continues his study of the left periphery of the sentence by taking into account other descriptive generalizations, mainly the effects of adjacency. The first set of effects discussed is the effect of adjacency on Case. According to the author, given a subject, whose Case properties depend on an element in the complementizer system, no preposed phrase can intervene between the two. To test his hypothesis, the author took into account adverb preposing in particular, making an empirical research mainly on English. From his observation, the analysis of adverb preposing in English involves the adjunction of the preposed element to IP; this kind of analysis is sometimes assumed for argumental topicalization as well. Such analysis is presented as an updating of the approach of Chomsky (1977a) and Cinque (1990): the topicalized element is located in the Spec of a Top head, and it is connected to a null anaphoric operator in the immediately lower Spec, in order to have a connection with an open position in the sentence. Rizzi assumes that the adverb can move to TopP

event without the need of the null operator.

Another kind of adjacency effect discussed is the effect on PRO. Such effect exists between a head in the C system and a subject PRO, which is controlled by such element. This type of structure is called a control structure. In Rizzi's work it is stated that in structures in which control infinitives pattern with infinitival or finite clauses a TopP cannot intervene between the C system and the PRO subject. This seems to be explained by Chomsky and Lasnik's (1991) null Case approach to PRO, which states that PRO requires a null Case, determined by the inflection of infinitives (the minimal inflection). Thus, it can only occur in subject position in non-finite clauses. However, PRO cannot occur in non-finite clauses not protected by a CP layer, as () shows:

(20) *It seems [PRO to be happy].

(Rizzi, 1997:305)

Watanabe (1993) states that the null approach cannot account for examples such as (), and introduces the [+F] feature, which must be checked by movement of AgrS to the C system. Such claim leads Rizzi to rephrase the null approach, stating that “null Case is sanctioned by [-fin] under government” (Rizzi, 1997:305).

Adjacency also affects traces, in the sense that, in a given C system, the presence of a topicalized element blocks subject extraction. Rizzi makes a comparison between French, Italian and English. The author first provides some French examples, which show that intervening CLLD phrases give rise to subject-object asymmetries:

(21) a. ?Je ne sais pas à qui, ton livre, je pourrais le donner t.

“I don't know to whom, your book, I could give it t.”

b. *? Je ne sais pas qui, ton livre, t pourrait l'acheter.

“I don't know who, your book, t could buy it.”

(Rizzi, 1997:306)

On the other hand, Italian allows subject and complement extraction across a Topic:

(22) a. Un uomo a cui, il tuo libro, lo potremmo dare.

“A man to whom, your book, we could give it.”

b. Un uomo che, il tuo libro, lo potrebbe comprare.

“A man who, your book, could buy it.”

(Rizzi, 1997:306)

Finally, English also shows some asymmetries in complement extraction across a Topic:

(23) a. ??The man to whom [that book [I gave t t]].

b. *The man who [that book [t gave to me]].

(Rizzi, 1997:307)

Rizzi also observed that adverb preposing triggers adjacency effects on Case, while it does not affect adjacency effects on traces. This particular issue is described in his analysis of anti-adjacency effects. Such effects are detected in structures where an intervening Top head does not block the locality relation required, as seen in the cases above, but rather its intervention seems to make the occurrence of a subject trace possible. Relying on Bresnan (1977), Rizzi notices that a preposed adverb or PP makes the structure more acceptable:

(24) a. *Which doctor did you tell me that t had had a heart attack during an operation?

b. Which doctor did you tell me that, during an operation, had had a heart attack?

(Rizzi, 1997:311)

Intervening between that and its trace, the PP *during an operation* makes the subject trace non-adjacent to *that*, giving rise to the anti-adjacency effect. In simple cases of subject extraction, if *that* is selected, the trace in subject position is not properly governed, and the Empty Category Principle is not satisfied. Thus, it is necessary to select the element *0*, which is turned into a governor by the Agr specification. In cases in which both the Force-Finiteness and the Topic-Focus system are activated, Force and Finiteness need to be split into two separate heads. Force must be specified with *that* occurring above the Topic, and Finiteness must be realized as *0*:

(25) ... [that [next year Top° [0 [John will win the prize]]].

(Rizzi, 1997:313)

Such effects are detected by Culicover (1993) in indirect questions as well. The author analyses another anti-adjacency effect in constructions with negative preposing.

1.2.5 Rizzi's revision of his structure of the left periphery (2001, 2004)

In 2001 and 2004 Rizzi revised his structure of the left periphery, expanding it by adding two more maximal projections: IntP and ModP.

Starting from IntP, that stands for Interrogative Phrase, the idea of an independent Int position came from the study of the Italian *se*:

(26) a. Mi domando, la macchina, se potrò comprarla quest'anno.

“I wonder, the car, if I will manage to buy it this year.”

b. Mi domando se, la macchina, potrò comprarla quest'anno.

“I wonder if, the car, I will buy this year.”

c. Mi domando, a mio figlio, se, la macchina, gliela compreremo quest'anno.

“I wonder, to my son, if, the car, we will buy it to him next year.”

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:4)

Rizzi noticed that *se* can both be preceded and followed by a Topic. Moreover, it can also be surrounded by Topics.

Se can also be followed by a Focus, although it has to undergo a restriction: the only possible order is *se-Foc*.

(27)a. Mi domando se, LA MACCHINA gli potremmo regalare (non la moto).

“I wonder if THE CAR we could give to him (not the motorbike).”

b. *Mi domando LA MACCHINA se gli potremmo regalare (non la moto).

“I wonder THE CAR if we could give to him, not the motorbike.”

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:5)

The idea is that *se* occupies the head position of IntP, with other elements (such as reason adverbials and wh elements like *perché*) in the specifier position.

As for ModP, it deals with preposed adverbs:

(28)a. Gianni ha trovato rapidamente la soluzione.

“Gianni found rapidly the solution.”

b. Rapidamente, Gianni ha trovato la soluzione.

“Rapidly, Gianni found the solution.”

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:5)

At first glance, preposed adverbs can possibly be mistaken for topicalization, mainly due to the fact that their pitch contour is not distinguishable from that of topicalization (or focalization). However,

there are at least two main differences that distinguish the two elements. The first is interpretive: preposed adverbs do not need a background information, as does topicalization. The second set of differences is to be found within syntax. First of all, preposed adverbials are clause bond, meaning that they cannot be both locally and distantly interpreted:

(29) Rapidamente, Mario ha detto (--) che Gianni ha trovato (* __) la soluzione.

“Rapidly, Mario said that Gianni found the solution.”

(30) RAPIDAMENTE Mario ha detto (__) che Gianni ha trovato (__) la soluzione.

“RAPIDLY Mario said that Gianni found the solution, not slowly.”

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:6)

As can be seen from (29), the adverb *rapidamente* has to occur in a high position in order to receive the correct interpretation, contrary to the focalization structure of (30), in which the adverb can occur in a lower position as well. A second syntactic property is that any intervening adverb affects the preposed adverb, while it does not affect topicalization and focalization:

(31) *Rapidamente, Gianni ha probabilmente trovato __ la soluzione.

“Rapidly, Gianni probably found the solution.”

(32) RAPIDAMENTE Gianni ha probabilmente trovato __ la soluzione.

“RAPIDLY, Gianni probably found the solution, not slowly.”

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:6)

Finally, the last syntactic difference is to be found in the that-trace violation, which is alleviated by adverb preposing, giving rise to the so-called *anti-adjacency effect* or *adverb effect*, which I already mentioned in the subsection above:

(33) a. *This is the man who I think that __ will sell his house next year.

b. This is the man who I think that, next year, __ will sell his house.

c. *This is the man who I think that, his house, __ will sell next year.

(Rizzi and Bocci, 2017:6)

I will come back to this property in Chapter 3, while analyzing Scene setting adverbs.

The variety of differences that distinguish preposed adverbs from topicalization and focalization lead Rizzi to claim that there is a specific sentence-initial position which adverbs are attracted to,

(36) ... X ... Z ... Y

(Rizzi, 2004:223)

(36) shows that the potential local relation between X and Y cannot happen if Z is the same structural type as X and if it intervenes between them. Rizzi considers elements of “the same structural type” heads and specifiers, the latter being distinguished in terms of A and A' relations. As for intervention, it can be explained in terms of c-command, meaning that Z intervenes between X and Y if Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X. The principle of RM involves chains, which have to be expressed at Logical Form in order to be interpreted. Chains are defined by the following syntactic properties: identity, prominence and locality. The property of identity implies that, given a chain, all elements within it share the same internal structure, although only the element in the highest position is usually pronounced. Prominence is defined by c-command, and locality is defined by the notion of Minimal Configuration, i.e. RM. The free combination of two of the three syntactic properties mentioned above gives rise to other linguistic relations, such as Pronominal Binding, Ellipsis and Head/XP interactions. As for chain relations, Rizzi showed through empirical evidence that there rise two major asymmetries in the RM system, involving in particular A' chains. First, not all elements moved to an A' specifier are subjected to RM (for instance, Wh- elements). Then, there needs to be some finer typology in order to trigger a minimality effect on A' chains, since A' specifiers do not seem to be sufficient. Taking adverbs into account, Rizzi observed that only certain adverbs determine minimality effects. The simple distinction between A and A' position is not enough to account for minimality, so, according to Rizzi, there needs to be a redefined type of positions. Therefore, the author tries to implement Relativized Minimality taking into account the Minimal Link Condition, elaborated by Chomsky (1995):

(37) Minimal Link Condition: K attracts a only if there is no b, b closer to K than a, such that K attracts b.

(Chomsky, 1995:311)

MLC is considered as the implementation of RM, as three more aspects are added to RM's perspective. First, the concept of Attract, or Agree, which is the syntactic operation through which an element K is supposed to attract a. Then, it is considered to operate in derivations. The last and most important aspect deals with the internal feature make-up of the intervener, which is supposed to be identical to that of the target. This aspects causes some issues in the analysis, as it is considered to be too selective, whereas the exclusively A/A' position distinction was not selective

enough. Thus, another type of system is needed. Such system is elaborated through an empirical study on adverbs. It has been noticed that there is a ban against adverb crossing in certain constructions in certain languages, mainly V2 languages (such as Dutch, as observed by Koster, 1978). Rizzi notices that Italian also shows a ban against adverb crossing:

(38) a. I tecnici hanno (probabilmente) risolto rapidamente il problema.

“The technicians have (probably) resolved rapidly the problem.”

b. Rapidamente, i tecnici hanno risolto ___ il problema.

“Rapidly, the technicians have resolved the problem.”

c. *Rapidamente, i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto ___ il problema.

“Rapidly, the technicians have probably solved the problem.”

d. Probabilmente, i tecnici hanno ___ risolto rapidamente il problema.

“Probably, the technicians rapidly resolved the problem.”

(Rizzi, 2004:234)

(38) shows that the adverb *rapidamente* can be fronted to the sentence-initial position, but cannot cross the higher epistemic adverb *probabilmente*.

The next observation is that such ban is selective, and adverbs can be fronted to a Focus position:

(39) RAPIDAMENTE i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto il problema (non lentamente).

“RAPIDLY the technicians have probably solved the problem (not slowly).”

(Rizzi, 2004:235)

Rizzi makes two more observations in order to sketch the possible structure. First, focalization does not work if a negative element, such as the Italian *non* intervenes. Then, adverb preposing is not blocked in special discourse, meaning that, if the adverb has already been mentioned in the immediately preceding context, preposing is not blocked neither by another adverbs, nor by negation. These intuitions lead Rizzi to assume that in the left periphery of the sentence there is a special position dedicated to adverbs, ModP, which I already analysed in the previous subsection. The analysis of ModP is used by Rizzi to revise its concept of locality of structural positions, which he assumed could happen between elements of “the same structural type”. The author claims that A' positions have to be split into three subclasses: modifiers, quantificationals and Topics.

1.2.7 Conclusions

Subsection 1.2 aimed at summarize the main points of Rizzi's analysis of the left periphery of the

sentence. I started from his 1997 work *The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery*, in which the author describes the structure of the sentence and focuses on the analysis of one of the three layers that constitutes it: the complementizer, or CP. Such layer is also called the left periphery of the sentence. The other two layers are the IP (inflectional phrase) and the VP (verb phrase). Rizzi claims that the CP cannot be analysed as a bare X-bar element and, as it has already been done with the IP, needs to be described in detail. The author assumes that CP expresses two kinds of information: an inside and an outside information. The inside information describes the type of sentence, and the outside corresponds to the information expressed in the IP. These kinds of information are expressed by the Force-Finiteness system, which is one of the two systems making up the clause. Force expresses the type of clause we are facing, while Finiteness expresses information related to the IP (for example tense), even though the information expressed by Finiteness is more rudimentary compared to that expressed in the IP. The other system is the Topic-Focus system. Rizzi claims that Topic is made up by the Topic-comment articulation, and describes it as the element expressing old information, which is available and salient in a previous context. Comment is described as a kind of complex predicate of the Topic. Focus is made up by the Focus-presupposition articulation, and it is described as the element introducing new information in the sentence. The focalized element is said to bear focal stress. Both elements can be represented through the X-bar schema: in the Topic structure, there is the head Top° which takes Topic as its specifier and comment as a complement. In the Focus structure, Focus is the specifier of the head Foc° , and presupposition is taken as a complement. The system Topic-Focus is located in the left periphery of the sentence in between the Force-Finiteness one. Through an empirical research on Italian, Rizzi found out five main differences between Topic and Focus, some of which only apply to Focus. This leads the author to assume that Focus is quantificational, while Topic is not. In subsection 1.2.4 I summarised some adjacency effects which can be found in the left periphery of the sentence. These effects involve first of all Case, which has been analysed through a research on English adverb preposing. Rizzi assumes that an adverb can move to $TopP$ without the need of an intervening null operator. Another effect of adjacency is to be found in the so-called control structures, in which there is a PRO in a subject position and a head in the C system which controls it. In order for the sentence to be grammatical, PRO requires a null case and has to be governed by a CP. Adjacency also affects traces, meaning that a topicalized element blocks subject extraction in a C system. Rizzi tests his hypothesis comparing French, Italian and English examples. Finally, the author notices that adverb preposing triggers adjacency effects on Case, but not on traces. Next, I moved on to the analysis of Relativized Minimality, also called the locality principle. This principle states that core structural relations are local, meaning that they must be satisfied in the smallest possible environment. RM can interact with the Cartographic approach, used by Rizzi to describe the left periphery of the sentence. This

principle involves chains, which have to be expressed at Logical Form. A chain is defined by identity, prominence and locality. Other linguistic relations are possible thanks to the free combining of two of these three characteristics. Empirical evidence on A' chains showed that A' relations are not sufficient enough to satisfy RM, but there needs to be a finer typology. Rizzi tries to find a new system by implementing RM by taking into account the Minimal Link Condition, but, contrary to the former, this system appears to be too strict. A solution to the problem is found out through an empirical study on adverbs, which the author places in a special position, called ModP. The analysis of this projection revises the study on locality. A' positions are now split into three subclasses: modifiers, quantificationals and Topics.

1.3 The Cartographic Approach

The following subsection is dedicated to the analysis of the Cartographic Approach, first adopted by Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999). I believe it is important to at least summarise the main characteristic of Cartography, since it plays a role in the analysis of syntactic structures and it has been adopted by many other linguists in their researches (for example King, 1993 and Djakonova, 2009, whose studies I took into account in the analysis of Russian).

The Cartographic Approach is defined as “a research topic asking the question: what are the right structural maps for natural language syntax?” and its goal is that of “drawing maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations” (Rizzi and Cinque, 2008:43). The main assumption behind it is that all languages share a universal functional design, i.e. they all share the same internal make-up and principle of phrase and clause composition. The Approach first came up around the early nineties, following the raising of the analysis of functional heads within syntax, especially after Chomsky's (1986) extension of the X-bar theory. The debate resulted in the idea that phrases and sentences must be analyzed as hierarchical systems. These systems are formed by two kinds of blocks: the lowest, which is the projection of a lexical element, such as a noun or a verb, and a series of higher blocks which are headed by functional elements characterized by a more abstract semantic specifications (tense, mood, verbal aspect among the others). The higher blocks are believed to complete the lower, lexical block. Another important outcome is the claim that the functional structure typically consists in more than one head, as it has been observed by isolating and analyzing IPs and CPs, and concluding that I, or C, as well as the other functional heads, such as V or N, can be split into many elementary components. A variety of sources can account for Cartography. The first piece of evidence is provided by word order: indeed, there are some systematic word order differences among languages, as Pollock's (1989) shows in his analysis of verb movement in French and English, according to which the raising of finite verbs to a lexical

head position, which is lower than I and higher than VP, happens in French, but not in English. Then, a unique macro-hierarchy seems to be formed by word order patterns displayed by the languages of the world, despite their differences in terms of syntactic movements or other phenomena.

An inventory of functional categories must be done, and the outcome of this operation is that there are more categories than what we think. The distinction is not only between lexical and grammatical categories, but can be enlarged by taking into account other diagnostics parameters, such as open versus closed classes of elements. To provide an example, in the group of functional categories fall not only Complementizers and Determiners, but also, among the others, conjunctions, auxiliaries, mood, modal, tense and polarity morphemes, copulas, demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals.

Finally, typological studies are crucial to the Cartographic Approach, since the study of a single, or a few languages is not sufficient enough to account for the richness of UG and the comparative study of numerous languages can provide evidence for a unique pattern in the order of functional projections. Moreover, previous comparative studies, such as Greenberg's (1963) Universals, are also useful in order to understand which word order variations are actually accounted and grammatical in languages and which are not, despite being possible according to UG.

CHAPTER 2: The analysis of Topic and Focus

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter will be dedicated to the analysis of Topic and Focus. In the first subsection, I will consider Cruschina's (2009) analysis of Topic and Focus and their role in determining word order alternations. Relying on his study on the matter, I will give a general overview on the operations they must undergo in order to be interpreted at the interfaces (PF and LF), and then move on to the analysis the author gives of Topic and Focus, taking Romance (especially Sicilian) into account. After analysing the nature of what Cruschina refers to as discourse-related features, I will introduce Lambrecht's (1994) study on Information Structure (IS), in order to have a better understanding on how Topic and Focus interact with this structure. I will start by explaining the term Information Structure and its definition. Next, I will introduce the information-categories studied by Lambrecht: identifiability and activation, which generate from cognition, and Topic and Focus, which have a pragmatic nature. Then, I will move on to a comparative analysis of Topic and Focus in Russian and Italian, considering studies relevant for the matter. I decided to split the analysis into two subsections, one dedicated to Topic and one to Focus. The last subsection is dedicated to intonation, and I will be explaining the different intonational constructions in Russian as first hypothesized by Bryzgunova (1969, 1977).

2.2 The syntactic role of Topic and Focus: Cruschina's (2009) analysis

2.2.1 Introduction

My analysis will start from Cruschina's (2009) research on the nature of Topic and Focus, which he refers to as discourse-related features. I will adopt his terminology in order to make my summary as precise as possible. First, I will take into account his views on functional projections dedicated to discourse-related features and the operations that elements must undergo in order to be relocated in the functional heads of the functional projections. It will be proved that there are specific principles (such as Criteria) that drive movement, which cannot happen without a specific reason. I will then move on to the analysis of the syntactic roles of Topic and Focus, taking into account Topicalization and Focus Fronting, both observed by an empirical research on Sicilian.

2.2.2 Topic and Focus within syntax: functional heads and movement

Cruschina (2009) claims that Topic and Focus are crucial in determining word order. Furthermore,

they might affect all levels of grammar, in terms of prosody, morphology (Topic and Focus markers), syntax and semantics, depending on the language. The main problem in analysing the two elements is determining the level of grammar in which they are encoded: according to the hypothesis that have been made by many linguists, they might be part of semantics and pragmatics, having an impact on linguistic expressions (cfr. Chomsky, 1995) or they might be encoded directly in syntax (cfr. Rizzi 1997, considering in particular the Cartographic approach). According to Chomsky (1995), Topic and Focus can be considered discourse-related phenomena, semantic features only accessible and visible at the interfaces. On the other hand, in the Cartographic approach such elements are assumed to generate in syntax, where they are associated with their corresponding functional projection (TopP and FocP) and can drive syntactic operations (Topicalization or Focus fronting among the others). The author claims that it is not plausible that these elements are found in an independent structure interacting with syntax, since it would violate Chomsky's (1957) principle of autonomy and independency of syntax, according to which syntax must be independent of meaning or discourse. Thus, following Jackendoff's (1972) assumption that syntactic features are assigned to Topic and Focus in the computation and later match with their prosodic properties and interpretation, Cruschina claims that Topic and Focus are found in the lexicon, whether they are expressed with an overt lexical item or not. This would also meet Chomsky's (1995) condition of Inclusiveness:

(40) Any structure formed by the computation (in particular π and λ) is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N [i.e. the numeration – SC]; no new objects are added in the course of computation apart from rearrangements of lexical properties. (Chomsky 1995:228).

There is empirical evidence for the presence of these functional categories in the lexicon, mainly from languages (such as Japanese or Somali) in which particles or special markers can be found as phonological representation of Topic and Focus:

(41) Shalay Cali baa/ayaa yimíd.
 Yesterday Cali Foc come.PAST.3SG
 “CALI came yesterday.”

The example is taken from Frascarelli and Puglielli's (2007) analysis of Somali, which is a language having phonological markers for discourse-related features (*baa* or *ayaa* are the Focus markers in the given example). Cruschina assumes that these features are universally present in the lexicon, even in those languages in which they are not associated with an overt lexical item, each having a

dedicated functional projection. The functional projections will then drive the computation, with functional heads attracting constituents bearing the matching features. At the interfaces, interpretive and phonological properties will be presumed from the syntactic structure (Cruschina, 2009:17). Another important element in considering the analysis of discourse-related features is Numeration, already mentioned in Chomsky's (1995) condition of Inclusiveness. In the Minimalist perspective, Numeration is a set containing lexical items which will be used in a syntactic derivation and information on how often these lexical items will be used (Chomsky, 1995). Aboh (2008) assumes that the information structure of a sentence is pre-determined in the Numeration, this meaning that discourse-related features are not assigned to lexical items when they are selected from the lexicon, but in the Numeration process. Next, a set of principles called Criteria needs to be applied. Criteria requires that the constituent bearing discourse-related features matches with the functional head it is moved to:

(42) XPF and XF must be in a Spec-head configuration, for F = Q, Top, Foc, R, ... (Rizzi 2006:102)

Movement never happens without a specific purpose, and Criteria functions as a trigger. The landing site seems to be the head of the functional projection, which bears an attraction property given by Criteria. Once an element is moved to such position, it can receive its scope discourse-related semantic properties. The operation is explained in the following example (43):

- (43) a. Which book should you read_?
b. This book you should read_.
c. THIS BOOK you should read_ (rather than something else)

(Rizzi 2006:101)

The DP *the book* moves to the left periphery of the sentence in order to receive specific properties: patient of the verb *read*, interrogative in (43a), topic in (43b) and focus in (43c).

2.2.3 The syntactic role of Topic and Focus

Next in his research, Cruschina proceeds in analysing empirical data from Romance, mainly from Sicilian, in order to establish the syntactic role of discourse-related features and how they can affect word order variations. Assuming SVO order as the unmarked order of Romance, the author starts from Topics and linguistic phenomena related to them. The first considered is Topicalization, i.e. the dislocation of some constituents to dedicated functional projections in the left periphery of the

sentence:

(44) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, gleilo darò senz' altro.
the book to John tomorrow to him-CL it-CL give.FUT.1SG without other

“Tomorrow I will give the book to John for sure.”

(Rizzi 1997:290)

Rizzi hypothesizes that TopPs are recursive, meaning that there is no limit on the number of Topics occurring in a sentence:

(45) ForceP TopP* FocP TopP* FinP IP

However, Cruschina does not agree with Rizzi, and claims there exist specialized Topic positions in the left periphery, also relying on Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) distinction of Topics in Aboutness, Contrastive and Familiar Topics. Aboutness Topics are “what the sentence is about”, the subject of the sentence, therefore there cannot be more than one Aboutness Topic per sentence; they usually occur in preverbal position. Familiar Topics have the function of resuming elements which are already contained in the background information of the sentence, thus already familiar to the hearer, therefore they can optionally occur in the sentence, as the resumptive clitics alone would be sufficient enough to re-establish the reference. In Sicilian, Topics usually have to be located in dedicated functional positions, as claims the principle of Syntactic Extraposition (Cruschina 2009:19). Moreover, a resumptive pronoun is obligatory for all the dislocated elements:

(46) A Giovanni, *(ci) haju a dari un libbru
to John to himCL havePRES.1SG to give a book

“I'll give a book to John.”

(Cruschina 2009:20)

As for Focus, Cruschina analyses Focus Fronting as a phenomenon describing the relation between the syntactic structure and discourse properties. There is supposed to be a dedicated projection in the left periphery that is responsible for the fronting of non-contrastive Focus constituents. This results in a peculiar structure, in which the verb appears in a sentence-final position. Cruschina claims that FF in Sicilian is typical of exclamative and interrogative sentences, and can also occur with elements such as bare quantificational elements. This phenomenon is to be found in the following examples from Sicilian:

(47) U **suli** niscì!
the sun come go-out.PAST.3SG
“The sun came out!”

(48) Vossia chi **dutturi** jè?
You.POLITE INT doctor is
“Are you a doctor?”

(49) A **nuddu** vitti.
to.ACC nobody see.PAST.1SG
“I saw nobody.”
(Cruschina 2009:21)

2.2.4 Conclusions

In this brief section I introduced the matter of Topic and Focus by taking into account Cruschina's (2009) analysis, according to which Topic and Focus have to be considered as discourse-related features originating in syntax and interacting with IS through syntactic operations. I consider his analysis relevant to the subject, as it gives an insight on the nature of these two elements, since they are not easy to investigate, due to the fact that they are often covertly realized. As seen in subsection 2.2.2 there are languages in which discourse-related features are phonetically represented (cfr. Somali and Japanese), this leading to the hypothesis that, even in languages which do not have an overt realization of Topic and Focus, these two features are present in the lexicon and are associated to dedicated functional projections. The operation through which the discourse-related features are assigned to lexical items is called Numeration (Aboh, 2008). Movement then happens, as functional heads attract elements bearing matching features. This is connected to a set of principles called Criteria, which require movement of elements in order to check matching feature in the head of the given functional projection. It is important to underline that movement does not happen without a specific purpose. In subsection 2.2.3 I briefly discussed Cruschina's view on the syntactic role of Topic and Focus, based on his empirical research on Romance, mainly on Sicilian. Starting from Topics, I discussed Topicalization and Cruschina's idea that Topics are not recursive (contra Rizzi, 1997), but rather there exist specialized Topic positions in the left periphery. The author takes into account Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) categories of Topics: Aboutness, Contrastive and Familiar. Next, I took into account Focus Fronting, which is a peculiar structure: indeed, in the left periphery there is supposed to be a projection dedicated to the fronting of non-contrastive Foci, and the verb results in a final position.

2.3 Topic and Focus with respect to Information Structure: Lambrecht's (1994) analysis

2.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection I am going to concentrate on Lambrecht's (1994) study on Information Structure (or IS), since it interacts with syntax and its analysis is relevant to the matter of Topic and Focus. First, I am going to concentrate on Lambrecht's definition of Information Structure, which has been called in different terms by many linguists throughout the 20th century. I will then focus on identifiability and activation, two categories which generate from cognition. Then, I will move on to Lambrecht's analysis on Topic and Focus, the second information-related category, which is connected to pragmatics.

2.3.2 Defining Information Structure

According to Lambrecht, there is still “confusion and vagueness” around the study of Information Structure. This subject has been studied by many 20th century linguists, each proposing their own terminology: Functional Sentence Perspective (Prague School of Linguistics), Information Structure, or Theme (Halliday 1967), Information Packaging (Chafe 1976) Discourse Pragmatics and Informatics (Vallduví 1990b). Lambrecht adopts Halliday's term Information Structure, therefore I will also refer to this structure in the same way. Roughly, we can say that IS is that part of the grammar connecting linguistic form and mental states of the speaker and the hearer. Lambrecht claims that it is necessary to make a distinction between IS and pragmatics, as the latter is concerned with the interpretation of the utterance in relation to conversational settings, and not so much with grammatical structures (Lambrecht 1994:4). The author proposes his own definition for IS:

(50) INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. (Lambrecht 1994:5)

There is a relationship between IS and syntax, in the sense that IS has the function of an interpretive mechanism which checks whether fully formed sentences are appropriate in a given context.

2.3.3 Information-structure categories: Identifiability and Activation

Crucial to Lambrecht's analysis are the categories of Identifiability and Activation, which I am now going to consider, as they will also be useful later in this chapter in considering Slioussar's (2007) perspective on IS in Russian. Both are cognitive categories, involving two psychological factors: knowledge (identifiability) and consciousness (activation).

Identifiability is a term firstly proposed by Chafe (1976), and it refers to expressions already present in the addressee's mind, which he manages to pick out among a set of mental expressions in order to identify that the speaker has in mind. The terms "known" and "familiar" have also been proposed as synonyms for identifiability, however Lambrecht believes that the meaning of these terms is slightly different from that of identifiability (Lambrecht 1994:77).

Activation is also a term borrowed by Chafe's (1976) proposal, meaning that there is only a certain amount of information on which the addressee can focus at a certain point in time; this amount of information is said to be active. An element is active when it is present in our consciousness, contrary to inactive terms which are contained in long-term memory, and becomes inactive (or semi-active) as soon as the addressee's attention shifts towards another item.

Identifiability and Activation both fall into the first type of information-category, which according to Lambrecht, belong to IS.

2.3.4 Topic and Focus relations in Lambrecht's perspective

The second information-category is that of pragmatic features within the discourse, i.e. Topic and Focus relations.

As for Topics, Lambrecht distinguishes the notion of Topic as a relation between a referent and a proposition from the linguistic expression Topic phrase or Topic constituent, to put it in syntactic terms. According to the author, Topic relation is a relation between a referent and a proposition, Topic expressing the concept of the proposition. The contrast between Topic as a relation and linguistic expressions can be seen in (51):

(51) a. A: Who did Felix praise?

B: Felix praised MAX.

b. A: Who did Felix praise?

B: He praised HIMSELF.

(Lambrecht 1994:129)

The example is taken from Reinhart (1982), who also argues that Topic is not just an expression of

“old information”. Indeed, in (51b) *he* and *himself* both refer to the subject Felix, but only *he* is a Topic expression. The referent of the Topic expression is *Felix*, which also happen to be the referent of the reflexive *himself*, this however being a Focus constituent. Based on his assumptions, Lambrecht proposes a definition of both Topic as a pragmatic category and Topic expression as a grammatical category:

(52) TOPIC: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent.

TOPIC EXPRESSION: A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being the referent of this constituent.

Topic relations are connected to the notions of Identifiability and Activation: a Topic referent must be identifiable for the addressee and be active within the discourse.

Focus is defined by Lambrecht as “the portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The Focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion.” (Lambrecht 1994:207).

According to the author, Focus cannot be analysed in terms of prosody exclusively, thus the concept of Focus categories is introduced into his analysis. Focus accents can be seen as different expressions of Focus categories. Three of the categories mentioned are Predicate-Focus Structure, Argument-Focus Structure and Sentence-Focus Structure:

(53) What happened to your car?

- a. My car/It broke DOWN.
- b. (La mia macchina) si è ROTTA.

Predicate-Focus Structure

(54) I heard your motorcycle broke down?

- a. My CAR broke down.
- b. Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA. / E' la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta.

Argument-Focus Structure

(55) What happened?

- a. My CAR broke down.
- b. Mi si è rotta (ROTTA) la MACCHINA.

2.3.5 Conclusions

In this section I introduced Lambrecht's analysis of Information Structure, as this grammatical structure, as well as syntax, needs to be taken into account when raising the issue of Topic and Focus. Section 2.3.1 is dedicated to the definition of IS proposed by Lambrecht (1994), in order to make the matter more clear. I then mentioned two information-structures categories (identifiability and activation), crucial to Lambrecht's analysis, as they are connected to the notions of Topic and Focus. Finally, I presented the author's perspective on Topic and Focus, which Lambrecht analyses from the point of view of IS, not as mere syntactical elements.

2.4 Topic and Focus in Russian and Italian: a cross-linguistic perspective

2.4.1 Introduction

The following section will be dedicated to the analysis of Topic and Focus with respect to Russian and Italian, taking into account studies on the matter which I find relevant for my research. As for Russian, I will rely on four main studies, which can be split into two groups: the first includes studies following Rizzi's (1997) and Cinque's (1999) Cartographic approach, and the second takes into account non-cartographic approaches. The former group includes among the others King's (1993) and Dyakonova's (2009) analyses, while the latter involves Slioussar's (2007) and Bailyn's (2011) approaches. As far as Italian is concerned, I will take into account Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) with their analysis of the left periphery of the sentence. I will start by analysing Topics both in Italian and Russian and then move on to the comparative analysis of Foci.

2.4.2 The analysis of Topic in Russian

2.4.2.1 King's (1993) analysis

In her work *Configuring Topic and Focus in Russian* (1993), King, relying on Yokoyama's (1986) definition, defines Topics as a set of information known to both the speaker and the hearer. As for word order, she assumes that VSO is the basic, or unmarked, order of Russian, undergoing movement of constituents to receive discourse function interpretations: Topics are either left-adjoined to IP or left-dislocated and [Spec; IP] is used as a contrastive Focus. The resulting order is

considered to reflect the discourse function of its constituents and not the grammatical one; all movements occur at S-structure. The author distinguishes two types of Topics: internal and external. Internal Topics seem to be the most common type. They usually appear before the verb and in a position lower than C° but higher than I°; they are thus either adjoined to IP or in [Spec; IP]. King argues that the IP-adjunction analysis is preferred over the [Spec; IP] one. This assumption is supported mainly by two arguments: the first argument assumes that Russian Topics appear in embedded clauses and after wh-phrases. In this kind of structure, the projection of C° is already occupied by the complementizers of embedded clauses and wh-phrases, so Topic position must be below it:

(56) Ivan skazal, čto [emu] nužna kniga.

Ivan said that he-I.O. needed a book-SUBJ

“Ivan said that he-TOP needed a book.”

(King, 1993:107)

The other argument considers the fact that Topics appear after verbs fronted in C°, for example in yes-no questions with the particle *li*:

(57) Uvidel li [tebja] professor posle uroka?

Saw Q you professor after lesson

“Did the professor see you-TOP after the lesson?”

(King, 1993:107)

External Topics, despite being apparently less common than Internal ones, are more readily apparent, as far as syntactic distribution is concerned. They appear to be left-dislocated and they are not an argument of the verb, however they are coreferential with an element (usually a pronoun) which is an argument of the verb:

(58) [Moskva], ona gorodam mat'

Moscow-NOM she cities mother

“Moscow-E. TOP, she is the mother of cities”

(59) [Boris(a)], ja ego ne ljublju.

Boris-NOM-(-ACC) I him not like

“Boris-E. TOP, I don't like him.”

(King 1993:103)

External Topics usually appear at the nominative case; however, there are some exceptions, as shows (59), in which a specific case is required by their coreferent. Syntactically, they are associated with a functional projection called E, which is quite peculiar, since it has no head or specifier whatsoever. According to King this might be related to the fact that External Topics can only occur in matrix clauses, thus in a limited environment. If we tried to make the node E conform to the usual syntactical structure, creating thus a presumably null head E° , this would take a CP as its complement, leading to potentially allow an embedded EP projection. However, such constructions are not found, and no head in the language takes an EP complement.

2.4.2.2 Slioussar's (2007) analysis

In her work *Grammar and Information Structure*, Slioussar' (2007) focuses on Russian Information Structure. The author follows Lambrecht's (1994) definition of Topic, which can be summarized as "Topic is what the sentence is about". Her proposal is slightly different from the other studies, as she considers Topic and Focus not as grammatical notions, but as elements encoded by what she calls "discourse IS system". In order to better explain the properties of discourse IS system, Slioussar' introduces the definition of Activation Network, a set of systems in our brain used to process information:

(60) "An activation network is a set of units and connections between them, where units exhibit two properties: they have a certain amount of activation that varies in time and they store information."
(Slioussar', 2007:6)

Activation is a notion connected to accessibility, which is also crucial to Slioussar's analysis. The author relies on Lambrecht (1994) and Reinhart (1982, 2004b) in claiming that accessibility is used to measure topicality, since Topics are usually the most accessible elements in the sentence. The more activable a piece of information is, the more accessible it is. Another important notion connected to accessibility is that of salience, which is related to the prominence of the element in the grammar. These notions are said to be relational and appear to be encoded in grammar exactly as categorical ones (singular, plural et cetera). According to Slioussar', Russian IS system relies on relational notions. The author makes her own proposal of IS model, relying on Chomsky's (2005) Phase theory and the notion of EF (edge feature, already introduced by Chomsky). The claim she makes about word order is that the neutral, unmarked order for Russian is S V IO DO, which can become S V DO IO as a result of Scrambling. Discussing Topics, she claims that the notion of

topicality is connected to that of accessibility, although it has to be pointed out that a highly accessible element is not necessarily a topic.

2.4.2.3 Dyakonova's (2009) analysis

Dyakonova (2009) claims that Topicalization is possible in Russian, and that Topics fronted to CP are quite freely ordered, a characteristic which is also common to Topics scrambled into the Middlefield:

- (61) a. [Na včerašnej večerinke] [etu devušku] [nam] Saša tak i ne predstavil.
on yesterday party this girl.ACC we.DAT Saša.NOM PTCL PTCL NE
introduce.PST.MASC
- b. [etu devušku] [na včerašnej večerinke] [nam] Saša tak i ne predstavil.
this girl.ACC on yesterday party we.DAT Saša.NOM PTCL PTCL NEG
introduce.PST.MASC
- c. [etu devušku] [nam] [na včerašnej večerinke] Saša tak i ne predstavil.
this girl.ACC we.DAT on yesterday party Saša.NOM PTCL PTCL NEG introduce.PST.MASC
- d. [nam] [etu devušku] [na včerašnej večerinke] Saša tak i ne predstavil.
we.DAT this girl.ACC on yesterday party Saša.NOM PTCL PTCL NEG introduce.PST.MASC
- “Sasha did not introduce this girl to us at yesterday's party.”

(Dyakonova 2009:128)

The four versions of the sentence are all considered grammatical, despite the fact that Topics are placed in a different order in each variant. This seems to fit Rizzi's claim that Topics are recursive, however Dyakonova disagrees and comes up with a slightly different proposal. She indeed claims, following Benincà and Poletto (2004), that Topics do have a specific order, this being justified with pragmatic differences. Indeed, although (61) a., b., c. and d. have all the same general meaning, they differ with respect to the most relevant subject for the discussion. (61a) is simply stating a fact: yesterday, at the party, Sasha did not introduce this girl to us. In the remaining variants the most salient element is the one placed in the leftmost position: *this girl* and *us*, respectively. This is considered to be a strong Aboutness Topic, in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) terms. The following constituents are defined by Dyakonova as given or weak Topics (or topPs). Contra Benincà and Poletto, who split strong Topics in Aboutness and Contrastive, hosted by two separate projections, Dyakonova states that, at least in Russian's case, Contrastive Topics are at the same time Aboutness Topics, while Aboutness Topics may or may not be Contrastive (Dyakonova 2009:130). Since there can only be an Aboutness Topic per sentence, Dyakonova hypothesizes that

strong Topics, which she calls TopP, are subject to the uniqueness requirement; what is recursive is weak Topics, or topPs. In her analysis, Dyakonova also introduces the category of FramePs, which, at the moment, I will not consider, and leave for the chapter on Scene setting adverbs.

2.4.2.4. Bailyn's (2011) analysis

Bailyn (2011) disagrees with King (1993) in considering VSO as the unmarked order for Russian, assuming that the basic word order is SVO for transitive verbs and VS for intransitives and inergatives. In analyzing the communicative word order, the author relies on the Prague School theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (Mathesius, 1939), according to which the sentence is divided into Theme and Rheme. Theme is the general information shared by both the speaker and the hearer, and it is considered the starting point of the conversation; Rheme is the new information. Generally speaking, in a communicative neutral sentence, Theme precedes Rheme.

Bailyn identifies three types of Topics in Russian, each being associated with a different word order pattern: (Left-Edge) Topicalization (TOP), Left Dislocation (LD) and Middle-Field Topicalization (M-TOP). TOP and LD share the property of having a left-edge phrase serving as the sentence's Topic, however they differ with respect to movement. Indeed, Left Dislocation sentences contain a prosodic pronoun, while in Left-Edge Topicalization sentences there is a constituent related to a gap left somewhere in the remaining part of the sentence. Left Dislocation is also characterized by the Nominative case given to the left-dislocated item and the prosodic break is more pronounced in LD than in TOP. The difference between the two patterns is given in () and ():

(62) a. Zoja boitsja ekzamenov.

Zoja-NOM fears exams-GEN.

“Zoja is scared of exams.”

b. Ekzamenov Zoja boitsja ____.

exams-GEN Zoja-NOM fears ____.

“Zoja is scared of exams.”

(63) Ekzameny, Zoja ix boitsja.

exams-NOM Zoja-NOM them-GEN fears

“Exams, Zoja is scared of them.”

(Bailyn 2011:265)

Topicalization involves movement. Evidence comes from the fact that the fronted element is case

marked (consider the genitive *ekzamenov*) in the underlying position, which after fronting is left empty, and movement constraints, to which LD is not subjected. An example is given in (64):

(64) a. Ja pozvonil agentu, kotoryj ljubit Borisa

I phoned agent who loves Boris

“I phoned a spy who loves Boris.”

b. *Borisa, ja pozvonil agentu, kotoryj ljubit ____.

Boris-ACC I phoned agent who loves ____.

*“Boris I phoned a spy who loves.”

c. Boris, ja pozvonil agentu, kotoryj ego ljubit.

Boris-NOM I phoned spy who him-ACC loves

“Boris, I phoned a spy who loves him.”

(Bailyn 2011:265)

Left-Edge Topicalization sentence (64b) violates the Subjacency, because it attempts to move an NP out of a complex NP. On the other hand, Left-Dislocation (64c) is acceptable because of the resumptive pronoun and it is not subjected to movement constraints. The conclusion is thus that, while Left-Edge Topicalization involves movement, Left-Dislocation is a base-generated process. Bailyn makes a distinction with respect to embedded clauses as well. Following Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988), he claims that LD is not acceptable in embedded clauses, contrary to TOP.

2.4.3 The analysis of Topic in Italian

2.4.3.1 Benincà and Poletto's (2004) analysis

In their analysis of CP sublayers, Benincà and Poletto (2004) distinguish two “fields”, which they define as “two sets of contiguous and semantically related projections” (Benincà and Poletto 2004:53), located in the same portion of the left periphery: one for Topic and one for Focus. Taking data from Italian, they first observe that TopP never occurs below FocP. Consider (65):

(65) a. *A GIANNI, un libro di poesie, lo regalerete

TO GIANNI, a book of poems you will give it

b. Un libro di poesie, A GIANNI, lo regalerete

a book of poems TO GIANNI, you will give it

“You will give a book of poems to Gianni.”

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:54)

The grammaticality of (65b), as opposed to the ungrammaticality of (65a) shows that the only possible order to make the sentence grammatical is Topic > Focus, the structure resulting as such:

(66) [TopP [FocP [IP]]]

The Topic Field is divided into two subfields: Hanging Topic (HT) and Left Dislocation (LD), differing for some syntactic properties, the first of which is Case. Consider (67):

(67) a. Mario, non ne parla più nessuno.

Mario not of-him talks anymore nobody

“Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.”

Hanging Topic

b. Di Mario, non (ne) parla più nessuno.

of Mario not (of-him) talks anymore nobody

“Of Mario, nobody talks about him anymore.”

Left Dislocation

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:64)

(67) clearly shows that the Hanging Topic construction does not allow prepositions, while Left Dislocated Topics maintain the preposition of their corresponding internal element. Indeed, the two authors state that HTs can only be DPs.

The second property states that there is only one HT position available per sentence, while more than one LD is accepted:

(68) a. Gianni, questo libro, non ne hanno parlato a lui.

Gianni this book they of-it haven't talked to him

b. A Gianni, di questo libro, non gliene hanno mai parlato.

to Gianni of this book they of it haven't talked to him

“They did not talk to Gianni about this book.”

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:64)

The third difference raises the issue of the need of a resumptive element corresponding to the Topic.

This is mandatory for HTs, while LDs require a resumptive element (usually a pronoun), only when they correspond to direct or partitive objects:

(69) a. *Mario, non parla più nessuno.

Mario not talks anymore nobody

b. Di Mario, non parla più nessuno

of Mario not talks anymore nobody

c. Mario, non ne parla più nessuno.

Mario not of him talks anymore nobody

“Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.”

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:64)

The fourth property is connected to the third, and concerns the type of resumptive element. Benincà and Poletto notice that the resumptive element used for LD can only be a clitic, while HT accept a tonic pronoun or an epithet as well:

(70) a. Mario, non darò più soldi a quell'imbecille.

Mario not give anymore money to that idiot

“Mario, I won't give anymore money to that idiot.”

b. *A Mario, non darò più soldi a quell'imbecille.

To Mario, not give anymore money to that idiot

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:65)

Finally, the author state that the fixed order of the two constructions is HT-LD.

Other elements taken into account by Benincà and Poletto are Scene setting adverbs, which are said to be separate from LD and do not occur higher than HT and List Interpretations (LI), which are element belonging to the same semantic field occurring in a sentence in contrast:

(71) La frutta la regaliamo, la verdura la vendiamo.

The fruit it give for free the vegetables it sell

“We give the fruit for free, while we sell the vegetables.”

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:67)

Scene setting adverbs will be analyzed in detail in next chapter.

2.4.3.2 Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) analysis

To end this subsection on the studies of Topic in Italian, I will take into account Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) perspective. Their study aims to investigate the types of Topics in Italian and German, both from the syntactic and phonological point of view. I will take into account their analysis of Italian, as it is relevant for my research. Relying on previous studies on the matter, they claim Topics fall into three types: a) *Aboutness Topics*, (or *Shifting Topics*, following Givon 1983) expressing “what the sentence is about” (Reinhart 1981, Lambrecht 1994), bearing the feature [+aboutness]; b) *Contrastive Topics*, which introduce a new element to the phrase and create a contrast with other topics and c) *Familiar Topics*, generally used for topic continuity, destressed and realized in a pronominal form. Since they all show different phonological and syntactic properties, they are ordered in the CP system following a specific hierarchy: Shifting Topics occupy the highest topic position in the left periphery; Familiar Topics occur in the lowest Top-projection and can be realized in either periphery, and Contrastive Topics are located between Aboutness and Familiar Topics. It is remarkable to note that Shifting and Contrastive Topics are not recursive, and it seems that they cannot be realized in the right periphery of the sentence.

2.4.4 The analysis of Focus in Russian

2.4.4.1 King's (1993) analysis

According to King (1993), there are three types of Focus encoded in Russian: Contrastive Focus, New-information Focus and Presentational Focus. The encoding of a certain kind of Focus is connected to word order and intonation. The most common pattern bears a neutral intonation and Focus is located in a sentence-final position:

(72) čitaet knigu [otec].

reads book father

“Father-FOC is reading a book.”

(King, 1993:80)

An important distinction the author makes while analyzing Russian Foci is that between non-emotive and emotive sentences, relying on Krylova and Khavronina (1988). Non-emotive sentences are usually found in academic writing and standard speech, while emotive sentences characterize the colloquial style. As for word order, the structure of non-emotive sentences is generally Theme < Rheme and the intonational pattern associated with them is IK-1. Intonational patterns will be

discussed in detail in subsection 2.5.2, but, as for now, I will only point out that IK-1 is characterized by a falling tone on the end of the sentence. Yokoyama (1986) argues that the difference between non-emotive and emotive sentences is sentence stress: non-emotive sentences do not bear it, while emotive sentences do. The stress pattern found in non-emotive sentences is labelled Type I, which is formed by a series of LH tones and a single HL tone at the end:

(73) Nad Krakovom nakrapyval doždiček.

over Krakow drizzled rain

“It was drizzling over Krakow.”

(King, 1993:83)

Emotive sentences are usually associated with the intonation pattern Type II, according to Yokoyama's distinction, which corresponds to sentence stress. Contrary to non-emotive sentences, in emotive sentences the stress falls on the focalized item of the sentence regardless of its position:

(74) a. [Nad Krakovom] [doždiček] nakrapyval.

over Krakow rain drizzled

“It was drizzling-FOC over Krakow.”

b. [Doždiček] nakrapyval nad Krakovom.

rain drizzled over Krakow.

“It was drizzling-FOC over Krakow.”

(Yokoyama 1986:192-194)

2.4.4.2 Slioussar's (2007) analysis

Slioussar' (2007) claims that Focus, as well as Topic, is not encoded in the grammar, but it appears to be a discourse theoretic and semantic notion. The author relies on previous definitions of Focus, mainly Lambrecht (1994), who claims that Focus is related to the notion of non-presupposed information, Szendrői (2001), whose analysis connects Focus to the notion of newness and Rooth (1992), whose analysis is considered by Slioussar' the one having the most advantages (Slioussar', 2007:113). Taking into account especially his analysis, according to which Focus can be described according to its relation with the other elements of the sentence, Slioussar' claims that the analysis of this feature gives rise to some problems. Contrastivity does not appear to be a good criterion to determine whether an element is a Focus or not, since it is not always clear what information can be considered as contrastive. The author, relying on Rooth (1992), claims that prosody plays a significant role in determining Focus, setting the pattern for its interpretation.

2.4.4.3 Dyakonova's (2009) analysis

Dyakonova (2009) also discusses the occurrence of Focus in the left periphery, namely in preverbal position. The usual Focus position within a sentence is clause-final, but, as Dyakonova investigates in her research, Foci can also move to the left periphery and to the Middlefield. I will take into account the former type of movement. According to Dyakonova's analysis, Russian does not tolerate the occurrence of multiple Foci in the left periphery, contrary to topPs. The author agrees with Benincà and Poletto's (2004) proposal that FocP cannot occur above TopP. She starts her analysis by investigating sentences where contrast is shown between two Focus elements:

- (75) a. ***Včera** Irinu-to ja videla, a Maksima **davno** ne vstrečala.
yesterday Irina.ACC-TO I see.PST.FEM but Max.ACC long.time NEG meet.PST.FEM
b. Irinu-to **včera** ja videla, a Maksima **davno** ne vstrečala.
Irina.ACC-TO yesterday I see.PST.FEM but Max.ACC long.time NEG meet.PST.FEM
“As for Irina, I saw her YESTERDAY, but I have not seen Max for a long time.”
(Dyakonova 2009:161)

Relying on the resulting structures, her proposal is that Focus cannot precede a Topic marked with the *-to* feature, as shows the ungrammaticality of (75a), whereas in (75b) Focus follows the Topic, leading to an acceptable and grammatical sentence. Her hypothesis is that FocPs fronted to the left periphery have a specific landing site and a fixed position only with respect to Strong Topics, while they show flexibility as far as Weak Topics are concerned:

- (76) a. **Zavtra** [Arine] [den'gi] ja vernu.
tomorrow Arina.DAT money.ACC I.NOM return.FUT.1SG
b. [Arine] [den'gi] **zavtra** ja vernu.
Arina.DAT money.ACC tomorrow I.NOM return.FUT.1SG
c. [Arine] **zavtra** [den'gi] ja vernu.
Arina.DAT tomorrow money.ACC I.NOM return.FUT.1SG
“I will return Arina the money TOMORROW.”
(Dyakonova 2009:142)

Finally, the author points out that the type of Focus she takes into account bears the [+D] feature. This feature marks both Foci moving to the left-periphery and Foci moving to the Middlefield. The main difference between the two is that left-periphery Focus moves to a dedicated projection, while Focus moving to the Middlefield does not.

2.4.4.4 Bailyn's (2011) analysis

Bailyn (2011) recalls Kiss' (1998) assumption that there are two kind of Focus: Information Focus and Identificational or Contrastive Focus. Information Focus corresponds to the Rheme, meaning it expresses the new information in a sentence, and it is located in the right periphery of the sentence. It is commonly marked with the IK-1 contour, whereas Contrastive Focus is marked with IK-2. Traditionally, Foci in Russian have been described as “Right Focus” (Bailyn 2011:276), due to the fact that they generally appear in a sentence-final position:

(77) Right Focus: At the right edge of the Russian sentence is a Focus Position. (Bailyn 2011:277)

However, Foci cannot appear exclusively in the right edge of the sentence, as shown by what Bailyn calls “Left Focus” (or Intonation Focus). Left Focus is an element fronted to the left periphery of the sentence, which is not a Topic. It serves the same function as Right Focus: introducing new, unknown information in a given sentence. Consider (78):

(78) a. Ja dumal, ona pojdet k nemu.

I thought she would go to him

“I thought she would go to him.”

b. K NEMU ja dumal, ona pojdet ____.

[to him] I thought she would go ____

“It is to him that I thought she would go.”

(Bailyn 2011:278)

In (78b) the PP *k nemu* is fronted to the left edge of the sentence, and it receives Focus Intonation. The generalization the author gives about Left Focus is as follows:

(79) Left Focus: At the left edge of the Russian sentence is a Focus Position. (Bailyn 2011:279)

Apparently, the stress Left Focus receives is different from the Right Focus one, as Left Focus is more heavily stressed, bearing the IK-2 type of intonational contour. However, this does not apply in all cases: as already observed by King (1993), in emotive sentences the stress falls on the Focus, regardless of its position. Thus, there needs to be done a differentiation between Left Focus and Intonation Focus, the latter being associated with the IK-2 intonational pattern.

Foci can also appear in the Middlefield of the sentence, as already discussed by Dyakonova (2009).

These elements are called by Bailyn M-FOC, and are usually marked with Focus Intonation. The last type of Focus discussed by the author is Contrastive Focus, which is placed at the left edge of the sentence and bears the feature [+ contrast], which triggers movement (cfr. Neeleman and Titov, 2009).

2.4.5 The analysis of Focus in Italian

2.4.5.1 Benincà and Poletto's (2004) analysis

Benincà and Poletto (2004) argue that Italian Focus constitutes the Focus Field, as for Topic. The authors remark that Topic cannot occur lower than Focus. Italian appears to have two types of Focus: Contrastive and Informational. Informational Focus seems to be located in a sentence initial position, as shown by nonstandard Italian varieties data:

(80) a. *Un libro comprasti?* (Sicilian)

a book bought

“Did you buy a book?”

b. *Hai comprato un libro?* (Northern Italian)

have bought a book

“Did you buy a book?”

(Benincà and Poletto, 2004:58)

As for Contrastive Focus, in Italian it appears to be signalled by a special intonation. A connection can be made between Contrastive Focus and a construction called Anaphoric Anteposition (AA):

(81) *Mi ha detto di portargli un libro e un libro gli ho portato.*

me has said to bring-him a book and a book I have brought

“They told me that I should bring them a book and I did it.”

(Benincà and Poletto 2004:62)

AA involves a movement which is similar to movements of interrogatives or exclamatives.

Indefinite quantifiers also appear to move to the Focus Field:

(82) *Qualcosa farò.*

something I will do

“I will do something.”

2.4.6 Conclusions

Subsection 2.4 is dedicated to the contrastive analysis of Topic and Focus in Russian and Italian. I started by analysing Topics in Russian, introducing the studies of King (1993), Slioussar' (2007), Djakonova (2009) and Bailyn (2011). Except for Slioussar's, their perspective deals with Topics from a syntactic point of view. King distinguishes two types of Topics: internal and external. Internal Topics appear to be more frequent than external, however the structure of the external is more easily readable than the internal one. Djakonova disagrees with Rizzi (1997), who claims that Topics are recursive, and makes a distinction between strong Topics (TopPs), which she believes to be recursive, and weak Topics (topPs), which are not recursive. The author introduces the category of FramePs, which I will analyze in detail in chapter 3. Bailyn distinguishes three types of Topic constructions: (Left-Edge) Topicalization, Left Dislocation and Middle-Field Topicalization. (Left-Edge) Topicalization and Left Dislocation differ with respect to movement, as sentences with Left Dislocation contain a prosodic pronoun and the left-dislocated element is at the Nominative case, while in sentences with (Left-Edge) Topicalization the topicalized element can be found in a specific case and is connected to a gap left in the remaining portion of the sentence. Slioussar's proposal is slightly different from the others, as she analyses Topics (and Foci) not as grammatical categories, but as elements encoded by Information Structure. The author relies on Lambrecht's (1994) definition of Topics and his studies on IS, and claim that the notion of Topic is connected to accessibility and activation. Accessibility in particular characterizes Topics, although a highly accessible element is not necessarily a Topic. I analysed Italian Topics through the studies of Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007). Benincà and Poletto claim that TopPs never occur below FocPs, and make a distinction between two Topic constructions: Hanging Topics and Left Dislocation. The two constructions differ with respect to some syntactic properties. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl analyse Italian and German Topics, pinpointing three types of Topics: Aboutness, Contrastive and Familiar Topics. Aboutness Topics are subject to the unique requirement, and occur in the leftmost position in the left periphery of the sentence; Contrastive Topics also occur in the left periphery of the sentence and, as well as Aboutness Topics, are not recursive; Familiar Topics can be recursive and can occur in the right periphery of the sentence. Moving on to the analysis of Focus, King (1993) distinguishes three types of Focus: Contrastive Focus, New-information Focus and Presentational Focus. Crucial to her analysis is the distinction proposed by Krylova and Khavronina (1988) between emotive and non-emotive sentences. Generally, Focus occur in the rightmost position in neutral sentences. Dyakonova (2009) investigates Focus both in the left periphery and in Middlefield. According to her analysis, Russian

does not tolerate multiple Foci occurring in the left periphery. The author agrees with Benincà and Poletto in claiming that FocP cannot occur above TopPs. She also claims that Foci have a specific landing site in the left periphery, and are rigidly ordered with respect to Strong Topics, while they show flexibility as far as Weak Topics are concerned. Bailyn (2011) assumes that there are two kinds of Focus: Information (or Identificational) Focus and Contrastive Focus. Information Focus is usually located in the left periphery of the sentence. Finally, he makes a distinction between Right Foci and Left Foci, the latter occurring in the left periphery of the sentence. Slioussar' (2007) analyses Focus with respect to IS and claims that, as well as Topic, Focus is not an element encoded in the grammar, but rather a theoretic and semantic notion. The author takes into account mainly Rooth's (1992) analysis on the matter, claiming that Focus must be analysed with respect to the relations with other elements. Significant role in Focus analysis is played by prosody, while contrastivity does not appear to be a good criterion to define Focus. Italian Focus is analysed by Benincà and Poletto (2004), who claim that there exists two types of Focus: Contrastive and Informational. Informational Focus usually occur in a sentence-initial position, while Contrastive Focus is signalled by a special intonation.

2.5 Intonation

2.5.1 Introduction

The last subsection of this chapter will be dedicated to intonation. I believe it is useful to have an insight on the matter as it plays a significant role in the interpretation of Topic and Focus, since both of them are considered to be discourse-related features, rather than mere syntactic elements. Intonation is taken into account by the studies I have summarized above. I will put the attention mainly on the structure of intonation in Russian, introducing the main studies on the topic. I will start from Bryzgunova (1969, 1977) and her claim that in Russian there exist seven intonation structures (ИК, IK), which differ with respect to the meaning of the sentence and the psychological status of the speaker. Indeed, there can be made a distinction between emotive and non-emotive sentences. This issue is at the centre of Funtova's (2009) paper, which analyzes the constructions used in emotive contexts (IK-2a, IK-5, IK-6 (4a), IK-7).

2.5.2 Bryzgunova's (1969, 1977) proposal on the different intonational constructions (ИК)

The issue of intonation in the Russian language was first raised by Bryzgunova (1969, 1977), who identified seven kinds of intonational constructions, called ИК (интонационные конструкции, *intonacionnye konstrukcii*): IK-1, IK-2, IK-3, IK-4, IK-5, IK-6 (4a) and IK-7.

Each construction differs with respect to the meaning of the sentence, and can express different scales of emotionality, from the most neutral to the most emotional. Intonational constructions are constituted by three parts: pre-stressed, stressed, and post-stressed. The stressed part is the centre of the construction, and can sometimes shift; when this happens, the meaning of the sentence might change. Finally, the tone shifts happening in the stressed part of the sentence due to the intonational construction must not be confused with the personal tone of the speaker, which depends on the person and not on the stress of the sentence.

Each intonational construction has its own peculiarity and characterizes different kinds of sentences. I will present them by giving few examples taken from Bryzgunova (1969, 1977). The stressed parts of each sentence are written in bold.

ИК-1 is typical of finite declarative sentences, and the centre falls on the word describing the unknown, freshly introduced part of the sentence:

(83) Мы не **знаем** его адреса. На кафедре **тоже** никто не знает.

My ne znaem ego adresa. Na kafedre tože nikto ne znaet.

“We do not know his address. At the department nobody knows it as well.”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

ИК-2 is usually borne by interrogative sentences with an overt interrogative element, the centre falling on the predicate of the question:

(84) Сколько лет вашему **сыну**?

Skol'ko let vašemu **synu**?

“How old is your son?”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

The predicate of the question is *вашему сыну* (your son), thus the accent falls on the first syllable and then decreases to mark the end of the sentence.

Bryzgunova identifies a variant of ИК-2, called ИК-2а, used in imperatives and exclamations:

(85) **Смотрите!** **Спутник** летит!

Smotrite! Sputnik letit!

“Look! The sputnik is flying!”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

This type of intonational construction is also usually used in emotive contexts, as it will later be

pointed out by Krylova and Chavronina (1988).

ИК-3 is also used in interrogative contexts, but, contrary to ИК-2, it is used in questions which do not have an overt interrogative element:

(86) Её зовут Наташа?

Ejo zovut Nataša?

“Is her name Nataša?”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

ИК-4 is used in questions beginning with *a* (*and*):

(87) а. На этой станций я не выхожу.

б. А на следующей станций?

Na etoj stancij ja ne vyhožu.

A na sledujuščej stancij?

“a. I am not getting off at this station.

b. What about next station?”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

ИК-5 is used in exclamative clauses with pronominals (*kakoj*, *kak*):

(88) Какой у неё голос!

Kakoj u nejo golos!

“What a voice she has!”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

ИК-6 also marks exclamative sentences:

(89) Сколько студентов!

Skol'ko studentov!

“How many students!”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

This type of construction is similar to ИК-4, although the tone of ИК-6 appears to be higher than ИК-4.

Finally, ИК-7 is used in exclamative sentences such as ():

(90) **Какой** он отличник! (то есть он не отличник)

Kakoj on otlichnik! (to est' on ne otlichnik)

“How good he is! (meaning he's not good)”

Bryzgunova (1969, 1977)

ИК-7 is similar to ИК-3, but although in the third type of construction the pause is longer than in the seventh.

2.5.3 Funtova's (2009) analysis of intonation in emotive and non-emotive sentences

Funtova (2009) focuses on intonational constructions in emotive and non emotive contexts, distinguishing the “neutral” constructions, which are used to point out the type of clause (ИК-1, ИК-2, ИК-3, ИК-4) from those used in emotional contexts (ИК-2а, ИК-5, ИК-6 (4а) and ИК-7). The emphatic, emotional constructions are characterized by a more complex rhythmical construction, in the sense that rhythm can shift and slow down or quicken, and the stress usually falls on words which are crucial to the sentence. Funtova also points out that it is important to mention that not all the factors that play a role in an emotional environment are linguistic: for instance, the psychological state of the speaker and his temper are considered extra-linguistic elements. Starting from ИК-2а, Funtova notices that its stressed part is characterized by a tone which is higher than in the stressed part of ИК-2:

(91) **Валя!** Какими судьбами? Проходи скорее!

Valija! Kakimi sud'bami? Prihodi skoree!

“Valija! What brings you here? Come soon!”

(Е.А. Брызгунова, 1969: 24; Ю.Г. Лебедева, 1975, 89–90)

ИК-4а is always used in emotional contexts. Contrary to ИК-4, in which the raising of the tone happens in the post-stressed part, the raising of the tone in ИК-4а happens in the stressed part of the sentence:

(92) «Здесь хорошо: **солнце, море, горы, прекрасный воздух**»; «Дети радовались от души: **прыгали, бегали, смеялись**»

« Zdes' horošo: solnce, more, gory, prekrasnij vozduh » ; «Deti radovalis' ot duši, прыgali, begali, smejalis'»

“Here it is fine: there is sun, sea, mountains, amazing air” ; “The kids were the happiest: they were hopping, running and laughing.”

(Е.А. Брызгунова, 1969: 91–92; Ю.Г. Лебедева, 1975, 172)

The least used intonational construction, compared to the others, is ИК-5. This construction, as I already mentioned before, usually characterizes exclamative sentences which have an overt pronominal:

(93) Как хорошо!

Kak horošo!

“How great!”

The pre-stressed part is characterized by an average tone, which raises in the stressed part, as happens in ИК-2а. In the post-stressed part the tone is still high, but starts gradually decreasing at the end of the sentence.

The last construction, ИК-7, is used in exclamative contexts:

(94) Очень хорошо!

Očen' horošo!

“Very good!”

(95) Не говори!

Ne govori!

“Don't speak!”

2.5.4 Conclusions

Chapter 2 ends with a subsection on intonation. I decided to include Bryzgunova's (1969, 1977) analysis of different intonational constructions in Russian, as they are mentioned in some of the studies on Topic and Focus (for example, King, 1993 and Bailyn, 2011). I started off by giving a brief summary of all of the seven intonational constructions (also referred to as ИК, *intonacionnye konstrukcii*) found by the author, and continued with the analysis of Funtova (2009), who distinguishes the intonational constructions used in emotive sentences (ИК-2а, ИК-5, ИК-6 (4а) and ИК-7) from those used in non-emotive contexts (ИК-1, ИК-2, ИК-3, ИК-4).

CHAPTER 3: The analysis of Scene setting adverbs

3.1 Introduction

In the following chapter I will be focussing on Scene setting adverbs, first analysing their position within the left periphery of the sentence and then making a comparative analysis between the Russian and the Italian structure. In the first subsection, I will be discussing previous studies relevant for my research in order to have a clear insight on the topic. I took into account the studies of Cinque (1999), Haegeman (2003), Benincà and Poletto (2004), Giorgi (2012) and Dyakonova (2009). Cinque's study serves as an introduction to the analysis of this specific category of adverbs, while Haegeman's and Benincà and Poletto's perspectives analyse the position of Scene setting adverbs in the CP domain, placing them within the Topic field (Benincà and Poletto, 2004). Giorgi and Dyakonova analyse Scene setters within the CP domain as well, but they elaborate new functional projections in which they might be placed. In my analysis, I took into account mostly Dyakonova's perspective, as it best fits the structure of Russian. In subsection 3.3 I will make a brief excursus on Russian word order, since it is a crucial element which must be considered in investigating the position and behavior of Scene setting adverbs. I will then move on to a cross-linguistic analysis between Russian and Italian, analysing the scene setting positions in the CP domain in both main and embedded clauses, trying to place them within a specific field (either Topic or Focus). In subsection 3.4 I will be analysing the structure of Russian, starting by introducing Goeringer's (1998) analysis of Russian circumstantial adverbs. According to the author, circumstantial adverbs in Russian fall into two categories: deictic and frequency adverbials. Both categories can be divided into simplex and complex adverbs. In this dissertation, I will mostly consider deictic time adverbials, such as *včera* (yesterday) or *sejčas* (now; immediately). I will then move on to the analysis of the position of Scene setting adverbs in Russian, with data collected from the Russian National Corpus (*Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka*). I selected sentences from different linguistic registers and ordered according to the SVO order, relying on Bailyn's (2011) and Slioussar' (2007) claim that SVO is the unmarked order for Russian. I will be analysing main clauses as well as embedded clauses, and I will try to apply the structure proposed by Dyakonova to the examples I selected, placing the Scene setting adverb in FrameP. I will also briefly mention the position of SSPs within the Middlefield. In subsection 3.5 I will be making a comparative analysis between the structures of Russian and Italian. I translated some of the sentences I selected from the Russian National Corpus into Italian, in order to make a comparison between the two languages. Finally, in the last subsection I will be testing the resetting, described by Giorgi (2012), and see whether it applies to Russian.

3.2 Scene setting adverbs in the CP domain

3.2.1 Introduction

The first subsection aims at summarising relevant studies on Scene setting adverbs within the CP, before moving on to a comparative analysis of their position in Russian and Italian. I will start from Cinque's (1999) study on adverbs, in which the author classifies Scene setters as circumstantial adverbs. Cinque claims that, among all the adverbs, they occupy the highest position in the hierarchy, being located close to the left periphery of the sentence. Next, I will analyse Haegeman's (2003) perspective, according to which Scene setting adverbs have to be considered short fronted adjuncts. In her squib, the author makes a comparison between long fronted and short fronted adjuncts, discussing the position of Scene setting adverbs. Benincà and Poletto (2004) place them within the Topic field, and make an hypothesis of an independent scene setting position in the left periphery of the sentence. The authors make an empirical research on Standard Italian and V2 Rhaeto-Romance to test their hypothesis. The results of their research show the presence of Scene setting adverbs between Hanging Topic and Left Dislocated Topic. Giorgi (2012) analyses prosody, mainly in Free Indirect Discourse, elaborating a new layer, KP, which corresponds to a pause projecting its own maximal projection. Finally, I resumed Dyakonova's (2009) study, which I already analysed in Chapter 2, focussing on her perspective on FramePs.

3.2.2 Cinque's (1999) analysis

I will start from Cinque's (1999) study on adverbs in order to introduce the issue. The author claims that Scene setting adverbs are part of a wider type of adverbs called circumstantial adverbs, which can include among the others adverbs of time, place, manner, means, company, reason and purpose (Cinque, 1993; pp 28). They appear to be the superior (upper) class of adverbs, which is considered to be the closest to the left periphery of the sentence. This class is divided into two categories, the first of which is that of the adverbs of setting, or Scene setting adverbs, hosting constructions which set the scene of the action expressed by the utterance. As already said, Rizzi (2004) does not agree with Cinque (1999) in considering these class of adverbs as occupying a Topic position, since they do not correspond to the definition of the Topic.

3.2.3 Haegeman's (2003) analysis

In her analysis of the fronting of temporal adjuncts, Haegeman (2003) agrees with Poletto (1997) in considering Scene setting adverbs as short fronted adjuncts. Relevant for her study is the distinction she makes between fronted arguments and fronted adjuncts, the latter being divided into two types:

those undergoing long movement and those undergoing short movement. She notices that fronted temporal adjuncts, contrary to fronted arguments, do not block subject extraction and give rise to the so-called adverb effect, letting the *that*-trace effect to be overcome. Contra Rizzi's (1997) hypothesis, according to which fronted adjuncts are adjoined to TopP, Haegeman argues that temporal adverbs may be placed lower in the left periphery, perhaps associated with FinP or hosted by a specialized projection. I will take into account Haegeman's example (96), in which temporal adjuncts are fronted:

(96) a. Next year there will be an improvement in the functioning of the railways.

b. Next year the prime minister believes that there will be a definite improvement in the functioning of the railways.

(Haegeman, 2003:643)

The adjunct *next year* seems to occupy the same position in both sentences, however there is a distinction that needs to be pointed out. The main difference between (96a) and (96b) is that in (96b) the adjunct undergoes long movement and ends up in the periphery of a higher clause, though specifying the time of the lower clause, while in (96a) the adjunct “sets the scene” in the periphery of the sentence it is constructed in. Another difference between long fronted and short fronted adjuncts is that long adjunct fronting blocks extraction, while short fronting does not:

(97) a. *This is the linguist who I think t will get appointed in Geneva.

b. This is the linguist who next year t will get appointed in Geneva.

c. ??/*This is the linguist who next year expects t that all his students will have a job.

(Haegeman, 2003:644)

As can be seen from the examples above, in (97b) short adjunct fronting does not block subject extraction, thus resulting in a grammatical sentence, while in (97c) long adjunct fronting does block subject extraction, making the sentence agrammatical or, at least, odd.

Moreover, empirical evidence has shown that long fronted adjuncts behave more like fronted arguments, differing from short fronted adjuncts, as they can be found in nonroot environments, maintaining the grammaticality of the sentence.

Haegeman concludes her analysis stating that short fronted adjuncts can be seen as Scene setters, which modify the temporal coordinates of the clausal domain with which they are associated (usually IP or FinP); on the other hand, long fronted adjuncts modify the lower domain and not the domain they immediately c-command. The author takes into account Browning's (1996) hypothesis

that short fronted adjuncts may be base-generated in the CP domain, which long fronted adjuncts are moved to.

3.2.4 Benincà and Poletto's (2004) analysis

Benincà and Poletto (2004) place Scene setting adverbs within the Topic field. According to their analysis, Scene setting adverbs can only occur in main clauses, and occupy a very high position; the authors also raise the hypothesis that there might be an independent scene setting position. Using Standard Italian and V2 Rhaeto-Romance variety to test their hypothesis, they claim that Scene setting adverbs appear to be located higher than the Left Dislocated Topic and immediately lower than the Hanging Topic. This is testified by evidence from Standard Italian data:

(98) a. Mario, nel 1999, gli hanno dato il premio Nobel.

Mario in the 1999 to-him have given the Prize Nobel

b. ??Nel 1999, Mario, gli hanno dato il premio Nobel.

in the 1999 Mario to-him have given the Prize Nobel

c. *Sul giornale Mario ne hanno parlato malissimo,

on the newspaper Mario have spoken about him very badly

(Benincà and Poletto, 2004:67)

We can clearly notice that while (98a), showing the Hanging Topic *Mario* in the highest position, is grammatical, (98c) is definitely ungrammatical, while (98b) would not be considered acceptable by native speakers.

Taking V2 Rhaeto-Romance variety into account, Benincà and Poletto noticed that this class of adverbs in main clauses can be intonationally focalized or not. They argue, however, that in order to determine the syntactic structure, intonation alone is not a sufficient condition, as it depends mainly on the verb selecting the adverb.

Consider (99):

(99) a. Al m a dit c DUMAN va-al a Venezia.

he me has told that tomorrow goes-he to Venice

“He told me that he is going to Venice tomorrow.”

b. *Al m a dit c duman va-al a Venezia

he me has told that tomorrow goes-he to Venice

(Benincà and Poletto, 2004:66)

The verb *dit* (to tell), which is the one selecting the adverb, is a bridge verb and requires a focalized scene setting adverb in the first position of an embedded V2 clause. This leads the authors to hypothesize that there is no scene setting position in embedded V2 clauses, this being available only in main clauses; their hypothesis is supported by semantics, according to which the task of “setting the scene” must be completed at the beginning of the sentence and not in an embedded context. The matter of an independent scene setting position is being open.

3.2.5 Giorgi's (2012) analysis

Giorgi (2012) investigates prosody, analysing mainly Free Indirect Discourse. Her supposition is that syntax might be richer than we think, as it might contain information traditionally considered as belonging to other levels of representation. Starting from her claim that the coordinates of the speaker (temporal and spatial location) are contained in the leftmost position of the C-layer (Giorgi, 2010), the latter acting as a sort of bridge between syntax and context, the author proceeds to analyze Free Indirect Discourse, identifying two sources within it: the internal source – “the character whose thoughts are being expressed” and the external source – “the creator of the text” (Giorgi, 2012:7). This results in what Giorgi calls “resetting”: the temporal and spatial coordinates are reset in C, and in FID contexts these coordinates belong to the internal source and not to the external one. An example of resetting is given by quotations:

(100) Domani, disse Gianni, andrò al mare con Maria.

(101) Tomorrow, said Gianni, I will go to the beach with Maria.

(Giorgi, 2012:8)

The internal source here is referred to through the use of the pronoun I, identifying Gianni, the speaker. This leads Giorgi to hypothesize that in quotations the internal source qualifies as the speaker and is compatible with a first person pronoun, both in Italian and English, as seen in (100) and (101). Proceeding then to the analysis of parenthetical sentences within a host sentence, Giorgi talks about supplements – “the element providing the information that we are listening to the character's thoughts and not to the speaker's”. The definition of these elements will be crucial later in her work, as they will play a role in her proposal. Consider the following examples:

(102) Tomorrow was Monday, Monday, the beginning of a another school week!

(103) *Tomorrow John was happy

(Giorgi, 2012:8)

As we can notice, the adverb *tomorrow* is only compatible with the past tense *was* in FID contexts, as proved by the fact that (103) is ungrammatical.

The fact that the supplement and the host are dependent from each other, in the sense that the supplement determines the interpretations of the host, leads Giorgi to propose that the two interfaces to which they are connected (interpretive properties and prosodic characteristics) are strongly tied and syntax mediates between them. She elaborates a new syntactic layer that could be placed at the left of the C-layer, which is able to define the information regarding spacial and temporal coordinates contained in its leftmost position. Considering an ideal situation, in which parentheticals are surrounded by intonational pauses, Giorgi hypothesizes that the pause is a head projecting its own constituent. The maximal projection resulting is KP:

(104) [KP K [*John said yesterday* [KP K [IP ...]]]]

(Giorgi, 2012:11)

Since parentheticals have two intonational breaks, at the beginning and at the end, the maximal projections must be two, the higher of which takes the parenthetical as its complement, while the lower takes the host sentence as its. It is remarkable to point out that the head K is not in a position of subordination, since it is not a complementizer. The structure proposed results into two layers: the already known C-layer and the new K-layer. The C-layer constitutes the syntactic interface, while the K-layer sets the scene. Giorgi notes that in most cases topicalization moves part of the host in [Spec, K]. An example of the structure is given by the following sentence:

(105) The new ration did not start till tomorrow and he had only four cigarettes left, Winston thought

(adapted, Orwell, 1984, ch. 5)

(106) [KP K [*Winston thought* [KP K [IP ...]]]]

(Giorgi, 2012:11)

The analysis continues by considering Topic and Focus. As for Topics, Giorgi shows that topicalization is possible, if not necessary, and adverbs, such as scene setters, may occupy a pre-K

position, as shown by the following examples:

(107) Domani, pensò, Gianni sarebbe partito

(108) Tomorrow, she thought, Gianni would leave

(Giorgi, 2012:14)

Topicalization can also occur multiple times:

(109) Domani, pensò, quel libro, l'avrebbe finalmente venduto

(110) Domani, a Gianni, pensò, quel libro, gliel'avrebbe finalmente venduto

(111) Domani, quel libro, pensò, lo avrebbe finalmente venduto a Gianni

(Giorgi, 2012:15)

On the other hand, Focus constructions seems to be odd, if not incompatible, with these structures, as shown by (112):

(112) ?* A MARIA, pensò, Gianni non avrebbe fatto più regali (non a Susanna)

TO MARIA Gianni, (she) thought, would give no more presents (not to Susanna)

(Giorgi, 2012: 16)

To summarize Giorgi's analysis, it can be said that Topics appear to be in [Spec, KP], while Foci cannot appear in such position, as KPs are non-permeable to movement. Due to the fact that a pause must occur in between constituents, a Topic must necessarily be located at the left of KP. Her analysis took into account only root environments, leaving the matter open to further research on other kinds of structures (such as left peripheral topics and embedded clauses).

3.2.6 Dyakonova's (2009) analysis

The last perspective I am going to analyze is that of Dyakonova (2009), already mentioned in chapter 2. However, in this subsection I will explore in further details the introduction of a new element within the Topic Field: FrameP. As I already said in the previous chapter, Dyakonova believes that Strong Topics, or TopPs, do not occur recursively (contra Rizzi 1997), as they are subject to the uniqueness requirement. On the other hand Weak ones, or topPs, can be recursive. FocPs cannot occur above TopPs, but shows flexibility with respect to topPs. The author introduces a new category, which is connected to the notion of Topicality: FramePs. Take (113) as an example:

(113) (What do you know about your neighbour?)

V sem'e Patrick nastojaščij tiran.

in family.LOC Patrick.NOM real tyrant.NOM

“In the family, Patrick is a real tyrant.”

(Dyakonova 2009:131)

The Strong Aboutness Topic in this sentence is Patrick, however there is another element occupying the leftmost position: the PP *v sem'e*. This cannot be analyzed as Aboutness Topic, since it only sets the coordinates of the sentence, but it is not what the sentence is about. Hence the need to introduce a new category. Frames are often connected to Aboutness Topics, due to the fact that they are encoded by the same means. Nevertheless, they are not marked with the [+ aboutness] feature, and their function is that of “delimit the domain of application of a given preposition” (Dyakonova 2009:132). Thus, the action of the sentence is restricted to a certain domain set by Frames. The author notices that these elements tend to precede Strong Topics, which seems logic: Frames set the coordinates of a sentence and Strong Topics introduce its object. FramePs, as well as topPs, are optional, and can only be activated when in need, contrary to Strong Topics, which mandatorily occur within a sentence. Another similarity between FramePs and topPs is that they can both occur recursively, however FramePs do not have a free order. Taking into account adverbials, there is a specific order in which they can occur: time > place > manner. Syntactically, Frames will be ordered according to such order. The structure proposed by Dyakonova is the following (114):

(114) {FramePTIME > FramePPLACE} > ... > TopP > topP*

(Dyakonova 2009:135)

Scene setting adverbs can function as Frames and are located in [Spec, FrameP]. Relying on Maienborn's (2001) analysis of locative modifiers, Dyakonova claims that Frame-setting adverbials pertain to the topic-comment structure and can only occur if that system is activated.

Finally, using Rizzi's (1997) structure, Dyakonova sketches the left periphery of the Russian sentence as such:

(115) FrameP > IntP > TopP > topP > FocP > topP

(Dyakonova 2009:143)

3.2.7 Conclusions

In the first part of this chapter I summarized the main studies on Scene setting adverbs, which I

relied upon in conducting my research on the matter. I started from Cinque's (1999) study on adverbs, in order to categorize them. The author claims that they belong to the class of circumstantial adverbs, which includes adverbs of time, place, manner, means, company, reason and purpose. Scene setting adverbs appear to be part of the class of superior adverbs, which is the closest to the left periphery. His analysis is discussed by Rizzi (2004), who claims that they are not part of the Topic, as they do not correspond to the definition of Topic, but rather occupy an independent position (ModP, already discussed in chapter 1). I then moved on to Haegeman's (2003) comparative analysis on the fronting of temporal adjuncts. The author makes a distinction between fronted arguments and fronted adjuncts, which can be split into two categories: long fronted and short fronted adjuncts. The results of the comparative analysis show that short fronted adjuncts can be considered Scene setting adverbs, which set the temporal coordinates of the domain they are associated to (usually FinP or IP). Relying on Browning's (1996) hypothesis, she also claims that short fronted adjuncts may be base generated in the CP. Next, I took into account Benincà and Poletto's (2004) perspective. The authors place Scene setting adverbs within the Topic field in the left periphery of the sentence, stating that they occupy a high position in the structure and raising the hypothesis of an independent scene setting position. They conduct an empirical research on Standard Italian and V2 Rhaeto-Romance variety, and, as a result, they observe that Scene setting adverbs seem to be located higher than Left Dislocated Topic and lower than Hanging Topic. This class of adverbs can also be focalized, as it is shown by the analysis on V2 Rhaeto-Romance data. However, focalization also depends on the verb selecting the adverb, since intonation alone is not a sufficient condition to account for topicalization. Scene setting adverbs are to be found in main clauses, while in embedded V2 clauses there is no position dedicated to this class of adverbs. Benincà and Poletto's claim is supported by semantics, according to which the operation of "setting the scene" must be done at the beginning of the sentence. I then took into account Giorgi's (2012) analysis on prosody, mainly on Free Indirect Discourse. The author hypothesises that syntax might contain information traditionally considered as belonging to other levels of representation, thus ending up being richer than we think. According to her analysis, in the leftmost position of the C-layer are contained the temporal and spatial coordinates of the speaker. CP acts as a sort of bridge connecting syntax to the context. In Free Indirect Discourse there are two sources: internal and external. The internal source identifies with the "character" of the texts, whose thoughts and feelings are being expressed, and the external source is the creator of the text. The result of such analysis is the phenomenon of resetting, meaning that the spatial and temporal coordinates reset in C, and end up belonging to the internal source, and not to the external one. The author also gives a definition of supplements, which are elements providing information that the clause considered belongs not to the creator of the text, but to the speaker. Supplements are connected to a host clause,

in the sense that they determine the interpretation of the host clause. Hosts and supplements are connected to two interfaces, interpretive properties and prosodic characteristics, between which intervenes syntax. A new syntactic layer is thus created: KP, which is placed at the left of CP, and it contains information on temporal and spatial coordinates. In the context of parentheticals, KP corresponds to intonational pauses projecting their own maximal projection. In an ideal situation, in which there are two intonational breaks, at the beginning and at the end of parentheticals, there seems to be two KPs: the higher KP takes the parenthetical as its complement, while the lower takes the host sentence as its. Thus, the resulting layers are now two: the C-layer, which constitutes the syntactic interface, and the K-layer, which sets the scene. The author points out that in most cases part of the host sentence is moved to [Spec, KP] by topicalization. Topicalization can also occur multiple times, while Focus constructions seem to be incompatible, or at least odd, with such structures. Giorgi's analysis took into account only root clauses, leaving the matter open for further research. Finally, I presented Dyakonova's (2009) perspective, which I will rely on in my research on Russian Scene setting adverbs. In chapter 2 I already analysed the author's analysis on Topic and Focus in Russian, with a brief reference to the element of FrameP. This projection is described by Dyakonova as part of the Topic Field. After distinguishing TopPs (Strong Topics) from topPs (Weak Topics), the author introduces Frames, which are elements usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, hence in a high position, but not identifying as Topics, since they do not describe what the sentence is about, but they set the temporal and spatial coordinates of the sentence. Frames can be mistaken for Aboutness Topics, but, contrary to Aboutness Topics, they are not marked by the feature [+ about]. Frames tend to precede a Strong Topic, and their function is that of setting the scene of a given sentence. As well as Weak Topics, and contrary to Strong Topics, they do not have to occur mandatorily. FramePs seem to occur in a specific syntactic order: time > place > manner. Scene setting adverbs in particular function as Frames and are located in [Spec, FrameP].

Out of all the studies analysed so far, Giorgi and Dyakonova both propose a new functional projection in which Scene setting adverbs can be placed. (KP and FrameP, respectively). In my analysis of Scene setting adverbs I will rely mostly on Dyakonova's proposal that they are part of the functional projection FrameP, since I believe it can account for the structure of Russian. Moreover, I decided to adopt Dyakonova's approach rather than Giorgi's because, while Giorgi analyses FID contexts in particular, Dyakonova's perspective also fits other syntactic contexts, such as main sentences.

3.3 Russian “free” word order

Before moving on to the analysis of the position of Scene setting adverbs in Russian I believe it is

necessary to make a brief premise on Russian word order.

Russian is considered a language with “free” word order, meaning that all types of order are considered acceptable and do not make the sentence agrammatical. Consider (115):

(115) a. Ivan pisal pis'mo (SVO)

b. Ivan pis'mo pisal (SOV)

c. Pis'mo pisal Ivan (OVS)

d. Pism'o Ivan pisal (OSV)

e. Pisal pis'mo Ivan (VOS)

f. Pisal Ivan pis'mo (VSO)

“Ivan was writing a letter”

All of the sentences are grammatical and, apparently, express the same meaning: the fact that Ivan was writing a letter. The picture can be broadened by adding an indirect object (such as *mame* – to (his) mum):

(116) a. Ivan pisal mame pis'mo (S V IO DO)

b. Ivan pisal pis'mo mame (S V DO IO)

c. Ivan pis'mo pisal mame (S DO V IO)

d. Ivan mame pisal pis'mo (S IO V DO)

e. Pis'mo mame pisal Ivan (DO IO V S)

f. Mame pis'mo pisal Ivan (IO DO V S)

“Ivan was writing a letter to his mum”

Adverbs too can be included in the analysis:

(117) a. Babuška často pečet pirogi (S Adv V O)

b. često babuška pečet pirogi (Adv S V O)

c. Babuška pečet pirogi često (S V O Adv)

“Grandma often bakes pies”

All sentences seem to express the same meaning, and one might think that word order do not appear to be that influential. However, this assumption is incorrect: freedom of order is not a synonym for randomness, and each word order expresses a specific semantic meaning. In fact, Russian does have a neutral, unmarked word order. According to Greenberg (1963), Slavic languages fall into Type 10

of his universal word order correlations: SVO, Prepositional, NG (nouns precede genitives), AN (attributive adjectives precede nouns). Bailyn (2011) and Slioussar (2007) agree in considering SVO the unmarked order of Russian (contra King, 1993), Slioussar in particular claiming that word order changes through Scrambling due to IS purposes.

3.4 The analysis of Scene setting adverbs in Russian

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section I will be analysing Scene setting adverbs in Russian and compare them to Italian. I will be starting by introducing the category of circumstantial adverbs in Russian, in which fall Scene setting adverbs, relying on Goeringer's (1998) study. I will then move on to the empirical research on Russian examples, trying to investigate the position of Scene setting adverbs within the Russian left periphery, establishing whether or not they have an independent position and in which field they can be located (either Topic or Focus). In my analysis I took into account studies discussed so far, especially Dyakonova's (2009) perspective on FramePs. Then, I tried to make an hypothesis on the order of Topics in Russian, in order to understand in which position Scene setting adverbs occur. In order to make an empirical research on Russian utterances, I relied upon both the Russian National Corpus (*Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka*) and a mother tongue source. Scene setting adverbs will be also referred to as SSPs (Scene setting phrases).

3.4.2 Circumstantial adverbials syntax in Russian

In introducing the topic of Scene setting adverbs in Russian, I will rely on Goeringer's (1998) claim on the syntax of Russian circumstantial adverbs, with particular attention to adverbs of time. According to Goeringer, time adverbials constitute a macro-category that can be divided into deictic adverbials and frequency adverbials, which in turn can be divided into simplex and complex. In my thesis I will be considering mostly deictic time adverbials. This kind of adverbs usually indicates a specific point in time and their scope is the entire sentence or the event depicted therein. Simplex deictic time adverbials are adverbs “consisting of one unanalyzable word” (Goeringer, 1998), and include adverbs such as *včera* (yesterday), *togda* (then), *sejčas* (now; immediately) and *teper'* (now). On the other hand, complex deictic time adverbials consist “of a PP or an oblique NP” (Goeringer, 1998). This category includes adverbs such as *letom* (in the summer), *na prošloj nedele* (last week), *v dva časa* (at two o'clock). Frequency adverbials indicate the frequency of an action. Simplex frequency adverbials include *vsegda* (always), *často* (often), *obyčno* (usually), while complex frequency adverbials include *po subbotam* (on Saturdays), *každyju osen'* (every autumn). As far as

word order is concerned, Goeringer claims that the neutral position for lexical adverbs is before the verb. Simplex time adverbials usually occur in pre-verbal position, this condition being almost mandatory for simplex adverbs of frequency, while simplex deictic adverbials do not necessarily occur in this position, but they seem to favour it.

(118) Ona često kupueta pirožki u etoj babuški.

“She often buys pirožki from that old woman.”

(Goeringer, 1998)

As for complex adverbials, providing that they are giving new or requested information, they generally occur in post-verbal position.

3.4.3 Scene setting adverbs in Russian: empirical data

First of all, I will present a list of examples in which SSPs appear in main clauses. I relied upon Bailyn's (2011) and Sljoussar's (2007) claims that the unmarked order of Russian is SVO for transitive verbs and VS for intransitive, thus I selected utterances structured according to such order. I selected sentences with different linguistic registers (mainly formal from newspapers and articles and informal from the spoken form), as I wanted to be as realistic as possible and have a range of different communicative forms:

(119) Вчера премьер Дмитрий Медведев заявил, что улучшить социальную жизнь можно только при экономическом росте не менее 5 % в год.

Včera prem'er Dmitrij Medvedev zajavil, čto ulučšit' social'nuju žizn' možno tol'ko pri ekonomičeskom roste ne menee 5% v god.

Yesterday prime minister Dmitrij Medvedev announce-PAST that improve social life-ACC possible only over economic growth not less 5% per year

“Yesterday prime minister Dimitrij Medvedev announced that social life can be improved only with an economic growth not less than 5% per year.”

[Светлое будущее Дмитрия Медведева]

(120) Сегодня я в Казани.

Segodnja ja v Kazani.

Today I in Kazan

“Today I am in Kazan.”

(121) Сегодня мы только начинаем работать по-новому.

Segodnja my tol'ko načinaem rabotat' po-novomu.

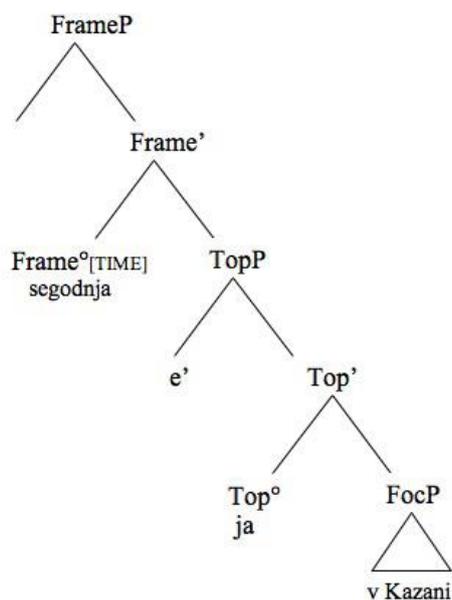
Today we just begin to work anew

“Today we're just beginning to work anew.”

[Материалы Уппсальского корпуса, коллекция 707]

The first thing that can be observed is that all of the SSPs considered above appear in pre-subject position. In main clauses SSPs occupy a very high position, this matching previous studies, mainly Benincà and Poletto's (2004) claim that Scene setting adverbs must occupy the highest position possible, since the action of “setting the scene” must be done at the beginning of the sentence. From a syntactic point of view, I would place them within the Topic field, as they are all part of that portion of the sentence expressing already known, given information (Thema).

In this first part of my analysis, I will adopt Dyakonova's structure considering FramePs as part of the CP (in this case specifically FrameP_{TIME}), as I consider it to be the analysis that fits the most to Russian. Consider (121): both the SSP *segodnja* and the DP *ja* are the Topics of the sentence, however I agree with Dyakonova (2009) in not considering all of them strong Topics. Indeed, *segodnja* is used to set the time of the action, but it is not “what the sentence is about”. The element bearing the feature [+aboutness] is *ja*, since the sentence is about “*me being in Kazan*”. Relying upon Dyakonova's syntactic structure of the left periphery, I believe the structure results as follow:



(122)

As for intonation, they all appear to bear the IK-1 type of pitch contour, this being typical of the Thema > Rhema structure. Taking into account Slioussar's perspective of accessibility and saliency, I'd say that SSPs are highly accessible elements, accessibility being usually (although not exclusively) associated with Topics.

As for the Focus field, I observed that circumstantial adverbs can also occur in a Focus position, Russian being a language with a “free” word order. However, such adverbs do not seem to classify as Scene setting adverbs. Relying on the studies I analysed in subsection 3.2, I assume that sentence-final circumstantial adverbs do not set the scene of the action expressed by the utterance, as Scene setting adverbs do, this leading me to think that Scene setting adverbs cannot be part of the Focus. I assume that such adverbs are placed in a sentence-final positions due to IS reasons. In doing my research in the *Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka*, I noticed that examples with circumstantial adverbs appearing at the end of the sentence were not that easy to find, this leading me to hypothesise that such structures do not occur so often. From what I could observe, sentence-final circumstantial adverbs are generally found in the spoken form, rather than in the written one. Consider the following utterances:

(123) Миша будет ремонтировать сегодня, да?

Misha budet remontirovat' segodnja, da?

Misha-SUBJ will restore today yes

“Misha will make the restoration today, won't he?”

[Разговор на кухне, деревня в Челябинской области // практиканты, 2005]

(124) Прошу ещё раз прощения за некую путаность своей мысли сегодня.

Prošu eščjo raz proščeniija za nekuju putanost' svojej mysli segodnja.

Ask again apology for some confusion my thoughts-GEN today

“I apologize again for some confusion in my thoughts today.”

[Заседание клуба «Новые правые» // Интернет, 2004]

(125) Знаешь, что ты... что хорошо сделал вчера.

Znaeš, čto ty... čto chorošo sdelał včera.

Know that you-SUBJ that good do-PAST yesterday

“You know that...that you did good yesterday.”

[Беседа с Д. Арбениной, лидером группы «Ночные снайперы», «Школа злословия», канал «Культура» // практиканты, 2003]

The three sentences all have sentence-final circumstantial adverbs, which I assume are part of the

Focus. According to Bailyn's analysis, which I summarised in chapter 2, this kind of Focus is the Information Focus, or Right Focus, and it corresponds to the new information within a sentence (Rhema). The author also states that Focus can be fronted at the left edge of the sentence (Intonation Focus or Left Focus). So far, it has been assumed that Scene setting adverbs are part of the Topic field, since their function is that of setting the scene, and this operation must be done at the beginning of the sentence. Circumstantial adverbs can occur in a sentence-final position, although in this case their function is not that of setting the scene, but they are to be considered part of the Focus (more precisely, they seem to express the presupposition in the Focus-presupposition structure). This lead me to hypothesise that Scene setting adverbs must be placed in a high position within the Topic field, and they are distinguished from circumstantial adverbs by a feature [+ Topic]. As for the order in which they are placed, I will be analysing it in the next subsection.

Scene setting adverbs can also occur in subordinative and embedded contexts:

(126) Можно сказать точно, что вчера была объявлена холодная война.

Možno skazat' točno, čto včera byla ob"javlena chlodnaja vojna.

Can say for sure that yesterday be-PAST announced the Cold War-SUBJ

"It can be said for sure that yesterday the Cold War was announced."

[Юлия ХОЖАТЕЛЕВА. Владимир Соловьев о новых санкциях: «Это возрождение холодной войны» // Комсомольская правда, 2014.07.17]

(127) Забыла сказать, что завтра директор в актовом зале собирает собрание.

Zabyla skazat', čto zavtra direktor v aktovom zale cobiraet sobranije.

Forgot say that tomorrow director in auditorium hold meeting

"I forgot to say that tomorrow the director is holding a meeting in the auditorium."

[Классный час // Из коллекции НКРЯ, 2007]

(128) Владимир Владимирович, я думаю, что сегодня очень многие ждали Вас, Вашего прихода на пресс-конференцию.

Vladimir Vladimirovič, ja dumaju, čto segodnja očen' mnogye ždali Vas, Vashego prichoda na press-konferenciju.

Vladimir Vladimirovič I think that today very many wait-PAST you-DO your arrival at press conference

"Vladimir Vladimirovič, I think that a lot of people was waiting for you today, for your arrival at the press conference."

[Ежегодная пресс-конференция В.В. Путина (2014)]

(129) В избе, которая завтра сгорит от обороненного пьяным мужичком огонька, сегодня нет ничего, что предвещало бы пожар.

V izbe, kotoraja zavtra sgorit ot oboronennogo p'janym mužičkom ogon'ka, segodnja net ničego, što predveščalo by požar.

In izba that tomorrow will burn from set-PART by drunk man fire today not nothing that forewarn-PAST fire

“In the izba, that tomorrow will burn due to the fire from a drunk man, today there was nothing that could have forewarned the fire.”

[Н. В. Устрялов. Под знаком революции (1927)]

(130) Экономист — это специалист, который завтра будет знать, почему то, что он предсказывал вчера, сегодня не случилось.

Ekonomist – eto specialist, kotoryj zavtra budet znat', počemu to, što on predskazyval včera, segodnja ne slučilos'.

Economist this specialist that tomorrow will know why what he foretell-PAST yesterday today not happen-PAST

“The economist is the specialist that tomorrow will know why what he foretold yesterday did not happen today.”

[Коллекция анекдотов: экономисты (1970-2000)]

The situation happens to be the same as main clauses: Scene setting adverbs occur in the highest position in order to set the scene of the subordinative clause.

3.4.4 An hypothesis on the order of Scene setting adverbs in Russian left periphery

In this subsection, I will investigate the order of Scene setting adverbs in the left periphery of Russian, comparing it to that of the other Topics. I mostly relied on Dyakonova's (2009) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) studies. I resumed Dyakonova's examples, already mentioned in chapter 2 and had their intonation and word order analysed by some native speaker informants¹. The first set of examples is taken from Dyakonova, 2009:128:

(131) а. На вчерашней вечеринке эту девушку нам Саша так и не представил.

Na vcerašnej večerinke etu devušku nam Saša tak i ne predstavil.

б. Эту девушку на вчерашней вечеринке нам Саша так и не представил.

Etu devušku na vcerašnej večerinke nam Saša tak i ne predstavil.

¹I thank professor Pavel Duryagin, Ph.D., for his help on collecting the data.

c. Эту девушку нам на вчерашней вечеринке Саша так и не представил.

Etu devušku nam na včerašnej večerinke Saša tak i ne predstavil.

d. Нам эту девушку на вчерашней вечеринке Саша так и не представил.

Nam etu devušku na včerašnej večerinke Saša tak i ne predstavil.

“Sasha did not introduce this girl to us at yesterday's party.”

According to my informants, the first variant is the most natural construction, where the most important element is the PP *na včerašnej večerinke*. The PP is followed by a boundary tone, which seems to separate it from the other Topics: *etu devušku* and *nam*. I believe that, in this variant, *na včerašnej večerinke* can be classified as Scene setting adverb. First of all, it is located within the Topic field, so it bears the feature [+ Topic]. Its position happens to be the highest possible, allowing the PP to set the scene of the action, this being coherent with Benincà and Poletto's (2004) analysis. As I already mentioned above, Scene setting adverbs are not usually encoded as Aboutness Topics, but rather as Frames, following Dyakonova (2009). However, according to my informants, the most important element of the sentence is *na včerašnej večerinke*, thus I will consider it an Aboutness Topic, while *etu devušku* and *nam* seem to be Contrastive and Familiar Topics respectively, in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) terms, since *etu devušku* introduces a new element within the sentence, and *nam* is realized in the pronominal form.

The second variant is similar to the first, and the boundary tone is also placed after the PP. The main difference between a and b is that in b *etu devušku* is Topicalized and happens to be the Aboutness Topic. The PP *na včerašnej večerinke* is still placed in a high position, however it cannot be considered Aboutness Topics, since both Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's and Dyakonova state that Aboutness Topics are not recursive. Moreover, my source considers the PP to be connected to the NP *etu devušku*, the meaning of the constituent being “the girl was at the party yesterday”. Thus, *na včerašnej večerinke* cannot be considered as Scene setting, because it is referred to a specific element, rather than setting the scene of the entire action. I would say that it can be considered a Familiar Topic, as well as *nam*.

The third variant happens to have two boundary tones: the first after *Etu devušku* and the second after *nam na včerašnej večerinke*. The interpretation of the PP is similar to that given to the second sentence: it is not a Scene setting, but a circumstantial adverb connected to another element in the utterance, in this case *nam*, meaning that “we were at the party yesterday”.

The fourth variant has been considered the worst and less natural in terms of word order, since the position of the pronoun seems to be odd. In this case, *na včerašnej večerinke* is part of the given information (Thema), and it does not set the spatial and temporal coordinates of the sentences, but rather has to be considered a Familiar Topic. In this variant, the boundary tone falls after *nam*,

making it the Rhema of the sentence.

This led me to the hypothesis that, contra Dyakonova (2009), Scene setting adverbs are not exclusively encoded within FrameP, but they are interpreted as Aboutness Topics. There seems not to be a sharp difference between FramePs and Aboutness Topics. It has to be noticed that FramePs can sometimes be interpreted as Aboutness Topics, but not the contrary. My hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that, in the given sentences, whenever circumstantial adverbs are encoded as Familiar Topics (examples b, c and d), they lose their function of setting the scene of the action. This leads me to think that there is an order in which they can occur, meaning that, in order for circumstantial adverbs to be Scene setting, they have to be Aboutness Topics preceding Familiar and Contrastive. Thus, I hypothesise that there is an independent position dedicated to this type of adverbs, placed at the very left edge of the sentence, within the Topic Field.

The second set of examples is also taken from Dyakonova 2009:161, although with a slight variation: I indeed did not consider the NP *Irinu* as marked with the *-to* feature, but I considered it to be Focalized at the left edge of the sentence:

- (132) a. Вчера я увидела Ирину, а не Максима.
Včera ja uvidela Irinu, a ne Maksima.
b. Ирину вчера я увидела, а не Максима.
Irinu včera ja uvidela, a ne Maksima.
“It is Irina that I saw yesterday, not Maksim.”

The difference between these sentences appears to be clear: the first variant is neutral, while the second one is mostly used in the colloquial language. In the second sentence, the adverb *včera* follows the Focus and it can apparently be considered a Scene setting adverb. However, there raise two problems: first, as pointed out by Benincà and Poletto (2004) and later by Dyakonova (2009), there cannot be a FocP above a TopP. In this sentence, the Focus is *Irinu*, and the meaning is the fact that it is her that I saw yesterday, and not Maksim. Then, the adverb does not describe the action in terms of temporal and spatial coordinates, as Scene setting adverbs usually do. Thus, this could be an example of Focus-presupposition structure, the Focus being *Irinu*, and the adverb being part of the presupposition. This might be proven by the fact that *včera* can be moved to the right without significant changes on the meaning. The adverb is not a Scene setting, but a circumstantial adverb. As for (132a), it could be an example of Belletti's (2004) claim that there can be a Topic above the VP.

3.4.5 Scene setting adverbs within the Middlefield

In this section, I will briefly discuss Scene setting adverbs occurring within the Middlefield. Middlefield is the portion of the sentence between the subject and the verb, and it is still quite an obscure and not so analyzed area (Dyakonova, 2009:125). I will include this section on Middlefield in order for my thesis to be more complete, however I will not go into further detail. From what I could observe analyzing Russian data, Scene setting adverbs can also occur in the middle of the sentence. I hypothesize that they can be placed in the so-called Middlefield, and undergo scrambling due to IS purposes. Scrambling is a phenomenon discussed by Slioussar in her work (2007), and it is also mentioned by Dyakonova (2009), as one of the two main reasons for word reordering. Consider (133):

(133) Ромка на дачу вчера уехал.

Romka na daču včera ujechal.

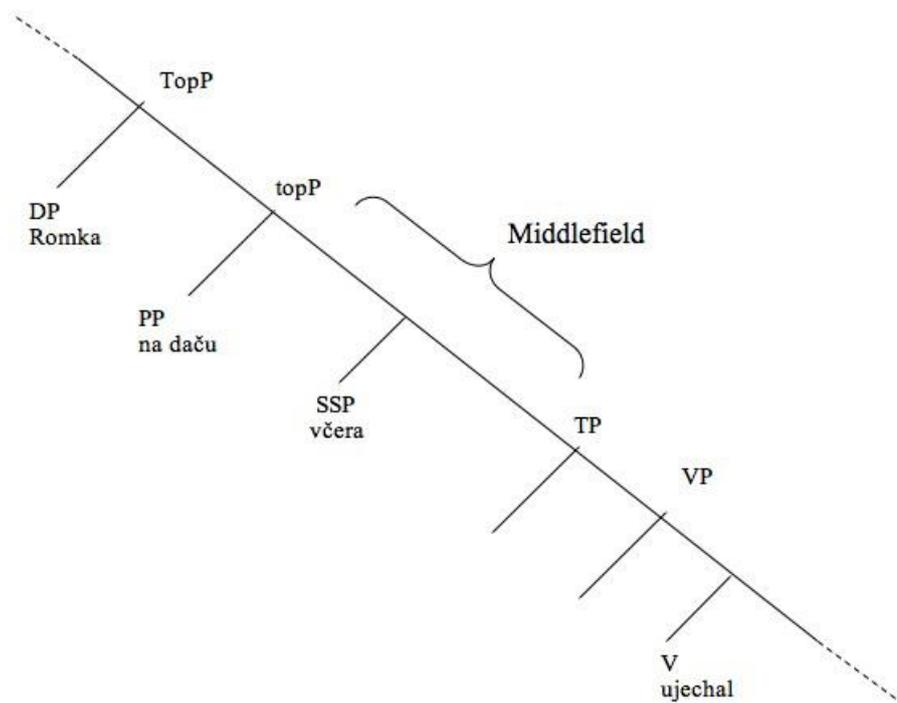
Romka to the countryside house yesterday went

“Romka went to the countryside house yesterday.”

[Телефонный разговор о медицинских процедурах // Из коллекции НКРЯ, 2015]

The sentence is structure according to S Adv V order. I believe that if we had to rebuild the sentence according to its neutral, unmarked order the result would be *Včera Romka ujechal na daču*. Since constituents cannot move without a reason, I suppose that they undergo Scrambling and reorder due to IS purposes.

The syntactic structure is hypothesized in (134):



(134)

3.4.6 Conclusions

In this subsection I analysed the position of Scene setting adverbs in Russian. I started my analysis by summarising Goeringer's (1998) study on Russian circumstantial adverbs, taking into account adverbs of time in particular. The author claims that adverbs of time form a macro-category that can be split into two: deictic and frequency adverbials. These types of adverbials can in turn be split into simplex and complex. Deictic time adverbs usually express a specific point in time, and they can be both expressed by a single word (simplex deictic adverbials), or a PP or an oblique NP (complex deictic adverbials). Frequency time adverbials indicate the frequency of an action, and, as deictic adverbials, can be either expressed by a single word (simplex frequency adverbials) or a PP (complex frequency adverbials). In my thesis I will mostly analyse deictic adverbials. Simplex adverbials seem to occur in pre-verbal position: simplex frequency adverbials almost mandatorily occur in such position, while simplex deictic adverbials are more freely ordered, although they seem to favour the pre-verbal position. On the other hand, complex adverbials usually occur in post-verbal position, given that they provide new information to the sentence. Next, I presented my empirical research on Russian, providing examples selected from the Russian National Corpus. I tried to collect examples from different linguistic registers, in order for my analysis to be more complete. I selected sentences ordered according to the SVO order, relying on Bailyn's and

Slioussar' claims that SVO is the unmarked order of Russian. I started by analysing the position of Scene setting adverbs in main clauses, and I noticed that, despite the apparently free word order of Russian, they mostly occur in a very high position. This matches the studies I mentioned in the first subsection, which claim that SSPs must be placed in a high position in order to set the temporal and spatial coordinates of the sentence. I took into account Dyakonova's proposed structure of FramePs, and hypothesised that Scene setting adverbs are part of this functional projection. So far, Scene setting adverbs in Russian appear to be part of the Topic field. As for the Focus, I claimed that, although circumstantial adverbs can be found in a sentence-final Focus position, SSPs cannot be placed within the Focus field, as their function is that of setting the scene of the action, which must be done at the beginning of the sentence. This led me to hypothesise that Scene setting adverbs bear the feature [+ Topic], that distinguishes them from simple circumstantial adverbs. I then proceeded to analyse their position in subordinative clauses, and noticed that, as well as in main clauses, they tend to occupy the highest position. Scene setting adverbs can also occur in embedded clauses. I then moved on to the analysis of the order of Scene setting adverbs within the sentence: the goal of this analysis is investigating whether SSPs can be freely ordered in the sentence, or there is a specific position in which they tend to be placed. In order to do so, I resumed Dyakonova's examples I already mentioned in chapter 2 and asked some native speakers of Russian for their opinion on word order and interpretation. The results of the analysis led me to think that there is indeed a dedicated position for Scene setting adverbs and that circumstantial adverbs are to be considered Scene setters when they happen to be Aboutness Topics. Indeed, according to the data I collected from my informants, in sentences (131b), (131c) and (131d), the circumstantial adverbs cannot be considered a Scene setting adverbs, since it does not describe the scene of the action, but it is referred to other elements of the sentence (*etu devušku, nam*):

(131) b. Эту девушку на вчерашней вечеринке нам Саша так и не представил.

Etu devušku na včerašnej večerinke nam Saša tak i ne predstavil.

c. Эту девушку нам на вчерашней вечеринке Саша так и не представил.

Etu devušku nam na včerašnej večerinke Saša tak i ne predstavil.

d. Нам эту девушку на вчерашней вечеринке Саша так и не представил.

Nam etu devušku na včerašnej večerinke Saša tak i ne predstavil.

“Sasha did not introduce this girl to us at yesterday's party.”

The PP *na včerašnej večerinke* present in the sentences above is to be interpreted as a Familiar Topic, thus it cannot be a Scene setting adverb, contrary to (131a):

(131) a На вчерашней вечеринке эту девушку нам Саша так и не представил.

Na včerašnej večerinke etu devušku nam Saša tak i ne predstavil.

In this case, the PP can be analysed as a Scene setting adverbs, as it is an Aboutness Topic and it sets the coordinates of the entire action.

Finally, I discussed the occurrence of Scene setting adverbs in Middlefield, although, as claimed by Dyakonova, this is still an area which has not been analysed much. My hypothesis is that they undergo Scrambling due to IS purposes and can be placed within the Middlefield.

3.5 Scene setting adverbs in Russian and Italian: a comparative analysis

3.5.1 Introduction

The following subsection aims at comparing the Russian structure with Italian. In order to make the comparison more precise, I took a few utterances from the Russian National Corpus and translated them directly into Italian, comparing the two structures. In the last part of the subsection, I translated into Italian the sentences from Dyakonova through which I analysed the order of Topics in Russian, and investigated whether this applies to Italian as well.

3.5.2 A comparison between Russian and Italian

In this section I will compare the behavior of Russian SSPs with that of Italian structures. In order to make the comparison more precise, I translated directly into Italian few Russian sentences I selected from the *Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka*:

(135) Я вчера разговаривал с папой, он мне сказал, что вы смотрели сериал.

Ja včera razgovarival s papoj, on mne skazal, čto vy smotreli serial.

“Ieri ho parlato con papà, mi ha detto che avete guardato il telefilm.”

[Разговор сына-студента с матерью по телефону // Из коллекции НКРЯ, 2015]

(136) Вчера тер группа из Дагестана опять-таки выдвинули угрозы против зимних игр в Сочи.

Včera ter gruppā iz Daghestana opjat'-taki vydvinuli ugrozy protiv zimnich igr v Soči.

“Ieri un gruppo terroristico dal Daghestan ha di nuovo rivolto minacce contro i giochi olimpici a Sochi.”

[Ежегодная пресс-конференция С.В. Лаврова (2013)]

In these first two sentences, Italian SSPs seem to behave like their Russian counterpart: they are all occupying a high position in the sentence and are part of the Topic field. It is remarkable to notice

that in both languages in sentence () the subject is quite heavy, being formed by more than one constituent (*ter gruppja iz Daghestana/un gruppo terroristico dal Daghestan*). In this case, if the Scene setter was to be placed after such a heavy subject, the sentence would sound worse and less natural. I would say that in Italian SSPs appear in pre-subject position more frequently than in Russian, in which, especially in the spoken form, SSPs can often be placed in a pre-verbal position and immediately after the subject. This can also apply to Italian, however it slightly changes the meaning of the sentence:

(137) Ieri ho parlato con papà, mi ha detto che avete guardato il telefilm.

(138) Io ieri ho parlato con papà, mi ha detto che avete guardato il telefilm.

As Italian also has a relatively “free” word order, both sentences are acceptable and grammatical, but, as a native speaker, it seems to me that (138) has a less neutral value, with *io* being possibly an Aboutness topic. This would also explain the occurrence of *io* at the very beginning of the sentence, given that, as stated by Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, Aboutness Topics are placed in the highest position before Contrastive and Familiar Topics. However, it is difficult to establish precisely what kind of topic it can be, as the sentence is taken out of context.

(139) Скажите пожалуйста слушателям, почему стоит сегодня прийти на этот концерт?

Skažite požalujsta slušateljma, počemu stoit segodnja prijti na etot koncert?

“Per cortesia, dica agli ascoltatori perchè vale la pena andare a questo concerto oggi?”

[А. Иващенко, Л. Чебоксарова. Радиоинтервью с А. Иващенко и Л. Чебоксаровой, Радио «Ретро» // Интернет, 2002]

In this sentence the circumstantial adverbs *segodnja* is found in a subordinative context, and what strikes the attention is that in Italian the adverb is placed in a lower position than in Russian. The other option is also acceptable:

(140) Per cortesia, dica agli ascoltatori, perchè oggi vale la pena andare a questo concerto?

However, I believe the meaning of (139) differs from that of (140), which seems to me the most natural translation to its Russian counterpart. Indeed, in (139) the adverb *oggi* refers to the time of the concert and is in a Focus position (it is worth going to the concert today and not tomorrow or any other day), while in (140) it is the sentence that refers to *oggi* and is placed under its scope. Cutting the sentence off its subordinative environment, (140) might be the answer to the following question:

(141) Cosa vale la pena di fare oggi?

Oggi vale la pena andare a questo concerto

In this context the adverb can be considered a familiar topic, referring to a piece of information already given. However, in the Russian original sentence, I believe the adverb has more a focus value, as it underlines that it is worth going to the concert today. Thus, (139) is the direct translation that fits the most, despite the fact that the two adverbs are placed in different positions in each language.

Finally, I translated into Italian Dyakonova's example I had analysed by a native speaker of Russian:

(140) a. Alla festa di ieri, questa ragazza, Sasha non ce l'ha presentata.

b. ?Questa ragazza alla festa di ieri non ci ha presentato Sasha.

c. Questa ragazza, a noi, alla festa di ieri, Sasha non l'ha presentata.

d. A noi, questa ragazza alla festa di ieri, Sasha non l'ha presentata.

It is remarkable to notice that I tried to translate the sentences into Italian, taking into account the observations made by my native speaker informants about the PP *na včerašnej večerinke/alla festa di ieri*: in sentence b it is referred to *questa ragazza*, meaning the girl that was at yesterday's party, while in sentence c it is referred to *a noi*, meaning that we were at yesterday's party. The variant b is the strangest in terms of intonation, as it would normally require two commas separating *questa ragazza* and *alla festa di ieri* from the remaining portion of the sentence. I tried to keep the intonation similar to its Russian counterpart, and assumed that b is taken from an oral conversation. However, it has to be noticed that this is only a preliminary analysis, which would require to examine Italian intonation in more depth. It seems to me that the Italian structure is pretty similar to Russian: in the first sentence, the PP *alla festa di ieri* can be considered a Scene setting, setting the coordinates of the action and being placed in a high position. In the other variants, the PP is referred to other elements of the sentence, but it does not describe the scene of the action. Even changing the intonation, and thus not making the PP referred to other elements such as *questa ragazza* and *noi*, the interpretation would be the same:

(141) a. Questa ragazza, alla festa di ieri, Sasha non ce l'ha presentata.

b. A noi, questa ragazza, alla festa di ieri, Sasha non l'ha presentata.

In these two variants, in which the pause is signaled by the comma, *alla festa di ieri* is also not a

Scene setting adverb, but rather a circumstantial adverb interpreted as Familiar Topic.

3.5.3 Conclusions

In this subsection I compared Italian to the Russian structure I analysed so far. I started by translating some sentences taken from the Russian National Corpus into Italian, comparing the position of the adverbs in the two languages. From what I could observe, Italian Scene settings behave like their Russian counterpart: they are located in a high position, in order to set the scene of the sentence. Italian SSPs occur in a pre-subject position more frequently than Russian. I then translated into Italian the sentences taken from Dyakonova and analysed by a Russian native speaker. I observed that the Italian structure appears to be similar to Russian: the circumstantial adverb can be analysed as a Scene setting whenever it is relevant in setting the coordinates of the action. If it is referred to other elements of the sentence, or it does not set the coordinates of the action, then it is a normal circumstantial adverb. Italian Scene setting adverbs also occur in the Topic field and are located in a high position.

3.6 Testing the resetting in Russian

As already mentioned, in her study, Giorgi (2012) raises the issue of resetting in the context of Free Indirect Discourse. An example of resetting is given by quotations in FID contexts. In this kind of structure, the coordinates of the action are “reset” in the C-layer and they belong to the internal source, i.e. the character whose thoughts are being expressed, rather than to the external, which is the creator of the text.

I believe resetting is also possible in Russian, as can be seen through the comparison of the Italian sentence taken from Giorgi 2012:8 with its direct Russian translation:

(142) Domani, disse Gianni, andrò al mare con Maria.

(143) *Zavtra*, skazal Ivan, poedu na more s Mariej.

Ivan becomes the internal source, to which the adverb *zavtra* refers, as in its Italian counterpart. There is also empirical evidence that leads me to think that resetting applies to Russian as well:

(144) Я буду в Кремле завтра, — сказал он.

Ja budu v Kremle zavtra, – skazal on.

“I will be at the Cremlin tomorrow – he said.”

[Олег Дивов. Молодые и сильные выживут (1998)]

(145) Завтра, — сказал он, — все будет кончено.

Zavtra, – skazal on – vsjo budet končeno.

“Tomorrow – he said – everything will end.”

[В. А. Соллогуб. Сережа (1838)]

3.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I analysed Scene setting adverbs in Russian, with a comparison to Italian, and tried to establish their position in the left periphery. I started by analysing some studies on the matter, the first of which is Cinque (1999). The author classifies Scene setting adverbs as belonging to the class of circumstantial adverbs, which are considered to be the closest to the left periphery of the sentence. I moved on to Haegeman's (2003) analysis, according to which Scene setting adverbs can be analysed as short fronted adjuncts. The author agrees with Benincà and Poletto in considering Scene setting adverbs as occupying a very high position in the left periphery, as their function is that of setting the temporal and spatial coordinates of the sentence. Next, I analysed Benincà and Poletto's (2004) perspective. The authors hypothesise that there is an independent position for this kind of adverbs, and claim that they are located higher than Left Dislocated Topic and immediately lower than the Hanging Topic. Empirical evidence from V2 Rhaeto-Romance data show that SSPs do not occur in V2 embedded clauses, but they only occur in main contexts. I then summarised Giorgi's (2012) analysis on Free Indirect Discourse. The author elaborates a new functional projection named KP, which contains the information setting the scene of the action. The last perspective I took into account is that of Dyakonova (2009), already mentioned in chapter 2. I focussed on her analysis of FramePs, which are a new maximal projection which could possibly contain Scene setting adverbs. In my analysis of the Russian structure, I mainly rely on Dyakonova's study, as I find it to be one fitting Russian the most. After a brief excursus on word order, which in Russian is considered to be relatively free, I started my analysis on the Russian left periphery in subsection 3.4. First, I presented Goeringer's (1998) analysis on circumstantial adverbs in Russian. Then, I moved on to the empirical analysis I did on the Russian National Corpus. I selected sentences constructed with a SVO order, which Bailyn (2011) and Slioussar' (2007) claim to be the unmarked order for Russian. I started from main clauses and tried to apply Dyakonova's analysis on FramePs. From what I could observe, Scene setting adverbs do occupy a high position in the left periphery of the Russian sentence, this matching Benincà and Poletto's claim. I also noticed that, although circumstantial adverbs can occur in a Focus position in Russian, they cannot be classified as Scene setting adverbs, as they do not perform the function of setting the scene of a sentence. This led me to hypothesise that Scene setting adverbs differ from circumstantial adverbs

in the fact that they are marked by a feature [+ Topics]. This type of adverbs can also occur in subordinate clauses, as shown by some examples also taken from the Russian National Corpus. As well as in main clauses, they appear to occupy a high position in the subordinate clause. In subsection 3.4.4 I analysed the order of Scene setting adverbs compared to the other Topics in a sentence. I relied mostly on Dyakonova's claims analysed in chapter 2, and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) perspective. In order to do so, I resumed Dyakonova's examples I already mentioned in chapter 2 and had it analysed by a native speaker of Russian. The outcome of the analysis is that circumstantial adverbs appear to be classified as Scene setting adverbs when they are Aboutness Topics and are located in a high position in the sentence. Whenever they are Familiar Topics and they refer to a specific element of the sentence rather than the whole sentence, they are to be considered simple circumstantial adverbs. Finally, I analysed the occurrence of Scene setting adverbs within the Middlefield, and hypothesised that they can be found in such environment and they undergo movement whenever is required by intonation and discourse interpretation, this matching with Slioussar's (2007) analysis on Russian Scrambling. In subsection 3.5 I compared the Russian data I collected so far with Italian. I started by translating a few sentences taken from the Russian National Corpus and observed that in Italian, as well as in Russian, Scene setting adverbs occupy a high position in the left periphery of the sentence. In Russian they can be placed straight after the subject, while in Italian such structure would slightly change the meaning of the sentence. However, in both languages, if there is a “heavy” subject, meaning a subject formed by more than one constituent, the adverb tends to be found at the very beginning of the sentence. I continued my comparative analysis by translating into Italian the sentences from Dyakonova which I had analysed by native speaker of Russian, and tried to observe whether the assumptions I made about Russian apply to Italian as well. I observed that the structure is similar in both languages, and that the circumstantial adverbs analysed as Familiar Topics are not to be considered Scene setting adverbs, as they refer only to specific elements in the sentence (*questa ragazza, a noi*). Finally, I decided to test the resetting, analysed by Giorgi, and see whether it can be found in Russian. I translated some sentences from Italian into Russian and found a few examples in the Russian National Corpus as well, and observed that this phenomenon can also be found in Russian.

Conclusions

The proposed dissertation aimed at investigating the syntax of Scene setting adverbs in Russian and Italian. Scene setting adverbs are considered to be a specific subcategory of circumstantial adverbs, which Cinque (1999) claims to be the closest to the left periphery of the sentence. They are distinguished from simple circumstantial adverbs by their syntactic function: their goal is that of setting the temporal and spatial coordinates of the action, and they are to be found in a very high position in the left periphery of the sentence.

The dissertation starts with an introduction to Rizzi's analysis of the left periphery of the sentence, as it is described in *The Fine Structure Of The Left Periphery* (1997). The author distinguishes three layers which make up the sentence, and focuses on the C-layer, or CP. This is a functional projection headed by the complementizer, and it is also called the left periphery of the sentence. It is made up by two systems: Force-Finiteness and Topic-Focus, the latter being the most relevant for my analysis. The two elements are both heads of their own functional projection in the syntactic structure of the CP, and take as complements comment and presupposition respectively. Topic and Focus differ from one another for five main differences that led Rizzi to assume that Focus is quantificational, while Topic is not. The chapter continues with the summary of some adjacency effects detected mostly on Case, PRO and traces. Next, I moved on to the analysis of Relativized Minimality, or the locality principle, and how it affects the Cartographic approach used to describe the left periphery of the sentence. In the final subsection of chapter 1 I analysed the Cartographic approach, elaborated by Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999). The aim of the approach is that of drawing maps of syntactic structures, starting from the assumption that languages share a universal functional design.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the analysis of Topic and Focus in Italian and Russian. The chapter starts with an introduction to the syntax of Topic and Focus, which are not easy to be interpreted, also due to the fact that in many languages they are not overtly realized. Such elements are to be considered discourse-related features (Cruschina, 2009). Cruschina (2009) claims that these two elements originate in syntax and interact with Information Structure through syntactic operations. Information Structure has been analysed by Lambrecht (1994), who claims that it is connected to syntax, in the sense that IS is considered an interpretative mechanism checking whether sentences are appropriate in a given context. Topic and Focus are considered by Lambrecht to be pragmatic features within the discourse. I then started the comparative analysis of Topic and Focus in Russian and Italian, taking into account relevant studies on the matter, mainly King (1993), Slioussar' (2007), Dyakonova (2009) and Bailyn (2011) for Russian, and Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) for Italian. A brief summary of left periphery of the Russian sentence can be

given, starting from the assumption that the unmarked order for Russian is SVO, as state both Bailyn (2011) and Slioussar' (2007), contra King (1993). The Russian sentence is organised according to the Thema-Rhema structure (Bailyn, 2011): Thema expresses the old, known information, while Rhema expresses new information. In a communicative neutral sentence the order appears to be Thema > Rhema. Generally speaking, Topic is the constituent interpreted as the expression of the already known information, and it usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence, through Left-Edge Topicalization or Left Dislocation (Bailyn, 2011). According to Dyakonova's analysis (2009), Topics can be either Strong Topics (TopPs) or Weak Topics (topPs). The author also introduces a new Topic constituent, FrameP, which is encoded by the same means of Aboutness Topics, but it does not bear the feature [+ aboutness]. Contra Rizzi (1997), Dyakonova claims that not all Topics are recursive, but Strong Topics are subject to the unique requirement, while Weak Topics can occur recursively within a sentence. The types of Topics are summarised in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), which analyse Italian and German, but their terminology also applies to Russian, as it is shown by Dyakonova's work. The authors distinguish three types of Topics: Aboutness (or Shifting), Contrastive and Familiar. Dyakonova claims that in Russian, Aboutness Topics are subject to the unique requirement, a claim which Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl also make with respect to Italian. Contrastive Topics are not recursive as well, and are claimed by Dyakonova to be also Aboutness Topics, while Aboutness Topics may or may not be contrastive. Familiar Topics may be recursive and can also occur in the right periphery of the sentence. As for Focus, it usually occurs in a sentence-final position, but it can also be fronted to the left periphery of the sentence. Dyakonova claims that it cannot occur recursively within the C-layer. Following Benincà and Poletto (2004), the author also states that FocP cannot occur above TopP, while it shows flexibility with respect to topPs. The structure can thus be summarised as follows:

() FramePs > TopPs > topPs* > (FocP) > topPs* > (FocP) > FinP

In analysing the Italian left periphery I relied mostly on Benincà and Poletto's (2004) claims. According to the authors, in the Italian sentence there exist two fields, which project their own set of constituents: Topic field and Focus field. In their analysis, they claim that TopPs occur above FocPs, and never occur below it. The Topic field is split into two subfields: Hanging Topic and Left Dislocation. There is more than one Hanging Topic position available per sentence, while Left Dislocation can only occur once in a sentence. The fixed order in which they are placed is HT > LD. Focus can either be Contrastive or Informational. Informational Focus is usually located in a sentence-final position, while Contrastive Focus is signaled by a special intonation. The structure results as follows:

() Hanging Topic > Left Dislocation > Informational Focus > FinP

Among all the studies, I mostly relied on Dyakonova's perspective, which I took into account in chapter 3 while analysing Scene setting adverbs.

The chapter ends with a brief subsection on intonation, taking into account mainly Bryzgunova's (1969, 1977) work. The author distinguishes seven types of intonational contours in Russian, although in my dissertation I mainly take into account IK-1, the most neutral intonational contour, and IK-2, used in emotive sentences (Krylova and Khavronina, 1988; King, 1993).

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the analysis of Scene setting adverbs. Before analysing their behavior and position in both Russian and Italian, I introduced some studies on their syntax within the CP. I started by Cinque's (1999) study on circumstantial adverbs, the class of adverbs to which Scene setting adverbs belong. Circumstantial adverbs are considered to be the highest class of adverbs, and the closest to the left periphery of the sentence. I moved on to Haegeman's (2003) analysis, which considers Scene setting adverbs as short fronted adjuncts. Next, I took into account Benincà and Poletto (2004), who hypothesise that there is an independent position for Scene setting adverbs in the left periphery of the sentence. According to their analysis, this type of adverbs is placed in a high position in the CP, as "setting the scene" is an action that must be done at the beginning of the sentence. I then analysed Giorgi's (2012) perspective on prosody, mainly on Free Indirect Discourse. The author elaborates a new functional projection, KP, which is associated to intonational pauses, and hosts the information expressing the temporal and spatial coordinates of the sentence. The last study I presented is that of Dyakonova (2009), which I already discussed in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I focus on her perspective on Frames, a new functional projection which hosts topicalized elements that set the temporal and spatial coordinates of the sentence. In analysing Scene setting adverbs in Russian, I first took into account Dyakonova's perspective on Frames, and hypothesised that they are located within this functional projection in the Topic Field. Empirical data from the Russian National Corpus seem to prove my hypothesis, since, in the sentences I selected, circumstantial adverbs are placed in the highest position possible. Apparently, they cannot be considered Abountess Topics, since they do not refer to what the sentence is about, but rather set its scene. In my research in the Russian National Corpus, I selected both main and subordinative clauses, and observed that in both contexts Scene setting adverbs occur in the highest position possible. I also tried to investigate the occurrence of SSPs in the Focus field, and noticed that examples showing this kind of structure were not that easy to find, and that they seem to occur more often in the spoken form. I observed that, although circumstantial adverbs can sometimes occur in a Focus position, they cannot be classified as Scene setting adverbs, since they do not set the temporal and

spatial coordinates of a sentence. Thus, there must be some feature that make it possible to distinguish Scene setting adverbs from simple circumstantial adverbs. I hypothesise that such feature is [+ Topic], expressing the fact that SSPs are part of the Topic field, and not of the Focus one. After having observed that this kind of adverbs occur in a specific area of the left periphery of the sentence (the Topic field), I tried to analyse the order of Topics with respect to Scene setting adverbs. I relied mostly on Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's distinction of Topics and took into account Dyakonova's study on Russian left periphery. In order to do so, I took from Dyakonova's work a few examples formed by three to four variants of the same sentence, differing from one another with respect to word order. I had the examples analysed by a native speaker of Russian, asking them to focus particularly on intonation and word order. The result led me to a slightly different hypothesis: circumstantial adverbs are to be considered Scene setting adverbs when they are also interpreted as Aboutness Topics. This seems to be proved by the fact that, in a sentence such as *Na včerašnej večerinke etu devušku nam Saša tak i ne predstavil* ("At yesterday's party Sasha did not introduce this girl to us") the most important element is the PP *na včerašnej večerinke*, which also sets the scene of the action. However, when the word order changes and the PP loses its Aboutness Topic interpretation, becoming a Familiar Topic, it also loses its function of setting the coordinates of the sentence, and becomes part of the context, the already known information. This led me to the hypothesis that there is an independent position for Scene setting adverbs, placed at the very left edge of the left periphery of the sentence, within the Topic field, and it has to be an Aboutness Topic position, preceding Familiar and Contrastive Topics. When circumstantial adverbs appear to follow the Focus at the left edge of the sentence, the construction appears to be a Focus-presupposition construction, and they are to be considered simple circumstantial adverbs, not Scene setting. I also briefly discuss the occurrence of Scene setting adverbs within the Middlefield, although, as Dyakonova claims, it is an area which is still not so analysed. In the last part of the chapter I make a comparison between Russian and Italian, discussing the position of Scene setting adverbs in Italian. In order to be more precise, I directly translated a few Russian sentences into Italian. I observed that the two languages show a quite similar structure: in Italian, Scene setting adverbs occur in a very high position, as well as in Russian, in both main and embedded clauses. Both languages show a similar structure when the subject is formed by more than just one constituent: in this case, the circumstantial adverbs occur in a pre-subject position. The only slight difference I could notice is that in Italian Scene setting adverbs appear in a pre-subject position more often than in Russian, where SSPs occur more frequently immediately after the subject. I also translated into Italian the Russian sentences I had a native speaker analysed, trying to make the Italian intonation match with the Russian. The result show that the Italian structure is pretty similar to the Russian one: Scene setting adverbs are interpreted as Aboutness Topics wich precede Familiar and Contrastive. Thus,

Italian also has an independent Scene setting position in the left periphery of the sentence, within the Topic Field. In the very last subsection of the chapter I tested the resetting in Russian, and observed that this phenomenon, first described by Giorgi (2012) also applies to the language.

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the left periphery of Russian and to compare it with Italian, taking into account particularly the occurrence of Scene setting adverbs. The results of my research show that Scene setting adverbs are to be considered a particular type of circumstantial adverbs, differing from them with respect to interpretation. Indeed, in both languages they appear to show the Scene setting interpretation whenever they can be interpreted as Aboutness Topics, occurring in the left periphery of the sentence and preceding Familiar and Contrastive Topics. When they are interpreted as Familiar Topics, they lose their Scene setting function, as they become part of the background information and are linked to specific elements of the sentence, but they do not set its temporal and spatial coordinates. Circumstantial adverbs can also occur within the Focus Field, although in this case they cannot be interpreted as Scene setting adverbs, but rather they are part of a Focus-presupposition structure.

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