

**Cooperativity, Jussivity and the Left Periphery.
Evidence from Sicilian, Lombard and Brazilian Portuguese**

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1. *The phenomenon.* In Sicilian (variety of Catania), the wh-word *quantu* (lit. 'how much') has a use as discourse particle in main declarative clauses, as exemplified in (1a). Its distribution is constrained as follows: the host clause must have (i) a first person singular subject ((1a) vs. (1b)), (ii) an agentive predicate ((1a) vs. (1c)), and (iii) a present *pro futuro* tense ((1a) vs. (1d)).

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| <p>(1) a. <i>Quantu mi ttrasu i rrobbi.</i>
 quantu 1SG=take-in the washing
 'I'm going to take in the washing.'</p> | <p>b. * <i>Quantu ti ttrasi i rrobbi.</i>
 quantu 2sg=take-in the washing</p> |
| <p>c. * <i>Quantu mi siddu.</i>
 quantu 1sg=get-angry.</p> | <p>d. * <i>Quantu mi ttrasu i rrobbi.</i>
 quantu 1sg=took-in the washing</p> |

In Lombard Italian (variety of Como), the equivalent of (1a) has the expression *cià vah* [tʃa 'va] (presumably *cià* < lat. *ecce-hac*: Rohlfs 1968, §897): cf. (2a). This element has a wider distribution than *quantu*: it can also cooccur with second person and inclusive first person plural subjects in imperative (2b) and exhortative clauses (2c). Like *quantu* it requires an agentive predicate ((2a) vs. (2d)) and a future-oriented tense/mood ((2a) vs. (2e)):

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| <p>(2)a. <i>Cià vah, stendo la lavatrice.</i>
 hang.1SG the washing
 'Well then, I'm going to hang the washing.'</p> | <p>b. <i>Cià vah, siediti un attimo.</i>
 sit.IMP.2SG a moment
 'Come on, sit down a moment.'</p> |
| <p>c. <i>Cià vah, fumiamoci una sigaretta.</i>
 smoke.SBJV.1PL a cigarette
 'Come on, let's smoke a cigarette.'</p> | <p>d. * <i>Cià vah, sono stanco.</i>
 be.1SG tired.MSG</p> |
| <p>e. * <i>Cià vah, ho steso la lavatrice.</i>
 have.1SG hung the washing</p> | |

At the pragmatic level, both expressions are disallowed when the action described in the clause is *non-cooperative* with respect to the hearer(s) – compare the context in (3):

- (3) [Context: Lucia and Mario just finished eating and someone should wash the dishes. Lucia wants to let Mario know she doesn't want to be the one who will wash the dishes:]
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| <p>a. L: # <i>Quantu mi ò ccuccu.</i>
 quantu 1SG=go.1SG.to go_to_bed.1SG
 (Sicilian)</p> | <p>b. L: # <i>Cià vah, vado a dormire.</i>
 go.1SG to sleep
 (Lombard Italian)</p> |
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Outside the Italian domain, Brazilian Portuguese *bora* (presumably derived from *embora* 'away', by aphaeresis) may introduce an infinitive root clause with imperative/exhortative import (4a); the implicit subject is restricted to first/second person, and non-agentive predicates are disallowed (4b):

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| <p>(4) a. <i>Bora lavar a louça.</i>
 bora wash.INF the dishes
 'wash/let's wash the dishes!'</p> | <p>b. * <i>Bora ficar bravo.</i>
 bora get-angry.INF
 'get/let's get angry!'</p> |
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2. *Syntactic aspects.* *Quantu* and *bora* are clearly integrated in the following (respectively finite or non-finite) clause: (i) they must be adjacent to the verb, and cannot be separated from it by an overt pronominal subject (cf. (5a), (6a)) or by a topic phrase (cf. (5b), (6b)); (ii) they can be preceded by a topic phrase (5c), (6c); (iii) they cannot cooccur with a fronted focus in either order (cf. (5d) (6d)):

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| <p>(5)a. * <i>Quantu iù mi ttrasu i rrobbi.</i>
 Quantu 1SG 1SG=take-in the washing</p> | <p>b. * <i>Quantu i rrobbi m' i ttrasu.</i>
 quantu the washing 1SG 3PL take</p> |
| <p>c. <i>I rrobbi quantu m' i ttrasu.</i>
 the washing quantu 1sg 3pl take-in</p> | <p>d. (*I RROBBI) <i>quantu (*I RROBBI) mi ttrasu</i>
 the w. quantu (the w.) 1SG take-in</p> |
| <p>(6)a. * <i>Bora eu lavar a louça.</i>
 bora 1SG wash.INF the dishes</p> | <p>b. * <i>Bora o lixo levar</i>
 bora the trash get_out</p> |
| <p>c. <i>O lixo bora levar.</i>
 the trash bora get-out</p> | <p>d. (?*O LIXO) <i>bora (?*O LIXO) levar</i>
 (the trash) bora (the trash) get-out</p> |

