Italian Clitic Left Dislocation and Ā-movement: an experimental investigation

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Clitic Left Dislocation: the origins

Ross (1967) shows some **non-wh constructions** in which an **element is dislocated to the left of the sentence**. He divides these constructions in Left dislocation (the left dislocated element does not leave a trace in the position where it is interpreted) and Topicalization (the left dislocated element is moved to the left).

Chomsky (1977) analyzes Topicalization as an A-bar movement construction, while Left Dislocation as a non-movement construction.

Cinque (1977) shows that **LD is not a monolithic category**. It should be divided into Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (no movement) and Clitic Left Dislocation (A-bar movement).

Properties of CLLD vs. HTLD

In CLLD **all XPs** can be dislocated

(1a) Gianni, gli amici lo hanno invitato. DP

Gianni the friends CL.DO have invited

"As for Gianni, his friends have invited him."

(1b) A Gianni, gli amici gli hanno fatto un regalo. PP

to Gianni the friends CL.IO have given a present

"His friends gave a present to Gianni."

CLLD can occur in both matrix clauses and subordinate clauses

(2) L'unica persona che [*(a) Gianni non gli ha mai fatto un favore.]

the only person which John not him has ever done a favor

"The only person who has never done a favor to Gianni."

In CLLD, the resumptive element must be a clitic

(3) Gianni, gli amici lo (*lui) hanno visto al mare.

Gianni the friends cl.acc (him) have seen at the seaside

"Gianni, his friend saw him at the seaside."

Properties of CLLD vs. HTLD

In CLLD (but not in HTLD) there is obligatory connectivity between the CLLDed argument and the resumptive clitic

(4) *(A) Marco, gli amici gli hanno dato un regalo. CLLD
to Marco the friends CL.IO have given a present
"As for Marco, friends gave him a present."

CLLD in Italian is **sensitive** to strong but not weak islands.

(5) *A Carlo, ti parlerò solo delle persone che gli piacciono _.
to C. I will talk CL.IO only of.the people that CL.IO appeal
"I will tell you only about the people Carlo likes."

Base-generation approaches: Cinque 1990

Cinque (1990) argues that despite some evidence of movement in CLLD, the left dislocated XP is first merged in the left periphery.

(6) $[_{CP}$ CLLD … […]]

Cinque proposes the existence of Binding Chains which connect elements and gaps related by coindexation. In the case of CLLD, the elements of the chain, the dislocated XP and the resumptive clitic are treated as one syntactic object.

(7) $[_{CP}$ $CLLD_i$ … [$clitic_i$ … $base\ position_i$]]

One fundamental element of binding chains is *referentiality* (= d-linking in Pesetsky 1987) This means that a dislocated XP in CLLD, in Cinque's work, is **known to the speaker.**

Movement approaches: Cecchetto 2000

Cecchetto 2000 claims that analogies between CLLD and clitic doubling make it possible to analyze CLLD as derived by a clitic doubling configuration, using the BigDP hypothesis for clitic doubling.

Cecchetto uses data from Spanish (see Suñer 1988) and from Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990) to show that in canonical wh-movement out of clitic doubling structure do not trigger weak cross-over effects and do not license parasitic gaps.

A mixed approach: Iatridou 1995

Iatridou (1995) proposes a mixed approach: no movement in monoclausal CLLD and movement in long CLLD. The assumptions made by Iatridou are the following

- The CLLDed XP is always old information, meaning that it is previously mentioned in the discourse.

- The island effects exhibited by CLLD are a symptom of Ā-movement.

A mixed approach: Iatridou 1995

Iatridou proposes that the position where the dislocated XP is base generated is a d-linked position:

(8) $[_{CP1}$ DL $[_{CP2}$ … $[_{IP}$ …]]]

In long CLLD the dislocated XP is moved from its d-linked base position to the left periphery of the higher clause.

(9) $[_{XP}$ DL $[_{IP}$ … $[_{CP1}$ ~~DL~~ $[_{CP2}$ … $[_{IP}$ …]]]]]

A mixed approach: Iatridou 1995

Iatridou (1995) derives the **asymmetry between strong** and **weak** islands assuming that strong islands are higher in the structure than the CLLDed XP base position and weak islands are lower.

(10) $[_{TopP}\ XP_i \ldots\ [XP]_i\ [\text{island}\ \ldots]]$ WEAK ISLAND

(11) $*[_{TopP}\ XP_i \ldots\ [\text{island}\ [XP]_i\ \ldots]]$ STRONG ISLAND

A note on referentiality (d-linking)

While Cinque (1990) and Iatridou (1995) assume referentiality/d-linking as a necessary property of the CLLDed XP, some literature claims that both previously mentioned and non-previously mentioned topics can be dislocated in CLLD.

Brunetti 2009 and Cruschina 2010 show a case of CLLD with the "do you know?" test.

(12) Sai? A mio fratello, gli hanno rubato la moto.

know.2S to my brother cl.IO have stolen the motorcycle

"Did you know? My brother had his motorcycle stolen."

Why we did this research

The ultimate goal of the present work is to establish whether CLLD is a construction derived by **Ā-movement** or not.

Why

- Because there are competing approaches about CLLD (movement or base generation).
- Because some approaches do not mention different island sensitivity between strong and weak islands (Cecchetto 2000).
- Because work on different (but closely related) languages report different judgments on the presence of island effects (De Cat 2007 vs. Angelopoulous & Sportiche 2021)

How we did this research

The ultimate goal of the present work is to establish whether CLLD is a construction derived by **Ā-movement** or not.

How

- We used experimental techniques (acceptability judgments) in 2 experiments.
- We used island effects as diagnostic for the presence of movement (4 island types).

A factorial design for island effects

In the acceptability judgment experiments for the present dissertation we use the factorial design for island effects (Sprouse 2007)

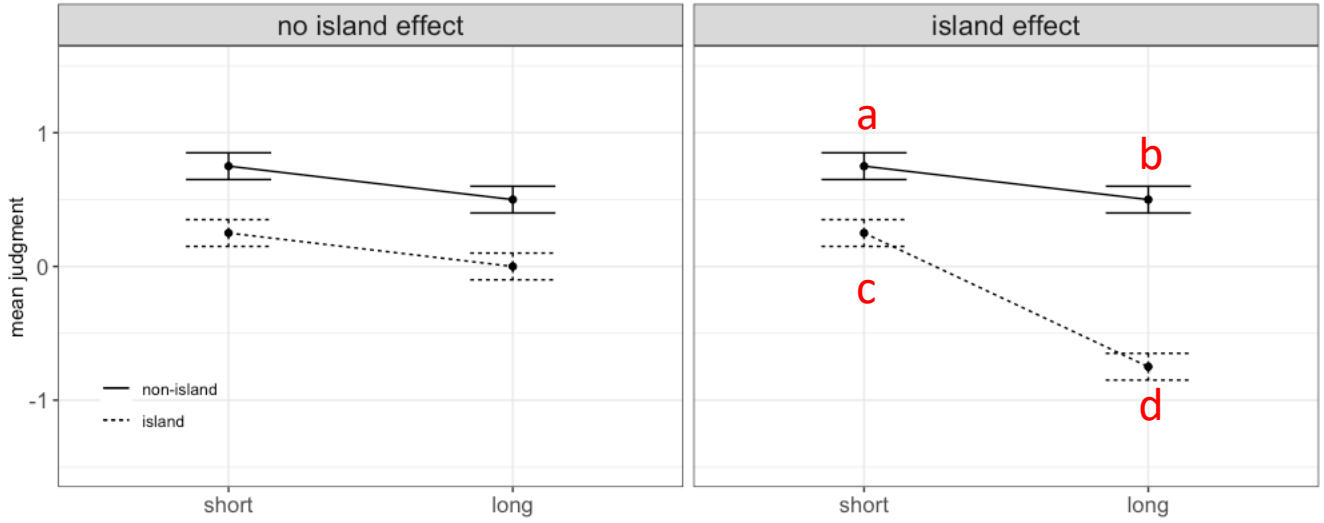
The factorial design makes it explicit that there are factors that lower acceptability independently of a grammatical constraint.

The factorial design we will use in the present work crosses two factors that could potentially lower acceptability: the factor STRUCTURE and the factor DEPENDENCY LENGTH.

A factorial design for island constraints:	STRUCTURE × **DEPENDENCY LENGTH**
a. Who ___thinks that John bought a car?	NON-ISLAND | **SHORT**
b. What do you think that John bought___?	NON-ISLAND | **LONG**
c. Who ___wonders whether John bought a car?	ISLAND | **SHORT**
d. What do you wonder whether John bought___?	ISLAND | **LONG**

A factorial design for island effects

With parallel lines
There is no island effect



With divergent lines.
There is island effect

A factorial design for island constraints: LENGTH	STRUCTURE × DEPENDENCY
a. Who ___thinks that John bought a car?	NON-ISLAND | SHORT
b. What do you think that John bought___?	NON-ISLAND | LONG
c. Who ___wonders whether John bought a car?	ISLAND | SHORT
d. What do you wonder whether John bought___?	ISLAND | LONG

Analysis

- We z-score transformed all results before the analysis.

- We calculated DD-scores that shows the presence or absence of an island effect.

- We run statistical tests (linear mixed effects model to calculate *p*-values, and we calculated Bayes Factors) to corroborate the presence or absence of island effects.

    - We will interpret results above 0.05 as evidence against a rejection of the null hypothesis.

    - We include the calculation of **Bayes Factors**. We evaluate Bayes Factors above 3 as a threshold to corroborate that the experimental hypothesis is correct.

        A Bayes Factor of 3 means that the data are 3 times more likely under the experimental hypothesis (H1) than under the null hypothesis (H0).

Experiment 1

Material: indirect object

Dislocated topics can be both a DP and a PP in CLLD, while Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) allows only DP topicalization. For this reason, we tested dislocated indirect objects to be sure that the construction is unambiguously CLLD

(13) A Giovanni, il barista gli ha dato il caffè. CLLD/*HTLD

to Giovanni the barista cl.IO has given the coffee

"As for Giovanni, the barista gave him coffee."

(14) Giovanni, il barista l'ha visto seduto al tavolo. CLLD/HTLD

Giovanni the barista cl.DO has seen sit at.the table

"As for Giovanni, the barista saw him sitting at the table."

Material: CLLD and wh-questions

Along with CLLD, **we will test** wh-questions. There are two reasons to test wh-questions:

- First, we need a baseline reference for the existence of islands in the language. Wh-questions are the most frequent dependency studied in the islands literature, so they can serve as a baseline to show island effects in the language. The were also tested in Sprouse et al. (2016).

- Second, there is the question of whether different dependency types show different patterns of island effects.

Recent literature has compared different dependencies in terms of island effects. Sprouse et al. 2016, for instance, tested WH-dependencies and RC-dependencies. Testing CLLD and wh-questions will allow us to compare island sensitivity of one type of topicalization and a typical instance of wh-movement.

Material: CLLD and wh-questions

(15a) All'impiegato, pensi che l'avvocatessa gli abbia dato un bel regalo ___. CLLD

To.the employee, think.2S that the lawyer cl.IO has.SUBJ given a nice present

"As for the employee, you think that the lawyer gave him a nice present."

(15b) A chi pensi che l'avvocatessa abbia dato un bel regalo ___? WH-QUESTION

To who, think.2S that the lawyer has.SUBJ given a nice present

"To whom, do you think that the lawyer gave a nice present."

Material: factorial design

a. La segretaria, ___ pensa che l'avvocatessa abbia dato un bel regalo all'impiegato. NON-ISL | SHORT

the secretary thinks that the lawyer has.SUBJ given a nice present to.the employee

"The secretary, thinks that the lawyer gave a nice present to the employee."

---

b. All'impiegato, pensi che l'avvocatessa gli abbia dato un bel regalo ___ . NON-ISL | LONG

To.the employee, think.2s that the lawyer cl.IO has.SUBJ given a nice present

"As for the employee, you think that the lawyer gave him a nice present."

---

c. La segretaria, ___ si chiede se l'avvocatessa abbia dato un bel regalo all'impiegato. ISL | SHORT

the secretary SELF wonders whether the lawyer has.SUBJ given a nice present to.the employee

"The secretary, wonders whether the lawyer gave a nice present to.the employee."

---

d. All'impiegato, ti chiedi se l'avvocatessa gli abbia dato un bel regalo ___ . ISL | LONG

to.the employee SELF wonder.2s whether the lawyer cl.IO has.SUBJ given a nice present

"As for the employee, you wonder whether the lawyer gave him a nice present."

Material: old / new information

It has been noted that not all extracted arguments show the same degree of island sensitivity. Arguments that are **Discourse-Linked** (Pesetsky 1987 or *referential* Cinque 1990) with the range of the variable established in previous discourse (cf. also Rizzi 2001 and 2004), have been claimed to ameliorate island violations.

Typically, these elements are wh-phrases, but the same logic should hold for fronted topics since they are often linked to previously mentioned elements in the discourse. A dislocated topic already mentioned in previous discourse could be extracted more easily out of islands than a topic that is not mentioned in the previous discourse.

Material: old / new information - CLLD

Old vs. new information

(16) a. *Nell'ufficio legale, la segretaria pensa ad alcune cose. Per esempio…* OLD

In.the law office the secretary thinks to some things. For example…

"In the law office, the secretary thinks about some things. For example…"

b. *Nell'ufficio legale, qualcuno pensa ad alcune cose. Per esempio…* NEW

In.the law office someone thinks to some things. For example…

"In the law office, someone thinks about some things. For example…"

c. La segretaria, ___ pensa che l'avvocatessa abbia dato un bel regalo all'impiegato. ITEM

the secretary thinks that the lawyer has.SUBJ given a nice present to.the employee

"The secretary, thinks that the lawyer gave a nice present to the employee."

Material: old / new information - WH

We manipulated the context in **wh-questions** to keep the design uniform across different constructions, CLLD and wh-questions and to check that the context did not interfere with the island pattern in wh-dependency.

Material: island types

(17) Alla turista, ti arrabbi [**perché il pittore le ha dato un bel quadro ___**]. ADJUNCT

to.the tourist SELF get.angry.2s because the painter cl.IO has given a nice painting

"As for the tourist, you get angry because the painter has given her a nice painting."

---

(18) Alla fidanzata, hai sparso [**la voce che il ragazzo le ha dato una rosa bianca___**].

COMPLEX NP

To.the girlfriend have.2s spread the word that the boy cl.IO has given a rose white

"As for the girlfriend, you have spread the voice that the boy gave her a white rose."

---

(19) Alla poetessa, hai visto [**il sindaco che le ha dato un riconoscimento ___**]. RELATIVE CLAUSE

to.the poet, you saw the mayor that cl.io has given an acknowledgment

"As for the poet, you saw the mayor that gave her an acknowledgement."

---

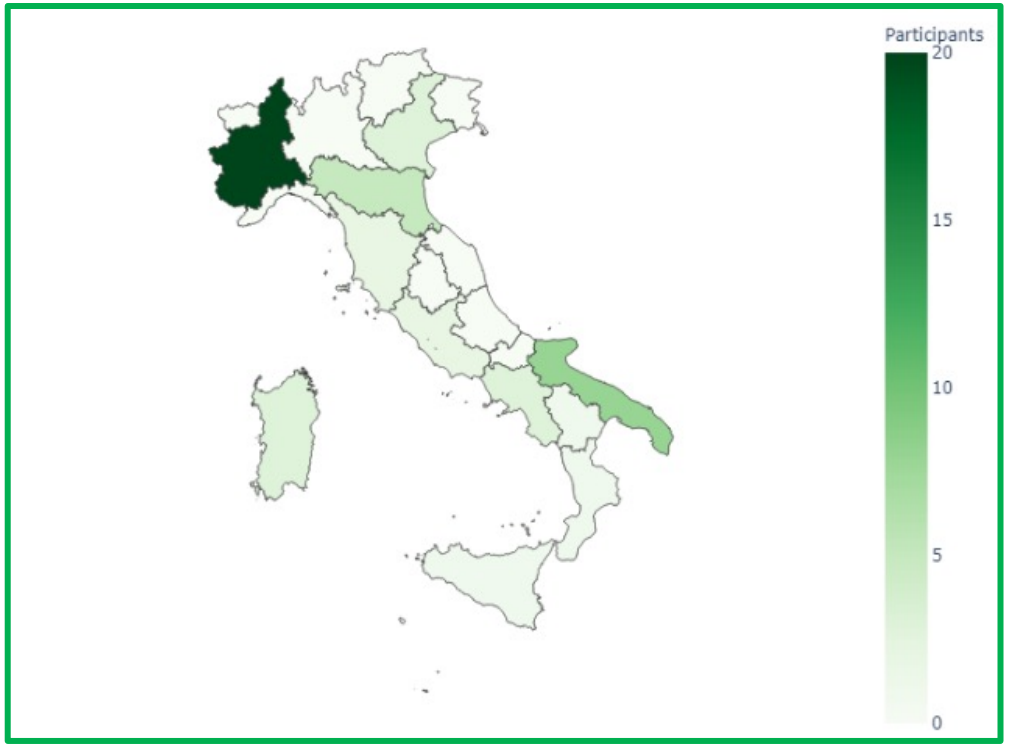
(20) All'impiegato, ti chiedi [**se l'avvocatessa gli abbia dato un bel regalo ___**]. WHETHER

to.the employee SELF wonder.2s whether the lawyer cl.IO has.SUBJ given a nice present

"As for the employee, you wonder whether the lawyer gave him a nice present."

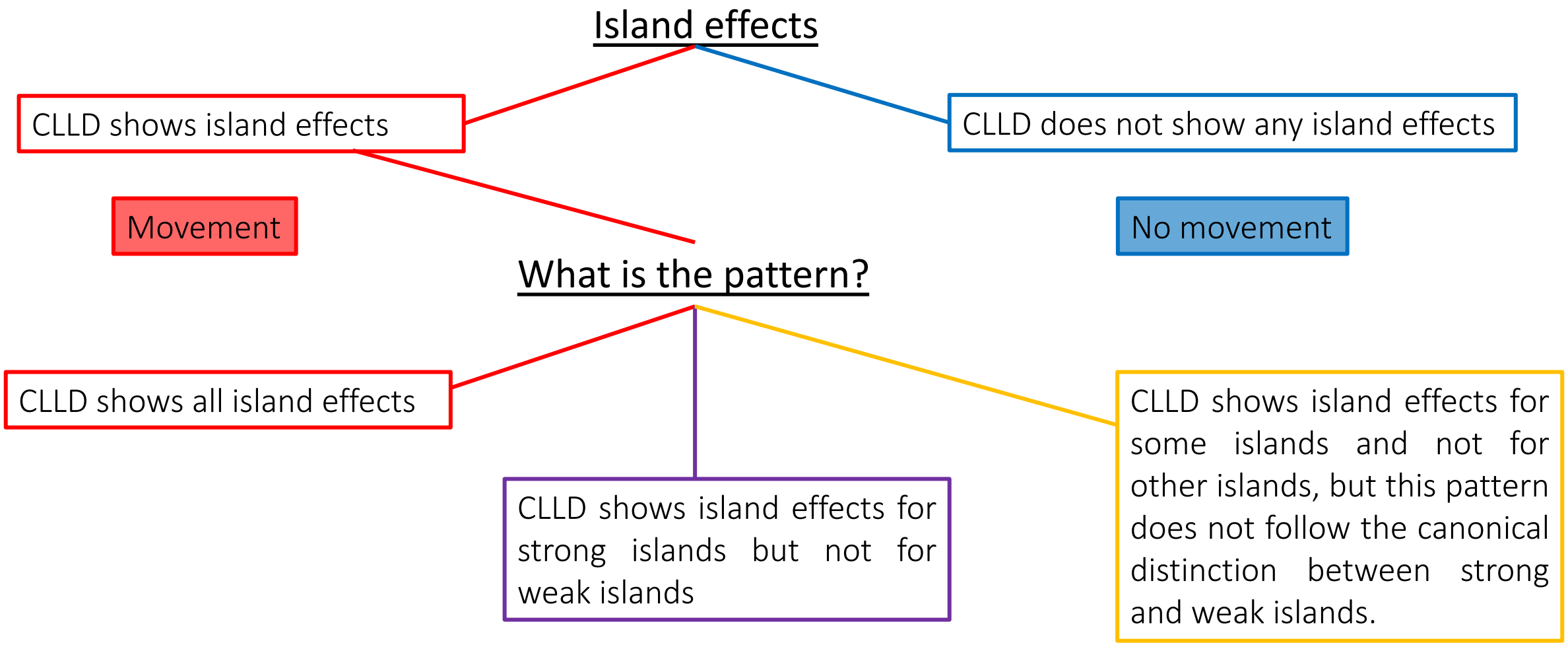
Participants

We recruited **49 native speakers of Italian who reside in Italy** to complete the experiments (22 female, 27 male, age range 18:60). Participants were asked to provide their age and the region where they lived as a child.



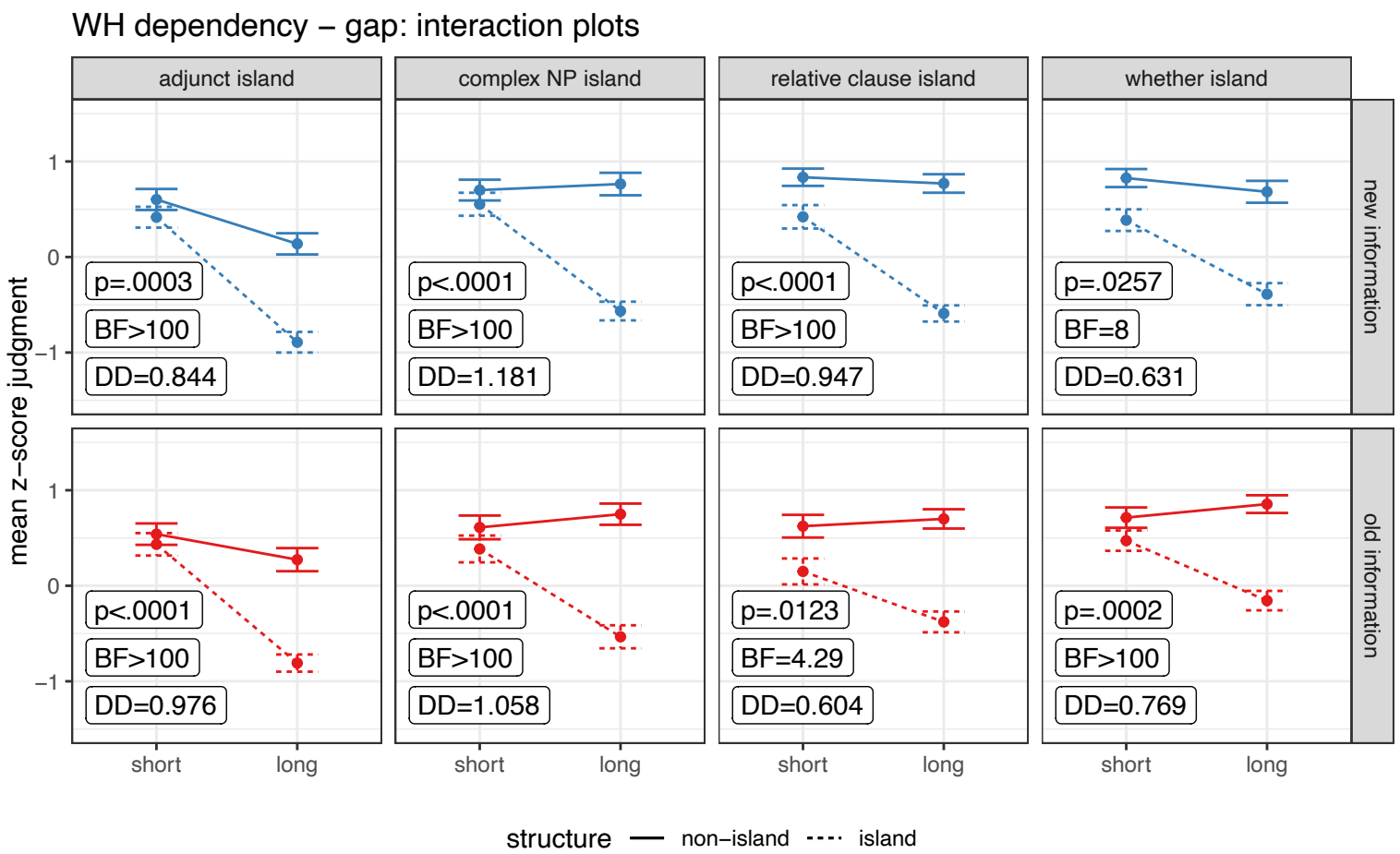
Part of Italy	Number of participants	Region	Number of participants	Age
Northern	28	Emilia-Romagna	5	27, 28, 29, 31, 34
		Piemonte	**20**	**18, 24, 25, 26, 28, 28, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 58, 60**
		Veneto	3	32, 37, 46
Central	4	**Lazio**	**2**	**32, 34**
		Tuscany	2	24, 34
Southern	13	**Basilicata**	**1**	**19**
		Calabria	1	27
		Campania	**3**	**27, 33, 33**
		Puglia	8	18, 18, 18, 19, 20, 22, 22, 26
Islands	4	**Sardinia**	**3**	**20, 27, 49**
		Sicily	1	37

Possible outcomes



Results

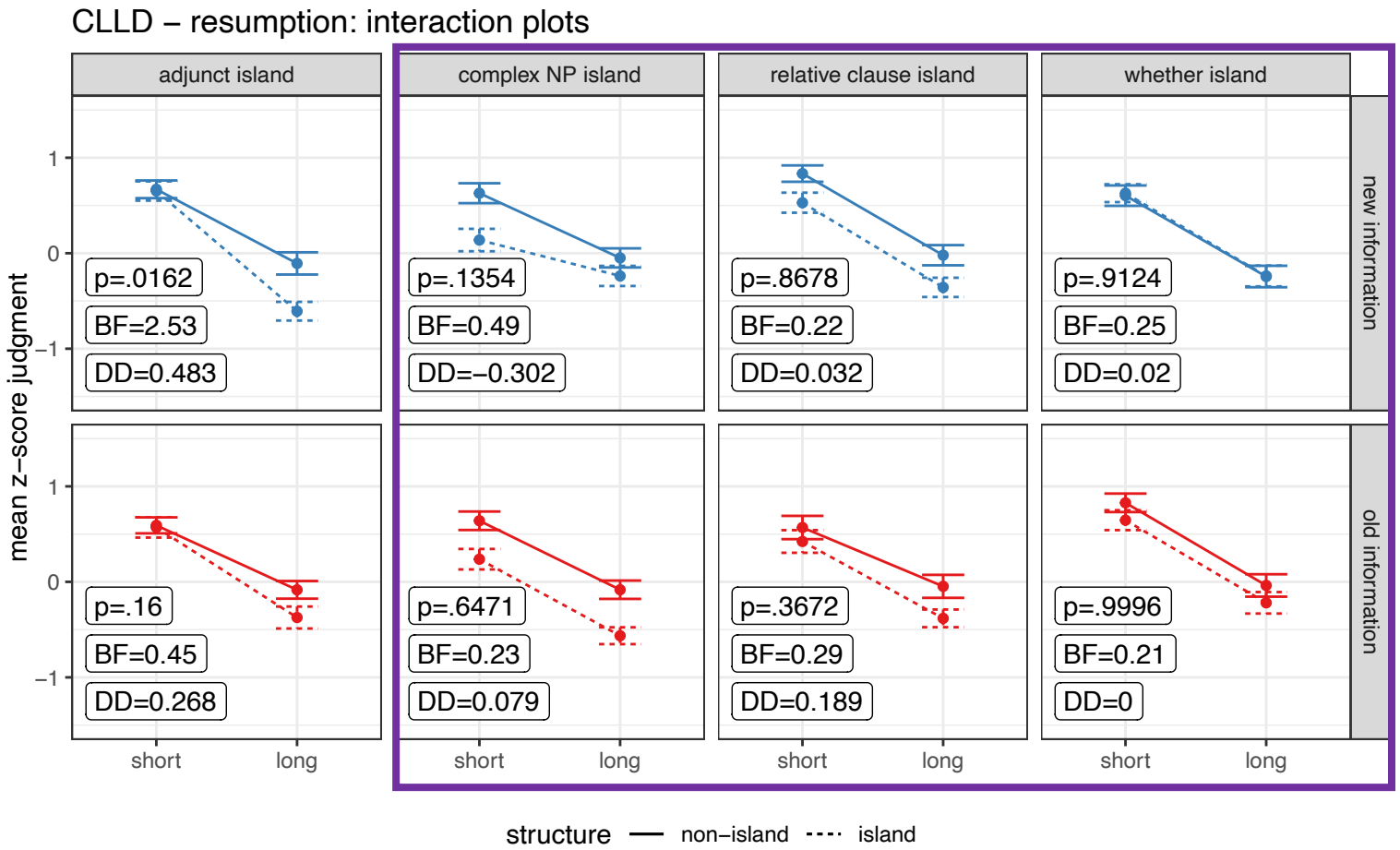
Results: WH-dependency



In WH-dependencies there is **evidence of island effects for all islands**. The visual pattern shows relatively large superadditive interactions in all island types, and the **DD-scores quantify it**. Both inferential tests, ***p*-values** and **Bayes Factors**, corroborate the presence of an interaction in all island types.

Island effects are robust in both **new information** conditions and **old information** conditions.

Results: CLLD

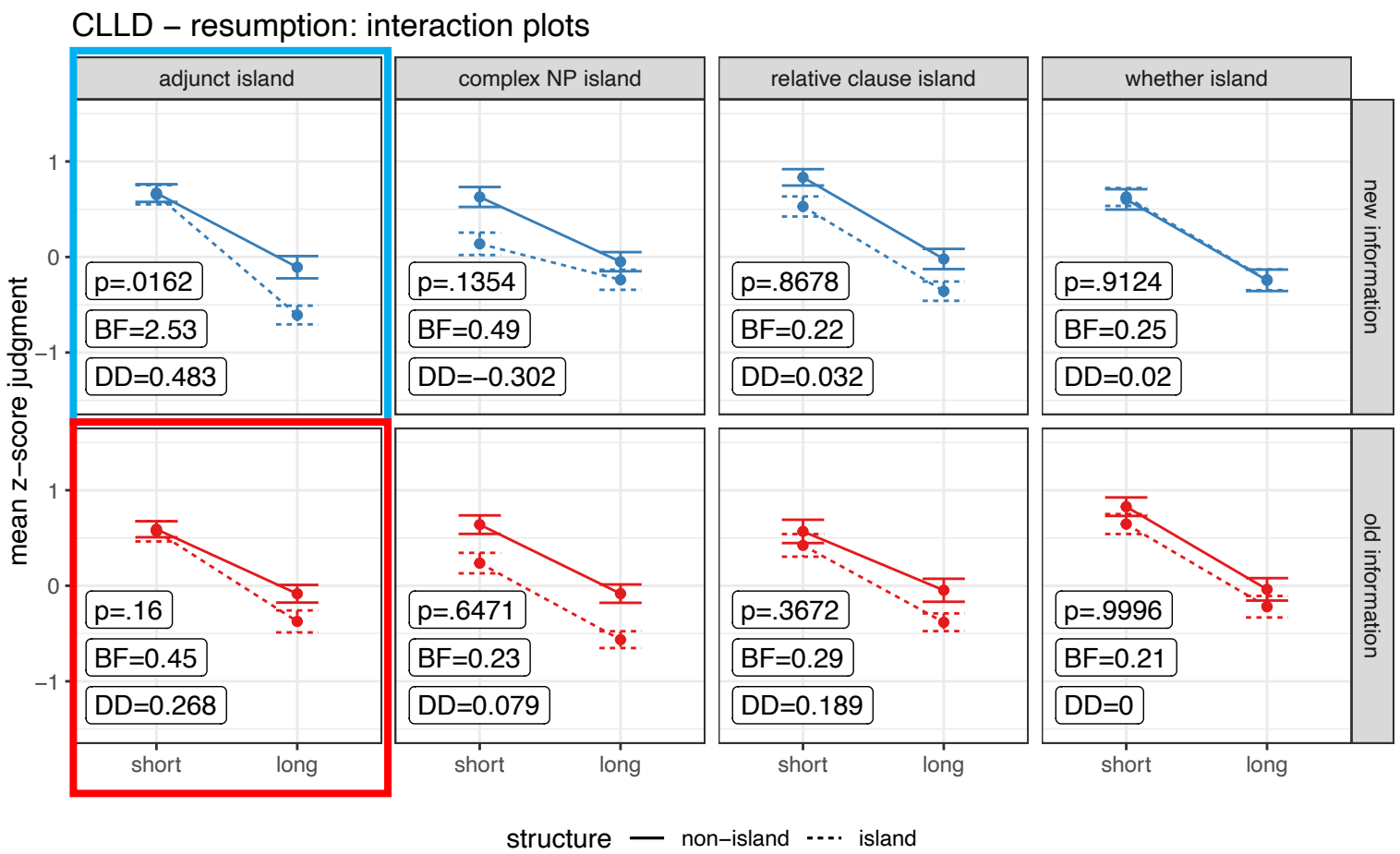


The pattern of CLLD results is quite different from the one we have found in WH-questions

There is no island effect with complex NP islands, relative clause islands and *whether* islands.

All the *p*-values are largely above the threshold of 0.05 and the Bayes Factors are all < 0.3, which means that the evidence for a non-interaction is substantial.

Results: adjuncts



In the adjunct new information data, we see that there is a trend toward an island effect.
The *p*-value = 0.0162 and the Bayes Factor = 2.53 is lower than our threshold of 3.

In the old information, the *p*-value is 0.16, above the common threshold of 0.05, and the Bayes Factor = 0.44.

Results: summary

The **WH-dependencies** data presented in this section show us that there are **island effects** in **all island types**

Dependency	Resumption	Information	Adjunct	Complex NP	Relative Clauses	Whether
WH	Gap	New	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND
WH	Gap	Old	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND

Results: summary

The **CLLD** data presented in this section show us that

- There are no island effects in complex NP island, relative clause island, whether-island and adjunct island old information

- The adjunct island new information shows a trend toward an island effect.

Dependency	Resumption	Information	Adjunct	Complex NP	Relative Clauses	Whether
WH	Gap	New	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND
WH	Gap	Old	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND	ISLAND
CLLD	Resumption	New	ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND
CLLD	Resumption	Old	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND

Experiment 2

Absence of the clitic

One of the properties of CLLDed Indirect Objects is that the overt realization of the **resumptive clitic** seems to be **optional**.

(21) A Giovanni, il barista gli ha dato il caffè. CLITIC

to Giovanni the barista cl.IO has given the coffee

"As for Giovanni, the barista gave him coffee."

(22) A Giovanni, il barista __ ha dato il caffè. NO-CLITIC

to Giovanni the barista has given the coffee

"As for Giovanni, the barista gave him coffee."

With experiment 2 we want to investigate **the effects of the absence of the clitic in CLLD.**

Material: CLLD and wh-questions

Along with **CLLD** without resumption, we will test **wh-questions** with a resumptive clitic.

The reason to test wh-questions is to keep experiment 1 and experiment 2 symmetric, with the same number of conditions.

We keep the same material we used in the first experiment. We just **cancelled the clitic from the CLLD** long distance conditions and we **added a clitic to the wh-questions** long distance conditions.

Material: CLLD and wh-questions

(23) **All'impiegato**, pensi che l'avvocatessa abbia dato un bel regalo ___.
CLLD

To.the employee, think.2S that the lawyer has.SUBJ given a nice present

"As for the employee, you think that the lawyer gave him a nice present."

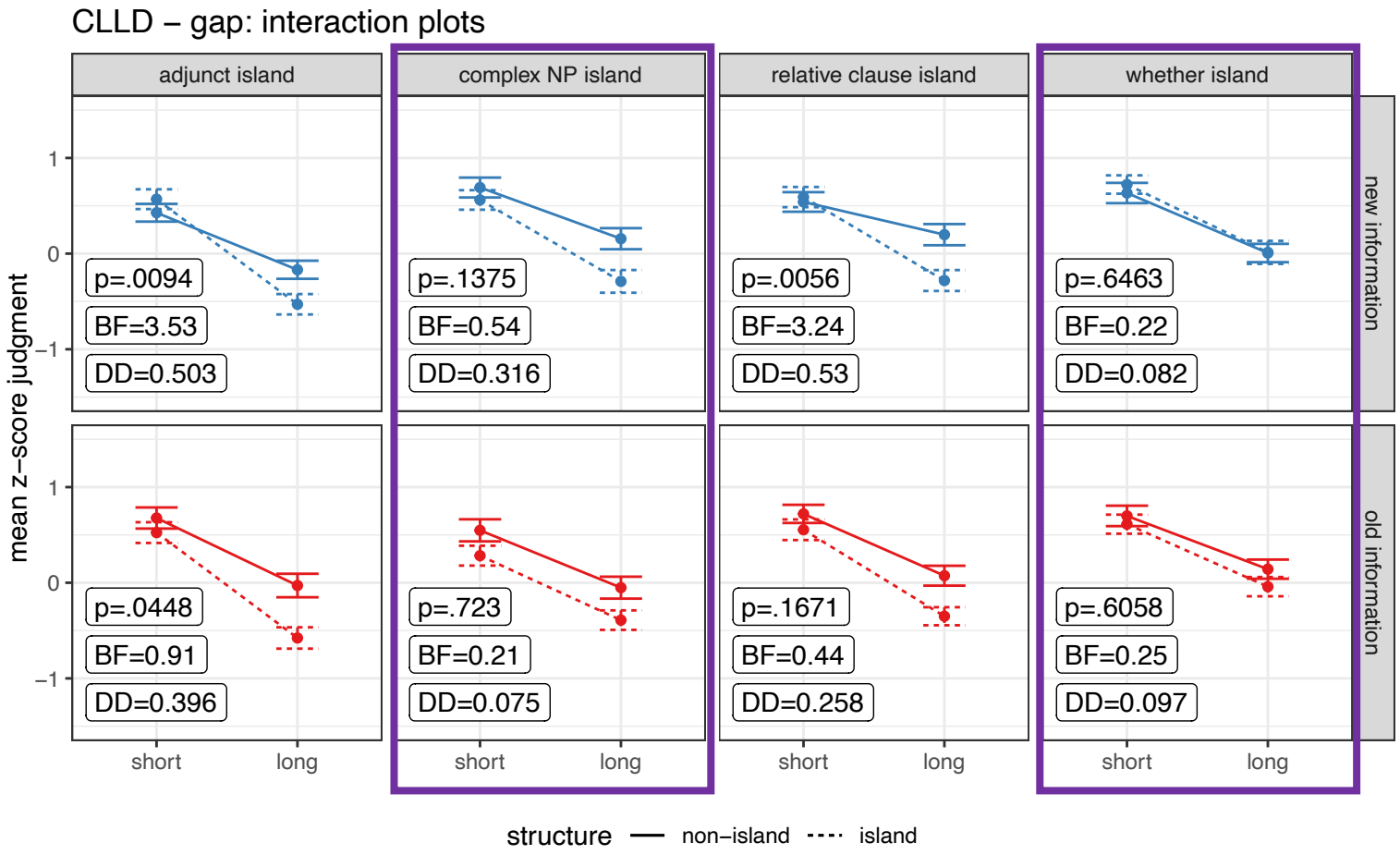
A chi, pensi che l'avvocatessa **gli** abbia dato un bel regalo ___. WH-QUESTION

To who, think.2S that the lawyer cl.IO has.SUBJ given a nice present

"To whom, do you think that the lawyer gave a nice present."

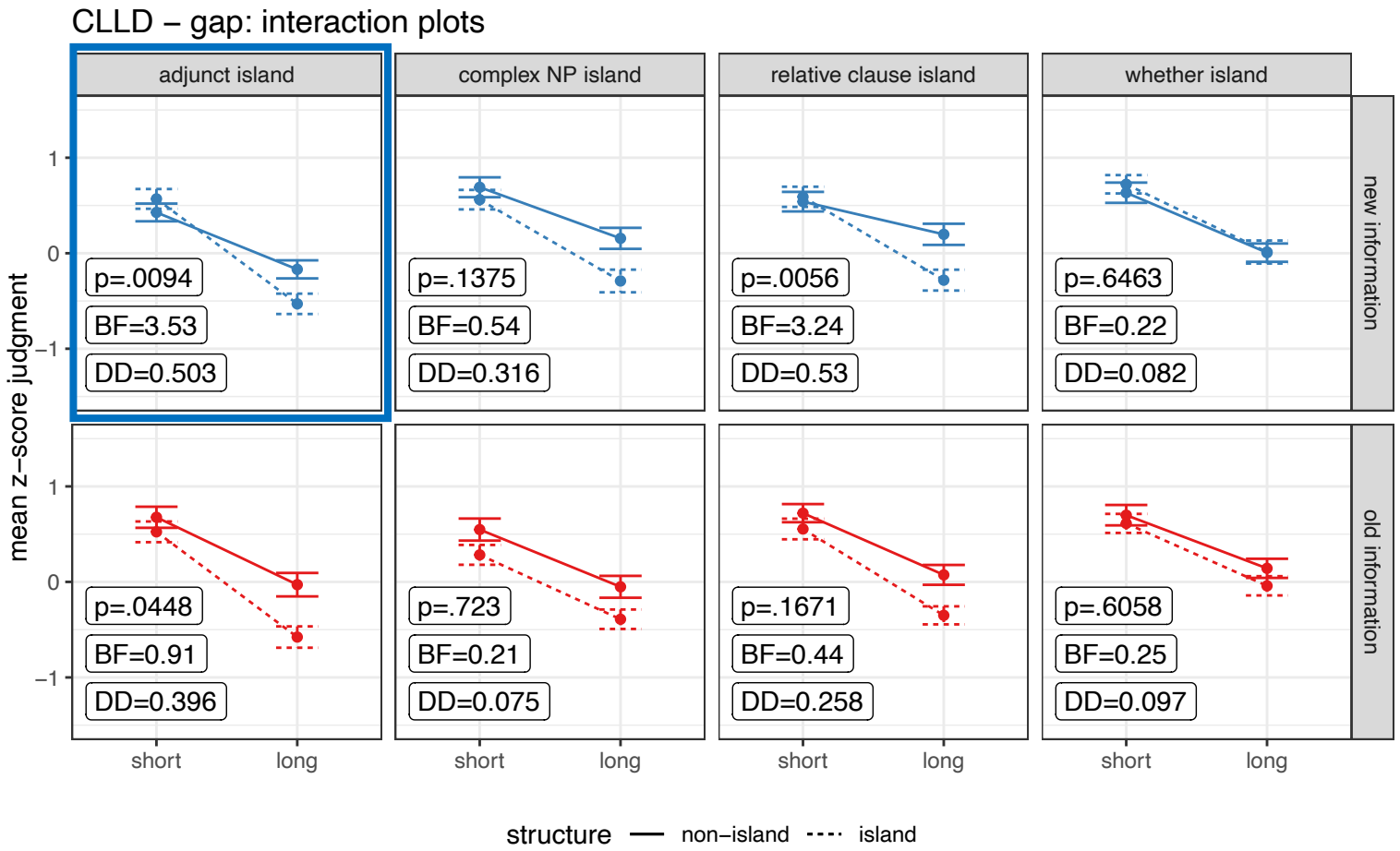
Results

Results: CLLD – whether islands and CNP



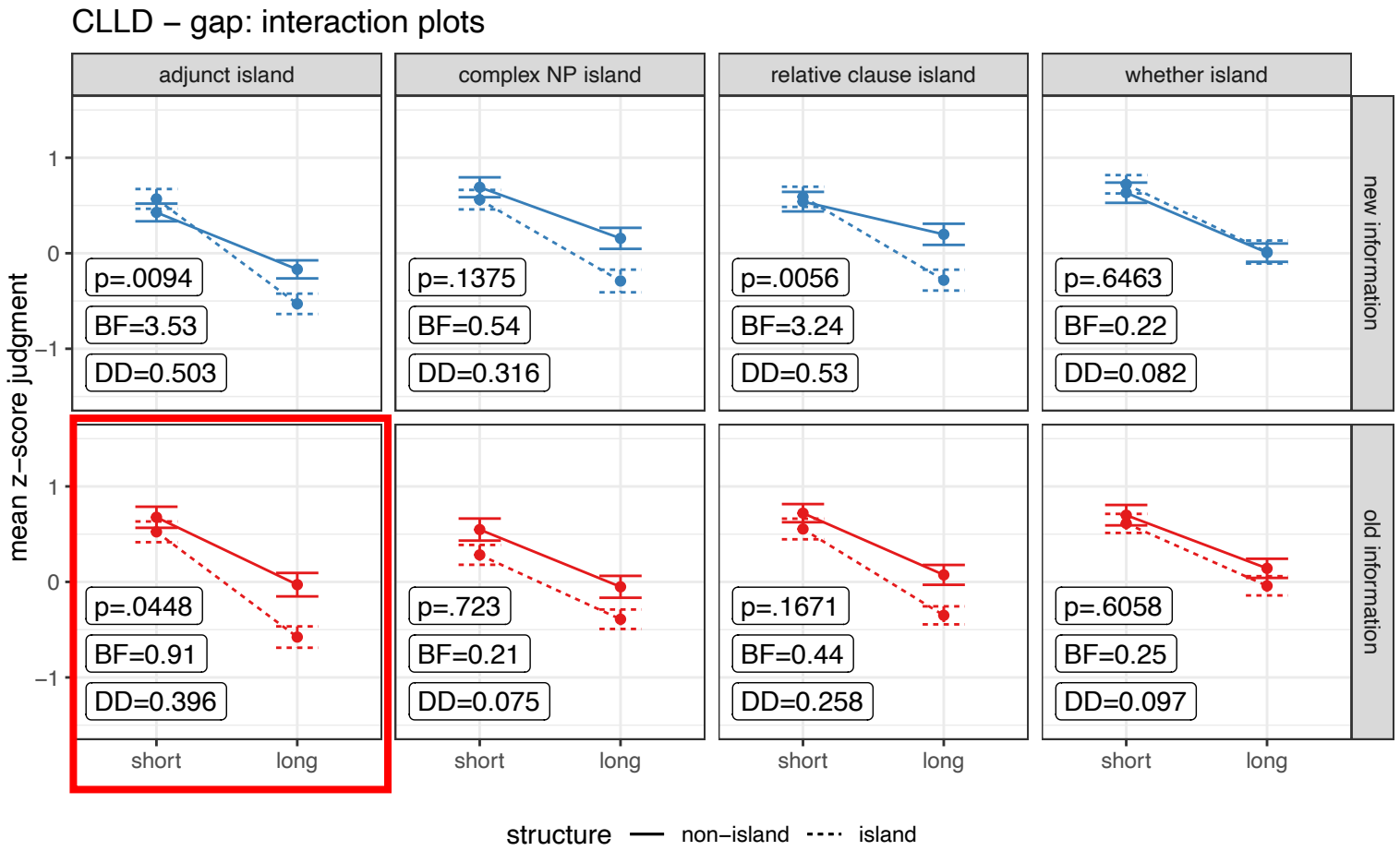
A visual inspection of the island types shows the absence of island effects in complex NP islands and in whether islands. The p-values and the BFs corroborate the impression that there is no interaction.

Results: CLLD – adjuncts



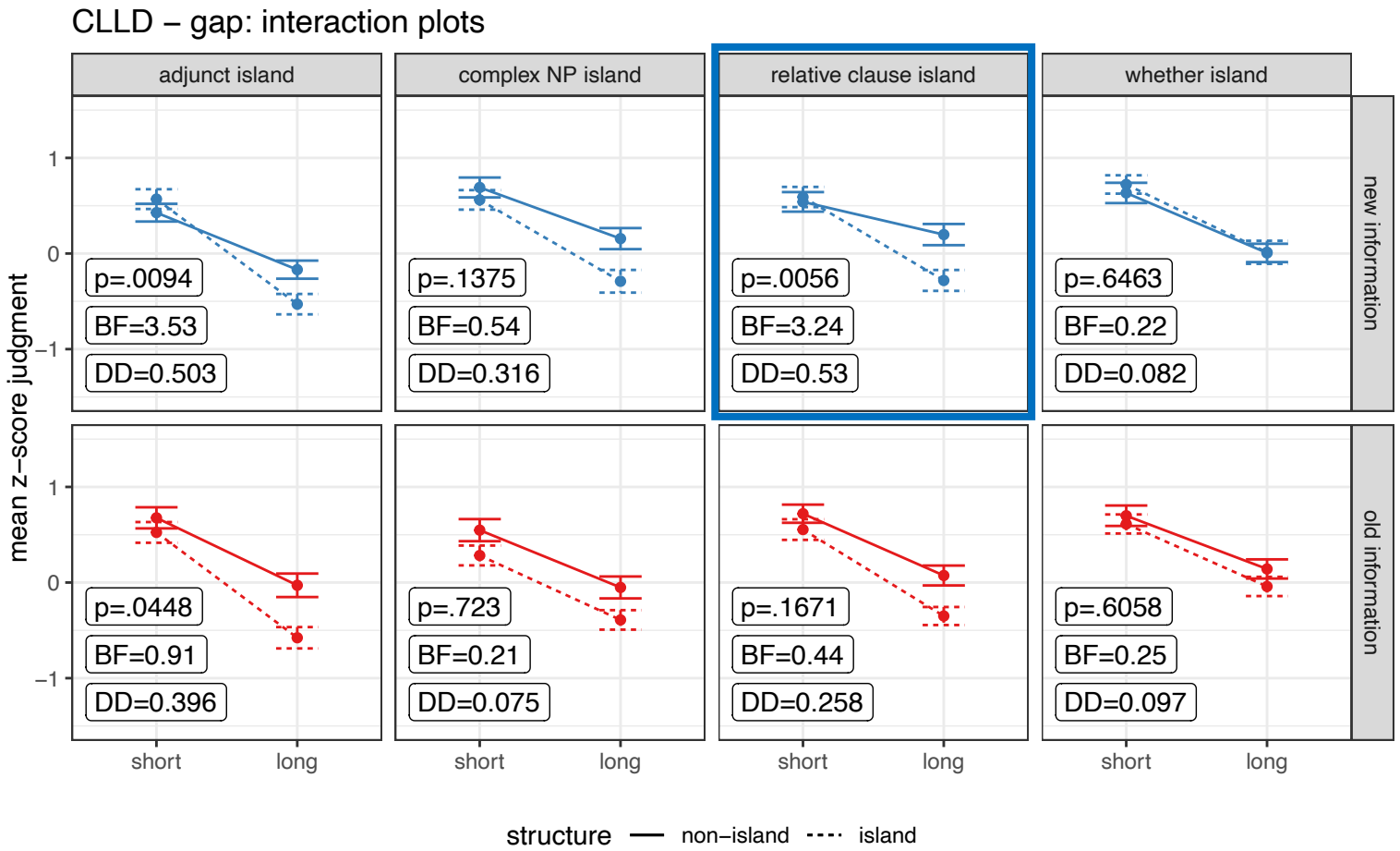
The new information condition shows a superadditive interaction of 0.5 DD-scores and both statistical tests support the presence of island effects. The p-value is below the canonical threshold of 0.05 (p-value = 0.0094) and the Bayes Factors are slightly above the threshold of 3 (Bayes Factor = 3.73),

Results: CLLD – adjuncts



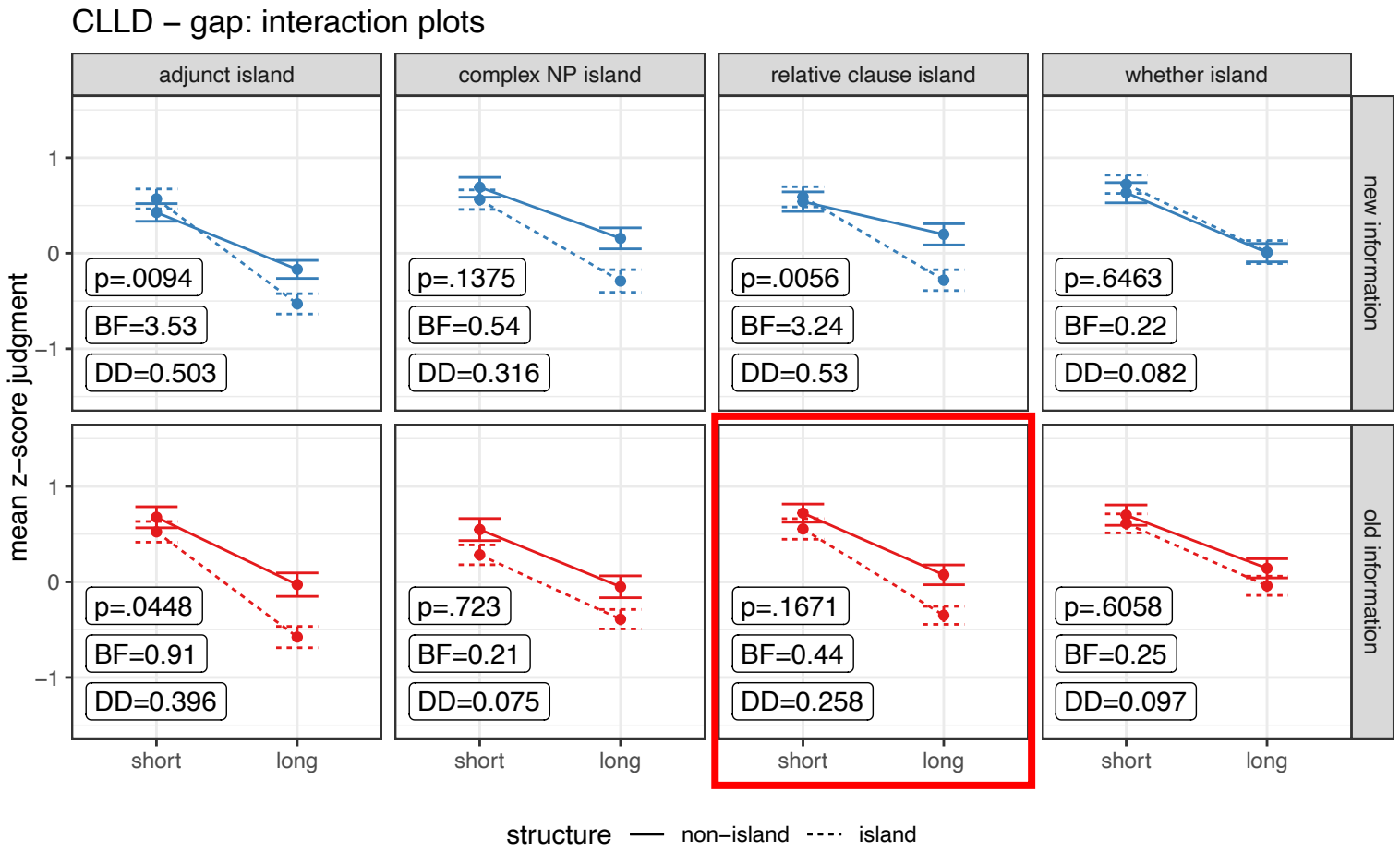
More complex are the results of the old information. The p-value is very close to the threshold of 0.05 but just below this value (a p-value = 0.0448). However, the Bayes Factors do not support the presence of island effects, being between 0.33 and 3 (Bayes Factors = 0.91).

Results: CLLD – RC



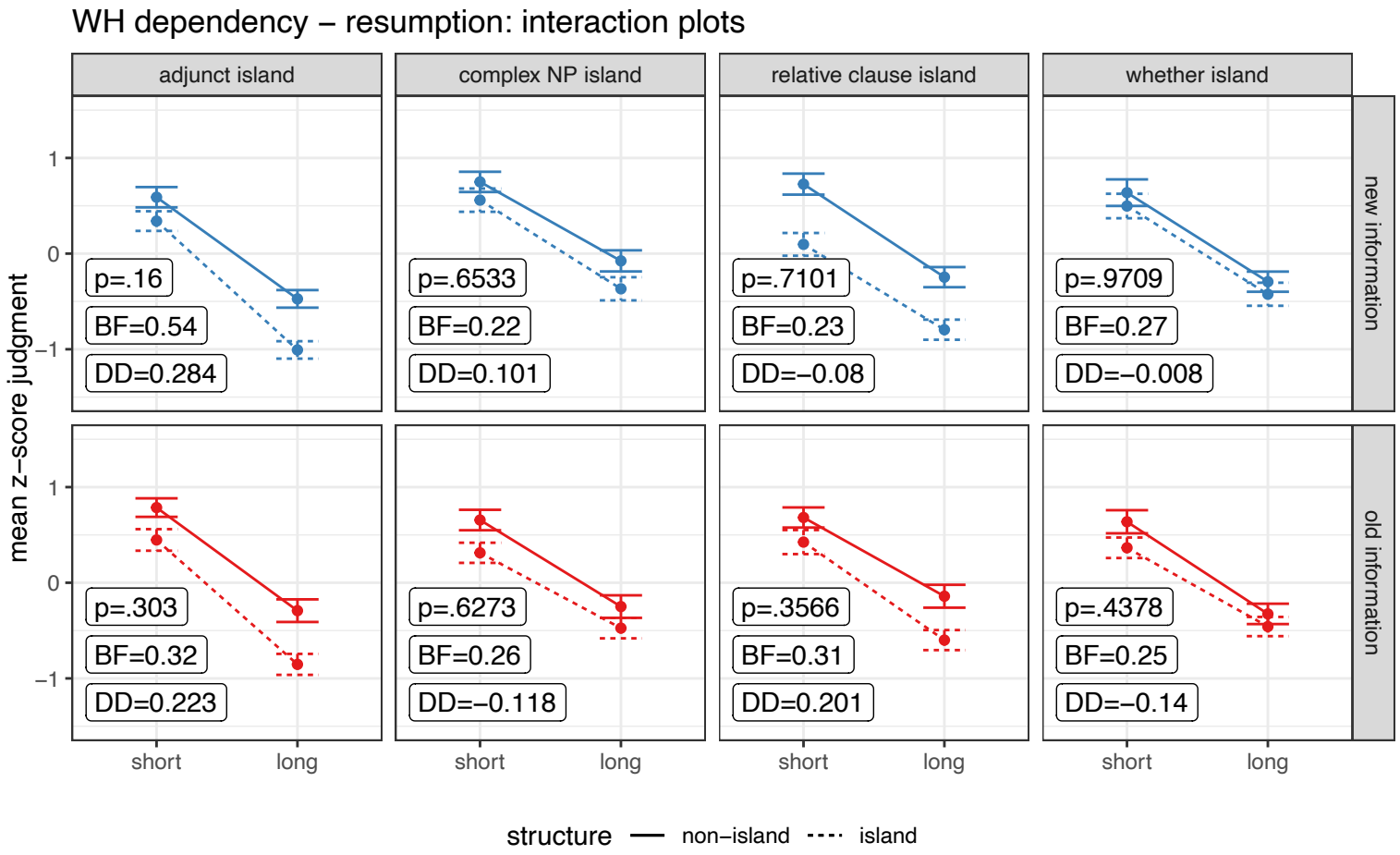
Relative clause new information condition shows a superadditive pattern quantifiable in DD-scores = 0.53. In this case, the impression that there is an interaction is substantially supported by a p-value of 0.0056 and by Bayes Factors of 3.24.

Results: CLLD – RC



Relative clause old information shows a visually rather small superadditive interaction, which is half the effect size of its new information counterpart (DD-score = 0.268), and the statistical tests we have run do not support the presence of an interaction. The p-value is higher than 0.05 (p-value = 0.1671) and the Bayes Factors = 0.44.

Results: WH-dependencies



No island type shows a pattern that supports the presence of island effects. All DD-scores are small, ranging between ~0.284 and -0.118. The plot makes it clear that these data are driven by the relatively low acceptability of long-distance non-island conditions in all island types, therefore we cannot take this pattern as evidence for island effects.

Results: summary of CLLD data in both experiments

The **CLLD** data presented in this work show us that

- there are island effects in adjunct resumption new information (experiment 1), adjunct gap new information and in relative clause gap new information conditions (experiment 2)
- only **new information** conditions show island effects: there seems to be no island effect in any of the old information conditions.

Dependency	Resumption	Information	Adjunct	Complex NP	Relative Clauses	Whether
CLLD	Resumption	New	ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND
	Resumption	Old	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND
	Gap	New	ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	ISLAND	NO-ISLAND
	Gap	Old	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND	NO-ISLAND

Theoretical consequences

Old information

Absence of island effects can be interpreted as absence of movement.

We can propose a structure with two d-linked positions, one in the matrix clause and one in the subordinate clause.

(24) $[_{\text{d-linked}}\ XP_1 \ldots [_{\text{d-linked}}\ XP_2 \ldots]]$

The d-linked position is necessary because the CLLDed XP is old information (Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1995).

The presence of more than one d-linked XP positions is necessary because, at least in Italian, CLLD is possible in both matrix clauses and embedded clauses.

Old information

A potential problem with this structure is how to rule out the possibility of movement of XP2 to XP1. In principle, it is compatible with both the base generation of the XP in one of the two d-linking positions, or with the movement of XP2 to XP1.

Typically, the position of the CLLDed XP is lower than the complementizer head

(25) Hai sparso [$_{\text{complex NP}}$ la voce che [$_{\text{CLLD}}$ **alla fidanzata**]$_i$ il ragazzo le$_i$ ha dato un regalo.]

Have.2s spread the voice that to.the girlfriend the boy cl.acc.f.s given a present

"You spread the word that the boy gave a present to the girlfriend."

Old information

In Iatridou's system, to avoid islands the CLLDed XP has to be higher than the island. This is not the case for the Complex NP.

If the dislocated XP in XP1 were moved from XP2, island effects would arise. XP2 cannot be in a position above islands.

(26) *Hai sparso [$_{\text{complex NP}}$ la voce [$_{\text{CLLD}}$ **alla fidanzata**]$_i$ che il ragazzo le$_i$ ha dato un regalo.]

Have.2s spread to.the girlfriend the voice that the boy cl.acc.f.s given a present

(27) *Hai sparso [$_{\text{CLLD}}$ **alla fidanzata**]$_i$ [$_{\text{complex NP}}$ la voce che il ragazzo le$_i$ ha dato un regalo.]

Have.2s spread to.the girlfriend the voice that the boy cl.acc.f.s given a present

"You spread the word that the boy gave a present to the girlfriend."

Old information

A more precise version of the structure needed is the following:

(28) [CP … [d-linked XP … [CP… che [d-linked XP … …]]]]

Old information

Two questions:

How is case assigned?

Cinque 1990: binding chains

Bošković 2007 proposes that the Agree relationship between the probe and its goal is reversed: the DP c-commands its case checker and probes it for licensing case. Movement is possible but not required.

Old information

Two questions:

Cinque 1990: binding chains

How is case assigned?

Bošković 2007 proposes that the Agree relationship between the probe and its goal is reversed: the DP c-commands its case checker and probes it for licensing case. Movement is possible but not required.

Cinque 1990: binding chains

How is theta-role assigned?

Bošković & Takahashi 1998 propose that θ-roles are formal features. We can apply for θ-roles the same approach developed by Bošković 2007 for case assignment: the dislocated DP can value its unvalued uninterpretable θ-role feature with a reverse Agree relation

New information

The presence of island effects calls for a movement analysis.

We need a structure where the dislocated XP is merged low in the structure and then moved to the left peripheral position where its new information features can be checked.

(29) $[_{CP}\ [_{new}$ CLLDed XP$]_i$… [… t_i …]]

A Movement approach to CLLD does not face the problems regarding case and θ-role assignment we discussed above for the old information data. In fact, both case and θ-role can be assigned in the base position where the dislocated XP is generated.

New information

One problem that arises from our data is why CNP does not show island effects and patterns together with whether islands.

Iatridou's approach cannot help, because the CLLDed XP cannot be right above the island. If the XP moves from a low position, island effects should arise.

(30) *Hai sparso [$_{CLLD}$ **alla fidanzata**]$_i$ [$_{complex\ NP}$ la voce che il ragazzo le$_i$ ha dato un regalo.]

Have.2s spread to.the girlfriend the voice that the boy cl.acc.f.s given a present

"You spread the word that the boy gave a present to the girlfriend."

New information

We can tentatively formulate some hypothesis.

First, Ross 1967 says that *make the claim* is not an island, while other noun-complement structures such as *heard the story* are islands. In our experimental design we use four different kinds of complex NP items (*sparso la voce* (spread the voice), *fatto l'affermazione* (make the claim), *negato il fatto* (denied the fact) e *sentito la storia* (heard the story)).

If we want to use Ross's explanation, we need to extend Ross's intuition to all the other noun-complement structures we used in our experiments, in order to have a lack of island effects.

New information

We can tentatively formulate some hypothesis.

Second, we can analyze island sensitivity of CLLD as sensitivity to adjuncts. This is possible because we found island effects exclusively with adjuncts and with relative clauses that are often analyzed as adjuncts. The extraction out of a whether clause or out of a complex NP instead is an extraction out of a complement.

Descriptively, we can claim that new information CLLD (but importantly not wh-questions) is exclusively sensitive to adjunct islands.

New information

We can tentatively formulate some hypothesis.

Third, we can use Oda 2022 who argues that the definite article in Italian may, but doesn't have to project a DP and this creates the possibility of grammatical extraction. Remarkably he suggests that this is only possible with definite articles: DP always projects in indefinite nominal phrases.

The prediction is clear: when the nominal domain is headed by an indefinite article, extraction is impossible. This prediction is borne out in complex NP.

New information

(31) Alla fidanzata, hai sparso **la** voce che il ragazzo le ha dato una rosa bianca___.

To.the girlfriend have.2s spread the word that the boy cl.IO has given a rose white

"As for the girlfriend, you have spread the voice that the boy gave her a white rose."

(32) *Alla fidanzata, hai sparso **una** voce che il ragazzo le ha dato una rosa bianca___.

To.the girlfriend have.2s spread a word that the boy cl.IO has given a rose white

"As for the girlfriend, you have spread the voice that the boy gave her a white rose."

The prediction is clear: when the nominal domain is headed by an indefinite article, extraction is impossible. This prediction is borne out in complex NP.

New information: a contextual approach

Another option to be considered is a contextual approach to islandhood as proposed in various works by Željko Bošković (Bošković 2015, 2023 a.o.)

The contextual approach to islands considers variation in island effects not as a function of the language but on a particular context for each island.

With this approach islands can be voided in some contexts. An application of this approach could potentially explain the absence of island effects in complex NP and whether islands in CLLD but not in WH-questions.

In particular, island effects in complex NPs can be voided if the moving element is base-generated at the CP island edge and undergo feature sharing (Bošković 2015).

Conclusions

The conclusions of the present work are:

- There is a difference between old and new information CLLD. No movement in old information CLLD; movement in new information CLLD.

- There is a difference in the island pattern in WH-questions and CLLD. In CLLD only adjunct islands and relative clauses show island effects. Complex NP and whether islands do not show any island effect.

- Clitic resumption seems to be really optional.

Conclusions

Movement is an essential part of the human combinatorial system.

In the present work I showed that some aspects of the complexity of movement (CLLD vs. WH, old vs new, resumption vs. gap).

Italian is a rich language in terms of dependencies derived by movement and elements that can put a limit on it: Focalization, Left Dislocation, Right Dislocation, Relative clauses from which it is impossible to extract and others from which it is possible etc.

A fruitful research program can benefit from the richness that this language can provide, to better understand our Language Faculty.

Thank you!