

The syntax and semantics of a reduplicated adverb in Venetan^{1*}

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0. Introduction

In this paper we explore the syntax and the semantics of the adverbial sequence *anca anca* used in the Venetan varieties spoken in the province of Padua. *Anca anca* is obtained by the reduplication of the adverb *anca* 'also/even' and is interpreted as either 'even more' (as in (1)) or 'even less' (as in (2)), depending on the context.²

- (1) Par compràr chea casa el gà speso 500.000 euro
to buy that house he has spent 500.000 euro
e anca anca...
and also also

'To buy that house he spent 500.000 euros and (I think) even more than that'

- (2) A difarensa dai francesi che i mete l'accento
at difference from-the French that cl put the accent
dapartuto inteo scritto, noialtri usemo soeo quei
everywhere in-the written(language) we use only those
imparà a scoea... e anca anca...
learnt at school and also also

'Differently from the French people who put the accent everywhere in the written language, we use only the accents we learnt at school, and (I think) even less than that'

^{1*} We would like to express our gratitude to our informants and to Gaetano Fiorin for insightful discussion. Un ringraziamento speciale a Cecilia per essere una fonte di ispirazione, una supervisor... *e anca anca*.

² Examples (1) and (2) are from the Facebook group "Mi so veneto" <https://www.facebook.com/venetoforlife>. All the examples taken from the web have subsequently been tested with ten native speakers of Venetan coming from different locations in the province of Padua.

We argue that *anca anca* provides the sentence with a set of alternatives to a given content: the alternatives widen the interpretation of the content itself giving rise to a form of exclamative clause. After showing that *anca anca* shares other features with “real” exclamatives, we describe the syntactic structure we assume for this adverbial construction: we put forward that *anca anca* occupies a syntactic position within the Speech Act domain.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 gives a brief presentation of the phenomenon; section 2 is devoted to the semantics of *anca anca*, concentrating in particular on its widening effect. In section 3, we argue that *anca anca* is used as a discourse marker and we offer a syntactic analysis of it in terms of head adjunction *à la* Travis (2001). Then, in section 4, we draw the conclusions.

1. Contexts of usage

Anca anca consists (superficially) in the reduplication of *anca* ‘also/even’. In this section we show that *anca anca* does not correspond to the reduplication of *anca*, both at a semantic-pragmatic and a syntactic level. *Anca* singularly used, is either a conjunction ‘also’ (as in (3a)), a focus adverb ‘even’ (as in (3b)), or it can be ambiguous ‘also/even’ (as in (3c)). Differently, *anca anca* cannot assume either value:

- (3) a. Fa caldo anca/ (*anca anca) uncò.
 does hot also also also today
 ‘It’s hot today, too’
- b. Ea gà invità tuto el paese al so matrimonio,
 she has invited all the town at-the her wedding
 anca/ (*anca anca) el farmacista!
 even also also the pharmacist
 ‘She invited the whole town to her wedding, even the pharmacist!’
- c. El pare anca/ (*anca anca) bón
 he looks even also also good
 ‘He looks even good’

The examples above also show a crucial syntactic difference between the two forms: while *anca* obligatorily modifies an XP, as the DPs *uncò* ‘today’ in (3a) and *farmacista* ‘pharmacist’ in (3b)), or the AdjP *bón* ‘good’ in (3c), *anca anca* cannot. The difference between *anca* and its

reduplicated form *anca anca* is not surprising: cross-linguistic research has shown that the mechanism of reduplication creates new words and modifies their meaning with respect to the original word (Moravcsik 1978, Ghomeshi et al. 2000). In particular, reduplication can add a specific value as marker indicating the relation between the speaker and the hearer and "the attitude of the speaker to the predicative content of the utterance" (Bonacchi 2017: 293), modifying the use-conditional pragmatics of a word. Take for instance an example of reduplication of the approximative adverb *quasi* 'almost' in standard Italian as *quasi quasi* 'almost almost'. As Bonacchi (2017) points out *quasi quasi* does not mean simply 'almost',³ but it conveys a sense of uncertainty (see Voghera & Collu 2017). For instance, in (4) (from Bonacchi 2017: ex. 14), the reduplicated form *quasi quasi* prompts the involvement of the addressee who is called to reinforce the speaker's utterance or believe and "at the same time tuning down the illocutionary force of a directive speech act" (Bonacchi 2017: 296). To better clarify this interpretation, Bonacchi reports the reconstructed implicature *che dici?* interpreted as 'what do you think of it?':

- (4) Quasi quasi vengo anche io
 almost almost come also I
 'Perhaps I can also come'
 /+>che dici?/
 what say
 'What do you think of it?'

On a par with *quasi quasi*, also *anca anca* does not simply mean 'also'. As illustrated in the examples (1) and (2), the best paraphrase we can find to translate *anca anca* in English is 'I think even more than that/ I think even less than that'. As we will show in detail, the meaning of *anca anca* is, in fact, multifaceted: (i) it expresses the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the predicate content of the preceding utterance; (ii) it is an additive scalar marker which conveys a widening effect (*à la* Zanuttini & Portner 2003); (iii) it expresses a sort of contrast with respect to the previous utterance.

³ For a semantic analysis of *almost* and other approximative adverbs see for instance Amaral (2007).

2. Semantics

2.1. Epistemicity

One facet of the meaning of *anca anca* is that it expresses the speaker's epistemic attitude. Using *anca anca*, the speaker emphasizes their commitment in what they are saying, conveying an epistemic reading that we interpret as 'I think even more (than a given value)/even less (than a given value)'; 'it might be the case that' as paraphrased in the translations in (1) and (2). Notice that sentences modified by *anca anca* often imply the presence of the "epistemic future": this suggests that epistemicity is at stake here. In fact, the epistemic future is a special kind of future tense used to express a hypothesis about an event and gives conjectural or inferential interpretations depending on the context (Bertinetto 1995: 123-124). See the example in (5), where the form *gavarà* 'he will have' is quite natural:

- (5) Par compràr chea casa el gavarà speso 500.000 euro
to buy that house he will have spent 500.000 euros
e anca anca...
and also also

'To buy that house he must have spent 500.000 euros and (maybe/I think) even more...'

Beside the usage of the epistemic future, epistemic modals can also occur in sentences with *anca anca*. See for instance the necessity modal (*a*)*ver da* 'have to' in (6):

- (6) Fora ghe ga da essere 40 gradi e anca anca...
outside there has-to be 40 degrees and also also

'It must be 40 degrees outside and I think even more (than 40)'

Moreover, we observe that *anca anca* always refers to the speaker's knowledge and cannot be used to express someone else's attitude:

- (7) *El ze convinto che i gà⁴ speso 500.000 euro e
he is convinced that they have spent 500.000 euros and

⁴ The sentence in (7) is unacceptable even if the verb within the embedded clause is in subjunctive mood: *gàbia* 'have'.

anca anca

also also

'He is convinced that they spent 500.000 euros and he thinks even more'

The example in (7) shows that *anca anca* can be interpreted in reference to the speaker's point of view, the only felicitous interpretation being: 'He is convinced that they spent 500.000 euros and I think even more (than that).'

2.2. *Widening*

Bazzanella (2011) points out that the expression of the speaker's attitude,⁵ the emotive component that characterizes the reduplicated word, also instantiates *intensification*. Following Labov (1984) and Holmes (1984), Bazzanella (2010:251) defines *intensity* as "the modification of the illocutionary force of a given speech act [...] in this perspective, intensity encompasses both intensification and attenuation".⁶ In this line, *anca anca* can be taken to play a role in the intensification of the speech act and instantiates the speaker's degree of confidence as to either a superior limit, upward entailing, or to an inferior limit, downward entailing, limit concerning a given quantity and expresses the overcoming of those limits. In a sense, the intensification we assume is reminiscent of Zanuttini & Portner's (2003) "widening effect" used in the context of exclamative clauses.

The concept of widening is strictly connected to exclamatives and in particular to the semantics of a quantificational operator. Discussing exclamatives in Paduan and their English counterparts, Zanuttini & Portner (2003) assume that the core meaning of an exclamative clause is based (i) on its factivity, i.e. the fact that the propositional content is taken to be true, and (ii) on the widening of a specific domain over which the quantifier scopes. Take (8) as an example:

- (8) a. Cossa che 'l magnava!
what that s.cl eats
'What things he ate!'
- b. The things he eats!

⁵ "...which includes affective stance and expression of emotions, epistemic modality and various degrees of commitment to the truth of an utterance and of the speaker's intention to perform the speech act" (Bazzanella 2011: 250).

⁶ Bazzanella (2011) further specifies that intensity mainly concerns three dimensions: the propositional content, which may be modified, the speaker's attitude, and the interactional level.

What (8 a-b) presuppose is that there is a specific domain D which contains several things that can be eaten: specifically, D is the same domain of an interrogative clause that denotes sets of propositions ('he eats x ', 'he eats y ', 'he eats z ' etc.):

$$(9) \quad \llbracket \text{che roba che l magna!} \rrbracket_w = \{p : p \text{ is true in } w \text{ and } \exists a [p = \text{'he eats } a']\}$$

At this point the widening effect comes into play, to distinguish between an interrogative and an exclamative clause: in particular, for any clause S containing the R_{widening} the initial domain of quantification is assumed to be widened to a new domain $D2$, such that the difference between the two sets $\llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D2,<}$ and $\llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D1,<}$ is non-empty.⁷ $\llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D2,<}$ denotes the set of true propositions of the 'he eats x '-type where x is drawn from the new domain $D2$ and $\llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D1,<}$ denotes the corresponding set for the old domain $D1$.

In other words, saying that $\llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D2,<} - \llbracket S \rrbracket_{w,D1,<}$ is "non-empty amounts to requiring that the new things that he eats be added to the domain" (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 15).

Going back to our example in (5), *anca anca* seems exactly to widen the initial domain: the sum of 500.000 euros is an imprecise (somewhat exaggerated) value based on the knowledge of the speaker, thus we can reasonably assume that the original domain of quantification is something like (10):

$$(10) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{El} \quad \text{gavar\`a} \quad \text{speso} \quad 500.000 \quad \text{euro} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{anca anca} \\ \text{he} \quad \text{have.fut} \quad \text{spent} \quad 500.000 \quad \text{euro} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{also also} \\ \text{'He must have spent 500.000 euros and I think even more (than that)...'} \\ \llbracket S \rrbracket = \{\text{'he spent 470.000 euros'}, \text{'he spent 490.000 euros'}, \text{'he spent 500.000 euros'}\} \end{array}$$

Now, $D2$ amounts to an imprecise value, which is definitely higher than 500.000:

$$(11) \quad \llbracket S \rrbracket = \{\text{'he spent 500.000 euros } + x'\}$$

The imprecise value x is a given quantity added to the initial domain, which ends up being widened by x . The evident problem we have here is that there is no overt *wh*-operator (*che*)

⁷ The presence of the precedence symbol (<) is due the fact that x must precede y (where $x \in D1$ and $y \in D2$) by definition: as we pointed out, the difference between the two sets is (in fact must be) non-empty.

whose domain we can appeal to, as is the case in (8). Therefore, we wouldn't be entitled in principle to assume a set for $[[S]]$ like the one in (10), as there are apparently no x 's or y 's, over which the *wh*- can scope. We argue for a proof of the contrary which is twofold: firstly, we show that *anca anca*-structures are indeed exclamative clauses. Secondly, we argue for an *even*-focus nature of this construction.

The exclamative nature of the *anca anca*-structures can be argued for by showing that they resemble “real” exclamatives in at least in two aspects: (i) factivity and (ii) scalar implicature.

As for the former aspect, we assume that – in the same fashion as exclamatives – clauses containing *anca anca* presuppose their propositional content. In fact, they can only be embedded under factive predicates such as *know*, whereas non-factive and negated predicates give rise to infelicitous results⁸:

- (12) a. Lu 'l sa che (par comprar chea casa)
 he he knows that to buy that house
 i g`a speso 500.000 euro e anca anca...
 they have spent 500.000 euros and also also
 'He knows that (to buy that house) they spent 500.000 euro and possibly even more'
- b. ??Me despiaze (che par comprar chea casa)
 I be.sorry that to buy that house
 i g`abia speso 500.000 euro e anca anca...
 they have.SUBJ spent 500.000 euro and also also
 'I am sorry (that to buy that house) they have spent 500.000 euros and I think even more (than that)'
- c. *El me ga domand`a se (par comprar chea
 he to me has asked whether to buy that
 casa) i g`a speso 500.000 euro e anca anca...
 house they have spent 500.000 euro and also also

⁸ The embedding test we applied is typically connected to the semantics of exclamatives: in (12a) we should distinguish between the subject of the knowledge verb in the matrix clause ('he knows') from the speaker-oriented reading provided by *e anca anca*. Speaker and subject are clearly distinct in this context.

'He asked me whether they spent 500.000 euro and I think even more (than that) (to buy that house)'

Moreover, Portner & Zanuttini (2000) point out that negating 'I know...' co-occurring with the exclamative amounts to denying the speaker's knowledge of the exclamative's propositional content and is in conflict with this content being presupposed:

(13) *I don't know how very tall he is

However, "If the subject is other than the first person or the tense is other than present, this conflict disappears. For example, in *Mary doesn't know how very tall he is*, there's no conflict between Mary's lack of knowledge and the speaker's presupposition that he is very tall" (Zanuttini & Portner 2000: 3). This seems to be the case of *anca anca* as well:

- (14) a. *?No so miga che/ se ea ze alta un
 not know not that/ whether she is tall a
 metro e otanta e anca anca...
 meter and eighty and also also
 'I don't know that/whether she is one meter and eighty tall and I think even more...'
- b. Giani no' I sa che so nevodo ze diventà
 Gianni not he knows that his nephew is become
 un metro e otanta e anca anca...
 a meter and eighty and also also
 'Gianni doesn't know that his nephew has grown to be a meter and eighty tall and I think even more...'

We argue that the clash between the first person singular and the speaker's presupposition is due to the eminently speaker-oriented nature of *anca anca*-construction.

As regards the scalar implicature, we build on Portner and Zanuttini's take on the implicature expressed by exclamatives: "they indicate that the fact they express is surprising or noteworthy in some way. More precisely, they convey a conventional implicature based on a

contextually given scale of propositions to the effect that the one presupposed to be true is at the top of the scale” (Zanuttini & Portner 2000: 4).

As for the focal nature of *anca anca*, recall that its two possible interpretations are 'I think even more/I think even less', that is the interpretation is a composition of the speaker's knowledge about a state of affairs and of gradation of values instantiated by *even* and *more/less*. We assume that *even* is commonly referred to “as focus-sensitive operator indicating existential quantification over alternatives with respect to the material contained in the scope and the inclusion of some alternatives as possible values for the open proposition in their scope (see e.g. König 1991: 330)” (Forker 2016: 69). Additionally, *even* has a scalar component, which means that the alternatives are ordered in a scale and, at the same time, the marked item is also characterized as unexpected or surprising, perhaps contradicting some expectations (Forker 2016).⁹

As for the *more/less* components, both are adverbs with an arithmetical component. *More* adds and *less* subtracts a set to a set of entities of the same semantic type. We are dealing here with an interpretation that implies a comparison, that we tentatively conceive of as a kind of contrast with respect to the preceding utterance. We assume contrast is an information-structural notion (see Repp 2010 and references cited there) often associated with other information-structural categories such as topic and focus (as is the case of *anca anca* interpreted as *even*). For instance, in a sentence as in (1) the speaker compares what they know, i.e. the fact that someone bought a house for about 500.000 euros with what they think/suspect, adding new information (a scalar focus expressed by *even*) in contrast with what previously uttered: the fact that the buyer probably spent *more* than 500.000 euros. The presence of a focus allows us to assume a covert operator scoping over the proposition-set illustrated in (10).

To sum up, we have shown that it is reasonable to subsume sentences containing *anca anca* into the set of exclamatives. This, in turn, allows us to assume that Zanuttini and Portner's (1999, 2003) analysis of exclamatives in terms of widening carries over to the present context.

3. Syntax

In this section we enlarge upon the syntactic nature of *anca anca* and argue that it is a discourse marker that occupies a syntactic position within the Speech Act domain in the clausal spine.

⁹ For a detailed analysis of the semantics of *even*, we address the interested reader to: Horn (1969), Anderson (1972), Fauconnier (1975), Jacobs (1983), Karttunen & Peters (1979), Rooth (1985, 1992), Krifka (1995), among others.

We also propose that the internal syntactic structure of *anca anca* is derived by base-generated head adjunction, following Travis' (2001) proposal for contrastive reduplications.

3.1. Discourse marker

Anca anca appears to be obligatorily coordinated to the preceding clause. However, we observe that the only possible conjunction is *e* 'and'; the use of all the others coordinating conjunctions as *ma* 'but', and *o* 'or' leads to an unacceptable result:

- (15) Par compràr chea casa el gà speso un miliòn de
to buy that house he has spent a million of
euro *(e)/ *?ma/ *o anca anca...
euro and but or also also
'To buy that house he spent one million euro and/but/or I think even more than that...'

Given the strong ungrammaticality of *ma* 'but' and *o* 'or', we argue that the relation between *e anca anca* and the preceding sentence cannot be taken as a canonical coordination. Compare for instance an *anca anca*-structure in (16) with an example of canonical coordination in (17): in (17) the two coordinated clauses are in a "symmetric" relation, so their respective order can be exchanged without relevant change in meaning (cf. (16a) with (16b)).¹⁰ On the contrary in (17), *anca anca* cannot precede its coordinated sentence¹¹, despite the conjunction *e* 'and'. In fact, the interpretation of *anca anca* is strictly linked to the preceding clause (see section 2):

- (16) a. El gavarà speso un miliòn de euro e anca anca..
he has.fut spent a million of euro and also also
'He spent a million euro and I think even more than that'
b. *Anca anca e el gavarà speso un miliòn de euro
also also and he has.fut spent a million of euro
'I think even more than that and he spent one million euro'

¹⁰ Coordination structures allow reordering of the two clauses only if there are no consecutive events.

¹¹ This asymmetry is related to additive scalar focus as in the case of *even*, see the examples (i) and (ii):

(i) I invited all my friends and even my boss
(ii) #I invited even my boss and all my friends

We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer who pointed this out to us.

- (17) a. Cecilia scrive libri e va in palestra.
 Cecilia writes books and goes in palestra
 'Cecilia writes books and goes to the gym'
- b. Cecilia va in palestra e scrive libri.
 Cecilia goes in gym and writes book
 'Cecilia goes to the gym and writes book'

The lack of symmetry in (16) may be explained by the fact that the conjunction *e* 'and' does not have a canonical coordination value but is rather an instance of pseudo-coordination (De Vos 2004). The case of *e anca anca* is also reminiscent of a special case of coordination in standard Italian (Scorretti 1995: 248-249): "...un altro uso speciale di coordinazioni in cui il secondo coordinato sembra essere la negazione esplicita e completa del primo, come in:

[62] "Vorrei e non vorrei, ..." (Da Ponte)

"Should I or shouldn't I?"

[63] Ha sì e no vent'anni

"S/he must be about 20 years old"

È chiaro che qui non si intende che entrambi i coordinati sono veri, ma piuttosto che è vero qualcosa che sta a metà strada tra i due coordinati; p. es. in (62) si dà per vero il fatto che chi parla è in realtà indeciso, incerto tra il volere e il non volere; in (63), si dà per vera una condizione intermedia tra l'averlo e il non averlo "pienamente" vent'anni, cioè l'averli appena compiuti o lo stare per compierli."¹²

On the basis of Scorretti's observations, it seems that the conjunction that connects a sentence with *anca anca* has a similar function of *e* in cases like (62) illustrated in Scorretti's (1995) work. As discussed above, the use of *anca anca* in (16) adds uncertainty with respect to

¹² "...another special use of coordinates where the second coordinate appears to be the explicit and complete negation of the first, as in:

62) "I would like and I would not, ..." (Da Ponte)

63) He has yes and no twenty years old

it is clear that here it is not meant that both coordinates are true, but rather that something that lies halfway between the two coordinates is true; p. ex. in (62) the fact that the speaker is actually undecided, uncertain between wanting and unwilling, is taken for granted; in (63), an intermediate condition is given as true between having and not having "fully" twenty years, that is, having just allowed them or being about to complete them". The English translation is ours.

the quantity of money spent by the buyer of the house. So, in this sense, the two utterances are not interpreted as two truth utterances: with the second (pseudo-coordinated) sentence the speaker expresses their uncertainty with respect to what he mentioned in the previous clause.

Furthermore, on a par with *ma* ‘but’ in exclamative structures analyzed by Giorgi (2018), the conjunction in *e anca anca* not only is not a canonical conjunction, but also it is an element used in a counter-expectational context (as discussed above in section 2). The crucial point here is that *anca anca* is not coordinated at a sentential level, but at a discourse level. In fact, *e anca anca* does not necessarily imply a covert elliptical clause. If we substitute *anca anca* with its paraphrasis *anca de pì/de manco* ‘even more/less’ (for the moment leaving apart the epistemic interpretation *I think*), we observe that, syntactically, the two expressions do not correspond. Despite the fact that *anca de pì/manco* can be pronounced in isolation as *anca anca*, differently from *anca anca*, the paraphrasis *anca de pì/manco* implies a sentential ellipsis: *anca de pì/manco* can be preceded by a full sentence consisting in the repetition of the clause *el gà pagà* ‘he paid’ preceded by the epistemic expression *me digo che* ‘I think’, as illustrated in (18). Despite the redundancy, the example in (18a) is grammatically correct. On the contrary, the repetition of the previous context with *anca anca* is totally unacceptable (18b). Notice also that *anca de pì/manco* can be preceded by the conjunction *ma* ‘but’, contrarily to *anca anca* (cf. (18a-b) with (15)).

- (18) a. Me fradeo gà pagà sento euro
 my brother has paid one hundred euro
 ...e/ma me digo ch' el gà pagà anca de pì
 ...and/but to me say that he.cl has paid even of more
 'My brother paid one hundred euro... and/but *I think that he paid* even more'
- b. *...e me digo ch' el gà pagà anca anca
 ...and to me say that he.cl has paid even even
 *‘... and *I think that he has paid* even more’
- c. * ... e el gà pagà anca anca
 and he.cl has paid even even

We argue that the differences between *anca anca* and *anca de pì/manco* are due to the fact that *anca anca* is a speech act *per se*, whose interpretation is not limited to *even more/less* but includes the epistemic value that we overtly translate with ‘I think’. Notice, in fact, that the co-

occurrence with an overtly expressed epistemic form like e.g. *me digo* 'I think' (lit. I say to myself) is unacceptable, possibly due to redundancy:¹³

- (19) ??Me fradeo g`a pag`a sento euro e me digo anca anca...
 my brother has paid one hundred euro and to me say also also
 'My brother has paid one hundred euro and I think even more than that...'

If we are on the right track, *anca anca* should then be analyzed as a grammaticalized expression that acts as a discourse marker. As extensively shown in the literature (see for instance a brief literature overview in Badan 2020), discourse markers are root phenomena that can act as speech acts *per se*. See as an example the discourse marker *ma dai* 'come on!/no kidding!' (lit.: 'but give') in standard Italian in the dialogical exchange in (20). *Dai* is the second person singular of the imperative of the verb *dare* 'give' and (often) preceded by the conjunction *ma* 'but'. In this context, *dai* is a grammaticalized form (Cardinaletti 2015), whose original meaning is completely lost, used to express surprise. As mentioned above, similarly, to *e* 'and' in *anca anca*, *ma* in *ma dai* does not function as a canonical adversative conjunction, but as an expression of surprise (Giorgi 2018; Cardinaletti 2015):

- (20) A: Lo sai che Cecilia ha pubblicato un altro libro?
 it.CL know that Cecilia has published a other book
 'Do you know that Cecilia published another book?'
 B: Ma dai! Un altro!
 but give one other
 'No way! Another one!'

¹³ To be more specific, it is not always the case that two markers of epistemicity (say a modal and an adverb) exclude each other in the same clause, even if they are perceived as redundant; see the adverbials *probabilmente/forse* 'probably/maybe' in (i) and the embedding of an epistemic clause under a *verbum putandi* in (ii):

- (i) Probabilmente/ forse Cecilia potrebbe essere stanca dopo la conferenza
 Probably maybe Cecilia could be tired after the conference
 'Probably Cecilia might be tired after the conference'
 (ii) Credo che Cecilia potrebbe essere stanca dopo la conferenza
 I believe that Cecilia could be tired after the conference
 'I think that Cecilia might be tired after the conference'

Thus, the reason why *me digo* and *e anca anca* are mutually exclusive needs to be investigated in future research.

As other discourse markers, *anca anca* is typical of the spoken language and is multifunctional, as it can be interpreted with the two semantic values corresponding to ‘and even more’ or ‘and even less’ depending on the context. Therefore, it is difficult to be paraphrased (for instance it does not have a one-to-one counterpart in standard Italian¹⁴ or in English), and it seems characterized by a specific prosody: *anca anca* is generally followed by an audible pause, a downgrading or suspensive prosodic contour.¹⁵ Interestingly, in fact, in all cases of *anca anca* found in written texts,¹⁶ *anca anca* is followed by dots or a full stop.

On the basis of the observations illustrated above, we then argue that *anca anca* is a reduplicated form of *anca* ‘also’ used as discourse marker. Within the Cartographic approach (Cinque 1999, Rizzi 1997 and much subsequent work), *anca anca* – being a discourse marker – might be assumed to occupy a syntactic position in the Speech Act domain above ForceP. The SpeechActP, in fact, is conceived as the area of the syntactic spine that encodes the pragmatic components of the conversational set-up: the speaker-addressee relationship, the participants’ points of view and their attitude towards the sentential content (Speas and Tenny 2003, Hill 2007, Haegeman and Hill 2014, Coniglio and Zegrean 2012 among many others). As other discourse markers, though, it may be used in isolation consisting in a speech act *per se* connected to the surrounding sentences at a discourse level (in this case through the pseudo-coordination *e* ‘and’), on a par with *ma dai* in (20).

¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer pointed out that *sì e no* and *a malapena* could be the Italian counterpart of *anca anca* in the interpretation ‘and even less’: we agree with the observation, but we also notice that *sì e no* can be interpreted in a different way according to the position it occupies within the sentence:

(i) Avrà pagato *sì e no* 100 euro

‘S/he might have paid about 100 euros’

(ii) Avrà pagato 100 euro *sì e no*

‘S/he might have paid 100 euros and/or even less’

We leave this issue open for future research.

¹⁵ A detailed experimental analysis of the prosodic contour of *anca anca* goes beyond the aims of this paper. We leave this issue open for future research.

¹⁶ *Anca anca* is typical of spoken language, so it is extremely rare, if not impossible, to find it in written texts. However, we have briefly carried out research on social media, where languages tend to be characterized by properties typical of spoken language (see Barton and Lee 2013 among others), which also holds for dialects. We found different occurrences of *anca anca* on Facebook pages maintained by speakers of Venetan varieties, where participants exclusively use dialect, writing in the same (or very close to) way as they talk. On Facebook we found several instantiations of *e anca anca* (n=18) and all of them are followed by dots or full stops with no exception. In some cases *e anca anca* is also preceded by dots.

3.2. Reduplication

As for the internal syntactic structure of the reduplicated *anca anca*, it is crucial to recall the contrastive component of its interpretation we discussed above. The role of contrast in reduplicated items is not novel in the literature on reduplication. For instance, Bonacchi (2017) discusses the reduplication of adjectives like *grande grande* ‘big big’, *bello bello* ‘beautiful beautiful’ or a noun-noun reduplication such as *amore amore* ‘love love’ as in (21). These reduplications not only express that both the emotive commitment of the speaker (with the interpretation “I am impressed by it” (Bonacchi 2017: p. 293)) and the illocutive force are enhanced, but they also express a contrast.¹⁷

- (21) Era un amore amore
it.was a love love
‘It was real love’

What (21) conveys is that the *love* being talked about was real love and not an (allegedly) unreal one. In other words, ‘it was (a) x x’ (where x is an adjective or a noun) means ‘it was a real x, and not a y’. In the same line, Ghomeshi, Jackendoff, Rosen and Russell (2000) and Travis (2001) analyze reduplicated cases like *salad salad* in (22), as *contrastive* reduplication:

- (22) I want a SALAD salad

(slightly modified from Travis 2001:464, ex. (20))

In cases like (22), the reduplication is used to put contrast on what the speaker means to be a prototypical *salad*, with respect to any variation of it, as for instance a *tuna salad*.¹⁸ The contrast is particularly clear here, due also to the special stress of the first occurrence of *salad*, typical of contrastive focus. Even if *anca anca* seems not to be characterized by any special stress on the first occurrence of *anca*,¹⁹ it does express intensification. More precisely it conveys a scalar

¹⁷ More specifically, Bonacchi (2017: 297) speaks about “contrastive focus”.

¹⁸ "The semantic effect of this construction is to focus the denotation of the reduplicated element in on a more sharply delimited, more specialized, range. For instance, SALAD-salad denotes specifically green salad as opposed to salads in general [...]. Informally, we characterize this effect as denoting the prototypical instance of the reduplicated lexical expression." (Ghomeshi *et al.* 2000:2).

¹⁹ However, as we mentioned in footnote 10, a detailed experimental analysis of the prosodic properties of *anca anca* is still missing.

focus (*even-focus*) and also implies a sort of contrastive interpretation with respect to the preceding utterance (see section 2). As mentioned above, in fact, the quantificational values *de più* ‘more’ or *de meno* ‘less’ are intrinsically part of the interpretation, an aspect that is substantially different with respect to the simple *anca*. In the case of the simple *anca*, the quantificational elements *more/less* must be explicitly uttered in order to be interpreted, while with *anca anca* their presence is ruled out, due to redundancy:

- (23) a. El gà pagà un milión e (me digo) anca de più
 he has paid a million and to-me say also of more
 ‘He paid one million and (I think) even more’
- b. El gà pagà un milión e anca anca (*de più)
 he has paid a million and also also of more
 ‘He paid one million and I think even more’

As extensively discussed in section 2, *anca anca* is then not interpreted as the simple *even* but it also implies the *de più/de meno* ‘more/less’ reading: an arithmetical operation that adds something more or decreases the quantity with respect to what it has been previously stated in the clause. To confirm this observation, recall that *anca anca* does not imply an elliptical sentence, however, it does not exclude the possibility of continuing the utterance adding another clause to specify the meaning of *anca anca*. In such a case, the added sentence must express a contrast with respect to the preceding sentence, as exemplified in the following:

- (24) Par compràr chea casa el gavarà speso un miliòn de
 to buy that house he have.fut spent a million of
 euro e anca anca... El gavarà speso almanco un
 euro and also also he have.fut spent at least a
 milion e mezo
 million and half!

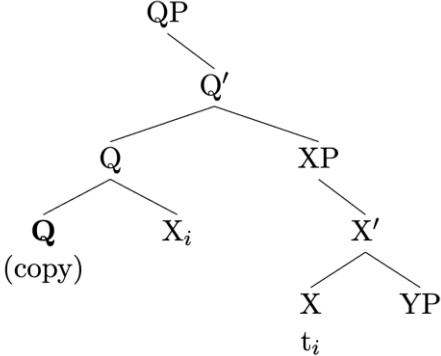
‘To buy that house he spent a million euros and I think even more... He must have spent at least one and a half million euros’

In (24), *anca anca* can stand alone as an independent speech act, but if the speaker wants to clarify what he has in mind and to offer additional (specific) new information, he has to specify

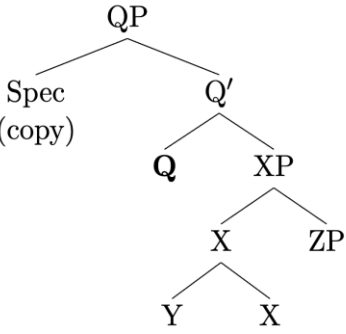
an amount of money which is in contrast with what previously uttered. The new information here is *un milion e mezo* ‘one and a half million euros’ which is in contrast with what is stated in the preceding sentence: *un millón* ‘one million euros’. In other words, the speaker performs an arithmetical operation by adding *e mezo* ‘and a half’ to the quantity previously mentioned. On the basis of these observations, we tentatively propose that *anca anca* expresses an *even-focus* that implies a sort of contrast, comparable to the contrastive reduplications illustrated by Bonacchi (2017) and Travis (2001). Following Travis (2001), the internal syntactic structure of contrastive reduplications is derived by base generated head adjunction (Fig. 1 (c)), which must be distinguished from phonological reduplication, which involves head movement (Fig.1 (a)), and syntactic reduplication, which involves a Spec-filling operation (Fig. 1 (b)).

Figure 1 (from Travis 2001: 456)

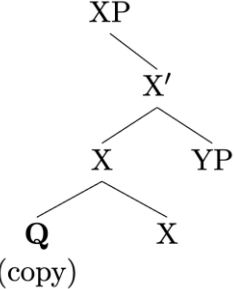
a. head-movement (phonological)



b. Spec-filling (syntactic)



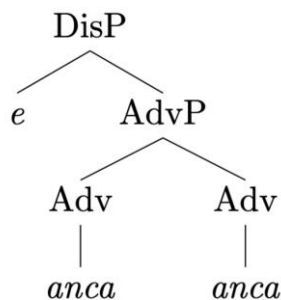
c. base-generated head adjunction (contrastive)



Building on Gomeshi et al. (2000), Travis assumes that contrastive reduplication “fills a slot that is syntactically available for other material” (Travis 2001:464), the syntactic slot being available for pre-head modification. Moreover, “this pre-head modifier slot in English is structurally represented by a modifier head (A or Adv) that does not project and that adjoins to the head being modified” (Travis 2001:465).²⁰

If we are on the right track, *anca anca* is a scalar additive expression with a contrastive component. In this way, we could apply Travis’ syntactic analysis for contrastive reduplications (Fig. 1b): *anca anca* derives from base-generated head adjunction, where a copy of *anca* is a base-generated as adjunct to the head *anca*, forming a sort of modifier-modified structure. However, the structure of *anca anca* seems to be richer than that one proposed for contrastive reduplications.²¹ In fact, recall that *anca anca* is introduced by what we called the “pseudo-coordination” *e* ‘and’. The presence of *e* is mandatory and contributes to the interpretation of *anca anca*. As mentioned in section 3.2, *e* connects *anca anca* to the previous context at discourse level, where the previous context is the domain of quantification widened by *anca anca* (section 2). Applying Giorgi’s (2018) analysis for *ma* in counter-expectational questions in Italian to *e* in *e anca anca*, we may argue that *e* is the head of a discourse phrase “which projects a syntactic structure analogous to that of normal syntactic heads appearing in the sentence. Discourse heads connect separate sentences.” Giorgi (2018: 81). We assume then that *anca anca*’s structure contains the pseudo-coordination *e*, which contributes to *anca anca*’s interpretation and lexicalizes a dedicated projection, as illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2



²⁰ For a different view on asymmetric vs symmetric conjuncts – the latter being treated as auxiliary trees substituted together in the same elementary tree (in a Multi-Component Tree Adjoining Grammar) – see Krivochen (2021).

²¹ We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer who pointed this out to us.

4. Conclusions

In this paper we have proposed a syntactic and semantic analysis of the adverbial sequence *anca anca* in Venetan. We have shown that *anca anca* is not a reduplicated form of *anca*. In fact, it must be analyzed as a discourse marker that expresses the speaker's epistemic attitude towards a given propositional content and entails widening (*à la* Zanuttini and Portner 2003, 2000) of a given set of context-related options picked by the operator-like features of the *even-focus*. We have also shown that *anca anca* as a discourse marker is linked to the previous utterance by a pseudo-conjunction and consists of a speech act *per se*. As *anca anca* is formed by a reduplicated adverb and expresses contrast – as it is often the case of reduplication in general –, we have proposed an analysis of its internal syntactic structure derived by base-generated head adjunction adapting Travis' (2001) analysis for contrastive reduplications, with *e* 'and' as head that connects *anca anca* to the previous context at discourse-level.

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