

Reinforcers in Italian: DP-internal and Left Peripheral¹

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1 Introduction

Since Rizzi's (1997) influential split-CP hypothesis, several works have shown that in certain languages left peripheral heads, such as Topic (Top) and Focus (Foc), can be filled by overt material. For example, Aboh (2004) shows that in Gungbe and other Gbe languages topicalized or focalized XPs are immediately followed by a particle (see (1b) for Focus and (1c) for Topic); these are analyzed by the author as a left-peripheral head.

- (1) a. Kofi xɔ kɛkɛ (Gungbe)
 Kofi buy-PERF bicycle
 'Kofi bought a bicycle'
 b. kɛkɛ wɛ Kofi xɔ t
 bicycle Foc Kofi buy-PERF
 'Kofi bought A BICYCLE'
 c. ... do dan lɔ ya Kofi wɛ hu *(i)
 that snake Det Top Kofi Foc kill-Perf (it)
 '...that the snake, Kofi killed it'

Italian and more generally Romance languages are generally taken as not overtly realizing Top and Foc heads, as witnessed by the following Italian examples:

- (2) a. LA BICICLETTA Gianni ha comprato, non la macchina (Italian)
 The bicycle Gianni has bought not the car
 'Gianni has bought THE BICYCLE, not the car'
 b. La bicicletta, Gianni l'ha comprata ieri
 The bicycle Gianni it.has bought yesterday
 'The bicycle, Gianni has bought it yesterday'

The goal of this paper is twofold: showing that Italian overtly realizes the Top head in the left (and right) periphery in certain structures and shed new light on

¹ I am indebted to the following people for valuable comments on the ideas presented in this paper: Adriana Belletti, Hector Campos, Chiara Frigeni, Graham Katz, Jason Merchant, Paul Portner, Luigi Rizzi, Mireille Tremblay and the audience at CLS44. I would like to also thank Sandhya Chari, who has helped to render my paper into English. Raffaella Zanuttini deserves a special mention as she has closely followed the entire development of the ideas presented in this paper and has more generally been a truly phenomenal mentor and friend during my first semester at Georgetown. Grazie infinite! Usual disclaimers apply.

structures featuring certain locative adverbials, dubbed ‘reinforcers’ by Bernstein (1997). I will first present some data from Italian showing that, in structures where a demonstrative is accompanied by an adverbial locative such as “lì” (‘there’)—a “reinforcer”, adopting the terminology introduced in Bernstein (1997), such element can either be DP-internal or DP-external. In particular, given the grammaticality of the ordering *Dem>N>PP>Reinforcer* in certain contexts, it must be concluded that the reinforcer can be DP-external, contrary to standard assumptions. I will further show that when the reinforcer is DP-external, it heads a left peripheral projection. This is typically a Topic projection.

2 Demonstrative + Reinforcer: DP-internal and DP-external

Bernstein (1997) shows that both in Romance and Germanic a demonstrative (Dem) can be “reinforced” by a locative adverbial (typically corresponding to either the proximal “here” or distal “there”). Germanic and Romance differ in the relative position of N and reinforcer (Reinf), the former displaying the surface order reinforcer>N (see (3)) while the latter, N>reinforcer (see (4)).

The Germanic pattern:

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| (3) a. This here guy | (English) |
| b. Den här mannen | (Swedish) |
| The there man-the | |
| ‘That there man’ | |

The Romance pattern:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| (4) a. Ce livre-ci | (French) |
| This book-here | |
| ‘This here book’ | |
| b. Questo libro qui | (Italian) |
| This book here | |
| ‘This here book’ | |

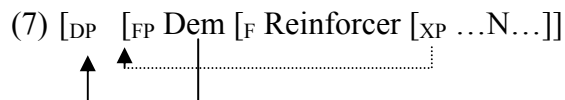
((3) and (4) adapted from Bernstein (1997))

The analysis put forth in Bernstein (1997) rests on two interrelated assumptions, which are in one form or another shared by virtually all works on these constructions:

- (5) a. The presence of the reinforcer is contingent upon the presence of the demonstrative. Example (6) illustrates the point for Italian. If no demonstrative is present, then the structure is ill formed, as in (6b).
- b. The reason why (5a) holds is that it is the reflex of the base generation of Dem and Reinf in a very local configuration, typically [Spec, Head].

Bernstein (1997) implements the assumptions given in (5) as follows: Dem and Reinf are generated together as Spec and Head of a DP-internal FP, as depicted in (7). The demonstrative then necessarily moves to [Spec, DP]. There, it checks deictic features under D and strands the reinforcer (solid line in (7)).

- (6) a. Ho letto quel libro lì (di Gianni) (Italian)
Have.1s read that book there of Gianni
b. *Ho letto il libro lì (di Gianni)
Have.1s read the book there of Gianni



Bernstein accounts for the difference between the “Germanic pattern” in (3) and the “Romance pattern” in (4) by assuming that in Romance, but not in Germanic, the XP containing minimally N will adjoin to FP (dotted line in (7)). The reinforcer will thereby be stranded in a position lower than N.

I assume the correctness of this analysis (or some analysis along these lines) for cases like (6a) and, more generally, structures like (3a) where the reinforcer precedes a PP, e.g. a possessor PP in (6b). The reinforcer is generated DP-internally in a local configuration with the Demonstrative and is later stranded.

In the remainder of the paper, I will mainly focus on cases where the reinforcer follows the PP, e.g. ‘*Quel gol di Gianni lì*’ which translates as ‘That goal of Gianni there’. In what follows I will argue that, in these cases, the reinforcer is external to the DP and is to be analyzed as the overt realization of a Topic head.

3 Dem+N+PP+reinforcer: the reinforcer is DP-external

Bernstein (1997) discusses some examples in French where the reinforcer can follow a PP complement of N:

- (8) a. ce marchand de vin ci (French)
this merchant of wine here
'this wine merchant'
b. ces preuves de bonté là
these proofs of kindness there
'this evidence of kindness' Bernstein (1997: 98)

The analysis of cases like in (6), depicted in (7), is immediately extended to (8): since the reinforcer is generated in F, the XP containing ‘*merchand de vin*’ in (8a) is raised to a position adjoined to FP, yielding the correct word order once the

demonstrative has moved to [Spec, DP]. There are, though, several reasons to question this analysis.

First, it is not obvious that postnominal possessor DPs like ‘*di Gianni*’ in (6) should be analyzed as complements. If they are not complements, then plausibly something additional should be stipulated to force their pied-piping along with N.²

Second, a more important challenge comes from a series of recent works showing that PP complements are never carried along whenever DP-internal material is moved or ‘rolled-up’ to a higher DP-internal position. Cinque (2005) has recently shown that the merge order of DP-internal elements is as in (9) (from Cinque (2005: 321)).

(9) [...[_{WP} Dem ... [_{XP} Num ... [_{YP} A [_{NP} N]]]]]

Given the basic merge order in (9), crosslinguistic variation is derived by one of two types of movement³: movement of NP up (with possible landing sites being the ‘...’ positions in (9) or movement of NP plus pied-piping. In other words, the moved NP will pied-pipe its complement. For example, NP could move to the first ‘...’ position in (9) and the N+A complex could then be pied-piped to the second ‘...’ position, thereby inverting the original merge order. What is relevant in the present context is the observation that ‘complements do not seem to be part of the NP that raises’ (Cinque (2005:fn.34)). Cinque cites the case of Semitic, where complement PPs are not dragged along by the NP’s “roll-up” movement (see Shlonsky (2004)) and the case of Romance where NPs can move across certain adjectives but they never carry along their PP complements (Cinque (2003)). Converging evidence is also presented in Vangsnes (2004). In Scandinavian, a definite determiner is typically realized as a suffix on N. In Icelandic, additionally, the N+Def complex must move past Numerals (10a-b)—an operation precluded in morphologically poorer Scandinavian languages, where a prenumeral lexical article appears *in lieu* of the definite marker (see (10c-d) for Danish; similar facts also hold in Norwegian, Swedish and Faroese.

- (10) a. *fjórar bækurnar (Icelandic)
 four books-DEF
 ‘the four books’
 b. bækurnar fjórar
 books-DEF four

² It could simply be, though, that these PP are adjoined to a lower projection which is itself part of the pied-piped XP.

³ This is a bit of an oversimplification; see Cinque (2005) p. 321ff. for details on the actual implementation of the idea.

- ‘the four books’
 c. de fire bøger (Danish)
 the.PL four books
 ‘the four books’
 d. *bøgerne fire
 books-DEF four
 ‘the four books’

Vangsnes (2004) takes the Def marker in Icelandic to be base-generated together with and then moved up with N. Interestingly, this movement does not pied-pipe genitives (see (11)), PPs—be they N-complements or otherwise—(see (12)), and relative clauses (see (13)) (data from Vangsnes (2004)).

- (11) a. bækurnar fjórarhans Péturs (Icelandic)
 books-DEF four-his Peter-GEN
 ‘Peter’s four books’
 b. *bækurnar hans Péturs fjórar
 books-DEF his Peter-GEN four
 ‘Peter’s four books’
- (12) a. frægu bækurnar fjórarum tónlist (Icelandic)
 famous books-DEF four-about music
 ‘the four famous books about music’
 b. *frægu bækurnar um tónlist fjórar
 famous books-DEF about music four
 ‘the four famous books about music’
- (13) a. bækurnar fjórar sem voru seldar í bóksölnni (Icelandic)
 books-DEF four that were sold in bookshop-DEF
 ‘the books that were sold at the bookshop’
 b. *bækurnar [sem voru seldar í bóksölnni] fjórar
 books-DEF that were sold in bookshop-DEF four
 ‘the books that were sold at the bookshop’

The Cinque/Vangsnes facts lead one to conclude that Bernstein’s (1997) pied-piping analysis of (8), in terms of (7), is questionable; perhaps a different approach should be adopted. In this paper, I will take the position of the reinforcer at face value. In cases like (8), the reinforcer follows complement and possessor PPs simply because it is DP-external and is not construed with the demonstrative. I will defend each of these two claims in the next two paragraphs.

3.1 ‘Reinforcers’ as Topic Heads

I would like to propose that post-PP reinforcers are overt realizations of Topic heads. Stated informally, they are used to “reinforce” the shared knowledge-status

of the displaced XP. It follows immediately from this proposal that post-PP reinforcers should only be possible in conjunctions with displaced constituents. The prediction appears to be borne out.

3.1.1 Object DPs

- (14) a. Ho visto quel gol lì di Gianni allo stadio (Italian)
 Have.1s seen that goal there by Gianni at.the stadium
 ‘I have seen that specific goal by Gianni at the stadium’
 b. *Ho visto quel gol di Gianni lì allo stadio⁴
 Have.1s seen that goal by Gianni there at.the stadium

Example (14a) is grammatical because the pre-PP reinforcer, *lì*, is generated DP-internally. The ungrammaticality of (14b) follows automatically from my proposal: objects are not displaced; they clearly do not occupy a Topic position. Therefore, if it is true that post-PP reinforcers are actually Top heads, it follows that they should be ungrammatical when they co-occur with an object-DP. The data in (14b) deserve some additional discussion, though. While all speakers do detect a decreased acceptability for (15b), the judgment is often closer to deviance than absolute ungrammaticality. However, this is due to an independent interfering factor; the sentence in (9b) is perfectly grammatical if ‘*lì*’ (‘there’) retains a purely spatial, deictic interpretation. (The sentence is probably even more natural if accompanied by an indexical gesture, such as pointing a finger ‘there’.) For example, the speaker might utter (14b) while watching the weekly soccer highlights on TV pointing at a particular goal being shown. In this case then, the structure would arguably be that of a reduced relative clause of the form “(which is) there”. The interpretation is thus much different from a ‘reinforcer/intensifier’ interpretation, as is readily available in (14a) and which can be roughly paraphrased as ‘I have seen that particular goal by Gianni at the stadium’.

Kayne (2005: 65ff.) follows Bernstein (1997) in rejecting a reduced relative clause analysis for cases like (3a), (15) and, more generally, for structures featuring a reinforcer.

- (15) a. this here book, these here books
 b. that there book, them there books

Kayne observes, among other facts, that while a *here/there* occurring inside a relative clause can be freely modified (see (16)), reinforcer *there* can not (see (17)).

⁴ Ungrammatical in the intended interpretation; see discussion in the main text.

- (16) a. that book that/which is over here
 b. this book that/which is right here

- (17) a. *that over there book
 b. *this right here book

Returning to the discussion of examples in (14), the modification of *lì* in (14a) yields a completely ungrammatical sentence (see (18a)). However, the modification of *lì* in its purely spatial/deictic interpretation is acceptable. This further confirms that (14b) can be grammatical only when *lì* retains a purely spatial interpretation; it is sharply ungrammatical if *lì* is interpreted as a reinforcer.

- (18) a. *Ho visto quel gol proprio lì di Gianni allo stadio (Italian)
 Have.1s seen that goal right there by Gianni at.the stadium
 ‘I have seen that specific goal by Gianni at the stadium’
 b. ?Ho visto quel gol di Gianni proprio lì l’altro ieri
 Have.1s seen that goal by Gianni right there the other day
 ‘I have seen that goal by Gianni which is right there (e.g. shown on TV) the other day’⁵

3.1.2 Topicalized Object DPs

The topicalization of the object in (14b) yields a perfectly grammatical sentence (see (19b)):

- (19) a. Quel gol lì di Gianni, l’ho visto allo stadio (Italian)
 That goal there of Gianni, it.have.1s seen at.the stadium
 ‘That particular goal by Gianni, I have seen it at the stadium’
 b. Quel gol di Gianni lì, l’ho visto allo stadio
 That goal by Gianni there it.have seen at.the stadium
 ‘That goal by Gianni (and we both know which one), I have seen it at the stadium’

(19a) is unproblematic, as the DP containing the reinforcer is topicalized, in the usual way. The Top head is null in this case. Consider now (19b). The object is moved [Spec, Top] position and, as predicted, the Top head can be filled by *lì* (19b). The sentence is, of course, grammatical without *lì*. The presence of *lì* appears to ‘reinforce’ the shared information status of the displaced DP, yielding

⁵ I use a temporal adjunct in this case in order to avoid the sequence ‘*proprio lì*’ *allo stadio*’ (‘right there at the stadium’), where, much like in English, ‘right there’ can modify the spatial adjunct.

a meaning of ‘that one goal by Gianni, and we both know which one, I saw it at the stadium’.⁶

3.1.3 Right dislocated object DPs

If the object in (14b) is right dislocated (CLRD), a post-PP *lì* becomes fully grammatical—on par with the CLLD case in (20). This of course follows if right-dislocated DPs occupy a right peripheral Topic position, as assumed in several recent works (see Cecchetto (1999), Belletti (2005) a.o.).

- (20) a. l’ho visto allo stadio, quel gol lì di Gianni (Italian)
it.have.1s seen at.the stadium that gol there of Gianni
‘I have seen it at the stadium, that particular goal by Gianni’
b. l’ho visto allo stadio, quel gol di Gianni lì
it.have seen at.the stadium that goal by Gianni there
‘I have seen it at the stadium, that goal by Gianni (and we both know which one)’

3.1.4 Subject DPs

Subject DPs readily admit a post-PP “reinforcer” (21b), much like topicalized constituents. The issue here is the difficulty in teasing apart the structural proximity of TopicP and preverbal subject position ([Spec, TP] or similar) coupled with the ‘quasi-topical’ nature of subjects (see Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) for relevant discussion). To my ears, (21b) is only fully natural if the subject is pronounced with the falling intonation typical of Topics. I, therefore, propose that the subject in (21b) is actually a topicalized subject.

- (21) a. Quel giocatore lì del Chievo ha segnato un bel gol (Italian)
That player there of.the Chievo has scored a nice goal
‘That particular player of Chievo has scored a nice goal’
b. Quel giocatore del Chievo lì ha segnato un bel gol
That player of.the Chievo there has scored a nice goal
‘That player of Chievo (and we both know which one) has scored a nice goal’

⁶ The obvious question at this point is whether the two ‘*lì*’ can be combined:

- (i) ??Quel gol lì di Gianni lì, l’ho visto allo stadio
That goal there by Gianni there, it.have seen at.the stadium
‘The particular goal by Gianni (and we both know which one), I have seen it at the stadium’

While this sentence is certainly ungrammatical if pronounced with a flat intonation, it seems to be to improve if uttered with the particular intonation associated with Hanging Topics (see Nicolis (in preparation) for more discussion on this and related issues).

3.2 On the Demonstrative – Reinforcer relation

In this section I will propose a modification, for the reasons reviewed above, of the standard assumption (5a), which states that the presence of a reinforcer depends upon the presence of a demonstrative. The data in this section show that (5a) only holds for DP-internal *lì* (a *bona fide* reinforcer) but not for DP-external *lì* (a Topic marker). This is a welcome consequence: a Topic marker should be available independently of the presence of a demonstrative internal to the topicalized XP. This leads to the following prediction: Demonstrative-less DP + *lì* should be impossible in object position (22b), as a DP in that position cannot be a Topic; in that structural context *lì* can only be DP-internal, and as such it should be generated together with a Dem. On the contrary, topicalized constituents (see (23)) and subjects (see (24)) should allow for a Demonstrative-less DP *lì* sequence. (For as Topics, see discussion above.) Both predictions are borne out:

Objects

- (22) a. Ho incontrato quel tipo lì (Italian)
Have.1s met that guy there
'I have met that specific guy'
b. *Ho incontrato il tipo lì⁷
Have.1s met the guy there

In (22a), *lì* is generated with the Dem; it is DP-internal and the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, there is no Dem in (22b). Therefore, *lì* can only be grammatical as a Topic marker; however, object position is not topical, hence *lì* cannot grammatically occur.

Topicalized objects

- (23) a. Quel tipo lì, l'ho alla fine incontrato (Italian)
That guy there, him-have.1s eventually met
'That specific guy, I have finally met'
b. Il tipo lì, l'ho alla fine incontrato
The guy there, him-have.1s eventually met
'The guy whom we both have in mind, I have finally met'

Since the object is CLLD-ed, *lì* is grammatical both DP-internally as in (23a), where the Top head is null as well as DP-externally as in (23b), where it realizes the Top head.

Subjects

- (24) a. Quel tipo lì ha incontrato Maria (Italian)
That guy there has met Maria

⁷ Grammatical in the irrelevant interpretation in which *lì* is a VP-modifying locative adverbial: 'I have met the guy THERE'

- b. Il tipo lì ha incontrato Maria
The guy there has met Maria

In (24b), the intonation cannot be flat. This restriction is even stronger than in the case of (21b). In other words, the intonation must in (24b) overtly signal that the subject is topicalized. Furthermore and as expected, no such requirement holds for (24a) where *lì* is a *bona fide* reinforcer.

A further prediction that follows immediately from the discussion so far is that we expect Demonstrative-less *N PP Reinf* cases to be grammatical—under the appropriate pragmatic conditions: topichood. However, Demonstrative-less *N Reinf PP* should be always excluded since the presence of the DP-internal Reinf. relies upon the presence of Dem (5a)).

Objects

- (25) a. *Ho finalmente incontrato il fidanzato lì di Maria (Italian)
Have.1s finally met the boyfriend there of Maria
b. *Ho finalmente incontrato il fidanzato di Maria lì⁸ (Italian)
Have.1s finally met the boyfriend of Maria there

(25a) is ungrammatical because the DP-internal *lì* is not generated with a Dem.
(25b) is ungrammatical because objects are not in a topical position.

Topicalized Objects

- (26) a. *Il fidanzato lì di Maria l'ho finalmente incontrato
The boyfriend there of Maria him-have.1s finally met
b. Il fidanzato di Maria lì l'ho finalmente incontrato
The boyfriend of Maria there him-have.1s finally met
'The boyfriend of Maria (and we both know who I'm talking about), I have finally met him'

(26a) is ungrammatical because the DP-internal *lì* is not generated with a Dem.
(26b) is grammatical because the dislocated object is in a Topic position, and therefore the head of the projection can be filled by *lì*.

Subjects

- (27) a. *Il fidanzato lì di Maria gioca bene a calcio (Italian)
The boyfriend there of Maria plays well at soccer
b. Il fidanzato di Maria lì gioca bene a calcio
The boyfriend of Maria there plays well at soccer

⁸ Grammatical in the irrelevant interpretation in which *lì* is a pure locative adverb ('I met Maria's boyfriend THERE')

‘The boyfriend of Maria (and you know who I’m talking about), plays soccer well’

The grammaticality pattern of (27) is amenable to the same explanation as (26) (see the discussion around (21), (24)).

4. *qui* (‘here’) vs. *lì* (‘there’)

The Italian examples provided so far all involve the distal adverbial *lì* (‘there’). However, as shown in (4), the proximate adverbial *qui* (‘here’) is also a possible reinforcer.⁹

In this section I will show that *qui* can be used as a *bona fide* DP-internal reinforcer. Unlike *lì* though, *qui* cannot lexicalize a Top head. Straightforward evidence showing that this is indeed the case is provided by (28):

- (28) A: Ho letto “La Morte a Venezia” e mi è molto piaciuto (Italian)
‘I read “Death in Venice” and I liked it a lot’
B’: Quel libro lì, non l’ho mai letto
That book there not it-have.1s never read
‘That book there, I have never read it’
B’’: #Questo libro qui, non l’ho mai letto
‘This book here, I have never read it’

Speaker A mentions the book “*Death in Venice*”, thus making it background information from that stage of the conversation on. Topicalization structures are essentially articulations of presuppositions, background information or new information (Rizzi (1997)). A topicalized XP must, consequently, be able to refer to an entity already introduced in discourse. While (28B’) is a perfectly natural reply to (28A), with the DP *quel libro lì* (‘that book there’) referring to the book introduced in the discourse by A’s utterance, (28B’’) is completely ungrammatical in the intended meaning. This strongly suggests that only *lì* can be used as a Topic marker, while *qui* is restricted to either a DP-internal reinforcer use or a pure spatial/deictic use.

The fact that it is *lì*, but not *qui*, that grammaticalizes is consistent with other facts noticed in the literature; it may thus be a reflex of some much more primitive and pervasive property of grammar.

⁹ Similar facts holds for French as well and plausibly for Romance and Germanic quite generally.

Notice, for example, that whenever an expletive subject has the form of a locative adverbial, like in English, it is always the distal form to be grammaticalized ('*there*'), never the proximate one ('*here*') (see (29)).

- (29) a. There arrived a man in the room
b. *Here arrived a man in the room

An arguably related fact is that, whenever a complementizer has the form of a demonstrative, it is always the distal demonstrative (*that*) which is chosen—never the proximate one (*this*) (see (30) and Kayne (2008) for extensive discussion on this point).

- (30) a. I think that John is nice
b. *I think this John is nice

Returning to the discussion of (28), the fact that *qui* cannot lexicalize a Top head leads to two predictions: the sequences Dem N PP *qui* and Demonstrative-less Det N *qui* structures should be excluded. I will analyse each in turn.

4.1 Prediction 1: The sequence Dem N PP *qui* should be excluded

The sequence *Dem N PP qui* should be excluded. In fact, I have shown above that a DP-external reinforcer overtly realizes a Top head. If *qui* cannot lexicalize a Top head, as shown by (28), then we expect it to be unable to occur DP-externally. The prediction is borne out by the data in (31), (32), (33).

Objects:

- (31) a. ??Ho visto questo gol qui di Gianni allo stadio (Italian)
Have.1s seen this goal here of Gianni at.the stadium
'I have seen this goal here by Gianni at the stadium'
b. *Ho visto questo gol di Gianni qui allo stadio
Have.1s seen this goal of Gianni here at.the stadium
c. Ho letto questo libro qui di linguistica
Have.1s read this book here of linguistics
'I have read this book here of linguistics'
d. *Ho letto questo libro di linguistica qui
Have.1s read this book of linguistics here

The data in (31) by and large mirror those featuring *lì* in (14), as expected. While a DP-internal *qui* is grammatical, a DP-external *qui* is ungrammatical for two

reasons: object position is not a Top position and *qui* should be, in general, unable to lexicalize a Top head.¹⁰

As noticed above for (14b), (31b and d) are also grammatical if *qui* is interpreted as a pure deictic/locative ('the book of linguistics which is here').

Topicalized objects:

- (32) a. Questo gol qui di Gianni, l'ho visto allo stadio
(Italian)
This goal here of Gianni it.have seen at.the stadium
b. *Questo gol di Gianni qui, l'ho visto allo stadio
This goal of Gianni here, it.have seen at.the stadium

The data in (32) crucially contrast with those in (19): since *qui* cannot head a Topic projection, (32b) is ungrammatical; *lì* can do so and therefore the corresponding example (19b) is expectedly grammatical. (32a) is grammatical because *qui* is used DP-internally as a reinforcer.

Subjects:

- (33) a. Questo giocatore qui del Chievo ha segnato un bel gol (Italian)
This player here of.the Chievo has scored a nice goal
b. *Questo giocatore del Chievo qui ha segnato un bel gol
This player of.the Chievo here has scored a nice goal

The account of (32) carries over to (33) too. Since *qui* is DP-internal, (33a) is unproblematic; (33b) is ungrammatical, no matter if the subject is topicalized or not. If the subject DP is in subject position (Spec, TP or similar), then a potential Top marker cannot surface. If the subject is topicalized and sits in [Spec, TopP], the sentence is still ungrammatical as *qui*, as opposed to *lì* (21b), cannot head TopP.

4.2 Prediction 2: Demonstrative-less *Det N qui* structures should be excluded

In section 3.2 I have shown that, precisely in those contexts where the 'reinforcer' *lì* is DP-external, a demonstrative need not to be present inside the DP: Demonstrative-less DPs can co-occur with *lì*. This is expected under my analysis of DP-external *lì* as Topic marker. Furthermore, if I am right in claiming that *qui* can only be used as a *bona fide* DP-internal reinforcer and never as a Top head, then Demonstrative-less DPs reinforced by *qui* should be *tout court* ungrammatical. In fact, a Demonstrative-less reinforcer cannot be DP-internal, as

¹⁰ I detect a certain deviance for (31a) where the PP is a possessor DP, while the structure with a PP complement (31c) is perfect. No such contrast is detected in the case of *Dem...lì*. I have no explanation for this effect.

it would have to be generated together with a demonstrative to survive in that context. This explains the ungrammaticality of (34a), (35a), (36a), fully parallel to that of (25a), (26a), (27a). Also, a reinforcer can be DP-external only if it heads a Topic projection—a possibility allowed for *lì* (26b), (27b), but not for *qui* (35b), (36b).

Objects:

- (34) a. *Ho finalmente incontrato il fidanzato qui di Maria (Italian)
 Have.1s finally met the boyfriend here of Maria
 b. *Ho finalmente incontrato il fidanzato di Maria qui
 Have.1s finally met the boyfriend of Maria here

Topicalized Objects:

- (35) a. *Il fidanzato qui di Maria, l'ho finalmente incontrato
 The boyfriend here of Maria him-have.1s finally met
 b. *Il fidanzato di Maria qui, l'ho finalmente incontrato
 The boyfriend of Maria here him-have.1s finally met
 'The boyfriend of Maria (and you know who I'm talking about), I have finally met him'

Subjects:

- (36) a. *Il fidanzato qui di Maria gioca bene a calcio
 The boyfriend here of Maria plays well at soccer
 b. *Il fidanzato di Maria qui, gioca bene a calcio
 The boyfriend of Maria here plays well at soccer
 'The boyfriend of Maria (and you know who I'm talking about), plays soccer well'

4. Conclusions and open issues

The bulk of the paper is devoted to the analysis of the 'reinforcers', in Bernstein's (1997) sense, *qui* and *lì* in Italian. I have first shown that structures of the form *Dem N PP Reinforcer* are not easily amenable to Bernstein's stranding analysis of the reinforcer. Several crosslinguistic data suggest that when the nominal part of the DP is moved up to a higher DP-internal position, PP complements or PP adjuncts are never carried along. I have then shown that Topicalization structures provide the only context in which the *Dem N PP Reinforcer* sequence is grammatical in Italian; the only reinforcer allowed in such contexts is *lì*. The reinforcer is to be analyzed as a Topic head in these cases. The correctness of the analysis is confirmed by the existence of cases where *lì* is grammatical even in the absence of an accompanying demonstrative. This is expected under the analysis of DP-external *lì* as a Top head. I have finally shown that, while both *lì* and *qui* can be used as DP-internal reinforcers, only the former can occur in DP-externally. In other words, *lì* can overtly realize a Top head, but *qui* cannot.

Several issues are left open for future research. First, there are certain refinements concerning the kind of Topic involved in *(Dem) N PP li*, which I left out due to space constraints (see Nicolis (in preparation) on this issue). Second, in my analysis, DP-internal *li* and DP-external, topical *li* are two entirely separate entities. It is therefore surprising that they are homophonous. It may very well be the case that the two occurrences of *li* are more closely related than my analysis would lead one to predict. What are the conditions under which a reinforcer can become a Top head? Third, what is the precise difference between a silent Top head and a realized Top head—recall that Topic heads are never obligatorily realized in Italian. Intuitively, the realization of an overt topical *li* seems linked to the speaker ensuring that the topicalized material is background information shared with the hearer. This notion should, of course, be properly formalized. Fourth, recent work by Kayne and collaborators (Kayne (2005), Leu (2007)) has proposed that the demonstratives *here* and *there* are accompanied by silent PLACE. The relation between silent PLACE and overt locative reinforcers is still open to debate (but see Leu (2007) for important discussion); in this paper I have not touched on this important issue at all, and I leave it open for future work.

Overall this paper attempts to shed some light on the distribution of *here* and *there* in Italian uncovering certain, to my knowledge previously unnoticed, asymmetries between the two.

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