

Issues in Italian Syntax

Studies in Generative Grammar

The goal of this series is to publish those texts that are representative of recent advances in the theory of formal grammar. Too many studies do not reach the public they deserve because of the depth and detail that make them unsuitable for publication in article form.

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Jan Koster

Henk van Riemsdijk

editors

Luigi Rizzi

Issues in Italian Syntax



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Introduction

The following essays are focused on various descriptive and theoretical issues which arise in the study of Italian syntax. The theoretical framework which forms the background of this study and to which appeals are constantly made is the so-called "Extended Standard Theory" (EST), the theory of grammar developed by Noam Chomsky and his school in the last decade.¹ This theory has evolved rapidly in recent years, achieving a significant level of explanatory power in extensive empirical domains. Two very general aspects of this recent development have been particularly influential in guiding the preparation of the following essays.

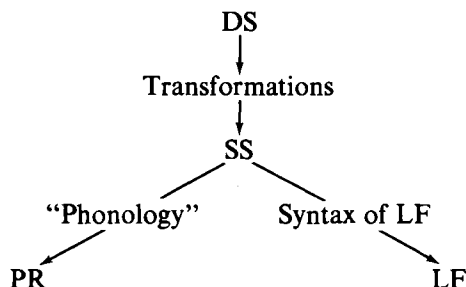
The first aspect stems from what in retrospective appears to have been the real starting point of this development, Chomsky's article "Conditions on Transformations" (cf. Chomsky (1973)), which defined a program and a style of research. "Conditions" had the major merit of showing, for the first time in a concrete and detailed manner, how the problem of principled explanation in syntax could be successfully addressed over large empirical domains. The success of this program opened a new, exciting perspective for syntactic theory: the gap between presenting the intricacy of descriptive problems and the aim of arriving at an explanation could be bridged without sacrificing either of these two complementary aspects of syntactic research. The common goal of the four chapters of this book is to show that the "Conditions" program, at various stages of its elaboration, can be fruitfully extended to the study of Italian syntax: the system of theoretical principles has become so pervasive in its empirical consequences that syntactic processes of a new and very different type from those which originally motivated the system can also be shown to fall within the scope of its explanatory power. Moreover, the attempted extension not only sheds light on important aspects of the structure of Italian, but also has consequences for the general theory, in that the broadening of its empirical domain can contribute to clarifying significant theoretical issues.

Such a "feed-back" effect leads us to the second general factor which has influenced the following studies. For a lucky coincidence, the deepen-

ing of the grammatical model in the late 1970s, has proceeded in conjunction with a renewed interest in comparative syntax. Careful formal analyses of various syntactic domains of different languages, specially in the Romance and Germanic areas, have provided new types of empirical evidence for testing the general theoretical framework and have suggested significant refinements of the theory and sometimes also radical modifications of specific hypotheses. Moreover, for the first time in the development of the generative framework, this work has provided a sufficient empirical basis for seriously addressing the theoretical problem of syntactic variation across languages. Descriptive problems traditionally belonging to the domain of comparative syntax and linguistic typology have been revisited from a sophisticated theoretical perspective, which has permitted important progress in the explanation of known patterns of variation, as well as the discovery of new ones. The second goal of the following essays, explicated in full in the fourth chapter of this book, but present throughout, is to make a contribution to this program, through the investigation of various syntactic properties which appear to cluster coherently across languages. Even if the discussion is generally focused on Italian data, the comparative and typological counterpart of the problems is always present in the background, and often explicitly addressed.

A few remarks on the general model, its recent development, and its present form are now in order. It is assumed that knowledge of language as it is manifested in ordinary linguistic behavior is to be characterized by a generative grammar, a formal system organized in various subcomponents, each of which contains a finite number of rules of a specific type. The grammar generates the sentences of the language and specifies, for each sentence, a set of structural representations which explicitly characterize the properties of the sentence on different linguistic levels. There are four fundamental structural representations: the Phonetic Representation (PR) and the Logical Form (LF) specify properties of the sound and of the meaning of the sentence, respectively; this (partial) characterization of the sound-meaning relation is mediated by two fundamental syntactic representations: the Deep Structure (DS), an abstract characterization of the "argument structure" of the sentence, satisfying the selectional requirements of the lexical items involved, and the S(urface) Structure (SS), a more "concrete" (i.e., closer to PR and LF) representation of the syntactic structure.² D Structures are characterized by two components: a categorial component containing specific instantiations of general rule schemata for structural configurations provided by the X-bar system,³ which generates abstract syntactic structures; and a lexicon, a list of lexical items specified w.r.t. phonetic syntactic and semantic properties; DS's are generated by inserting lexical items into the syntactic structures characterized by the categorial component. The four fundamental structural representations are mediated by different rule systems, as indicated in the following diagram:

(1)



Transformational rules map DS's onto SS's applying in accordance with the so-called "Trace Theory" of movement rules, which is discussed in more detail below. The "Phonological" component is in fact a cover term for various rule systems: apart from phonology proper, it includes at least deletion rules, and possibly "stylistic" rules, and other subcomponents (see Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) for a discussion of this organisation). The Syntax of Logical Form includes rules explicitly characterizing quantifier scope (May 1977), rules assigning antecedents to anaphoric elements, and possibly other processes, including "reconstruction" rules.⁴

Particular grammars are rule systems which conform to this general schema. The range of variation of particular grammars is defined by a higher level system, Universal Grammar (UG), which specifies a restrictive formal characterisation of the rule types available for particular grammars and their possible modes of interaction, thus providing an explicit definition of the notion "possible (grammar of a) natural language". UG also specifies a set of general constraints on rule application and general well-formedness conditions on the different structural representations characterized by particular grammars. Many of the proposed principles of UG on the form and functioning of rules and grammars and on the well-formedness of grammatical representations are discussed in detail in the following essays, and it is not necessary to introduce them here. The only general property of the theory which seems to me to deserve some preliminary consideration is the trace theory of movement rules, a cornerstone of the recent framework.⁵

The basic idea of trace theory is that when a phrase is moved, the node which dominated it does not disappear but is left in place and coindexed with the moved phrase: it is the "trace" of the moved phrase. Consider for instance the following S Structures.⁶

- (2) (a) Abbiamo sentito [_S [_{NP} Mario] parlare di sé]
 "We heard Mario speak of himself"
 (b) Abbiamo sentito [_S [_{NP} lui] parlare di sé]
 "We heard him speak of himself"
 (c) Lo_i abbiamo sentito [_S [_{NP_i} e] parlare de sé]
 "We him_i heard e_i speak of himself"

The subject of the embedded infinitival clause can be realized as a lexical NP, as in (2)a, or as a pronoun; in the latter case, the pronoun can be left in place, as in (2)b (which corresponds to an acceptable sentence if *lui* is contrastively stressed), or moved into the clitic position of the main clause, as in (2)c: the vacated NP position in this structure is the trace of the moved element. Traces do not receive phonetic realisation (the embedded subject NP is not “pronounced” in (2)c), but enter into a variety of grammatical processes at different levels, on a par with phonetically realized elements: for instance, the trace in (2)c is the clause-internal antecedent of the reflexive pronoun *sé*, on a par with the phonetically realized NP’s in (2)a and b. Hence traces are “visible” in the LF component, where antecedent-anaphor relations are established (or checked). Moreover, even if traces are not phonetically realized, they may also have an active role in the phonological component of (1), in that certain processes belonging to this component can be blocked by an intervening trace.⁷ Consider for instance the rule eliding the last vowel of the Italian indefinite quantifier *una* (one + FEM) in contiguity with a vowel:

- (3) (a) Comprerò $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{una macchina} \\ \text{un'automobile} \end{array} \right\}$
 “I will + buy one car”

The head N’ of the object NP (*macchina, automobile*) can be pronominalized by the clitic *ne*, which is extracted and moved to the verb:

- (4) Ne_i comprerò $[_{NP} \text{una } [_{N'_i} e]]$
 “I of + it_i will + buy one e_i”

Consider now a case in which the N’ is followed by a postnominal modifier, e.g., an adjective, whose initial segment is a vowel:

- (5) Comprerò $[_{NP} \text{un'} [_{N'} \text{automobile}]] \text{ azzurra}$
 “I will + buy one car blue”

If *ne* is extracted, the elision rule cannot apply, in spite of the fact that *una* is apparently contiguous to a vowel:

- (6) Ne comprerò $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{una} \\ \text{*un'} \end{array} \right\} \text{ azzurra}$

Why is it so? Trace theory provides an immediate answer: the structure corresponding to (6) is

- (7) Ne_i comprerò $[_{NP} \text{una } [_{N'_i} e]] \text{ azzurra}$

In (7) the contiguity between *una* and *azzurra* is interrupted by the inter-

vening trace, hence the context required by the elision rule is not fulfilled. In general, it can be said that, even if traces do not have phonetic content, they are not simply “invisible” for the rules of the phonological component, in that a trace may have the active role of blocking a process otherwise expected to apply. The presence of a trace can thus be detected also in this component of the grammar.

Trace theory implies the consequence that S Structures are more abstract syntactic representations than the output of the transformational component in other models not involving traces (e.g., surface structures in the standard sense) in that they may contain positions which happen not to have a phonetic content. The adopted framework admits another type of phonetically null position, i.e., the subject position of so-called control structures:

- (8) (a) *Gianni* ha promesso a Mario di NP partire
 “*Gianni* promised Mario NP to leave”
- (b) Gianni ha permesso a *Mario* di NP partire
 “Gianni permitted *Mario* NP to leave”

The phonetically null subject of the infinitival clause is interpreted in these structures as a pronominal element obligatorily bound by an antecedent (the “controller”, underscored in (8)) in the next higher clause. This phonetically null NP position is generally referred to as PRO. PRO and trace differ at least in their derivational histories: the latter is produced in the course of the transformational derivation by the application of a movement rule, while the former is the consequence of a decision already taken at the level of lexical insertion. The “antecedent” of a trace, the moved phrase, is automatically provided by the transformational derivation; in contrast, the transformational derivation does not automatically provide the antecedent of PRO, which must be determined by an independent subtheory (the theory of control) on the basis of structural properties as well as lexical requirements of the matrix verb. Whether or not PRO and trace also differ in intrinsic constitution is a much-debated question which need not concern us for the time being (see chapter IV for a sketchy presentation of the issue, and Chomsky (1981a) for a detailed discussion).

This fundamental theoretical background is shared by the studies which follow, but the four chapters, written at different times, differ slightly in certain technical details, reflecting in part the evolution of the framework over the past five years. Instead of undertaking the purely mechanical task of readjusting the text to achieve full homogeneity, we have preferred to keep the original formulations unchanged, indicating in the footnotes, in the very few cases of significant discrepancies, how things could be reformulated in the most recent version of the theory.

The first chapter was written in 1976/77 during a research sojourn at the Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes, and was published as an indepen-

dent essay in Keyser (1978). Here it is reproduced with minor modifications. It is shown that a number of verbs taking infinitival complements have apparently exceptional properties with respect to several syntactic processes. The main peculiarities are that these verbs allow a clitic pronoun originating in the infinitival complement to "climb" into the main clause; and that, in certain cases, these verbs can "inherit" the aspectual auxiliary selected by the embedded verb. These and various other peculiarities are traced to a unitary explanation by assuming that this class of verbs is characterized by a single abstract property: they optionally trigger a restructuring process which reanalyzes the main verb and the embedded infinitival verb as a single verbal complex, thus transforming a biclausal structure into a simple clause with a complex "verb". All the apparently exceptional behaviors are a direct consequence of the application of this abstract rule, given very natural supplementary assumptions which are discussed in detail.⁸

The second chapter was written in the fall of 1977 during a stay at MIT, and its background and content are strongly influenced by the theoretical debate which was dominant at the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at that time.⁹ The basic empirical observation is that Italian allows a highly selective class of violations of the *Wh* Island Constraint of Ross (1967): a relative pronoun can be extracted from an indirect question, provided that the source position is not too "remote" from the final position. This state of affairs is shown to support Chomsky's (1973) Subjacency Condition, which ensures exactly the kind of locality requirement needed, given the appropriate choice of "bounding nodes"; moreover, the analysis developed involves the non-trivial theoretical consequence that *wh*-traces are to be treated differently from NP- and clitic traces w.r.t. the theory of binding (the Opacity Principle of Chomsky (1980a)) in that the latter, but not the former, count as "anaphors" in the relevant sense.¹⁰

Chapters III and IV have been elaborated within the framework first outlined by Chomsky in the Pisa workshop of April 1979, and then fully developed in the *Lectures on Government and Binding* (cf. Chomsky (1981a)). They then reflect a more homogeneous and structured theoretical background, developing in part some of the issues discussed in the first two chapters.

The third chapter deals with the peculiar properties of a class of non-finite clauses in Italian which allow lexical subjects in post-auxiliary position. Such apparently exceptional properties are shown to be explicable via a very simple assumption on the internal structure of this class of clauses, in interaction with several subcomponents of the Government-Binding framework: in particular, the theory of abstract syntactic Case, which is suitably extended, the theory of movement rules with its fundamental locality principle, Subjacency, and the theory of binding, which is minimally modified in order to capture the particular binding requirements operative in the construction at issue.

The fourth chapter addresses the theoretical problem of syntactic

variation across languages, in connection with certain structural peculiarities which systematically differentiate English and Italian: Italian, unlike English, allows phonetically null subject positions in tensed clauses, as a consequence of either a choice at the level of lexical insertion, or of the application of a movement rule removing the content of the subject position. More generally, the "Null Subject" property appears to systematically correlate across languages to a number of other characteristic properties, thus defining a coherent pattern of cross-linguistic variation, which in the terms of the adopted framework is assigned the theoretical status of a parameter of Universal Grammar. The main goal of this chapter is to reinterpret recent accounts of the "Null Subject" Parameter, proposing a different analysis which assigns a more central role to the process of subject inversion, freely operative in languages of the Italian type. In an appendix, the proposed approach is compared in detail with the account of the parameter developed in Chomsky's *Lectures*.

In closing these introductory remarks, I would like to express my gratitude to the institutions which, in different forms and at different times, have supported the research the results of which constitute the content of this book: the Scuola Normale Superiore and the University of Pisa, the Université de Paris VIII-Vincennes, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Faculté Scientifique de Luminy-Marseille, and the Università della Calabria. The following studies owe much to many colleagues and friends with whom I had the opportunity of fruitfully discussing specific points and general background issues. I am particularly indebted to Giorgio Graffi, Nicolas Ruwet and Alfredo Stussi, who decisively influenced my formation as a linguist; to Henk van Riemsdijk and Jean-Roger Vergnaud for their major contributions, directly as well as through the creation of the GLOW circle, to the growth of a living theoretical debate in Europe; to Adriana Belletti and Guglielmo Cinque, who have permitted fundamental improvements and inspired new directions of research through constructive critiques on virtually all details of my work, as well as through their own contributions on Italian syntax; and to Noam Chomsky and Richard Kayne, with whom I have contracted the greatest intellectual debt: apart from the many hours spent with each of them in discussing syntactic theory and Italian syntax, I owe them the very theoretical ground and *raison d'être* of my work in linguistics.

NOTES

1. See, in particular, Chomsky (1977b), (1981a) and, for a more general and technically accessible discussion, Chomsky (1975), (1980c).
2. S Structures differ from the surface structures of previous models (e.g., the Standard Theory of Chomsky (1965)) in that, while being closer to the phonetic representations than D Structures are, they still are relatively abstract syntactic representations, containing more information than the simple organization in phrases of "pronounced" elements. See below for a brief discussion of this point.

3. I.e., the formal theory of syntactic categories, their intrinsic content and internal structure. See Chomsky (1972), ch. I, Jackendoff (1977), van Riemsdijk (1978).

4. I.e., rules "readjusting" S Structures in various ways, in order to permit the construction of the appropriate logical forms. See also Williams and van Riemsdijk (1981) for an organization of the components of the grammar different from (1), which renders reconstruction rules unnecessary, at least for the fundamental cases discussed in the literature. A still different proposal concerning the organization of the grammar, but elaborated within the same methodological guidelines of the more usual version of the theory, is argued for in Koster (1978).

5. On trace theory see, in particular, Chomsky (1977b), Fiengo (1974), (1977).

6. According to the usual convention, "e" is the identity element w.r.t. concatenation, hence "[_{NP} e]" designates an empty NP position. The notation "e₁" will be freely used, from now on, as an abbreviation for the substructure "[_{NP_i} e]".

In the following examples I will assume without discussion that perception verbs in Romance languages take infinitival complements with lexical subjects, as is proposed in Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980). See Kayne (1975) for a different view.

7. The following sketchy discussion reproduces the lines of much-debated arguments on the role of traces in phonosyntactic processes. See, in particular, Selkirk (1972), Chomsky & Lasnik (1977). More accurate and detailed accounts of various processes of truncation, elision and cliticization of Italian NP specifiers in connection with trace theory can be found in Rizzi (1980), Vanelli (1980).

8. The 1978 article and an earlier version of the restructuring hypothesis have occasionally given rise to discussions, attested in part in the literature. References mainly focused on this issue are the following: Zubizarreta (1980a) proposes to reinterpret our restructuring rule as a process which does not affect the constituent structure, but only the "thematic" structure, in the sense of Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980); Fresina (1980) argues for direct base generation of the "restructured" structures. Radford (1977), Burzio (1979) argue that restructuring is to be identified with the rule involved in the derivation of the causative construction. Of special importance is the discussion of Burzio (1981), in particular for the detailed investigation of the process of auxiliary change. Longobardi (forthcoming) discusses a processing strategy which applies to "restructured" structures. Finally, Kayne (1980b) suggests an interesting diachronic argument in support of the restructuring hypothesis (see ch. IV, appendix III, 5.2 for brief discussion).

9. The major issues were discussed and developed a few months later in Chomsky's article *On Binding* (cf. Chomsky (1980a)).

10. Discussions of the hypothesis presented in this chapter and of possible alternative analyses can be found in Reinhart (1981), George (1980). Sportiche (1979) proposes an extension of our approach to various extraction processes in French (on which see also Godard (1980)), and Taraldsen (1981) develops an analysis along similar lines of extractions from *wh* islands and complex NP's in Norwegian. The idea that *wh* traces are not "anaphors" receives further support in Freidin and Lasnik (1981) and is incorporated in the general restructuring of the theory of binding elaborated in Chomsky's *Lectures*.

I. A restructuring rule*

There are many syntactic processes in Italian syntax which create a bifurcation in the class of verbs taking infinitival complements. Consider the following examples:

(A) With some main verbs, an unstressed pronoun originating in the infinitival complement can be cliticized either to the main or to the embedded verb; with other main verbs, only the second cliticization is allowed:

- (1) (a) Piero verrà a parlarti di parapsicologia.
“Piero will come to speak to you about parapsychology.”
- (b) Piero ti verrà a parlare di parapsicologia.
- (c) Piero deciderà di parlarti di parapsicologia.
“Piero will decide to speak to you about parapsychology.”
- (d) *Piero ti deciderà di parlare di parapsicologia.

(B) In “impersonal *si*” sentences, with some main verbs the direct object of the embedded clause can become the main subject; with other main verbs, this promotion is impossible:

- (2) (a) Finalmente si comincerà a costruire le nuove case popolari.
“Finally *si* will begin to build the new council houses.”
- (b) Finalmente le nuove case popolari si cominceranno a costruire.
- (c) Finalmente si otterrà di costruire le nuove case popolari.
“Finally *si* will get permission to build the new council houses.”
- (d) *Finalmente le nuove case popolari si otterranno di costruire.

(C) In Italian, verbs can take *avere* “to have” or *essere* “to be” as aspectual auxiliary:

- (3) (a) Mario $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ha} \\ * \text{è} \end{array} \right\}$ voluto un costoso regalo di Natale.
“Mario has wanted an expensive Christmas present.”

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- (b) Mario $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{è} \\ *_{\text{ha}} \end{array} \right\}$ tornato a casa.
 “Mario “is” come back home.”

However, some main verbs generally taking *avere* can optionally take *essere* when the embedded verb requires *essere*; other main verbs do not allow this process:

- (4) (a) Mario ha voluto tornare a casa.
 (b) Mario è voluto tornare a casa.
 “Mario has/“is” wanted to come back home.”
 (c) Mario ha promesso di tornare a casa.
 (d) *Mario è promesso di tornare a casa.
 “Mario has promised to come back home.”

While at first sight these phenomena seem to be unrelated, a more careful consideration strongly suggests that an interesting generalization is to be captured: the classes of predicates which allow the exceptional behaviors exemplified in (1b), (2b), and (4b) are (with some qualification to be specified later) identical.

In this chapter I want to show that the phenomena just described, and other related facts, can receive a unitary account. I will argue for the existence of a restructuring rule in Italian syntax, that is, a rule which changes the structure of a phrase marker without affecting its terminal string. This rule, governed by a restrictive but significant class of main verbs, will be shown to optionally transform an underlying bisentential structure into a simple sentence, creating a unique verbal complex consisting of the main and the embedded verb. In sections 1, 2, and 3, the asymmetries observed in (1), (2), and (4), respectively, will be traced back to the operation of this single abstract rule; certain coherent interactions of these and other phenomena, predicted by the unitary treatment, will be shown to be inexplicable in any analysis describing the same facts as unrelated. Sections 4 and 5 will be devoted to the interaction of the restructuring rule with, respectively, the rule preposing the *aprepositional* dative *loro*, and *Tough* Movement. In section 6, I will discuss some alternative account for the same class of facts, trying to show that the hypothesis proposed in this chapter is superior. Finally, in section 7, I will further investigate some properties of the restructuring rule.

1. Clitic Placement

1.1. *The problem*

Before trying to give an account of the phenomenon exemplified in (1), I will briefly sketch the classical analysis proposed by Kayne (1969; 1975) of

the syntax of French clitic pronouns (which I will extend to Italian). According to this analysis, unstressed pronominal complements are basically introduced in postverbal position, as well as lexically specified complements, and are "cliticized" by a movement transformation, Clitic Placement (CP), which left-Chomsky-adjoints them to the verb:¹

Clitic Placement (CP)

vbl	- V -	vbl	- PRO -	vbl
1	2	3	4	5 $\Rightarrow$
1	4 + 2	3	ϕ	5

For instance, sentence (5a) would be derived via CP from a structure similar to (5b), exactly parallel to sentence (5c):

- (5) (a) Gianni gli presenterà Maria.
 (b) Gianni presenterà Maria a lui.
 (c) Gianni presenterà Maria a Francesco.
 "Gianni will introduce Maria to him/Francesco."

I will not try to justify this analysis, nor will I examine it in detail. The only thing I want to emphasize here is that, in general, CP seems to be subject to the condition that terms 2 and 4 of the structural description must be clause mates:

- (6) (a) Credo che Gianni la presenterà a Francesco.
 "I believe that Gianni will introduce her to Francesco."
 (b) *La credo che Gianni presenterà a Francesco.
 (7) (a) Sentivo Mario parlarle di parapsicologia.
 "I heard Mario speak to her about parapsychology."
 (b) *Le sentivo Mario parlare di parapsicologia.
 (8) (a) Piero affermava di conoscerla molto bene.
 "Piero stated he knew her very well."
 (b) *Piero la affermava di conoscere molto bene.
 (9) (a) Angela pareva averlo riaccompagnato a casa.
 "Angela seemed to have taken him home."
 (b) *?Angela lo pareva avere riaccompagnato a casa.

In the following discussion I will adopt the theory developed in Chomsky (1973; 1975; 1977b). In this framework, conditions on specific rules such as the clause-mate condition just mentioned are entirely dispensed with, and overgeneration by grammatical transformations is avoided by general conditions on rule application, and well-formedness conditions on representations. Within this theory, derivation of (6b) is blocked by both the Tensed S Condition (TSC) and the Specified Subject Condition (SSC).² Derivation of (7b), (8b), and (9b) is blocked by the SSC alone; for example,

consider the following plausible input structures to CP:

- (10) (a) (io) sentivo [_S Mario parlare a lei di parapsicologia]
 (b) Piero_i affermava [_S di PRO_i conoscere la molto bene]
 (c) Angela_i pareva [_S e_i avere riaccompagnato lo a casa]

Extraction of the clitic pronoun from the embedded clause is forbidden by the lexically specified subject *Mario* in (10a),³ by the phonetically null PRO controlled by the main subject in (10b), and by the phonetically null trace bound by the surface main subject in (10c).⁴

These paradigms interestingly support the already mentioned general conditions on rules, which have been introduced and first motivated on completely independent grounds. But the problem that we are going to face now seems to question their generality: with three classes of main verbs (some of which will be analyzed as Subject Raising verbs, and the others as Control verbs; see section 6.2 for relevant discussion), syntactically and semantically rather homogeneous, a clitic pronoun originating in the embedded sentence can be extracted from it and cliticized to the main verb. The following sentences are all equally acceptable:

Modals⁵

- (11) (a) Mario $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vuole} \\ \text{sa} \end{array} \right\}$ risolverlo da solo (questo problema).
 "Mario wants to/can solve it by himself (this problem)."
 (b) Mario lo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vuole} \\ \text{sa} \end{array} \right\}$ risolvere da solo.
 (12) (a) Gianni $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ha dovuto} \\ \text{ha potuto} \end{array} \right\}$ parlargli personalmente.
 "Gianni has had/has been able to speak with him personally."
 (b) Gianni gli $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ha dovuto} \\ \text{ha potuto} \end{array} \right\}$ parlare personalmente.

Aspectuals

- (13) (a) Mario $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{comincia a} \\ \text{finisce di} \end{array} \right\}$ batterla a macchina domani (la tesi).
 "Mario will start/finish typing it tomorrow (his thesis)."
 (b) Mario la $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{comincia a} \\ \text{finisce di} \end{array} \right\}$ battere a macchina domani.
 (14) (a) Gianni $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{continua a} \\ \text{sta per} \end{array} \right\}$ raccontargli stupide storie.
 "Gianni is continuing/going to tell him stupid stories."
 (b) Gianni gli $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{continua a} \\ \text{sta per} \end{array} \right\}$ raccontare stupide storie.

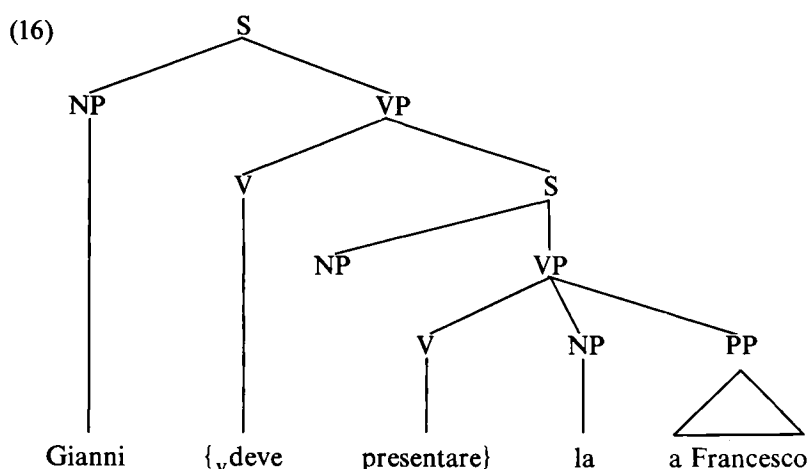
Motion Verbs

- (15) (a) Piero $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{venne} \\ \text{andò} \\ \text{tornò} \end{array} \right\}$ a chiamarli alla stazione.
 “Piero came/went/came back to call them at the station.”
 (b) Piero li $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{venne} \\ \text{andò} \\ \text{tornò} \end{array} \right\}$ a chiamare alla stazione.

While the behavior of clitic pronouns in (6)–(9) is straightforwardly predicted by Kayne’s formulation of CP plus general conditions on transformational rules, paradigms such as (11)–(15) require some further hypotheses.

1.2. Restructuring

The hypothesis which will be argued for is the following: there exists a restructuring rule in Italian syntax, governed by modals, aspectuals, and motion verbs (with the variations mentioned in footnote 6), which optionally reanalyzes a terminal substring⁶ $V_x (P) V$ as a single verbal complex, hence automatically transforming the underlying bisentential structure into a simple sentence. For the time being, I will not try to give the rule a formal characterization, but only an intuitive one. Consider an intermediate structure such as (16), where the embedded subject NP is trace or PRO;⁷ Restructuring can reanalyze the terminal substring included in the braces as a single verbal complex (provisionally labelled V; see section 7.1 for discussion of this problem):



If Restructuring has applied to (16), yielding the simple structure (17a), nothing can now prevent the clitic pronoun from moving to the “main

verb” *dovere* (in fact, the first lexical verb of the verbal complex), and further application of CP will yield (17b):⁸

- (17) (a) Gianni [_V deve presentare] la a Francesco.
 (b) Gianni la deve presentare a Francesco.

If Restructuring has not applied to (16), the structure remains bisentential (cf. (18a)), and the only sentence that can be derived, via CP, is (18b), the “long step” of the clitic being forbidden by the SSC.

- (18) (a) Gianni deve [_S presentare la a Francesco]
 (b) Gianni deve presentarla a Francesco.

With the main verbs of (6)–(9), which do not allow Restructuring, the “long step” will be blocked in any case by the SSC.

In arguing for the Restructuring hypothesis, I will follow two distinct strategies:

(A) The Restructuring hypothesis states that sentence pairs such as (17b)–(18b) not only differ in the relative ordering of the formative *la* with respect to other terminal elements, but also differ radically in structure, along the lines indicated by (17a), (18a). It should be possible to verify whether or not this prediction is correct by applying appropriate constituency tests. In principle, if the hypothesis is correct, we should be able to show (a) that *presentarla a Francesco* is a constituent in (18b), but that *presentare a Francesco* is not a constituent in (17b); (b) that *la deve presentare* is a constituent in (17b), but that *deve presentarla* is not a constituent in (18b). Leaving aside point (b) (which will be discussed in section 7.1) for the time being, in the remaining paragraphs of this section I will investigate point (a).

(B) Broadening the analysis somewhat, in the following sections I will show that the Restructuring hypothesis permits an immediate account for a set of apparently exceptional behaviors of the above-mentioned class of main verbs.

1.3. *Wh movement*

In Italian, the phenomenon generally referred to as “pied-piping” (see Ross (1967)) can involve, along with many other constituent types, even a whole infinitival complement: from the underlying structure (19a), both (19b) and (19c) can be derived via *Wh Movement*:

- (19) (a) questi argomenti [_S (io) verrò [_S a discutere dei quali] al più presto] mi sembrano molto interessanti.
 “These topics [_S I will come [_S to discuss (on) which] as soon as possible] seem to me very interesting.”

- (b) Questi argomenti, dei quali verrò a discutere al più presto, mi sembrano molto interessanti.
- (c) Questi argomenti, a discutere dei quali verrò al più presto, mi sembrano molto interessanti.

Now, an unstressed pronoun originating in the embedded clause cannot cliticize to the main verb when the whole embedded clause is *wh*-preposed:

- (20) (a) Questi argomenti, a parlarti dei quali verrò al più presto, . . .
- (b) *Questi argomenti, a parlare dei quali ti verrò al più presto, . . .
"These topics, to talk with you about which I will come as soon as possible, . . ."
- (21) (a) Francesco, a parlarne col quale comincerò solo la settimana prossima, . . .
- (b) *Francesco, a parlare col quale ne comincerò solo la settimana prossima, . . .
"Francesco, to talk about it with whom I will begin only next week, . . ."
- (22) (a) Il Direttore, presentarti al quale, per il momento, proprio non posso, è comunque una gran brava persona.
- (b) *Il Direttore, presentare al quale, per il momento, proprio non ti posso, è comunque una gran brava persona.
"The Director, to introduce you to whom, for the time being, I really cannot, is anyhow a very nice person."

Of course, when only the PP immediately containing the *wh*-word is preposed, sentences corresponding to (20b), (21b), (22b) are acceptable:

- (23) (a) Questi argomenti, dei quali ti verrò a parlare al più presto, . . .
- (b) Francesco, col quale ne comincerò a parlare solo la settimana prossima, . . .
- (c) Il Direttore, al quale, per il momento, proprio non ti posso presentare, . . .

Within my hypothesis, the explanation of this fact is straightforward. Consider for instance the following input structures to *Wh* Movement:

- (24) (a) Questi argomenti [_S verrò a parlarti dei quali] al più presto . . .
- (b) Questi argomenti [_S ti verrò a parlare dei quali] al più presto . . .

In (24a) the string *a parlarti dei quali* is a constituent, and as such can be *wh*-preposed; but in (24b), Restructuring having applied, the string *a parlare dei quali* is not a constituent, and the ungrammatical (20b) is automatically ruled out.

An obvious objection to this argument is the following: it is not necessary to postulate a structural difference between (24a, b) to rule out (20b), etc.,