

Subject Pronouns: The pronominal system of Italian vs. French

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1. Introduction. It is often assumed that a rule of Subject Pronoun Drop (SPD) exists in some modern Romance languages, including Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian (as in Perlmutter 1971, Chomsky and Lasnik 1977, and very frequently in the literature on Romance syntax in general). The proposal of this paper is that there is no rule of SPD in Italian, but, rather, a rule of Nominative Clitic Drop (NCD). The distinction is important for understanding the pronominal system of Italian (and, I suspect, of Romance in general). It is also important in that it removes SPD from the set of deletion rules of Italian and inserts NCD, a rule with different properties, into that set. I will argue that this change in the set of deletion rules is necessary for independent reasons and that optional pronoun deletion rules, of which SPD would have been an example, should be excluded from the set of possible deletion rules of any language.

2. The Data. An examination of the nominative pronoun systems in French and Italian reveals the contrasts below. (I use the first person singular pronoun for exemplification, but the statements hold of all persons and both numbers.)

A. Nominative clitic pronouns appear in surface sentences in French but not in Italian. (For a discussion of si, see Section 5 below.)

(1) *J'ai vu Marie.* (2) *Ho visto Maria.* 'I saw Maria.'

In 1 *j'* (the reduced form of *je* 'I') is a nominative clitic pronoun. In 2 there is no nominative at all. For arguments that *j'* is clitic, see Kayne 1975, where it is pointed out that clitics contrast with nonclitics in the following ways: they cannot receive an intonation peak; they come in a fixed order; they cannot be conjoined; they cannot be separated from the verb by material other than clitic material.

B. Nonclitic nominative pronouns do not appear in subject position in surface sentences in French, but they do in Italian.

(3) **Moi* *al vu Marie.* (cf. 7 below)
(4) *Io ho visto Maria.* 'I saw Maria.'

The reader can use Kayne's tests in A. above to determine that moi and io are not clitic. That io is the surface subject of 4 is argued in Section 4.2, Point 2 below.

C. The nominative clitic pronouns of French need not be homophonous with the nominative tonic pronouns (although they may be). But the nominative tonic pronouns which occur with a verb in Italian (as in 4), are always homophonous with the nominative tonic pronouns. By 'tonic' I mean that form which can stand in the absence of a verb.

- (5) Qui a vu Marie? -Moi. (Contrast to 1 of 1.)
 (6) Chi a visto Maria? -Io. (Compare to 10 of 4.)
 'Who saw Maria?'

D. French allows what is commonly called Left Dislocation from subject position.¹ That is, it allows the structure in which there is an NP in topic position followed by an S which has a nominative pronoun (of course for French this is a subject clitic pronoun). Italian does not allow Left Dislocation from subject.

- (7) Moi, j'ai vu Marie. (8)*Io, io ho visto Maria.
 'Me, I saw Marie.'

This contrast holds even if the NP in topic position is not a pronoun.

- (9) Jean, il a vu Marie. (10)*Gianni, lui ha visto Maria.
 'John, he saw Marie.'

However, in both languages a topic NP may be understood as coreferential with a full NP in subject position. A common example of this type would be with an epithet in subject position.²

- (11) Jean, cet idiot l'a fait.
 (12) Gianni, quell'idiota l'ha fatto di nuovo.
 'John, that idiot did it (again).'

E. And, finally, French disallows sentences with no surface subject, whereas Italian allows them.

- (13) *Al vu Marie. (cf. 1) (14) Ho visto Maria. (=2)

The oblique pronoun systems of French and Italian, instead, are identical with regard to these properties, with the exception of G below. Let me demonstrate with 3rd person, masculine, sg., accusative pronouns. But datives of any person, either gender, and either number could as well have been used.³ (But see the appendix.) By 'oblique' I mean nonnominative.
 F. (parallel to A) Accusative clitic pronouns appear in surface sentences in both French and Italian.

- (15) Je le vois. (16) (Io) lo vedo. 'I see it.'

Le in 15 and lo in 16 are accusative clitics.
 G. (parallel to B) Nonclitic accusative pronouns do not readily appear in direct object position in French, but they do in Italian.

- (17)*Je vois lui.⁴ (18) (Io) vedo lui. 'I see him.'

Still, much more frequent than 18 is a structure like 19, in which no nonclitic accusative pronoun occurs.

- (19) È lui che (io) vedo. 'It's him that I see.'

Lui in 19 is a nominative, not an accusative (although it is homophonous with the accusative lui of 18), as we can see in 20, of the same structure, where io is the nominative (which is not homophonous with the nonclitic accusative me of lui vede me.)

- (20) Sono io che (lui) vede. 'It's me that he sees.'

H. (parallel to C) Accusative clitic pronouns need not be homophonous with tonic accusatives (although they may be) in both languages.

- (21) Qui regardait-elle? -Lui. (Contrast to Je in 15.)
 (22) Chi guardava? -Lui. (Contrast to Io in 16.)
 'Who was she looking at?'

I. (parallel to D). Both languages allow Left Dislocation from direct object position.

- (23) Lui, je veux le voir. (24) Lui, (io) voglio vederlo.
 'Him, I want to see him.'

This is true (and more natural for a 3rd person topic) even if the NP in topic position is not a pronoun.

- (25) Jean, je veux le voir. (26) Gianni, (io) voglio vederlo.

J. (parallel to E) Both French and Italian disallow surface sentences which are missing accusative objects obligatorily subcategorized by the verbs involved unless those objects have been moved (as by Wh-Mvt) or deleted subject to recoverability (as in a Gapping sentence).⁵

- (27)*J'ai mis sur la table. (cf. Je l'ai mis sur la table.)
 (28)*Ho messo sulla tavola. (cf. L'ho messo sulla tavola.)
 'I put(it) on the dining table.'

3. An Explanatory Analysis. The fact that the nominative pronoun systems of French and Italian contrast in these ways while the oblique pronoun systems are quite similar can be explained with the following analysis.

In Italian base generated subject pronouns are obligatorily cliticized and subsequently obligatorily deleted by a rule of Nominative Clitic Drop (NCD). If there is a nominative pronoun base generated in topic position, this pronoun then can move into subject position. I assume here the PS rules $\bar{S} \Rightarrow \text{Topic } \bar{S}$ and

$\bar{S} \Rightarrow$ Comp $\{\bar{S}\}$, discussed in Chomsky 1977. The derivation of 2 would be as in 29; that of 4 would be as in 30.

- (29) (derivation of 2)
- a. base: \bar{S} Topic \bar{S} Comp \bar{S} NP S NP tense VP \bar{S} [ho visto Maria]]
 b. cliticization of subject pronoun: \bar{S} NP S NP tense VP Aux \bar{S} [past] [clitic-ho]...]]
 c. NCD: \bar{S} NP S NP tense VP Aux \bar{S} [past] [ho]...]]
 d. surface: Ho visto Maria.
 (30) (derivation of 4)
- a. base: \bar{S} Topic \bar{S} Comp \bar{S} NP S NP tense VP \bar{S} SSS \bar{S} [past] [ho visto Maria]]]
 b. cliticization of subject pronoun: just as in 29b.
 c. NCD: just as in 29c.
 d. Nominative topic lowers into subject position:
 \bar{S} Topic \bar{S} Comp \bar{S} NP tense VP \bar{S} S S S \bar{S} [past] [ho visto Maria]]]
 e. surface: Io ho visto Maria.

Many questions arise as to the viability of the above analyses. These are handled in Section 4. For now let me point out exactly how this analysis will account for the data offered in Section 2.

First, consider A and F. French exhibits surface clitics of all cases because it has no clitic dropping rules. Italian exhibits only oblique surface clitics because it has an obligatory nominative clitic dropping rule (NCD).

Second, consider B. (The discussion of G will be saved for last.) French subject pronouns are obligatorily cliticized. But French has no rule of Topic Lowering into Subject Position (let me call it Lowering). Italian subject pronouns are obligatorily cliticized, then obligatorily deleted. At this point a nominative topic can be lowered into subject position.

Third, consider G and H. Pronouns that appear in surface subject position in Italian must be homophonous with tonic pronouns precisely because they are generated in topic position (which is a position requiring the tonic form) and only subsequently lowered into subject position. Since there is no Lowering rule for French and since Lowering applies only into subject position in Italian, the subject pronouns of French (which are clitic) and the oblique pronouns in clitic position of both languages need not be homophonous with their case-corresponding tonic forms.

Fourth, consider D and I. Base generated topics can be co-referential with any NP in the S. Thus French exhibits Left Dislocation from any NP position and Italian exhibits Left Dislocation from oblique positions and from subject position when a full NP occupies subject position (as in 12). But if there is a surface subject pronoun in Italian, that pronoun was moved there by Lowering. Since topic position cannot be filled in the base by the coreferential NP's, once a nominative pronoun has been lowered into subject position, there will be no NP left in topic position to be coreferential with the subject pronoun. Hence, what looks like Left Dislocation from subject position where subject position is filled with a pronoun is impossible in Italian.

Fifth, consider E and J. French has no NCD: Italian does. Finally, let us turn to G. In French cliticization of pronouns is obligatory, whether from subject or oblique position. But it would appear that in Italian cliticization is optional from oblique position. Notice that obligatory cliticization of subject pronouns in Italian followed by optional Lowering results in surface nominative tonic pronouns in subject position. It would seem natural, then, to extend this analysis to oblique pronouns by saying tonic oblique pronouns (as in 18) are moved to their surface position by a rule which lowers an NP from topic position into oblique position. But oblique clitic pronouns are not dropped in Italian (see 28). Thus, if we allowed topics to lower into oblique position, we would predict the existence of sentences with both a tonic and an oblique clitic pronoun of the same case.

(31)*Elena lo ha visto Int. 'Elena saw him.'

But 31 is not a good S in Standard Italian. There are varieties of Italian which do allow the doubling effect in 31. There are also varieties of Spanish which allow (or even require for certain cases--see Schroten 1980 and Rivas 1977) such a doubling effect. But drawing conclusions about the rules involved in producing S's like 31 in such varieties should be avoided without a study of the entire pronominal systems of these varieties, a study I am unable to undertake presently.

One way to salvage a hypothetical rule of Lowering into oblique position would be to require the oblique clitic to be dropped just in case Lowering applies. Thus 31 would drop \bar{I}_o , yielding the good 32.

(32) Elena ha visto Int.

But such a condition on Lowering is ad-hoc. Furthermore, I will argue in Section 4.2, Point 1 below that it is the fact that Italian has a rule of NCD which allows Italian to have a rule of Lowering from topic position into subject position. Thus to

have oblique clitic dropping be conditioned by topic lowering in- to oblique position would be to claim the opposite correlation between the two types of rules from that which I defend in Section 4.2.

Another argument against the existence of topic lowering in- to oblique position in Italian is offered by the fact that Left Dislocation can apply from oblique position in Italian, in contrast to the facts on subject position (see 24 and 26 vs. 8 and 10). If tonic oblique pronouns were moved into their surface position by a rule of topic lowering into oblique position, we would not be able to generate Left Dislocation sentences with a coreferential oblique strong pronoun in the S. But such S's are Grammatical.

(33) Gianni, volevo invitare (proprio) lui.

'Gianni, I wanted to invite (exactly) him.'

Gianni, non ricordo di aver mai parlato a lui.

'Gianni, I don't recall ever having talked to him.'

For these reasons I reject the idea that there exists a rule of lowering into oblique position. The only alternative is that cliticization from oblique position is optional in Italian. Why should this be? Notice that the existence of S's like 18 beside S's like 4, both repeated here for convenience,

(34) (Io) vedo lui. (-18) 'I see him.'

(35) Io ho visto Maria. (-4) 'I saw Maria.'

results in a surface parallelism between the nominative and oblique pronoun systems of Italian. I suggest that cliticization from oblique position in Italian is not obligatory precisely because its optionality will allow for this surface parallelism. That is, cliticization from oblique position is optional due to some analogical process which takes 4 as its standard and allows 18, conforming to 4. I have no empirical evidence that this must be the case. And if analogy can be shown not to be the modus operandi for the existence of 18, so be it. The fact remains that cliticization from oblique position is optional in Italian. In conclusion, the analysis offered in this section takes the pronominal systems of French and Italian to have the following identical characteristics.

Both languages have clitics of all cases.

Both languages have obligatory cliticization from subjects.

Both languages allow base generated topic NP's which are coreferential with NP's in any position within the S.

The languages' pronominal systems differ in three ways.

Italian has obligatory NCD. French has no such rule.

Italian has optional lowering into subject. French doesn't. Italian has optional cliticization from oblique position whereas French has obligatory cliticization from there.

I have suggested that the optionality of cliticization from oblique position in Italian is due to analogy with the surface positions in which we find nominative tonic pronouns. If this is correct, then this third difference between French and Italian follows from the first two differences.

I will argue in Section 4.2 that the possibility of lowering exists only because Italian has NCD. Therefore this second difference between French and Italian follows from the first.

In sum, all the differences noted in Section 2 follow from one basic difference between French and Italian: the latter has NCD; the former does not.

4. The Viability of This Analysis. Many questions come to mind when one considers the analysis offered in Section 3. In this section I will try to answer those questions, concluding that the analysis of Section 3 is viable considering both the structures of French and Italian in particular and syntactic theory in general.

4.1. NCD. Point 1. Why should French not have NCD but Italian have such a rule? Consider what would happen to a French sentence if there were a rule of NCD. For the singular in all persons and the plural in the 3rd person the regular verbs would be "heard" identically. Furthermore, for regular adjectives in French, in non-1st person contexts, number is not heard. Thus deletion of a nominative clitic would be nonrecoverable in many instances. On the other hand, in Italian the verb inflection uniquely determines both person and number with isolated exception of the present of the irregular verb *essere* 'be' (where the 1st sg. and the 3rd pl. are both *sono*) and the regular exception of the present subjunctive (where the sg. is the same for all persons) and the past subjunctive (where the first and second persons sg. are the same). Furthermore, number is heard on adjectives, and adjectives occur very frequently with *essere*. Thus deletion of a nominative clitic would be recoverable in most instances. And, directly to the point is the fact that for many speakers of Italian a subject pronoun (the tonic pronoun) must appear in subjunctive clauses where the V does not uniquely determine person and number. The possibility for a nominative clitic dropping rule occurs in Italian, then, because such a deletion would be recoverable. The possibility does not occur in French because such a deletion would not be recoverable.

Point 2. Why is NCD obligatory? In Section 5 I will claim that all pronoun deletion rules must be obligatory. Since NCD is a pronoun deletion rule, it must be obligatory.

Point 3. Why have a NCD rule at all? That is, why not just base generate S's like 2 with no NP in subject position (and, hence, no nominative clitic) at any point in the derivation? There are many reasons against base generating these NCD S's without a subject. This proposal would wreak havoc with any rule that involves subject NP's. For example, interpretive rules which call for subject control, such as *Equi* with certain V's,

would be impossible to state. Transformational rules which move subjects, such as Raising into Subject Position (subject-to-subject raising) would be impossible to state. Rules which crucially involve the subject NP in any way would defy formalization. Even morpho-syntactic rules like Subject-Verb Agreement would be unstateable. Yet all these rules apply in the same way to NCD S's as to sentences with full NP subjects.

Point 4. If NCD exists, then clitic subjects exist in Italian at some point in the derivation. Shouldn't we then expect to find both present dialects of Italian where nominative clitics are present in the surface and an older stage of Standard Italian in which nominative clitics were present in the surface? I don't know. Surely, it seems unlikely that a language would develop nominative clitics and then simultaneously add an obligatory rule of NCD so that at no stage in the history of that language do nominative clitics appear in the surface. However, it is not a logical impossibility. Furthermore, the existence of dialects of Italian today which have nominative clitics in the surface is not a logical necessity of this hypothesis, although, if there were none, I would have to claim that all dialects of Italian adopted a NCD rule, in contrast to the neighboring Romance language French, which did not. In any case, the analysis here does predict (although I am not making any claims about expectations or probabilities) the possibility of present dialects of Italian and older stages of Standard Italian which exhibit nominative clitics. And this prediction is borne out. Thus many dialects of Italian have nominative clitics which behave syntactically like the nominative clitics of French. And Old Tuscan (which is taken as an older stage of "standard" language) likewise has nominative clitics. I cite here two examples from Rohlfs 1949, but many many more are offered there.

- (36) Old Tuscan: *I l'appello ben per madre mia.* 'I call her for my mother.' (Here "I" is a clitic (not just a reduced form) for 1st person sg. Rohlfs reports 2nd person examples with "t" or "ti" as nominative and 3rd person ones with "e" or "gli" as nominative.)
- (37) Florentine vernacular today: *Io e' continuat a fare all'amore co' Renzino.* 'I continued to make love with Renzino.' (Here "io e'" is like the "moi je" of French example 7. Note that "io" is not required, just as "moi" is not required. Thus Rohlfs reports examples like "e' diceo..." 'I was saying...')

4.2. Lowering. Point 1. Why should Italian allow topic lowering into subject position when French doesn't? There is in both Italian and French a relatively strong prohibition against having two nominals filling the same argument role of a given verb (see Comrie 1976, Radford 1977, among others). Since NCD is obligatory, Italian will have in the surface no subject argument of the V to which NCD has applied other than the nominative which moved

there from topic position. But since French has no rule of NCD, a topic lowering rule would result in two subject arguments of the same V, in violation of the prohibition stated above.

Point 2. Why say there is lowering at all? That is, why not just say that the nominative pronoun in an S such as 4 is in topic position in the surface? It is necessary to analyze the nominative pronouns which appear with the V in Italian as subjects because they behave syntactically like subjects. For example, subjects can be postposed in Italian, and so can tonic pronouns.

- (38) *L'ha scritta Michele!* 'Michael wrote it!'
 (39) *L'ho scritta io!* 'I wrote it!'

Notice that 39 does not have the intonation associated with a Right Dislocation structure. Thus in 40 the NP in final position is separated from the preceding S by a comma intonation, but that is not the case in 38-39.

- (40) *L'ha scritta, quella maledetta lettera.*
 'He wrote it, that damned letter.'

Likewise, these nominative tonic pronouns occur in clefted position, just as other subject NP's do.

- (41) *È Michele che l'ha scritta.* 'It's Michael who wrote it!'
 (42) *Sono io che l'ho scritta.* 'It's me who wrote it.'

Thus these nominative pronouns are not limited to S initial, or topic, position. Instead, they appear in any position a subject NP can appear in.

Point 3. How can one account for nominative pronouns in embedded sentences? Note that nominative pronouns can occur in tensed embedded S's (and elsewhere), no matter how deeply embedded.

- (43) *Ho indovinato che la ragazza aveva scritto quella lettera che tu hai ricevuto.* (tu is the tonic here)
 'I guessed that the girl had written that letter that you received.' (This S is accepted with *avesso* as well as *aveva*.)

Movement from a matrix initial topic position into the embedded subject position in 43 is impossible for the following reason. One can find grammatical S's with tonic nominative pronouns in two or more clauses. If all these pronouns were base generated in topic position, we'd be starting with a topic with two or more pronouns of the same case. But topic position allows only one NP of any given case. However, it is not necessary to claim that the tu of 43 has been lowered from matrix initial position. Instead, we can note that tensed embedded clauses in Italian allow initial topics.

- (44) a. Ecco la lettera che, tu, sono convinta che hai scritto. 'Here's the letter that, you, I'm convinced that you wrote.'
- b. Non mi aspettavo che, Giorgio, l'avresti invitato. 'I didn't expect that, Giorgio, you would have invited him.' (Some speakers prefer subjunctive here.)
- c. Non ricordo se, Giorgio, gli abbia già telefonato. 'I don't remember if, Giorgio, she has already phoned him.'

(A relevant discussion of the grammaticality of S's like 44 is given in the appendix concerning examples xxt-xxli.) Thus it is possible to analyze 43 with the *tu* having been lowered from the embedded topic position (that following the *che* which introduces the most deeply embedded clause). In sum, nominative pronouns in tensed embedded sentences present no new problems for the analysis in Section 3.

Point 4. How can one account for nominative pronouns in clauses which also have an NP in topic position, such as 45?

- (45) Carlo, io spero di non vederlo mai più.
'Carlo, I hope to never see him again.'

45 is not a problem, in fact. The *io* of 45 can be generated in initial topic position along with *Carlo*. Sentences with two topics, as long as the topics are not of the same case, are not unusual in Italian.

- (46) Tu, il caffè, non lo prendi. 'You, coffee, you don't drink it.'

Point 5. Shouldn't there be some special semantics associated with subjects which were base generated in topic position as opposed to subjects which were never in topic position? I don't know. It is not clear to me what the implications of syntactic source are on semantic interpretation beyond the notions of grammatical relations, which are taken in ESI to be defined at the base level. Since the topic NP would not bear a grammatical relation to the V, the question is open. Many people have suggested both in the linguistic literature and personally to me that a subject pronoun in Italian is allowed only if that pronoun is emphatic or contrastive. While I think this may well be true of strong oblique pronouns which appear in positions from which cliticization could have taken place (but didn't), I don't feel at all confident that this is true of subject pronouns. Many speakers seem to use subject pronouns rather frequently and without any kind of emphasis or contrast. Thus, I am making no claims about the semantics of NP's generated in topic position regardless of where they wind up in the surface.

4.2 Traces and Case Marking. Won't lowering into subject position result in an improperly bound trace in topic position? If

all movement leaves a trace, the answer is yes. But there is reason to believe that not all movement leaves a trace. Consider cliticization from subject position in French. If cliticization left behind a trace, the trace in I would be improperly bound since it precedes the moved NP (as discussed in Chomsky 1975, 1976). Yet I and other subjects with clitic subjects in French are fine. Likewise if PP extraposition (argued for in Chomsky 1977 pp. 113-114) in English leaves a trace, it will be improperly bound. Yet the arguments for PP extraposition are strong and the surface sentences are grammatical. In theory, any rightward movement rule would leave behind an improperly bound trace which then must be covered by moving another node into that trace's "slot". Otherwise, the surface sentence should be ill formed. In fact, however, this does not appear to be the case: witness cliticization and PP extraposition. (There Insertion could also be considered here, but Chomsky 1980 offers an analysis of the IF of "there" S's which does away with the need for a trace, given the assumption that the role of traces is to allow IF to have the normal predicate-argument type structure of sentences.) An examination of the arguments given for traces in recent linguistic literature reveals the following fact. With regard to NP movement, the arguments (as, for example, in Dresher and Hornstein 1979) for traces are based on movement rules which take an NP bearing a certain relation to its V and move it to a position in which it no longer bears the original relation to that same verb. Thus rules like Passive (in non-base-generated approaches to Passive), Possessive formation, Raising into Subject Position, and Wh-Mvt are used to argue for trace theory. But rules like Postal's 1971 "about" mvt, or cliticization from subject position, or PP extraposition (in Chomsky's 1977 analysis) all of which move an NP or a phrase containing an NP to a position in which that NP still bears its original relation to its V, simply never are employed in arguments for traces. This is not surprising when one examines the role traces play in semantic interpretation. The basic work traces do is supply information about which NP's bore which relations to which V's. If the NP itself still bears its original relation to its original V, we don't need a trace to aid in determining these facts about the NP. I propose, then, that with regard to NP mvt rules, only those rules which change (as NP preposing in Passive) or obliterate (as Wh-Mvt) an NP's relation to its V leave traces. It follows, then, that cliticization (from any position) does not leave a trace, since the movement does not change the NP's relation to its V. It also follows that movement from topic position (into any position) does not leave a trace, since topics do not bear any relation to the V--they are outside the S. Thus there is no relation for the movement to obliterate. Certainly, topics are usually coreferential with some NP within the S which does bear a relation to the V. But the topic itself does not. I conclude, then, that topic lowering into subject position leaves no trace.

Point 2. What is the ordering of the rules needed in the analysis presented in Section 3? The first rule applying in 29 and 30 is given as cliticization. However, this is not accurate. Case marking must be allowed to precede cliticization in order to correctly produce 47a corresponding to 47b, but 48a corresponding to 48b, given an analysis of cliticization which does not leave traces.⁷

(47) a. *Lo parlo.* b. *Parlo tedesco.* 'I speak It/German.'
(48) a. *Già parlo.* b. *Parlo a Mario.* 'I speak to him/Mario.'

The clitic pronouns in 47a and 48a are identical for person, number, and gender, differing only for case. It is not to be assumed that this ordering requires an extrinsic ordering statement, however. Cliticization is a postcyclic rule (see Kayne 1975 for justification for French, which can be carried over in many details to Italian). Thus if case marking were cyclic, this ordering would follow automatically. Whether case marking is cyclic or not, however, is not clear. Therefore I leave this ordering question open.

Since NCD applies only to clitics, it applies after cliticization, with no need for extrinsic ordering.

The question remaining concerns the ordering of Lowering. The structural description of the rule will not be met until after cliticization, since the rule will move a nominative topic into an empty subject NP node (that is, an NP node immediately dominated by S, which itself dominates no material, not even a trace) and the subject NP node will not be empty until after cliticization. (S's like 38-39 also have empty subject nodes. But the double argument prohibition precludes Lowering in these instances.) Since cliticization is postcyclic, Lowering must be postcyclic (given that only postcyclic rules can follow postcyclic rules). The fact that Lowering in Chomsky's 1976 theory would not be sensitive to the Tensed S Condition (or the PIC) if either S or S' is a cyclic node is, therefore, not a problem, only cyclic rules must be sensitive to this condition.

Turning to 30, we find that after cliticization both NCD and Lowering apply. Since NCD is obligatory, I see no way to form an empirically based argument that one must precede the other. The ordering in 30 of NCD before Lowering, then, is arbitrary and the opposite order could well have applied. That is, there is no need to order these rules.

In sum, these rules apply in a natural fashion with no need for extrinsic ordering (with the possible exception of the ordering of case marking and cliticization).

⁷The indefinite Subject Clitic 'si'. There is one clitic of Italian which can be argued to be a subject clitic (see Napoli 1973, 1976, Rizzi 1978). That is, the si of S's like 49.

(49) a. *Si è intelligente qua.* 'People are intelligent here.'
b. *Si piange troppo.* 'People cry too much.'

That subject si is not base generated in clitic position, but, instead, arises by way of a cliticization rule from subject position has been argued at length (see Napoli 1973, 1976, Rizzi 1978) on the basis of facts such as (but not limited to) the following: (a) it can occur as the surface subject of a passive S, (b) it can undergo Raising into Subject position, (c) it can undergo Tough Mt (or Del), (d) it can control Equi. Thus the very existence of si is proof that subject position is a cliticizable one in Italian. And the fact that si must be cliticized is proof that cliticization from subject position in Italian is obligatory. Both these facts give support for the analysis of Section 3. NCD does not apply to subject si. Thus 50, with the reading of 49, is impossible.

(50) a. **È intelligente qua.* b. *Piange troppo.* (≠ 49b)

Crucially, no tonic subject pronoun can appear with subject si. Examples of the so-called "si passivante" (see Lepschy 1974, among many others) are not counterexamples, since in this construction si cannot be taken as a subject clitic. In particular, Subject-Verb Agreement takes the full NP or the tonic pronoun or the missing subject pronoun (by way of NCD) as the subject, and not si (which requires a singular V, as in 49).

(51) *I vestiti si lavano ogni sera.* (lavano is plural.)

(52) *Loro si lavano ogni sera.*

(53) *Dove sono i vestiti? -Si sono messi sul tavolo.*

'The dresses/they are washed every evening.' (51/52)
'Where are the dresses?' - 'They were put on the table.'

If, instead, Subject-V Ag indicates that si is the subject, then a full NP in initial position in a si sentence may have been placed there by a fronting rule (which applies in other constructions than just with si) or it may be a base generated oblique topic, as the possible cooccurrence of an accusative clitic shows in 55.

(54) *I vestiti si lava ogni sera.* (lava is sg. This is a regular fronting rule. Cf. *I vestiti lavo ogni sera.*

'The dresses I wash every evening.'
(55) *I vestiti li si lava ogni sera.* 'The dresses people wash them every evening.'

(Li is an accusative clitic coreferential with the topic in 55.)
But the initial full NP is never a subject and cannot be "missing" as nominative subjects can.

(56) *Dove sono i vestiti? -*Si è messo/messi sul tavolo.*
'Where are the dresses?' - 'People put on the table.'
(è is singular.)

Likewise, examples such as 57 are not counterexamples, since the

noi here is in topic position and not subject position. In particular, Subject-V Ag does not take noi (which is 1st person pl.) to be a subject.

- (57) *Noi si va?* 'Shall we go?' (Va is 3rd person sg.)
 (58) **Noi si andiamo.* (Andiamo is 1st person pl.)

Furthermore, this topic noi can cooccur with an NP subject in a "si passivante" S.

- (59) *Noi, i vestiti si lavano ogni sera.*
 'We wash the dresses every evening.'

Thus this noi is not a subject.

We have established thusfar that NCD does not apply to subject si and that no tonic subject pronoun can occur with a coreferential subject si (in contrast to "si passivante"). Why should this be? The answers are immediate. NCD does not apply to subject si because si is not nominative. It is a nonnominative subject. To see this, consider the following facts. Si must be able to cliticize before the rule of Restructuring (see Rizzi 1978 and Napoli to appear) in order to leave the subject position open to receive a preposed NP (where the preposing here is different from the fronting in 54 : the former creates a new subject, the latter does not):

- (60) *Troppe case si costruiscono in questa città.*
 'Too many houses are being built in this city.'

(60) is an example of what I have been calling a "si passivante". In other words, I am taking the position, defended in Napoli 1973, that the underlying structures for subject si and "si passivante" S's are identical. As I have already shown, however, the surfaces are quite different, where si is the surface subject in the former but not in the latter. Restructuring is cyclic (as argued in Rizzi 1978, p. 155), thus cliticization of si (as in 60) which must be allowed to precede Restructuring, is cyclic. (Note that I have already argued against base generating si as a clitic, and these same arguments would militate against a precyclic cliticization of si.) Case marking must apply after all cyclic rules, either at the end of each cycle or in the postcycle, since it is the final position an NP assumes that determines its case in Italian. Thus Case marking follows both Restructuring and cliticization of si. But after si is cliticized, it is no longer minimally c-commanded by tense (in the sense of Chomsky's Pisa Lectures), since it is within the VP. Thus si cannot be marked nominative, because only NP governed by tense can be marked nominative.⁹ Therefore the si of 49 is a nonnominative subject clitic. Hence si does not undergo NCD, which applies only to nominative clitics.

We turn now to the question of why no tonic subject pronoun

can occur with a coreferential subject si. There are two reasons. First, tonic subject pronouns are all derived by way of Lowering. But Italian doesn't allow two NP's to fill the same role in an S (as discussed in Section 4.2 Point 1). Thus the presence of si blocks Lowering from applying. Second, subject clitic si lacks a nominative tonic counterpart. There is no grammatical answer to the question in 61 which uses a pronoun understood to be of arbitrary reference.

- (61) *-Ma chi lo farebbe? 'But who would do that?'*
**Si / *Se.* (for "anyone")

Thus there exists no tonic nominative pronoun to be generated in topic position in the first place.

One may well ask why subject si lacks a tonic counterpart. The answer follows from recent developments in the theory of binding. Si is equivalent to what is referred to in Chomsky 1980 as Pro with arbitrary reference (Pro_x). As such, it is free and doesn't undergo coindexing. Therefore, Pro_x could never appear as an oblique NP argument of a V because of the Opacity Condition, stated as in 62.

- (62) If α is in the domain of the subject of β , β minimal, then α cannot be free in β . (α = an anaphor; β = NP or S)

(This is Chomsky's 1980 example 27.) Therefore the only time an oblique anaphor can be understood as coreferential with Pro_x is when that anaphor is a reflexive pronoun (where all reflexives are bound anaphors).

- (63) *Quando si parla fra sé e sé.... 'When one speaks to himself...'*
In campagna ci si sveglia presto. ¹⁰ 'In the country one gets up early.'

The Opacity Condition nicely explains the previously poorly understood fact that subject si has no oblique forms except reflexive ones.

But why should there be no tonic subject form for Pro_x? We have already established that Pro_x can only appear in subject position in the surface. (I say "in the surface" since the Opacity Condition applies only to the surface (or to LF) and, in fact, subject si can be a derived subject, as already mentioned above.) Now any tonic subject position in a tensed S will be assigned nominative case. But the NIC blocks Pro_x from a nominative case slot in the surface.

- (64) A nominative anaphor in S cannot be free in \bar{S} containing S.

(64) is Chomsky's NIC, 1980, example 26.) Thus there is no

tonic form for Prox--and no tonic form for subject si.

The above discussion brings out a very interesting point. In English Prox must be the subject of an infinitival. But in Italian Prox can be the subject of an infinitival, as in 65, or of a tensed clause, as in 49.

(65) Bisogna stare attenti. ¹¹ 'It's necessary to be careful.'
Sento piangere. 'I hear crying.'

The reason Prox can be the subject of a tensed clause in Italian but not in English is precisely because Italian cliticizes Prox to give subject clitic si, which is not case marked and therefore not subject to the NTC. Hence Italian doesn't violate the NTC, where the corresponding S in English would (even if Prox had a phonetic matrix in English). (See footnote 9 and 7.)

A final fact about subject si is also explicable within the analysis of this section. The verb with subject si is always sg. and 3rd person. But the sense of si is plural and any adjectival modifiers or predicate nominals are plural. Hence e in 49a, repeated here, is sg, but intelligenti is plural.

(66) Si è intelligenti qua. (=49a)

Subject-V Ag, like case marking, must follow cyclic rules, since it is the surface subject which determines Subject-V Ag in Italian. But a subject si sentence has no nominative. Now if Subject-V Ag is really Nominative NP (whether full or clitic)-V₁₂ Agreement, then agreement cannot apply to a subject si sentence, since there is no nominative in the S. The V will then be assigned the unmarked inflection, which is 3rd person sg. The inflection of modifiers, however, is a different process from that of V's. And it may well be that agreement on modifiers in Italian is handled by a coindexing rule similar to (if not identical to) that for anaphors (see Napoli 1975). Thus the modifier in 66 is getting its inflection by normal rules of modifier inflection. But the V in 66 is receiving the unmarked person and number inflection by default.

In sum, the data on subject si given here are exactly as predicted by the analysis in this paper of NCD and by recent developments in EST.

6. Implications. In this paper I have argued that the apparent wide range of differences between the pronominal systems of French and Italian given in Section 2 all follow from only one difference: Italian has the obligatory rule of NCD while French does not. Before discussing this fact in a larger framework of a theory of anaphora, let me point out one more fact. It has often been noted that among the Romance languages, those that have the phenomenon known as Clitic Climbing (CC) also have what has been called Subject Pronoun Drop (SPD), while those that don't have CC, don't have SPD. In fact, French, which used to allow both CC and SPD at an earlier stage, lost both simultaneous-

ly (see Burzio 1981). While I am not ready here to propose an explanation (but see Borelouis 1980), let me just point out that in a theory which adopts SPD, the mutual dependence of SPD and CC is a dependence between a rule affecting the tonic pronoun system (SPD) and a rule affecting the clitic pronoun system (CC). But in a theory which adopts NCD, the mutual dependence observed by Burzio, Borelouis, and others is a dependence between two rules both of which affect the clitic pronoun system. The latter situation, which sees the dependence within one pronoun system, seems more desirable to me in the absence of a developed analysis and explanation of this dependency.

Turning now to theories of anaphora, I argue (in Napoli in progress) that null anaphors and proform anaphors occur in complementary distribution in surface structure in every syntactic structure I have examined thusfar, and I propose that this is a necessity and not just a coincidence. The proposal, which is based on data from Italian and English, is very complex and I will not go into it further here. But suffice it to say that any structure in which a null anaphor appears in a position in which a proform anaphor could also appear would be a counterexample to this proposal. Of course, any optional proform deletion rule would offer a counterexample. In particular, optional SPD would have produced counterexamples, since a theory with SPD would give the surface S's 67-68.

(67) [\emptyset] sono stanca. (68) [\emptyset] sono stanca. 'I am tired

NP NP
But a theory with NCD does not produce counterexamples, since the surface S's are 67 above and 69 below.

(69) [\emptyset] sono stanca.
clitic-nominative

The position of the null anaphor in 69 can never be filled with a phonetically realized clitic. This is because NCD is obligatory. And note that the proposal of Napoli in progress predicts that any proform deletion rule must be obligatory. Thus the analysis given in this paper is consistent with the complementary distribution hypothesis, while the analysis (of SPD) refuted is not.

One might ask exactly how the above complementary distribution hypothesis compares to Chomsky's similar claims about anaphora in 1980 and in the Pisa lectures. Chomsky comes to the conclusion that "...there's something like complementary distribution between PRO and pronoun, although that fails in some cases, namely those situations where for one or another reason government is optional, then both PRO and pronoun might appear..." (Pisa lectures). The differences between Chomsky's and my observations, (where his observation is a necessity given his theory of case government and binding, and where my observation is taken to be a necessity based on claims about the kinds of rules which can occur in a grammar) are in exactly what we say must occur in comp-

mentary distribution to perform anaphors. Neither Chomsky nor I include traces in our statements. But Chomsky includes only the phonetically null anaphor PRO--which is base generated--to contrast to pronouns, whereas I include both PRO and the result of deletion to contrast to pronouns of any category (not just NP's). Thus I cover all the cases Chomsky covers and more.

The effect of including the result of deletion turns out to be extensive. It requires an examination of putative deletion rules. This examination is undertaken in Napoli in progress, where I show that many proposed deletion rules do not, in fact, exist, leading to a discussion of some of the uses of nonanaphoric silence in language.

Looking at Chomsky's claim, then, Chomsky would have no preference between SPD and NCD, since both involve deletion and his claim is made only for PRO. But the SPD analysis leaves the data of Section 2 a mystery while the NCD analysis explains those data. Thus a theory which allows NCD but disallows SPD is to be preferred over one that allows both.

In conclusion, NCD exists and is the one major difference between the pronominal systems of French and Italian.

Appendix

Cinque 1977 argues that the initial pronoun in a sentence such as I has two sources.

- (1) Me, ha detto che mi vede domani. 'Me, he said he'd see me tomorrow.'

One source is what I have called Left Dislocation (LD) in this paper. That is, a base generated topic (me) with a clitic pronoun coreferential with the topic within the sentence (mi). The other source is by way of movement from direct object position in the embedded clause, where a clitic copy pronoun is left behind. In many instances both base generated topic S's and movement topic S's exhibit the same surface structure (as in 1). But in many other cases, they exhibit different surface structures. For example, base generated topics don't require a preposition, even if the V within the S requires a P on the NP coreferential with the topic. But movement topics do require a P in these instances.

- (11) a. Questo lavoro, non riesco a concentrarmici.
b. Su questo lavoro, non riesco a concentrarmici.
'(on) this work, I can't manage to concentrate.'

Base generated topics don't observe Island constraints (just as other pronominalization processes don't); but movement topics do.

- (111) a. Giorgio_i, ieri ho conosciuto la ragazza che gli_i ha scritto quella insolente.
b. *A Giorgio_i, ieri ho....
'George, yesterday I met the girl who wrote him those

insults.'

Base generated topics can have a tonic pronoun as the item coreferential with them within the S (but only a nonnominative one, as is pointed out in examples 33 vs. 8 and 10 of this article). Movement topics allow only a clitic pronoun.

- (iv) a. Giorgio, sono sicuro che non ho mai scritto a lui.
b. *A Giorgio, sono....
'George, I'm sure that I never wrote to him.'

Base generated topics can be followed by cleft S's where the clefted item is coreferential with the topic. Movement topics cannot.

- (v) a. Giorgio, è a lui che ho scritto.
b. *A Giorgio, ...
'George, it's to him that I wrote.'

And, finally, base generated topics cannot appear in initial position of embedded clauses, but movement topics can.

- (vi) a. *Sono sicuro che Mario, lui vuole andare al mare.
b. Ho paura che a Giorgio_i, Mario gli_i abbia già scritto.
'I'm sure that Mario, he wants to go to the shore.'
'I'm afraid that to George, Mario has already written.'

(These are Cinque's examples. The irrelevance of vi-a is discussed below.)

The evidence which Cinque offers for a movement topic is the following: (A) When a P occurs on a topic, it will be the appropriate one for the clitic within the S with which the topic is coreferential. (Thus in ii-b su is the only possible P, not di or a or any other.) (B) The case of a pronominal topic matches the case of the coreferential NP within the S. (C) The reflexive adjective proprio, which requires a clausemate controller, can occur in topic position where its controller NP is indefinitely far away. (D) NPs which are parts of idioms can occur in topic position.

A-D, however, do not require a movement analysis for explanation. Take B. A pronominal topic must match the case of the NP within the S with which it is coreferential both in base generated topics and in the putative movement topics. Thus, me but not io (nominative) is a good topic in vii, where the fact that the NP coreferential with the topic within the S is not a clitic pronoun precludes the possibility of a movement analysis according to Cinque (see iv).

- (vii) Me/*io, ha detto che visiteranno solo me domani.
'Me, he said they'll visit only metomorrow.'

Thus we need not appeal to movement as an explanation for obser-

vation B. The case matching effect happens in base generated topics, too, and presumably whatever explanation accounts for it in base generated topics will account for it in all topics.

Take C. The reflexive adjective *proprio*, which requires a clausemate controller, can occur in base generated topics, as well as in the putative movement topics. Again, the fact that the NP coreferential with the topic within the S is not a clitic pronoun precludes the possibility of a movement analysis according to Cinque.

- (viii) *La propria sorella, Piero ha dimenticato di visitare anche lei! 'His own sister, Piero forgot to visit even her!'*

Once more we need not appeal to a movement analysis to account for Cinque's observation C, since whatever explanation accounts for *viii* will, presumably, account for C as well.

Take D. The two cases Cinque offers of a topic NP which is part of an idiom involve idioms with direct objects.

- (ix) *Tirerà le cuola prima tu, bello mio.*
 'You will die earlier, my dear.'
 (x) *Non ha più tirato moccòli da allora.*
 'He hasn't sworn anymore since that time.'

In the first example, the appropriate clitic for the direct object is an accusative one. Accordingly, the movement topic is as in *xi*.

- (xi) *Le cuola, le tirerà prima tu, bello mio.*

Note that no strong form pronoun coreferential with the topic can occur.

- (xii) **Le cuola, tirerà loro prima tu, bello mio.*

But this fact is hardly surprising. What motive could one possibly have for using a strong form pronoun in an idiom? The tonic form, particularly for accusative objects but also for datives, is used for emphasis or contrast. Part of an idiom which is pronounced nominalized is not an appropriate target for either emphasis or contrast. Consider the English S's with the intonation given here.

- (xiii) a. *You kick the bed and I'll kick the bucket.*

b. **You kick the bed and I'll kick it.*

(The judgments given are only for the idiomatic reading of "kick the bucket" as "die".) Consistently, a full NP which is part of an idiom is strange at best when clefted (which amounts to putting

it in a highlighted position), and a pronominal NP which is to be understood as part of an idiom is not acceptable when clefted.

- (xiv) *??Sono le cuola che tirerà.*
 *Sono loro che tirerà.

Thus the fact that *xii* is ungrammatical is not to be taken as evidence that *xi* cannot involve a base generated topic.

The second example of an idiom, given in *x*, has a direct object whose corresponding clitic would be *ne* (in its partitive use). In general when a topic NP corresponds to a partitive *ne* within the S, the preposition *di* may be used in the topic.

- (xv) *Di fratelli, ne ho (molto).* 'Brothers, I have (a lot).'

According to Cinque, P's are required in movement generated topics if their corresponding clitic is a prepositional one (which *ne* is--see Kayne 1975 for arguments for French *en* that carry over to Italian *ne*). If the P does not occur, the topic must be a base generated one. But the sentence with a filled topic position which Cinque gives corresponding to *x* is *xvi*.

- (xvi) *Moccòli, non he ha più tirati da allora.*

The topic has no P, although its corresponding clitic is *ne*. Accordingly, *xvi* must be a base generated topic by Cinque's own criteria. Thus parts of idioms may appear as base generated topics, and Cinque's observation D does not give any evidence for a movement analysis of any ID S's.

Finally, take A. It is true that whenever a P appears on a topic, the coreferential phrase within the S will be a clitic and not a full PP. So I cannot here use Cinque's test (of a nonclitic coreferential phrase in the S) for base generated topics against him, as I did in refuting B and C as evidence for movement. Not, however, that the case matching effect observed in *vii* with a base generated topic requires copying of the case of the NP within the S to the NP in topic position. We might then propose that something similar happens with regard to P's. There might be a transformation which moves the P from the PP within the S out to the topic. The loss of the P would require the stranded remains of the PP to cliticize. If the P *mv*t transformation is cyclic, then we would expect it to observe Chomsky's conditions and island constraints in general. And, in fact, all the examples which Cinque uses to demonstrate that his putative movement ID rule observes these conditions involve topics which have P's. At his data, then, can be taken equally as well as support for the claim that the P *mv*t rule I've proposed observes conditions on rules of grammar (or binding conditions).

Looking back to the differences between Cinque's two ID structures, we can now explain all but one. Thus, the optionality of a P in *ii* is due to the optionality of P *mv*t. Topics without

P's don't observe conditions on rules but topics with P's do, as in (11), because the P-movement rule observes these conditions. Topics with P's correspond only to clitics within the S while topics without P's can correspond to clitics or full phrases because P-movement results in cliticization of the stranded remains of the PP within the S. Topics with P's can't correspond to clefted items, but topics without P's can, because clefted items are never clitics. The only difference between Cinque's two ID structures that remains to explain is his claim that base-generated topics cannot appear in initial position of embedded clauses, but movement topics can. He gives *vi-a* as evidence. However, *vi-a*'s ungrammaticality is explained already in Section 3 of this paper. Basically, ID structures can't have topics coreferential with pronominal subjects, whether embedded or not. Corresponding to *vi-a* we have (xvii).

(xvii) *Mario, lui vuole andare al mare. 'Mario, he wants to go to the shore.'

Cinque gives one other example as evidence, however, which is truly problematical.

(xviii) *Ho l'impressione che Paolo sapete benissimo chi gli ha scritto. 'I have the impression that Paolo, you know very well who has written to him.'

Note that unembedded this ID structure is fine.

(xix) Paolo, sapete benissimo chi gli ha scritto.

Why is (xviii) out? Cinque says it's because Paolo is a base-generated topic and the only place topics are base-generated is in matrix initial position, in contrast to movement topics, which can appear in any clause initial position. We might expect, then, that if we put a PP topic into (xviii), where all PP topics are movement topics according to Cinque, the S would be fine. But it's not.

(xx) *Ho l'impressione che a Paolo sapete benissimo chi gli ha scritto.

However, Cinque could explain (xx) by noting that movement here would violate the *wh-island* constraint.

What we need in order to test whether any clause initial position can have a base-generated topic in Cinque's analysis, is an S with an embedded NP (and not PP) topic which corresponds to a clitic other than an accusative one (since nominatives are automatically excluded and of the oblique clitics only the accusative does not take a P as a full NP). Then we can contrast this S to the corresponding one with a PP topic. Cinque's prediction is that the first will be ungrammatical and the second grammatical

as long as no conditions on rules are violated. The facts are not so easy to verify. Consider (44c) of the text, repeated here as (xxi) and contrasted with (xxii).

(xxi) (=44c) Non ricordo se Giorgio, gli abbia già telefonato. 'I don't remember if Giorgio, he's already phoned.'
(xxii) Non ricordo se a Giorgio, gli abbia già telefonato.

Most of my informants find both S's acceptable. Some don't think either is great. But no one expressed a preference for (xxii) over (xxi). Examples which elicited a more consistent response are in (xxiii)-(xxv).

(xxiii) Tutti sanno benissimo che, i miei figli, ne vado fiero.
(xxiv) Tutti sanno benissimo che, dei miei figli, ne vado fiero.
(xxv) Tutti sanno benissimo che i miei figli, ne vado fiero di loro.

'Everyone knows very well that my children, I'm proud of.'

My informants accept both (xxiii) and (xxiv). And some of them expressed the strong preference for the presence of the *di loro* phrase in (xxv), instead of the clitic *ne* in (xxiii). Thus the facts are against Cinque.

One further argument against Cinque's analysis is the following. His movement topic would be generated by a structure building rule, since he allows it to apply in embedded clauses where, he claims, no initial topic position can be base-generated. But Chomsky 1977 and elsewhere argues specifically against the existence of structure building rules. My P-movement rule, instead, can be viewed as a structure preserving rule, since topic position allows base-generated phrases which may consist of or contain a PP. In (xxvi) we see a topic which does not have a coreferential phrase within the S at any point in the derivation, thus no movement analysis would be possible. And this base-generated topic contains a PP.

(xxvi) Riguardo agli uomini, ho deciso di non sposarmi.
'Regarding men, I've decided not to marry.'

The question still remains as to why (xviii) is unacceptable. I have no explanation. But it is a fact that speakers disagree strongly over the acceptability of S's with embedded topics in other languages such as English. Consider almost any of the examples Chomsky 1977 offers with embedded topics in English for his topicalization phenomenon. Speakers may disagree strongly with Chomsky's judgments. Yet with just some minor changes (which do not affect relevant structure) many of the examples can be made acceptable. Thus there are some *poorly* understood factors operating here--and these factors are not syntactic. It isn't surprising, then, that S's with embedded topics in Italian would be sensitive to extralinguistic factors of this type also.

Finally, let's consider for a moment a variety of Italian in which an embedded topic cannot be related to a prepositional complement of the V unless that topic is a PP and the coreferential complement is a clitic. This is precisely the variety Cinque describes. In this variety *xviii*, *xxi*, *xxiii*, and *xxv* are all ungrammatical. In my approach to ID, I would have to claim that P must be obligatory whenever its structural description is met with an embedded topic but optional whenever its structural description is met with a matrix topic. While this situation can be considered a violation of Ross's 1973 penthouse principle, and while any obligatory movement other than wh-movement (since its failure to apply would leave an uninterpretable complementizer position in the surface) should be held suspect, this is a possible solution. Let me repeat, however, that not a single one of my informants rejected all of *xviii*, *xxi*, *xxiii*, and *xxv*. Thus none of my informants belong to this variety.

In conclusion, there are many problems with Cinque's analysis which lead me to reject it. Thus the analysis given in the text of this paper stand unmodified. But one could accommodate Cinque's data with the modifications described in the immediately preceding paragraph, if necessary.

Footnotes

Sections 2 and 3 of this paper grew out of an initial discussion with Nick Clements in 1979, to whom I am most grateful. The research for this paper was begun with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for Independent Study and Research number F79-112. This material is also based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. BNS-8017055. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation. I am grateful to both the NEH and the NSF.

¹ I assume throughout this paper that ID structures are base generated, as argued in a number of places for English and other languages (including Chomsky 1977). Still, I will use the standard transformational label since the phenomenon is most frequently identified by this name. For a discussion of the possibility that there are two ID structures for Italian, one base generated and one transformationally generated, see the appendix.

² The epithet here is the subject NP and is not an appositive to the immediately preceding NP, as the comma is meant to show. Certainly, both the French and Italian examples can be said with appositive intonation (with pauses on both sides of the epithet), but this is irrelevant to the discussion in the text, which limits itself to ID structures.

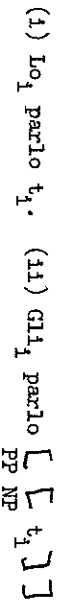
³ The third person pl. dative clitic in formal Italian is *loro* which is an enclitic rather than a proclitic and can attach to a past participle as well as to a tensed V. Thus it is distinct

from the other oblique clitics, but in ways which shed no new light and present no new problems for the analysis in this paper. The third person pl. dative clitic in informal Italian is *gli*, which exhibits the usual syntactic behavior of oblique clitics.

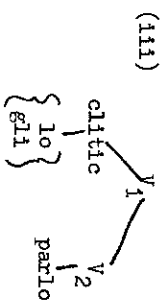
⁴ Some speakers of French report a slight difference in acceptability between tonic accusatives and tonic datives. But both are regarded as "ungrammatical" in S's like 17. This distinction, which I have no explanation for, does not appear to be of crucial importance to the analysis presented here.

⁵ I propose in Section 6 that deletion of proforms is possible only by obligatory rules. This refinement is not germane to the point of Section 2, however.

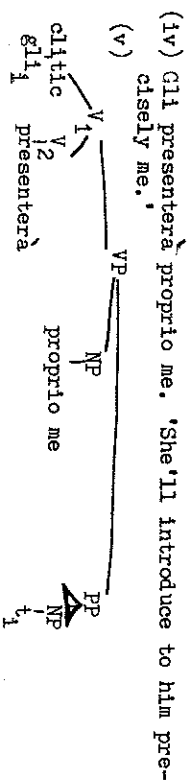
⁶ In both languages there are positions from which a pronoun cannot be cliticized, such as after *que* in the French *ne...que* construction and after *che* in the corresponding Italian *non...che*. Consider the alternative approach in which cliticization leaves traces. Then the enriched surface structure of 47a is as in 1, and that of 48a is as in 11.



If cliticization were to apply before case marking, serious complications would arise. Let us see how. The clitics of 1-11 appear in the configuration in 111.



An NP is in a case governed position only if it is minimally c-commanded by a V or a P or tense. V_2 minimally c-commands the clitic, but V_1 doesn't. So if we take V_2 to be the V which governs case, the clitics can be assigned case. But it is not obvious how the determination of appropriate case would be made without checking out the traces of the clitics to see what NP role they played in the VP. Furthermore, consider an S with a clitic plus some other nonclitic NP in the VP, as in 1v with the VP in v.



In order to assign me accusative case, it must be c-commanded by a case marking node. V_1 c-commands me, but V_2 does not. So now

we are in the position of claiming that V1 is the case marker for me, but V2 is the case marker for the clitic gli, even though both are arguments of the same V. Alternatively, we could say that V2 is the only case marker node and that me is not assigned case. If that alternative, we must say that the NP gets oblique case by default, since the nominative case io would be ungrammatical.

(v1) *Gli presenterà proprio io.

If, instead, we said that V1 was the only case marker node, then in order to account for case on the clitic, we would have to say the case was somehow copied off the trace.

Instead, if case marking precedes cliticization, none of these complications arise. Thus, even if we assume cliticization leaves a trace, the simpler analysis is one in which case marking precedes cliticization.

One may well ask why subject si blocks lowering but doesn't block NP preposing in restructured S's. That is, why can't si be lowered into subject position in 57, given that i vestiti can be preposed from direct object position into subject position in 51? I appealed to the prohibition against two NP's filling the same argument of the V to block lowering. Shouldn't this same principle operate to block NP preposing? Yes, it should. But there is an interference in the NP preposing instances that doesn't arise with lowering. When a topic is base generated with a subject si S, that topic is not nominative (as the accusative clitic in 55 indicates) unless that topic is noi. So the only topic eligible for lowering (which operates only on nominative topics) is noi. But if noi is lowered, we'll wind up with two subjects; noi and si, an intolerable situation. With NP preposing, however, the facts are different. Only accusative NP's can be preposed, but the accusative slot can be filled by any NP. Now, notice what happens if the accusative NP happens to be 2nd person.

(4) Si capisce voi (altri).
(11) *Voi (altri) si capite. (capite is 2nd person pl.)
'People understand you all.'

1, the S before NP preposing, is fine. But 11, with NP preposing into subject position (witness the agreement on the V) is ungrammatical. Simple fronting, which is into initial position but not into subject position (as in 54) is fine here.

(111) Voi (altri) si capisce. 'You all people understand.'

Likewise, base generating voi(altri) as a topic with a coreferential accusative NP inside the S (that is, the ID structure) is fine.

(1v) Voi (altri) vi si capisce. 'You all, people understand you.'

What blocks 11 then? The prohibition against two NP's filling the same argument role operates here: voi and si cannot both be subjects of the same V in a given S. We are still left with the problem of how to allow S's like 51, repeated here.

(v) I vestiti si lavano ogni sera.

Notice that subject si is homophonous with the reflexive 3rd per. clitic. Since we have a 3rd per. NP, i vestiti, in subject position, we are free to reanalyze si as a reflexive clitic coreferential with the subject (as all reflexive clitics in Italian must be). Thus v allows an interpretation which doesn't require si to be the subject. Therefore, v has an interpretation which doesn't violate the double argument prohibition. For a much more extensive discussion of the reanalysis argued for here, see Napoli 1973.

^{8b}That si cliticizes cyclically, while other subject pronouns cliticize postcyclically is not so surprising as it may seem at first. Kayne 1975 argues that cliticization of reflexives in French is cyclic while cliticization of all other clitics is postcyclic. Given the similarities between French and Italian in the constructions Kayne examines, it is reasonable to propose that reflexives cliticize cyclically in Italian, too (even though the crucial data happen to be missing). So it appears that some types of clitics are placed cyclically and others postcyclically, regardless of subject si.

⁹In fact, given that case marking follows cliticization of si, it may well be that si is never assigned case. See the discussion in footnote 7 of the problems involved in assigning case directly to a clitic.

¹⁰Why the clitic combination of subject si and its reflexive is spelled out as ci si is a mystery. Some proposals are discussed in Napoli 1973, who builds on Rolfs 1949.

¹¹Why there is no si in 65 (*bisogna starci attenti. *Sento piangersi.) is something I don't understand.

¹²Subject-Verb Ag can, however, apply to S's with nominative clitics before NCD.

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