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A Look at Some Adverbs and Prepositions in Italian: Evidence for Syntactic Analogy

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1.0. Introduction. In Italian sentences such as:

- (1) *La visione rimase davanti a me.*
'The vision remained before me.'
- (2) *Maria ha parlato dopo di me.*
'Maria spoke after me.'

have been said to have "composite prepositions".¹
In this paper I argue that the VP structures for (1)
and (2) can be analyzed in different ways. In (1)
the structure can be analyzed as

- (3)
$$\begin{array}{cc} [V - Adv - P] & ^2 \\ VP & VP \end{array}$$

while in (2) the structure must be analyzed as

- (4)
$$\begin{array}{cc} [V - PP] & ^3 \\ VP & VP \end{array}$$

I then show that the VP structure of (1) can also be
analyzed as in (4). When (1) is analyzed as in (4),
(1) and (2) have identical VP structures and analogi-
cal rules may apply to make a surface sentence like
(1) look more like a surface sentence like (2).

2.0. VP Structure. Four arguments concerning VP
structures are given below plus two sets of facts
consistent with the claim that (1) has the VP
structure given in (3) and (2) has that in (4).

2.1. Clitics. For sentences with PP's of the type
a NP and di NP there are often corresponding sen-
tences in which the PP does not appear but a clitic
on the V does appear:

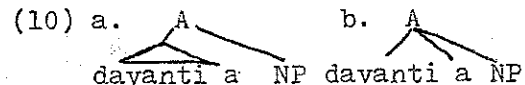
- (5) a. Parlo a lei.
 b. Le parlo.
 'I'm talking to her.'
 c. Vado a scuola.
 d. Ci vado.
 'I'm going to school/there.'
- (6) a. Parlo di lei.
 b. Ne parlo.
 'I'm talking about her.'

Corresponding to a NP can be a dative clitic⁴ (as in (5b)) or the proPP ci⁵ (as in (5d)). Corresponding to di NP we find the clitic ne (as in (6b)).

All sentences containing davanti a NP, likewise, have alternatives in which a NP does not appear but a clitic on the V does appear:

- (7) a. La fontana apparve davanti a me.
 b. La fontana mi apparve davanti.
 'The fountain appeared before me.'
- (8) a. Stava davanti alla tavola.
 b. Ci stava davanti.
 'It was in front of the table/of there.'

Since ci is a proPP and since the A/A Principle⁶ blocks the movement of any PP out of a larger PP, the facts above argue against any analysis in which davanti a NP is dominated by PP and in which a NP does not form a constituent at the time of Cl Pl. Thus both (9) and (10) are inconsistent with the facts on clitics.



where in (10) A= any node.

(Note that in (10) it does not matter whether or not there are other elements dominated by A off to one or both sides.) Therefore, the clitic facts argue that (3) but not (4) is the correct VP structure for (1) at the time of Clitic Placement (Cl Pl).

Sentences containing dopo di NP, however, when the V cannot in the absense of dopo take a prepositional complement beginning with di, do not have alternatives in which di NP does not appear but a clitic does:

- (11) a. Siamo arrivati dopo di voi.
 b. *Vi siamo arrivati dopo.⁷
 c. *Ne siamo arrivati dopo.⁸
 'We arrived after you.'

If di NP formed a PP and dopo did not form a PP with the following di NP, we would have no way to account for the ungrammaticality of (11c) with the

reading given there. However, if dopo di NP is a PP, then if di NP is also a PP, ne cannot be cliticized out of the larger PP because of the A/A Principle. If, instead, dopo di NP is a PP where di NP itself does not form a PP, then ne cannot appear in a corresponding S both because of the A/A Principle and because ne corresponds only to di NP phrases that form a PP.⁹ Thus the clitic facts here argue that (4) but not (3) is the correct VP structure for (2) at the time of Cl Pl.

2.2 Inversion of Complements of the V. Under certain conditions the complements of V in the VP may appear in inverted order:

- (12) a. Darò tutto il lavoro allo studente più
industrioso.
b. Darò allo studente più industrioso tutto
il lavoro.
'I'll give all the work to the most industrious student.'

Nodes within a PP, however, may not be inverted:

- (13) a. Vado con tutte le mie amiche.
b. *Vado tutte le mie amiche con.
'I'm going with all my friends.'

In very poetic language davanti can be inverted with a following a NP, but dopo cannot be inverted with di NP¹⁰:

- (14) ?La visione rimase a me davanti.
'the vision remained me before'
(15) *Il re arrivò di me dopo.
'the king arrived me after'

The facts in (14) and (15) weakly¹¹ support the proposal that (1) has the structure given in (3) above, while (2) has the structure given in (4) above.

2.3. The Positioning of Non...che. In the non...che construction the che may appear to the left of any complement of the V:

- (16) a. Non vedo che la signora.
'I see only the woman.'
b. Non parlo italiano che agli studenti.
'I speak Italian only to the students.'
c. Non leggo giornali che in biblioteca.
'I read newspapers only in the library.'
d. Non vuole che parlare.
'He wants only to speak.'

but it may not appear inside a PP:¹²

- (17) *Non ci vado con che la signora.
'I go there with only the woman.'
(cf. Non ci vado che con la signora.)

Likewise, this che may come between davanti and a NP but not between dopo and di NP:¹³

- (18) Non mi presenterò davanti che al professore.
'I'll present myself before only the professor.'
(19)*Non parlerò dopo che di lui.
'I'll speak after only him.'

These facts follow if (1) has the structure given in (3) and (2) has that in (4).

2.4. The Positioning of Parentheticals. Parentheticals have the same possible positions available to them as are available to the che of non...che, discussed in Section 2.3. above.

- (20) a. Vedrai, credo, due cani.
'You'll see, I think, two dogs.'
b. Vorrai dire tutto, credo, al prete.
'You'll want to tell everything, I think, to the priest.'
c. Parla inglese, credo, molto lentamente.
'He speaks English, I think, very slowly.'
d. Vuole, credo, solo parlare.
'He wants, I think, only to speak.'

As we expect, parentheticals may intervene between davanti and a NP but not between dopo and di NP:

- (21) Apparve davanti, credo, al podio del presidente.
'He appeared before, I think, the podium of the president.'
(22)*Ha parlato dopo, credo, di te.^{14, 15}
'He spoke after, I think, you.'

Again these facts support the proposal that (1) has the structure given in (3), while (2) has that in (4).

2.5. Adverbs without Following PP's. Consistent with the proposal that (1) has the VP structure given in (3) is the fact that all adverbs that pattern syntactically like davanti can appear without a following PP. That is, the appearance of the adverb is independent of the presence of the following PP.¹⁶

- (24) a. Mi sono seduta davanti.
'I sat down in front.'
b. Porta i capelli dietro.
'She wears her hair back.'
c. Ha volto lo sguardo intorno.
'He gave a glance around.'

If davanti and adverbs like it always appeared in PP's, the fact that they can always appear intransitively (in the sense of Jackendoff 1973) would be arbitrary. But if these adverbs are not always in PP's, the fact that they can appear independently of a following PP means that there are no cooccurrence

requirements of PP's on these adverbs and they are, thus, very similar to other VP adverbs. If, instead, such an adverb required the presence of a following PP, we would have to propose a cooccurrence requirement. Thus, while the lack or presence of cooccurrence requirements can be handled consistently with the analysis here, the data, which lack cooccurrence requirements, are consistent with the simpler grammar.

2.6. Variety of PP's Following Adverbs. A final distinction between adverbs like davanti and P's like dopo has to do with the various types of P NP that may follow them. We find that adverbs display a certain amount of flexibility with respect to the possible elements which may follow them.¹⁷ For example, adverbs that involve relative spatial positions other than various relationships of distance or separation often are followed by locative phrases that involve similar spatial positions, i.e. a phrases. Adverbs that involve temporal relationships or spatial relationships of distance or separation (such as fuori 'outside'¹⁸) often are followed by prepositional phrases that involve similar relationships, i.e. da or di phrases.¹⁹ Thus avanti can be followed by a NP or di NP depending on semantic factors.

(25) Entro avanti a te.

'I'm entering before you.' (spatial position)

(26) Non bevo birra avanti di mangiare.

'I don't drink beer before eating.' (temporal position)

(Distinctions like (25) vs. (26) are pointed out in Regula and Jernej 1965, p. 255.)

PP's with P's like dopo, however, have dopo followed either immediately by NP or by di NP, but not by any P other than di as far as I know.²⁰ Di appears obligatorily before pronominal objects and, for some speakers, optionally before [+human] full NP objects, but not before other full NP objects. Thus one might propose that di is transformationally inserted in certain environments.²¹

The fact that adverbs like davanti can be followed by a variety of P's while P's like dopo can be followed only by di is not necessarily inconsistent with any proposed analysis. However, if an adverb like davanti is not dominated by the same node that dominates the following P but a P like dopo is, then the data on the restrictions imposed on the following P might even be expected, particularly if di in dopo di NP is transformationally inserted.

2.7. Conclusion. From the arguments in Sections 2.1 through 2.4 above, one can make the initial conclusion that davanti a NP does not form a PP while dopo di NP does.

3.0. The Conflicting Data and Analogy. Four arguments for VP structures are given below. These arguments show that at the points in the derivation in which question formation, relative clause formation, clefting, and adverb preposing apply, the VP structure for davanti a NP is either that in (3) or that in (4). The data presented here can be handled by three alternative hypotheses, which are discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 below.²²

3.1. Movement Transformations. When the object of a P is questioned, relativized, or clefted in Italian, its P obligatorily moves with it, as in:

- (27) a. Con chi sei andato?
- b. *Chi sei andato con?
- 'With whom did you go?'
- (28) a. La ragazza con cui sei andato è bella.
- b. *La ragazza che/cui sei andato con è bella.
- 'The girl with whom you went is pretty.'
- (29) a. È con la ragazza che è andato.
- b. *È la ragazza che è andato con.
- 'It's with the girl that he went.'

However, an adverb preceding the PP is not fronted by these transformations.²³

- (30) a. Con chi hai parlato lentamente?
- b. *Lentamente con chi hai parlato?
- 'With whom did you speak slowly?'
- (31) a. La ragazza con cui parlavi lentamente era bella.
- b. *La ragazza lentamente con cui parlavi era bella.
- 'The girl with whom you were speaking slowly was pretty.'
- (32) a. Era con la ragazza che parlavi lentamente.
- b. *Era lentamente con la ragazza che parlavi.
- 'It was with the girl that you were speaking slowly.'

As we expect, dopo di NP moves as a unit in these three transformations.²⁴

- (33) a. Dopo (di) chi hai parlato?
- b. *(Di) chi hai parlato dopo?
- 'After whom did you speak?'
- (34) a. La ragazza dopo (di) cui hai parlato era bella.
- b. *La ragazza di cui hai parlato dopo era bella.
- 'The girl after whom you spoke was pretty.'
- (35) a. Fu dopo di lei che hai parlato.
- b. *Fu di lei che hai parlato dopo.
- 'It was after her that you spoke.'

The behavior of dopo di NP, therefore, is one more argument for the VP structure given in (4).

Davanti a NP, however, presents some unexpected data. As an adverb, we expect davanti to be unmoved by these transformations. And, indeed, it can be.

- (36) a. A chi apparve davanti?
'Whom did it appear before?'
b. La ragazza a cui apparve davanti era bella.
'The girl whom it appeared before was pretty.'
c. Fu alla ragazza che apparve davanti.
'It was the girl that it appeared before.'

But davanti also has the option of moving with a NP²⁵:

- (37) a. Davanti a chi apparve?
b. La ragazza davanti a cui apparve era bella.
c. Fu davanti alla ragazza che apparve.

A fourth movement transformation, Adverb Preposing, can front an adverb alone or a PP alone, but does not usually front both an adverb and a following PP:

- (38) a. Lentamente ha parlato.
'Slowly he spoke.'
b. Con Maria è andato volentieri Enzo.
'With Maria Enzo went willingly.'
(39) Volentieri con Maria è andato Enzo.
'Willingly with Maria Enzo went.'

This transformation can front dopo di NP, as in

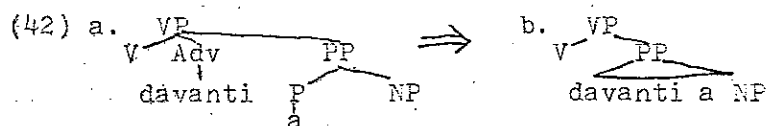
- (40) Dopo di me ha parlato Enzo.
'After me Enzo spoke.'

Likewise, as pointed out to me by Andrew Radford (personal communication), it can front davanti a NP, showing that davanti a NP can be analyzed as a PP at the time of Adverb Preposing.²⁶

- (41) Davanti alla porta si sedeva Carolina.
'Before the door Caroline was sitting.'

Thus, while it was argued in Section 2 above that davanti a NP appears in the VP structure given in (3), it seems that davanti a NP can be a VP either of the type seen in (3) or of the type seen in (4) at the time of these four movement transformations.

3.2. Possible Explanations. Given the data in Section 3.1 above in contrast with that in Section 2, there are at least three possible solutions. One is to propose that the lexical item davanti can appear as an adverb or as a preposition in the base. A second is to propose that the lexical item davanti is an adverb in the base and that there is an optional reanalysis rule that takes davanti a NP in a structure like (3) and reanalyzes it, as shown here.²⁷



And a third, pointed out to me by Richard Kayne (personal communication), is to propose that there is only one lexical item davanti, a preposition in the base, which can appear with or without a following PP complement of the V and with or without an object. Let us call this the two PP's hypothesis. Each proposal explains the data in different ways and makes different predictions.

If there are two structures for davanti in the base (let us call this the two davanti's hypothesis), we can account for the data in Sections 2 and 3 thus far by saying that davanti is an adverb in the sentences with clitics ((8b)), with inversion ((14)), with the non...che construction ((18)), with parentheticals ((21)), and with movement transformations ((36)). Davanti is a P, however, in (37) and (41).

This analysis predicts that any rule that treats a structure like (3) differently from a structure like (4) will always apply to davanti a NP in two distinct ways, as the first three movement rules of Section 3.1 do. I know of no counterexamples to this prediction²⁸ (with the possible exception of that mentioned in footnote 26 above). On the other hand, I know of no rules that treat (3) differently from (4) other than movement rules of the type given in Section 3.1. And if there are no such rules other than these movement rules, the prediction loses some of its force. If counterexamples could be found to this prediction, they would offer important evidence against the two davanti's hypothesis.

Davanti in this analysis not only has one phonetic shape regardless of structure, in all environments²⁹, it also has only one meaning regardless of structure.³⁰ This situation contrasts with that for homophonous adverbs and P's of the type represented by dopo, which are not synonymous. For example, the dopo that appears in the examples thus far in this paper, the one that can appear in a PP of the form dopo di NP, is a P like English after. There is a homophonous adverb dopo, however, which corresponds roughly to English afterwards. This adverb can be followed by di NP only when the V allows a di NP complement independently of the presence of dopo. Thus the written sentence in (2) has two readings: one with dopo di me as a constituent and the other with di me as a complement of the V. But (11a) has only one reading, since the V there does not allow for a complement introduced by di. It is this adverb that is responsible for the good readings of (11b) (see ft. 7), (11c) (ft. 8),

(19) (ft. 13), (22) (ft. 15), and the b examples of (33)-(35) (ft. 24). Thus, for example, the verb parlare 'talk' can take a prepositional object or a temporal adverb or both.

- (43) a. Ho parlato di lei.
 'I spoke about her.'
 b. Ho parlato dopo.
 'I spoke afterwards.'
 c. Ho parlato dopo di lei.
 'I spoke after her.'
 d. Ho parlato dopo, di lei.
 'I spoke afterwards, about her.'
 e. Ho parlato di lei dopo.
 'I spoke about her afterwards.'

In (43c) we have only a PP complement to the V, while in (43d) and (43e) we have an adverb plus a PP. (Movement transformations, of course, distinguish between (43c) and (43d).) I have been unable to find any natural examples with davanti a NP where two readings parallel to the two readings for dopo in (43c) and (43d) emerge. Thus the two davanti's hypothesis, which proposes two distinct possible deep structure sources for davanti a NP, might lead us to expect two readings in sentences where the V itself allows an a NP complement independently of davanti and only one reading in sentences where the V does not allow an a NP complement independently of davanti. This expectation is not fulfilled.³¹

The reanalysis hypothesis, on the other hand, says that at a certain point in the derivation a rule optionally reanalyses a structure like (42a) as (42b). Such a rule can apply only to those lexical items upon whose appearance the possibility of the following PP's appearance depends. This reanalysis rule must be able to precede the movement rules involved in question formation, relative clause formation, and cleft sentences, and must be able to precede any rule that can be shown to follow any of these movement transformations. The reanalysis hypothesis can explain (37) and (41) by saying reanalysis has applied here, and all the other data in Sections 2 and 3 thusfar by saying reanalysis has not applied there. One drawback pointed out to me by Henk van Riemsdijk (personal communication) is that the reanalysis hypothesis (and, possibly, the two davanti's hypothesis) may have is that adverbs like davanti can appear alone in the complement of an NP (la casa davanti 'the house in front') while adverbs which do not share with davanti the syntactic behavior discussed in this paper cannot so appear (*la parlata rapidamente 'the speech rapidly'). Thus if davanti and lexical items like it are adverbs in the base, they are distinct from all other adverbs with respect to their possible appearance in the complement of an NP.

The reanalysis hypothesis predicts that there may exist a rule that is ordered before all the movement transformations of Section 3.1 that treats a structure like (3) differently from one like (4) and that always treats davanti a NP as if it were in a structure like (3). That is, such a rule would precede Reanalysis. I know of no such rule, but, could one be found, it would offer striking evidence for the reanalysis hypothesis and against both the two davanti's hypothesis³² and the two PP's hypothesis.

The two PP's hypothesis, finally, says that davanti, a P in the base, may or may not take an object and may or may not be followed by a V complement PP whose appearance depends upon the appearance of davanti. In the sentences of (37) davanti has a deep object, just as it does in (41). In all the other sentences of Sections 2 and 3 thusfar, davanti does not have a deep object but, instead, is followed by a V complement PP.

Like the two davanti's hypothesis, the two PP's hypothesis predicts that any rule that treats a structure like (3) differently from a structure like (4) will always apply to davanti a NP in two distinct ways. As noted above, I know of no counterexamples to this prediction. In this theory the two structural sources for davanti a NP never lead to two distinct readings (see ft. 30 above). Thus this hypothesis has similar predictions and similar drawbacks to the two davanti's hypothesis. Another drawback of these two hypotheses but not of reanalysis is that it is a coincidence that the same kinds of PP's can follow both the adverb and the preposition davanti in the base in these hypotheses, but it is a natural consequence of the analogical rule in the reanalysis hypothesis. One important difference, however, is that the two PP's hypothesis predicts that it may be possible to have davanti plus a deep object plus a following PP complement to the V whose appearance depends upon the appearance of davanti. That is, we might expect to find structures of the type
 [davanti a NP] [a NP] . I have not found any
 PP PP
 clear cases of such a structure.³³ However, the lack of such examples could be due to other extraneous factors (such as surface cooccurrence restrictions on PP sequences) and does not constitute strong evidence against this hypothesis.

In conclusion, the three hypotheses make predictions that I have been unable to test adequately. On a priori grounds one might then choose the two davanti's hypothesis since we already know that some lexical items must be able to appear in more than one distinct deep structure type.³⁴ Furthermore, reanalysis rules of the type outlined

in (42) are not well established kinds of rules, although some recent literature has supported them.³⁵ And, finally, the two PP's hypothesis seems unnecessarily complex since it generates both [davanti] [a NP] and [davanti a NP] in the base (just as does the two davanti's hypothesis) but also potentially allows for a third structure [davanti a NP] [a NP] which does not seem to occur. However, the data given thusfar are not the whole story. In Section 3.3 below more data are given which call for a complication of all three hypotheses and show that they all call for allowing analogical processes in syntax.

3.3. Evidence for Analogy. In all three hypotheses the PP davanti a NP is generated. In the two davanti's hypothesis and the two PP's hypothesis this PP is generated in the base. In reanalysis this PP is transformationally derived. Whatever the structural history of davanti a NP, this PP looks very similar to a PP like dopo di NP. For one thing, both PP's have an initial element followed by a monosyllabic preposition (a or di) followed by an NP.

Note that there are many P's that can be followed neither by a nor di before their object. Among these are in, di, a, con, per, da, lungo, eccetto, salvo, tranne, fuorchè, durante, mediante, nonostante, mercè. Such P's do not (generally) appear in adverbial use without an object.³⁶

- (44) a. Sono entrata in chiesa.
 b. *Sono entrata in di/a (la) chiesa.
 c. *Sono entrata in.
 'I entered the church/to the church/in.'

Most P's like dopo, however, that are followed by di obligatorily³⁷ when the object is pronominal and optionally when the object is a full [L+human] NP, can appear in adverbial use without an object. Among these prepositions are su, sopra, contro, presso, senza, sotto.³⁸

- (45) a. L'ho messo sulla tavola.
 'I put it on the table.'
 b. L'ho messo su di lui.
 'I put it on him.'
 c. Ho guardato su.
 'I looked up.'

The fact that davanti can appear without a following PP as well as with a following a NP makes it "look like" it should be in the class of P's in which we find dopo. The similarities between davanti a NP and dopo di NP are strong when the NP is pronominal or, for many speakers, a [L+human] full NP:

- (46) a. Vengo dopo di lui.
 'I'm coming after him.'

- (46) b. Sto davanti a lui.
'I'm standing in front of him.'
- (47) a. Vengo dopo di quell'uomo.
'I'm coming after that man.'
- b. Sto davanti a quell'uomo.
'I'm standing in front of that man.'

However, if the NP is a [-human] full NP, then in all varieties of Italian the correspondence breaks down: a can still appear with davanti but di cannot appear with dopo:

- (48) a. Vengo dopo (*del)la lezione.
'I'm coming after the lesson.'
- b. L'ho messo davanti alla televisione.
'I put it in front of the television.'

The fact that a can appear in front of any object NP with davanti means that davanti is different from both P's like con and P's like dopo. However, the presence of this a (that is, of the one thing that makes davanti distinct from the other two classes of P's) is not obligatory for many speakers. Thus it is possible to not have a before a full NP object, as in (49) below.³⁹ Note that it is precisely before full NP objects that the dopo class of P's appears without di.

- (49) a. L'ho trovato dietro alla casa.
b. L'ho trovato dietro la casa.
'I found it behind the house.'

Furthermore, some speakers will use either a or di before pronominal objects with dietro. Note that di is the element which appears between P's like dopo and their pronominal objects.

- (50) a. L'ho trovato dietro a lei.
b. L'ho trovato dietro di lei.
'I found it behind her.'

And the same speakers who allow di before [+human] full NP objects of dopo also allow it there with dietro.

- (51) L'ho trovato dietro a/di quell'uomo.
'I found it behind that man.'

Finally, just as speakers reject di after dopo with a [-human] full NP object, they reject di after dietro with such an object.

- (52) *L'ho trovato dietro della casa.
(cf. (49))

Dietro a NP and dietro di NP, however, are not syntactically equivalent. While dietro a NP can be analyzed as in (3) or as in (4), dietro di NP can be analyzed only as a PP. Thus with regard to the syn-

tactic phenomena handled in Sections 2.1 through 2.4 above dietro di NP behaves like dopo di NP, while dietro a NP behaves like davanti a NP.

- (53) a. Ce l'ho messo dietro. (Corresponding to:
L'ho messo dietro alla tavola.)
'I put it behind there.' (the table)
- b. *Ne l'ho messo dietro.⁴⁰ (Corresponding to:
L'ho messo dietro di lui.)
'I put it behind him.'
- (54) a. ?L'ho messo a lei dietro.
- b. *L'ho messo di lei dietro.
'I put it behind her.'
- (55) a. Non li ho messi dietro che a lui.
- b. *Non li ho messi dietro che di lui.
'I put them behind only him.'
- (56) a. L'ho messo dietro, credo, a lui.
- b. *L'ho messo dietro, credo, di lui.
'I put it behind, I think, him.'

Likewise, dietro di NP behaves like dopo di NP with respect to the movement transformations discussed in Section 3.1.

- (57) a. Dietro (di) chi l'hai messo?
- b. *(Di) chi l'hai messo dietro?
'Behind whom did you put it?'
- (58) a. La ragazza dietro (di) cui stava Carla era bella.
- b. *La ragazza di cui stava dietro Carlo era bella.
'The girl behind whom Carlo stood was pretty.'
- (59) a. Fu dietro di lei che l'ha messo.
- b. *Fu di lei che l'ha messo dietro.
'It was behind her that he put it.'
- (60) a. Dietro di lei stava Carlo.
- b. *Di lei stava dietro Carlo.
- c. *Di lei stava Carlo dietro.
'Behind her stood Carlo.'

Furthermore dietro di NP (where NP is a full NP) behaves like dopo NP.

- (61) a. *Ne l'ho messo dietro. (Corresponding to:
L'ho messo dietro la casa.)
'I put it behind there.' (the house)
- b. *Ne ho parlato dopo. (Corresponding to:
Ho parlato dopo la lezione.)
'I spoke after.' (the lesson)
- (62) a. *L'ho messo la casa dietro.
- b. *Ho parlato Maria dopo.
- (63) a. *Non li ho messi dietro che la casa.
- b. *Non gli ho parlato dopo che la lezione.
'I spoke to him after only the lesson.'
- (64) a. *L'ho messo dietro, credo, la casa.
- b. *Gli ha parlato dopo, credo, la lezione.
'He spoke to him after, I think, the lesson.'

- (65) a. *Cosa l'hai messo dietro?
 'What did you put it behind?'
 b. Dietro (a) cosa l'hai messo?
 'Behind what did you put it?'
 c. *Cosa gli hai parlato dopo?
 'What did you talk to him after?'
 d. Dopo cosa gli hai parlato?
 'After what did you talk to him?'
- (66) a. *La casa che l'hai messo dietro è bianca.
 b. La casa dietro (a) cui l'hai messo è bianca.
 'The house you put it behind is white.'
 c. *La ragazza che hai parlato dopo era bella.
 d. La ragazza dopo (di) cui hai parlato era bella.
 'The girl that you spoke after was pretty.'
- (67) a. *Fu la casa che l'ha messo dietro.
 b. Fu dietro (al) la casa che l'ha messo.
 'It was behind the house that he put it.'
 c. *Fu Elena che ha parlato dopo.
 d. Fu dopo Elena che ha parlato.
 'It was after Elena that he spoke.'
- (68) a. Dietro Elena stava Carlo.
 'Behind Elena stood Carlo.'
 b. Dopo Elena ha parlato Carlo.
 'After Elena Carlo spoke.'

What all these facts show is that davanti can appear in a PP followed by a NP, di NP, or NP. The question, then, is why davanti has these three possibilities when P's like dopo have only the last two of them. It is instructive to see how each of the three hypotheses presented in Section 3.2 above answer this question.

The two davanti's hypothesis and the two PP's hypothesis, both of which claim that when davanti appears in a PP with an object in the surface, it was generated that way in the base, could claim that davanti is typical of a third class of preposition. This class allows all the structural possibilities open to the dopo class as well as the possibility of having a before the object. This claim would not offer any explanation for the data in this section. Instead it proposes a third class of P's whose syntactic behavior is arbitrarily related to that of P's like dopo. If the two davanti's or two PP's hypothesis tried to explain the data, either hypothesis could claim that davanti either 1) is a P like dopo which appears with di NP or NP, and the additional possibility of a NP is due to the fact that the adverb (in the two davanti's hypothesis) or the P with no object (in the two PP's hypothesis) is often followed by a NP (with which it does not form a constituent); or 2) like the adverb or objectless P davanti, is followed by a NP in the base and the additional possibilities of di NP and NP are due to the fact that other P's (such as dopo) allow these complements. But note that either of these explanations involves analogy: on the one

hand an analogical process that allows the transitive P davanti a possibility that the adverb or intransitive P davanti has, and on the other hand an analogical process that allows the adverb or P davanti a possibility that other P's like dopo have. The first proposal, then, says that [davanti (di) NP]

is optionally changed to [davanti a NP] under analogy with [davanti] [a NP]. But the claim that davanti (di) NP is basic and davanti a NP (as a PP) is derived is contrary to both the facts and to native speakers' intuitions. While all speakers can say the PP davanti a NP, only some (probably most) can say the PP davanti (di) NP and then only in less formal speech. All speakers agree that the PP davanti a NP is "correct", whereas they feel that the PP davanti (di) NP is somehow "loose". Given these facts and feelings, this proposal is unlikely.

The second proposal says that the PP davanti a NP is optionally changed to the PP davanti (di) NP under analogy with PP's like dopo (di) NP.

The reanalysis hypothesis claims that whenever davanti appears in a PP with an object in the surface, it was generated in the base as an adverb with a following PP with which it did not form a constituent. Thus [davanti] [a NP] goes to [davanti a NP]. The reanalysis rule itself can be considered an analogical rule, where the analogy would be between [davanti] [a NP] and [dopo di NP]. In this hypothesis, then, the further analogical process which turns [davanti a NP] into [davanti (di) NP] is not at all unexpected: rather it is merely one more way of treating davanti as if it were in the same class of P's as dopo.

Thus all three analyses call for syntactic analogy to a greater or lesser extent.

4.0. Conclusion. It has been shown that a sentence with davanti such as (1) can be analyzed as having a VP structure like that in (3) or like that in (4). Three possible solutions have been examined for these facts. One solution proposes that davanti can appear in two different deep structures with no corresponding semantic duplicity. Another proposes that davanti is only an adverb in the deep structure and undergoes reanalysis to become a constituent with a following PP by a kind of restructuring rule that we would want to exclude from our theory unless there were overwhelming support for it. A final solution proposes that davanti can have either an object or a following PP in the base and predicts the possibility of both, which, as far as I know, does not occur. I have given no conclusive evidence for any one of these analyses over the others. However, there is one claim that emerges, regardless of the

hypothesis. All three solutions call for an optional analogical rule which substitutes the monosyllable di for a or deletes a in precisely those positions in which di or nothing appears before the object of prepositions like dopo. Thus the data in this paper strongly support the claim that an adequate theory of syntax must include rules of analogy. Whether such rules are or should be limited to substitution of one lexical item for another (like di for a) or deletion of words or whether such rules can change constituent structure (as in the reanalysis hypothesis) is a question that remains for future study.

Notes

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1. "Preposizioni composte" are discussed in great detail in Regula and Jernej 1965 and mentioned in most traditional grammars of Italian.

2. I use the category ADV here for items like davanti. It is an open question, however, whether davanti should be dominated by ADV or by P (as an intransitive P in an S like (1)). See Jackendoff 1973 for relevant discussion, particularly for his analysis of many adverbials in English as P's. Most of Jackendoff's arguments for this particular position do not carry over to Italian since the relevant constructions in English often lack parallels in Italian. The terms ADV and P are used throughout this paper to distinguish between items like davanti and those like dopo.

Also note that throughout this paper the only meaning for davanti considered is the locative meaning of "in front of". There is another meaning for davanti that can be rendered by "in the presence of". For example, (i) is ambiguous between the two readings.

- (i) Ho messo le scarpe davanti a lui.
 'I put the shoes in front of him.'
 'I put on the shoes in his presence.'

Only the "in front of" meaning exhibits the syntactic behavior discussed in this paper. The "in the presence of" meaning, instead, behaves as a FP always, where davanti might truly be called a composite pre-

position. Thus note the behavior of clitic placement and question formation for each reading.

- (ii) Gli ho messo le scarpe davanti.
'I put the shoes in front of him.'
≠ 'I put on the shoes in his presence.'
- (iii) Davanti a chi hai messo le scarpe?
'In front of whom did you put the shoes?'
'In whose presence did you put the shoes on?'
- (iv) A chi hai messo davanti le scarpe?
'Who did you put the shoes in front of?'
≠ 'Whose presence did you put the shoes on in?'

(Note that davanti is in immediate postverbal position in (iv). The transformation involved here has never been studied so far as I know and brings to mind rules involving particle movement in English and Dutch (see van Riemsdijk 1973).) As expected, if an S allows only the "in the presence of" reading, no clitic corresponding to the a phrase is possible and question formation cannot front just the a phrase.

- (v) Sono rimasta perplessa davanti al tuo comportamento.
'I remained perplexed in view of your behavior.'
- (vi) *Ci sono rimasta perplessa davanti.
'I remained perplexed in view of it.'
- (vii) *A che cosa sei rimasta perplessa davanti?
'Of what thing did you remain perplexed in view?'

(Example (i) is due to Francesca van Tiel-Di Maio (personal communication). Example (v) is due to Enzo Lo Cascio (personal communication).)

3. It is unclear how the internal structure of the PP dopo di me should be represented. As the clitic facts in Section 2.1 below show, di me or dopo di me cannot correspond to a clitic. If it could, however, the clitic we would expect it to correspond to is ne.

Ne, like French en (see Kayne 1975 for relevant arguments) is a proPP. Thus, unlike personal pronouns, ne has an invariable form. It corresponds to di NP regardless of the person, number, or gender of the NP.

- (i) Parla molto spesso di me/te/lei, e ne parla bene.
'He speaks often of me/you/her, and he speaks well.'
- (ii) Ne parla troppo spesso, della ragazza/delle ragazze.
'He speaks about her/them too much, the girl(s).'
- (iii) Ne è fiero, della sua casa/del suo successo.
'He's proud of it, his house (f.s.)/his success (m.s.).'

However, like accusative clitics, ne corresponding to a partitive can call for past participle agreement (where such agreement is optional except in cases of sympathetic agreement, as discussed in Napoli 1975) in many varieties of Italian.

(iv) Di fiori, ne ha già comprati.

m.p.

m.p.

'Flowers, he's already bought some.'

The agreement in (iv), however, is not clear evidence that partitive ne is not a proPP. Note that, just as in French, ne may replace only part of the partitive.

(v) Ne ha delle belle.

'He has some pretty ones.'

Kayne 1975 has argued for the French counterpart (which arguments carry over point for point into Italian) that the partitive in (v) has the structure [delle belle [ne]]. Thus, while I note that the NP PP agreement facts in (iv) remain unexplained, I conclude that ne is a proPP.

Ne, being a proPP, cannot be extracted from within a larger PP because of the A/A Principle. Thus note the contrast below:

(vi) a. Ha comprato delle foto di Parigi.

b. Ne ha comprato delle foto.

'He bought some photos of Paris/of it.'

(vii) a. Ha parlato delle foto di Parigi.

b. Ne ha parlato delle foto.

'He spoke about the photos of Paris.'

In (vi-a) we have [delle [di foto] [di Parigi]].

NP

PP

PP

In (vii-a), instead, we have [delle foto [di Parigi]].

PP

PP

Given that ne is a proPP and that the A/A Principle blocks movement of ne out of a larger PP, I can think of no way to test whether di NP forms a constituent within dopo di NP or not. For the purposes of this paper, however, the issue need not be resolved.

4. I take the position (after Kayne 1975 for French) that dative clitics like that in (5b) originate as the object of the preposition a and that Clitic Placement attaches the pronoun to its V, stranding a, which subsequently deletes.

5. That ci is a proPP can be substantiated by noting that, like ne in ft. 3 above, it has an invariable form, regardless of the person, number, or gender of the NP in the a NP phrase it corresponds to. (See Kayne 1975 for these arguments for French y.) Also,

with V's that require some locative adverbial or PP, ci may fill that requirement:

- (i) *l'ho messo.
- (ii) L'ho messo sulla tavola.
- (iii) Ce l'ho messo.
'I put it/I put it on the table/I put it there.'

(Note that unlike ne, ci never calls for agreement of the past participle.)

6. See ft. 3 above for examples in which the A/A Principle blocks cliticization of ne out of a larger PP. An example for ci is given here.

- (i) a. Ha parlato dei suoi problemi a casa ieri sera (a casa mia).
'He spoke about his problems at home last night (at my house).'
- b. *Ci ha parlato dei suoi problemi ieri sera (a casa mia).

7. (11b) is good with the irrelevant reading in which vi corresponds to a locative phrase, as in 'We arrived there afterwards.'

8. (11c) is good for some speakers with the irrelevant reading in which ne corresponds to a locative phrase of the form da NP, as in 'We arrived from there afterwards.'

9. See ft. 3 above for more discussion.

10. Inversion is most common when the first complement is "heavy", although it is perfectly acceptable in (12) where the accusative complement is perhaps less "heavy" than the dative complement. In (14), however, davanti is not heavy at all, perhaps accounting for the strangeness there. (14) is almost as good as the slightly awkward:

- (i) Darò allo studente questo.
'I'll give the student this.'

where (i) is to be read with unmarked intonation. (If, instead, questo has an extra high intonation peak and is preceded by a slight pause, then (i) is perfectly acceptable.)

One of my informants rejected (14) and (15) as equally bad. I do not know why.

11. I say "weakly" since it is not clear how much weight should be given to evidence on word order from poetry. (See ft. 23 below for discussion.) However, inversion with davanti is attested in the poetry of Aldo Palazzeschi.

12. Actually, as Andrew Radford (personal communication) has pointed out to me, these positions are

probably typical of all syntactic "intruders", so that the data in Sections 2.3 and 2.4 illustrate specific aspects of a larger, more general phenomenon.

13. Some speakers find (18) marginal or out. But all my informants found (18) better than (19). (Note that speakers judge (55a) and (55b) below in the same way as (18) and (19), respectively.) Also, (19) has the irrelevant good reading 'I won't speak afterwards except about him.'

14. Two of my informants accept (22) with the reading given there. Note, these are distinct informants from that noted in ft. 10 above. I have no explanation.

15. (22) has the irrelevant good reading 'He spoke afterwards, I think, about you.'

16. As Ivonne Bordelois (personal communication) has pointed out to me, while the ADV appears independently of the PP, the reverse usually is not true.

(i) Era seduta davanti a lui.

(ii) Era seduta davanti.

(iii)*Era seduta a lui.

'She was seated before him/in front/*to him.'

A discussion of what elements must appear with prepositions like dopo is found in Section 3.3 below.

17. Adverbs such as lontano and vicino, which have homophonous adjectives, as in

(i) La casa è vicino alla scuola.

(ii) La casa è vicina alla scuola.

'The house is near the school.'

do not allow any flexibility in the type of PP that follows them (unless, of course, that PP is conditioned by the V and not by the ADV). Thus vicino, if it is followed by a PP, is followed by a NP only, never by di NP or da NP, and lontano is followed by da NP or, for some speakers, di NP, but never a NP. Note that while both vicino and lontano can appear without a following PP, as in

(iii) Vado lontano.

'I'm going far away.'

for some speakers the invariable (ie, adverbial) forms across the copula from an NP without a following PP are questionable, although adverbs like davanti can appear in this position.

(iv) (?) La casa è vicino. (cf. La casa è qui vicino.)

(v) La casa è vicina.

'The house is nearby.' (The house is near here.)

See also Napoli 1975 in which it is noted that for some speakers vicino and lontano behave syntactically as adjectives (like svelto).

18. In a VP made up of V fuori di NP we find that inversion, the non...che construction, and the positioning of parentheticals treat fuori di NP like davanti a NP. However, for some speakers di NP may not correspond to the clitic ne. Thus (i) is fine for many, marginal for others, and out for still others.

(i) Ne è andato fuori.

'He went out of it.'

19. As in all other aspects of Italian grammar I have ever worked on, variation runs rampant. Thus these statements must be taken as gross generalizations based on the speech of my informants.

20. For the lexical items I tested this is true. But there are many words I either did not test or could not find a suitable test for. Thus it is possible that a P_1 exists where $P_2 \neq di$ in $[\underset{PP}{P_1} \underset{PP}{P_2} NP]$, in the

base and throughout a derivation. If such a P_1 exists, the arguments in Section 3.3 of this paper for analogy may be substantially weakened. Note that in the discussion of what elements can follow dopo I am not considering those elements whose appearance depends entirely on the V and not at all on dopo. Thus the con Maria of (i) is not considered, since even if dopo is not present the PP may be.

(i) Vado (dopo) con Maria.

'I'm going (afterwards) with Maria.'

Compare (i) to (25) and (26) in the text where the omission of the adverb leads to ungrammaticality.

(ii) *Entro a te.

(iii) *Non bevo birra di mangiare.

21. Or, alternatively, one could propose that di is transformationally deleted in other (the complementary) environments. If di is present in the deep structure, it is "meaningless", for no speaker I know of who allows di optionally before $[+human]$ full NP's finds a difference in meaning between dopo NP and dopo di NP. See ft. 37 below for further comments.

22. There are at least two other apparent arguments for claiming that davanti a NP can appear in a VP structure like that in (4). One is based on reciprocals, the other on conjunction.

The reciprocal phrase involving l'uno...
l'altro, when it appears without a reflexive
clitic on the V, appears only with a P between
l'uno and l'altro (just as in the corresponding
French construction discussed in Kayne 1975)
never with a lone adverb.

- (i) Parlano l'uno con l'altro.
'They speak the one with the other.'
- (ii)*Amano l'un(o) l'altro.
'The love one another.'
- (iii)*Cantavano l'un(o) lentamente l'altro.
'They sang the one slowly the other.'

Dopo can appear between l'uno and l'altro:

- (iv) Hanno parlato (l')uno dopo l'altro.
'They talked after one another.'

However, davanti a can also appear in this
position:

- (v) Stavano l'uno davanti all'altro.
'They stood before one another.'

Still, (v) need not be evidence for saying
davanti a NP can form a PP, since we do find
l'uno...l'altro separated by ADV - PP, as in,

- (vi)?Hanno parlato l'uno direttamente dopo
l'altro.
'They spoke one directly after the other.'

The second argument goes as follows. It
has been proposed in Chomsky 1957 (p. 36) that
only like labeled nodes can be conjoined.
Kayne 1975 (p. 358) has applied this proposal
to French. Were the claim justified for Italian,
then (vii) would be evidence that davanti a NP
forms a PP:

- (vii) L'ho messo davanti a lui e alla sua
destra.
'I put it in front of him and to his
right.'

However, the claim does not seem to be justifiable
for Italian, since adverbs can be conjoined to
PP's, as in,

- (viii) Ha parlato lentamente e con ansia.
'He spoke slowly and with anxiety.'

Thus reciprocals and conjunction do not give any
clear evidence for determining whether davanti a
NP appears only in (3) or in both (3) and (4).

23. The b sentences in (30)-(32) are starred
because they are not acceptable in the same

style of speech as the a sentences. In fact, I doubt that the b sentences would be said in any style of speech. However, there is a certain cultural problem in calling these sentences ungrammatical. Italians often will defend heatedly the claim that word order is free in Italian, when, in fact, in actual speech, even very elegant speech, certain word orders (almost) never occur. Giulio Lepschy brought to my attention the following story reported by Migliorini 1960 (p. 546), which illustrates the cultural bias Italians have against rejecting sentences because of unusual word order.

It seems that a play of Alfieri's (a playwright of the late 1700's) was produced several years ago in Rome. Alfieri was famous for, among other things, the freedom he enjoyed in the word order of his dialogues. One night the audience was unusually small. A spirited person stood before the audience and said, "C poca quanto in teatro gente!" ('Oh, few how in the theater people', meaning, 'Oh, how few people in the theater'). Clearly his words were tongue-in-cheek, but the point is clear.

Thus, with the knowledge that many Italians would not call the b sentences in (30)-(32) "ungrammatical" (and some might not even reject (13b), (15), (22), and others), I still asterisk them, using as a standard word order which is (at least fairly) frequent in actual speech or else that I have found in the modern literature.

24. (33b) with di has the irrelevant good reading 'Who did you talk about afterwards?'; (34b), the irrelevant good reading 'The girl you talked about afterwards was pretty'; and (35b), 'It's about her that you talked afterwards.'

25. The sentences of (37) are preferred by many speakers although those of (36) are totally acceptable. Note that a in (37) is optional. This fact is discussed in Section 3.3 below.

26. However, only in poetic speech can we find just a NP fronted without the davanti:

(i) Alla sua porta mi siederò davanti.
'Her door I will sit before.'

And no one I have asked allows davanti to front without a NP:

(ii)*Davanti mi siederò a quella porta là.
'In front I'll sit of that door there.'

although davanti can front by itself if there is no a NP in the S:

(iii) Davanti si siede Paolo.
'In front sits Paolo.'

These facts are not surprising, however, when one considers the semantics of davanti a NP in light of the contexts typical for Adverb Preposing. Adverb Preposing of locatives has the effect of presenting or pointing out a situation (just as Bolinger 1976 argues that initial locatives have this effect in English). The initial locative locates the following situation in space, whether physical or psychological. The attention of the listener is drawn to the situation rather than to the locative. Thus in (41) in the text, what interests the speaker is the fact that Carolina was sitting somewhere. The fact that the place she was sitting in was in front of the door is mentioned merely as an opener for introducing Carolina's situation into the conversation. Since davanti a NP, whether it is analyzed as ADV - PP or PP, is a locative, we would expect Adverb Preposing to front the entire locative, as in (41). (Note that if davanti a NP is analyzed as ADV - PP, this means that Adverb Preposing either moves non-constituents (as Kayne 1975 has argued for FI in French) or that Adverb Preposing moves first one then the other constituent (a trivial way out of the nonconstituent movement problem, also mentioned in Kayne 1975). In any case, it is hard to see what semantic motivation one could have for moving only part of the locative information in the sentence, given the usual contextual environment for Adverb Preposing. Thus I claim that (i) and (ii) are not used in regular speech because they are semantically inappropriate. (Note that the fact that (i) is poetic but (ii) is out is unexplained. It may be that the "left over right" principle mentioned in Napoli 1975 and studied in detail in Demonte 1976 is operating here, where we must pull out locative information to the right if we do so to the left (ruling out (ii)), but we only optionally pull out locative information to the left if we do so to the right (allowing both (i) and (41) in the text).)

If one could find evidence that (ii) is out for syntactic reasons other than the "left over right" principle, then none of the hypotheses discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 below can explain this fact.

27. A reanalysis rule of this type is proposed in Berman 1974 to account for similar types of facts about infinitival clauses in English. And similar facts on the behavior of P's and particles in Dutch are discussed in van Riemsdijk 1973.

Note that the internal structure of the PP in (42b) is not specified since it is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to determine that structure.

Another possibility is to propose that davanti a NP forms a PP in the base and that reanalysis works

from (42b) to (42a), instead of vice-versa. I will not discuss this proposal further, since the reader can easily figure out what predictions follow from this hypothesis and what kinds of evidence would be crucial for testing it as he follows along in the arguments below.

28. The lack of counterexamples is a fact indifferent to all three hypotheses. Only the existence of counterexamples would be definitive.

29. That is, I know of no phonological rules that apply to one but not the other.

30. For example, no speaker I have asked finds any difference in meaning whatsoever between (36) and the corresponding sentences of (37). The only difference is one of style, perhaps, with (36) being more informal.

31. If sentences parallel to (43) were found for davanti, so that two distinct readings emerged for the S's parallel to (43c) and (43d), these data would not favor any hypothesis. The two davanti's hypothesis could account for the two readings with two structural sources, as could the two PP's hypothesis. But the reanalysis hypothesis could account for the two readings by way of a semantic interpretation rule that associates the adverb with a PP. Since the adverb can appear without an accompanying PP (as in (23)), this interpretation rule is optional. Hence it offers a possible source of ambiguity.

32. If a rule could be found which were ordered after any one of the three movement transformations discussed in Section 3.1 and if that rule treated a structure like (3) differently from one like (4), then the reanalysis rule predicts that this rule could apply to davanti a NP in two different ways. If this rule could in fact treat davanti a NP in only one way, this would offer evidence against the reanalysis hypothesis. But, likewise, it would offer evidence against the two davanti's hypothesis and the two PP's hypothesis. I know of no such rule.

33. Reciprocal sentences might offer an example of the required sort, as Richard Kayne (personal communication) has pointed out to me. If both a reflexive (reciprocal) clitic and l'uno P l'altro could cooccur in one sentence, with davanti, then we could argue that both PP base positions were filled and transitive. The data are not clear, however. The required type of example, such as (i), is marginal at best.

- (i) ??Ci siamo saltati l'uno adosso all'altro.
'We jumped on top of one another.'

Instead of (i) one would more naturally say:

(ii) Ci siami saltati addosso, l'uno all'altro.

where the l'uno all'altro phrase could be analyzed as a sentence fragment tagged onto the end of the good sentence (iii).

(iii) Ci siamo saltati addosso.

34. See Perlmutter's 1970 classical article on begin and Ruwet's 1972 analysis of menacer, to list just two of the better known examples.

35. Among this literature is Berman 1974, Aissen 1973, Hankamer 1972, Napoli 1973 (Ch. 6).

36. The items in this list, of course, vary from one variety of Italian to another. I have tried to stick to those elements that most of my informants agreed upon.

An exception that may come immediately to mind is secondo:

(i) a. È bello secondo te.

'He's good looking according to you.'

b. *È bello secondo di/a te.

(ii) Lo faccio secondo.

'I'll do it depending.'

This exception is perhaps not so striking when you note that the adverbial use of secondo is much less frequent and more limited with respect to suitable contexts than the adverbial use of P's like dopo.

37. Throughout this paper I say that di appears obligatorily after dopo when the object is pronominal. This is true for most speakers in most styles of speech. However, in super colloquial speech one hears now and then things like senza me, dopo me, etc. Thus the distinction between the two classes of prepositions noted here may be in the process of weakening. Note that no one has di before pronominal objects with prepositions in the first class (*con di me).

38. Three prepositions that seem to fit neither class very well are fra, tra, and verso, which never appear without an object (like in), but optionally for many speakers take di before a pronominal object. However, the fact that di does not appear after these P's for many speakers and does so only optionally for others makes them contrast with P's like su.

Note also that a very few of the prepositions in this class have corresponding adverbs that behave (somewhat) like the davanti class of adverbs and share much in both their semantic value and their

phonetic shape. For example, presso 'near', the P which does not allow its object to be cliticized or moved away by wh-movement, has a corresponding appresso 'near', the adverb which can be followed by an a NP phrase or cooccur with a dative clitic on the verb or a locative clitic on the verb. I have not considered the possible relation between presso and appresso and other such pairs because there are very few such pairs and often one member of the pair is considered "archaic" so that it is very difficult to collect reliable data and interpret those data in a reliable manner. It is clear, however, that if a reliable study could be made of such pairs, it might well hold the key to understanding the dual syntactic behavior of davanti type adverbs. Thus I invite others to enter into this question. See also Ruwet 1969 where he relates similar pairs in French (for example sur and dessus) by saying that one (dessus in this case) is the base form always followed by the preposition a and that form gets transformed into the other (sur) not followed by a. Note that Ruwet speaks only of locatives and that (as noted in ft. 2 above) only the locative reading of davanti is problematical.

39. In the examples below I use dietro rather than davanti just to show that these data are not limited to the specific lexical item davanti. The same kind of data can be found with davanti:

- (i) davanti alla casa.
- (ii) davanti la casa
- (iii) davanti a lei
- (iv) davanti di lei
- (v) davanti all'uomo
- (vi) davanti dell'uomo
- (vii)*davanti della casa

40. Note that (53b) is not out for any extraneous reason such as bad surface clitic combination, since the combination ne lo can be found in good sentences (although, admittedly, contrived ones).

- (i) Ne lo trasse.
- 'He pulled it out of there.'

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