

# Extended doubling and the VP periphery<sup>1</sup>

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## *Abstract*

*A family of ‘doubling’ structures is presented based, on one side, on analyses from the literature on ‘clitic doubling’ of the Spanish type (Jaeggli 1982, Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995, Belletti 1999, Sportiche 1998, Kayne 1994, Rouveret 1989), and, on the other, on the classical analysis of the Floated quantifier phenomenology (Sportiche (1988)). A further kind of structure implementing doubling is identified in Italian, involving strong pronouns. It is claimed that doubling characteristically exploits the clause internal VP periphery (Belletti 2001, 2004) and is thus typically associated with particular discourse related interpretations and constraints. It is also claimed that doubling can be assumed to be at work in more structures than meet the eye; its role is particularly investigated in the crucial domains of subject inversion and nominative Case assignment. Finally, the status of doubling structures is addressed with respect to economy considerations; some speculative remarks concerning the comparative side of the analysis are briefly sketched out.*

## **1. Introduction**

### *1.1. The origin of doubling structures*

Much work within P&P over the late eighties and the nineties, concerned the issue of looking for a “solution” to the problem(s) posed by doubling structures.

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1. This work has been presented in different occasions in talks given at the University of Edinburgh, University of Geneva, University of Stuttgart, Autónoma University of Barcelona and in seminars and classes at the University of Siena. Many thanks to all these audiences for their comments and reactions. I also thank Valentina Bianchi, Anna Cardinaletti, Carlo Cecchetto, Luigi Rizzi and two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments on an earlier draft.

Most of the work focussed in particular on clitic doubling structures (CLD) of the kind found in languages like Spanish, illustrated by examples like the following (1), first discussed in detail in Jaeggli (1982):

- (1) *Lo vi a Juan*  
 (I) him(cl) saw to Juan  
 ‘I saw Juan’

The doubling problem(s) can be phrased as follows: there are two “arguments”, the clitic and the lexical noun phrase, for one Th-role and (presumably) one Case. Whence the term “doubling” suggesting the existence of a “duplication” of one single argument. Based on Spanish examples like (1), the Case problem was given a descriptive solution through what has come to be known as Kayne’s generalization: clitic doubling is only possible in languages which avail themselves of an extra Case marker for the extra argument. Spanish, Romanian appear to illustrate the operation of the generalization as in both languages a preposition (*a* and *pe* respectively) is involved in doubling. At a closer investigation however, clitic doubling structures did not appear to completely conform to the generalization. For instance, the construction known as “Clitic Left Dislocation” (CLLD) studied in Cinque (1977, 1990) illustrated by the following Italian example (2a) and right dislocation structures (RD) of the type in (2b) do not, even if they share obvious similarities with CLD:

- (2) a. **Gianni, lo vedo.**  
 Gianni, (I) him(cl) see  
 ‘Gianni, I see him.’  
 b. **Lo vedo, Gianni.**  
 (I) him(cl) see Gianni  
 ‘I see him, Gianni.’

Moreover, even if the Case side of the problem could be taken care of through Kayne’s generalization assuming that the examples in (2) are of a different nature, despite their resemblance, the  $\theta$ -side remains open. Essentially, the question is: how is it possible that the same argument (same  $\theta$ -role) is realized twice?

The work referred to above, apart from individual differences, (Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995, Belletti 1999a, Sportiche 1998, Kayne 1994, Rouveret 1989)<sup>2</sup> has put forth the fundamental insight that the problematic status of CLD can find a rational account if these structures are interpreted as deriving from a single “big DP” (Cecchetto 2000), where both the clitic pronoun and the doubled

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2. Anagnostopoulou (1999) for Greek. See also Schmitt (1998), Cecchetto (2000) for a closer comparison between CLD and CLLD.

lexical argument originate. The idea behind these approaches is that it is the “big DP” which is assigned a Th-role in the Th position where it is merged. By virtue of this, its internal constituents are also Th interpreted.<sup>3</sup> The Case side of the problem can be accounted for by assuming that at least one part of the original big DP, the clitic, is Case marked in an adequate position (e.g., a clitic/Case position, Belletti 1999a, Sportiche 1998) and that the lexical part is Case marked by virtue of the relation established with the Case marked portion of the original big DP. It can be that languages vary as to whether an extra preposition appears, this being possibly dependent on the position where the lexical part is ultimately located.<sup>4</sup>

This informal summary of a family of proposals on clitic doubling formulated over the last ten/fifteen<sup>5</sup> years primarily intends to underscore one of its properties: this kind of analysis shares one crucial aspect with the influential analysis proposed in the late eighties by Sportiche (1988) for the so called “Floated Quantifier” FQ phenomenon. Although FQ structures might be taken not to pose particular problems from the point of view of Th-theory and Case theory in that quantifiers, differently from pronouns, can be assumed to be exempted from both Th and Case requirements,<sup>6</sup> yet it is clear that, at least observationally, also in the FQ phenomenon, as in clitic doubling, we observe one single argument split into two parts, so somehow “doubled”:

- (3) *I miei amici andranno tutti al cinema.*  
 ‘My friends will all go to the movies.’

According to Sportiche’s illuminating account, FQ structures involve one single original big constituent where both the noun phrase containing the lexical part and the quantifier originate. A computation can take place whereby the

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3. The assumption is that the Th-role associated with the position of the big DP reaches all its internal constituents up the first possible further Th assigner which could be found DP internally. E.g., if the head N of the lexical projection NP, inside the DP, takes a complement this complement will be assigned a Th-role by N, not through the position filled by the big DP. This result is directly obtained through standard minimality. Furthermore, NP internally, the distribution of Th roles should function in the way described in various articles on the topic (cf. Bernstein 2000 for an overview), with the identification special NP internal relations (such as the relation R expressing possession and so on). See Kayne (2002a) for a partly different view.

4. Thus, if the lexical part remains in the “complement” position as is presumably the case in the classical Spanish examples, the preposition appears following language specific constraints discussed in Torrego (1998). No extra Case marker would show up in other kinds of positions, such as the position of left dislocated arguments.

5. Of course, as it remains very general, the brief summary does not make justice to any single proposal referred to in the text. This is not the aim here, though. I think that the summary does make justice to the spirit of the various proposals.

6. Due to their non referential status.

two parts are split, with the quantifier “stranded” in some position within the clause structure and the phrase containing the lexical part moved further up.

Beside the observational similarity described, it is clear that the approach to CLD briefly summarized above and Sportiche’s style approach to FQ also share important similarities from the formal computational point of view. In both cases an original big constituent is split with one part moved to some position in the clause structure and the other part stranded in some other position. We can refer to this computation as “movement + stranding”.

Note that we can remain vague as to which part is moved (and where) and which part is stranded (and where): optimally, this should follow from the interaction between intrinsic properties of the various parts of the original big constituent and properties of the possible landing sites within the clause structure. This article will be mainly devoted to singling out the various possibilities instantiated by the different computations and their outputs, currently referred to as different “constructions”: CLD, FQ, CLLD, RD and the further construction which will be analyzed in some detail here which I will label “strong pronoun doubling” (SPD) for convenience.<sup>7</sup> In CLD of the Spanish kind, part of the DP is moved through cliticization and the part containing the lexical noun phrase is stranded clause internally in some position (presumably the same position reserved to “a” objects in general, in Spanish, as mentioned above); in FQ the part containing the lexical noun phrase is moved to an argument position of the clause, most typically the subject position and the part containing the quantifier is stranded in some lower position;<sup>8</sup> in CLLD the left dislocated argument is

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7. As usual, the term “construction” has no theoretical status *per se* and it is just used to speed up reference to the relevant structures and computations.

8. For FQ to involve direct objects extra material seems necessary within the original VP, a fact often noted in the literature (Sportiche 1988 and reference cited there):

- (i) *Ho incontrato i miei amici tutti al cinema.*  
 (I) have met my friends all at the movie theater  
 ‘I met all my friends at the movie theater.’
- (ii) *Ho chiamato i ragazzi tutti nello stesso momento.*  
 (I) have called the boys all at the same moment  
 ‘I called all the boys at the same time.’

Impossibility of FQ involving a P:

- (iii) \* *Ho parlato con i giornalisti tutti della stessa notizia.*  
 (I) have talked with the journalists all about the same news

could receive different interpretations. A traditional one attributes the impossibility to lack of c-command between the DP embedded within the PP and the position to which the DP should be related within the original big constituent containing the stranded FQ. With an analysis of Prepositions as always belonging to the clause functional structure as in Kayne’s

moved<sup>9</sup> to a topic like left peripheral position and the clitic is stranded clause internally in clitic position (Cecchetto 1999, 2000); in RD the clitic fills the clitic position, and the part of the original big constituent containing the lexical noun phrase is stranded in a position which, following Cecchetto (2000) I assume to be a clause internal topic position.

An important property which is shared by all cases mentioned above is the fact that the two parts in which the original constituent split are such that one contains a lexical noun phrase the other a functional word, either a clitic or a quantifier. Th-theoretic reasons exclude the possibility that the two parts be both constituted by lexical noun phrases. Whence the total impossibility of sentences like (4), which would parallel (3) above:<sup>10</sup>

- (4) \**I miei amici andranno i loro genitori al cinema.*  
 'My friends will go their parents to the movies.'

For ease of reference let us call the part of the original big constituent containing the functional word the "doubler" and the part containing the lexical noun phrase the "doublee".

Note that no reason excludes the possibility for the original big constituent to contain more functional material. This is exemplified by cases like the following:

- (5) *I miei amici li ho incontrati tutti al*  
 My friends (I) them(cl) have met all at  
*cinema.*  
 the movie theater  
 'My friends, I met all of them at the movie theater.'

Which combines doubling through the clitic and FQ, thus indicating that the original constituent can be rich enough to contain both.<sup>11</sup> It is time now to

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(2004) analysis of Prepositions *à* and *de* other reasons should be found to exclude cases like (iii). I will not pursue the issue any further here.

9. I assume a movement analysis of CLLD. See Cinque (1977, 1990).

10. Also other possible combinations only containing a lexical part of a noun phrase as part of the split constituent are excluded:

(i) \**I miei amici andranno genitori al cinema.*  
 my friends will go parents to the movies

11. McCloskey (2000) discusses doubling constructions of Western Irish where one part is constituted by a wh-phrase:

(i) a. **What** did you get **all** for Christmas?  
 b. **What** do they claim **all** (that) we did?

As can be seen in (i.b), the construction displays the very peculiar property of allowing for

introduce the further “strong pronoun doubling” construction to be discussed here and to make some more explicit assumptions on the complex configuration of the original big constituent.

The paper is organized as follows: the following two sections (1.2, 1.3) are devoted to a description of strong pronoun doubling and to a precise characterization of the original big DP. Sections 2 and 2.1 provide a formal characterization of the informational content of SPD in terms of the VP-periphery assumed in the present work. Sections 3, 3.1, and 3.2 discuss possible consequences of the proposed analysis. Some peculiar ordering restrictions and their informational import are discussed in Section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper with some remarks on the status of SPD in relation to economy considerations.

### 1.2. *Strong pronoun doubling (SPD)*

The name attributed to the construction to be investigated now is very transparent: it directly refers to the fact that it is a case of doubling, parallel to CLD, the only difference being that the “doubler” here is not a clitic, but a strong, stressed pronoun. The construction was first discussed in some detail in Burzio (1986)<sup>12</sup> and is illustrated by examples like the following:

- (6) a. **Gianni** verrà **lui**.  
Gianni will come he  
‘Gianni himself will come.’
- b. **Gli studenti** risponderanno **loro**.  
The students will answer they  
‘The students themselves will answer.’

In both cases in (6) the “doublee” is a preverbal subject and the “doubler” fills a lower position in the clause. For various reasons (see the brief discussion in Section 4) this is the typical illustration of SPD. A construction very similar

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stranding within the CP periphery. Recently, Poletto and Pollock (2003 and the references cited there) have pointed out the existence of wh-doubling structures in some Italian dialects for which they also assume a “big DP” type analysis involving “movement + stranding”, where the original big DP is [+wh] in all its components (examples from Poletto and Pollock (2003)):

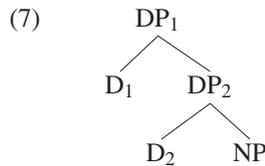
- (ii) a. *S' a-lo fat che?*  
What has he done what  
‘What has he done?’
- b. *Ndo e-lo ndat endoe?*  
Where is he gone where  
‘Where is he gone?’

12. See also Belletti (1999a) and Cardinaletti (1999).

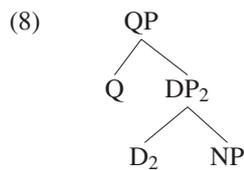
to FQ. Indeed, it can be assumed to be the same construction modulo presence of a strong pronoun instead of quantifier “tutti”. One question which will need to be asked is whether the position where the strong pronoun is stranded is the same or a different one from the position where the FQ is stranded. A question which will be briefly taken up in Section 1.3. But before doing that, let us make some explicit assumption about the configuration of the original constituent.

1.3. The configuration of the original constituent

The original constituent is either a DP or a QP. Although other possible and more complex configurations come to mind, I will adopt the most minimal one which is compatible with the data so far observed:



Note that in (7) D projections are iterated twice. D<sub>1</sub> corresponds to the pronoun, the “doubler”, DP<sub>2</sub> corresponds to the “doublee”. I assume that if DP<sub>2</sub> is moved to some position in the clause structure, the remnant pronominal DP<sub>1</sub> will then undergo the computation reserved to a pronoun according to its clitic or strong nature. This gives the split of the original big constituent. An analogous computation occurs starting from a similar QP:



In (8) in place of DP<sub>1</sub> of (7) a QP is present. Once again, if DP<sub>2</sub> moves the remnant QP will fill one of the positions reserved to quantifiers in the clause structure, which may or may not be the same as that/those of strong pronouns. Observe the well known fact that FQ can be located between an auxiliary and a past participle in Italian (and French, and English . . .), a position which is not available to strong pronouns, which remain lower in the clause:

(9) *I miei amici hanno tutti parlato.*  
 My friends have all spoken

(10) \**I miei amici hanno loro parlato.*  
 My friends have they spoken

To conclude these introductory sections, let us summarize what their main points have been so far: first, we have highlighted an essential analogy in the computation involved in CLD, CLLD, RD on the one side and FQ constructions on the other which had remained partly implicit throughout previous literature. Second, we have proposed an extension of the same analysis to another construction, SPD, which, also at the descriptive level, shares crucial similarities with the preceding ones.

As a final general observation on the empirical side, it is worth reminding another significant fact already noted in the literature where the resemblance between FQ and what we now call SPD had already been pointed out.<sup>13</sup> We observe that in both FQ and SPD, much as in CLD and CLLD and RD, the pronoun and the quantifier doubler are necessarily interpreted as having the same reference as the doublee. From the point of view of binding theory this is not an obvious data to explain; some kind of extra interpretive mechanism appears to be necessary to assure the right interpretation.<sup>14</sup> Note however that no extra mechanism seems necessary within the (extended) doubling analysis where the unique big constituent where both the doubler and the doublee originate may be held responsible for this interpretive property.

In the rest of the paper we will address a number of directly related issues: first of all we will try to determine in an explicit way what the positions filled by the various stranded elements are within the clause structure. It will be claimed that the SPD construction in particular, together with RD, provide us with a special window on an area surrounding the VP zone of the clause, a VP-periphery as I have called it elsewhere (and Section 2), interacting in a direct way with discourse conditions. Second, it will be claimed that the extended doubling analysis proposed here allows us to make some natural hypotheses on classical questions which remain central also within the more recent minimalist framework such as: defining the mechanisms involved in the assignment of nominative Case to postverbal subjects in Italian style subject inversion structures; determining the nature of the silent “pro” element which can be assumed to fill (one of) the preverbal subject position(s)<sup>15</sup> in the clause; identifying instances of “default” type nominative Case (Section 3). I will then try to characterize the operation of a constraint which is likely to operate at the discourse level, and which may be held responsible for the impossibility of some of the outputs otherwise expected to be possible through the blind application of the assumed computation involved in the doubling constructions

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13. Belletti (1982) for a systematic discussion.

14. This is typically done, especially in better studied CLD and CLLD and RD. For a recent proposal which must introduce some special interpretive device to this effect, see Frascarelli (2003); see also Cinque (1990).

15. Cardinaletti (2004).

(Section 4). Finally, Section 5 will be devoted to some speculative remarks concerning the “minimalist questions” which arise with respect to the various doubling constructions analyzed. Assuming the plausibility and essential adequacy of the assumed analysis, doubling structures open up various questions, given minimalist guidelines, which can be summarized as follows: why is the same argument realized twice (or more)? A question which arises in a particular strong way in the case of doubling involving a pronoun (clitic or strong). Why the possible (FQ) and often necessary (CLD, CLLD, RD, SPD) split of the original big constituent? I will conclude by suggesting some speculation on the possible reasons justifying the apparently non economical flavor surrounding the doubling phenomenology.

**2. SPD and the VP periphery**

In Belletti (2001, 2004) I have proposed that the area immediately surrounding the VP zone of the low area of the clause structure contains a number of positions which have a discourse-related nature and which, following standard terminology, I have referred to as Topic and Focus.<sup>16</sup> According to this proposal, the VP shares a periphery which closely resembles the clause external CP left periphery.<sup>17</sup> The reader is referred to the works cited for further details and discussion on this point (see also the references cited in Footnotes 15 and 16). The proposal I would like to put forth here is that (the remnant DP containing) the strong pronoun in SPD is precisely stranded in one of these discourse related positions, either as a Focus or as a Topic.<sup>18</sup> The assumed VP periphery has the following essential design (parallel to the CP periphery):

..... [TopP Top [Foc Foc [Top Top ... VP]]]

Let us first consider what the interpretation of the sentences in (6) can be. In order to do that, let us imagine the kind of pragmatic context in which expressions like (6) might be used, repeated in (11) for convenience:

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16. This are just labels attributed for convenience. Nothing special hinges on these particular labels. The only important point here is the identification of positions in the VP periphery associated with different discourse related interpretations. See the works quoted for some discussion on this point within the more general frame of the cartographic studies (Rizzi (2004) and references cited there; see also Chomsky (2002) for some discussion).

17. Rizzi (1997, 2004) and related works, a.o. Poletto and Benincà (2004), and references cited therein on the detailed cartography of the clause external area.

18. I assume that not only clitics (and weak pronouns) but also strong pronouns leave the position where they are originally merged (see Cardinaletti (1998), Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)). I assume temporarily that the positions where they end up is one of the VP peripheral ones of Topic and Focus, which takes care of their interpretation. For further qualification on the strong pronoun landing site see the discussion of the data in Section 2.1.

- (11) a. **Gianni** verrà **lui**.  
Gianni will come he  
'Gianni himself will come.'
- b. **Gli studenti** risponderanno **loro**.  
The students will answer they  
'The students themselves will answer.'

In both (11a) and (11b) the strong pronoun appears to add new information concerning the subject. It is often observed that a preverbal subject typically has a topic-like interpretation.<sup>19</sup> The strong pronoun in (10) adds some new element of information about the known topic. For instance, the sentences in (11) could be pronounced in contexts as those illustrated in (12):

- (12) a. *Maria manderà suo fratello, invece Gianni verrà lui.*  
Maria will send her brother but Gianni will come  
**lui**.  
he  
'Maria will send her brother, but Gianni will personally come.'
- b. *Gli studenti risponderanno loro; non cercheranno che lo faccia qualcun altro al loro posto.*  
The students will answer they they will not try that  
it does somebody else in their place  
'The students will personally answer; they will not try that somebody else does it in their place.'

The interpretation is close to that of an adverbial (PP) expression like "in person" and can typically be used in similar pragmatic situations.<sup>20</sup> We can assume

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19. This interpretive character of the preverbal subject does not necessarily implies that the subject is located in a Topic position in the left periphery of the clause, as it is assumed in some studies (Barbosa (2000), Solà (1992), Poletto (2000), among others). An idea which is convincingly criticized in other works, in particular in Cardinaletti (2004), where various preverbal subject positions are identified clause internally. However, the very marginal status of sentences like (i) following, where the subject is the negative quantifier "nessuno", might indicate that in the SPD construction the preverbal subject actually fills the left peripheral Topic position:

(i) \*?*Nessuno* verrà *lui*.  
Nobody will come he

The impossibility of (i) could then be reduced to the same reasons excluding CLLD involving a (negative) quantifier, a well known fact discussed in detail in Rizzi (1986), Cardinaletti (2004).

20. Note that it would be perfectly in the spirit of the present approach to also interpret the relation between an adverbial expression like "in person" and the DP it refers to as once again a case of doubling, where the doublee could be merged within the Adverbial PP projection which

that this kind of interpretation of the doubler strong pronoun is provided by its filling the clause internal (specifier of the) Focus phrase in the VP periphery. But this is not the only interpretation which can be reserved to the doubler strong pronoun. Sentences word by word identical to (11) can be produced, where a neat impression of a pause preceding the pronoun is produced and a downgrading intonation is associated to it. With this different intonation, the sentences could continue as in (13) (where the difference in intonation with respect to (11) is indicated by the “comma” preceding the pronoun):

- (13) a. *Gianni verrà, lui; lo conosco, so che è*  
 Gianni will come he I know him I know he is  
*affidabile (Maria invece non so cosa*  
 trustable (Maria on the contrary I don't know what  
*farà).*  
 she will do)  
 ‘Gianni will come, as far as he is concerned; I know him, I know  
 he is trustable (Maria, on the contrary, I don't know what she will  
 do).’
- b. *Gli studenti risponderanno, loro; i professori*  
 The students will answer they the professors  
*non so se faranno altrettanto.*  
 I don't know whether they will do the same  
 ‘The students will answer, as far as they are concerned; as for the  
 professors, I don't know whether they will do the same.’

The proposal here is that, in cases like (13) the strong pronoun fills the VP peripheral Topic position. It can be noted right away that the kind of intonation and pragmatic situation associated to the use of the pronouns in (13) are strongly reminiscent of the kind of pragmatic situation and associated intonation manifested by RD structures of which an example is repeated in (14) (where the sentence can continue in the way suggested by the parenthesis):

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should be located in the Specifier of the relevant functional projection according to Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. The adverbial expression would function as the doubler. The doublee would then move to an argument position in the clause, e.g., to the subject position.

- (14) *Lo conosco, Gianni;*  
 (I) him (cl) know Gianni  
*(so che mantiene le promesse).*  
 (I know that he maintains his promises)  
 ‘I know him, Gianni (I know that he maintains his promises).’

The proposed analysis attributes to the two cases a derivation which shares an important aspect: in both cases the low clause internal Topic position is involved, hosting the strong pronoun and the right dislocated noun phrase, respectively (adopting an analysis for RD à la Cecchetto (2000), as assumed in Section 1.1 above).

### 2.1. *Further refinements*

The examples we have discussed so far all contain intransitive verbs with no complement overtly associated with the verb. The question arises as to what the situation would be if some complement of the verb were also present. This straightforward question deserves an articulated answer. Let us first consider the case where the complement is a PP; we will consider the case where the complement is a direct object next.

Some examples where the verb takes an indirect PP complement are given in (15):

- (15) a. *Maria parlerà lei al dottore.*  
 Maria will talk she to the doctor  
 ‘Maria herself will talk to the doctor.’  
 b. *I rappresentanti dei lavoratori discuteranno loro col presidente.*  
 The representatives of the workers will discuss they  
 with the president  
 ‘The workers representatives themselves will discuss with the president.’  
 c. *Gli studenti risponderanno loro all’appello.*  
 The students will answer they to the call  
 ‘The students themselves will answer to the call.’

In all the cases in (15) the doubler strong pronoun is followed by a PP and is used in its Focus interpretation. The sentences are all possible and well-formed. The analysis to be attributed to them should be one where the pronoun is in the VP peripheral Focus phrase and the PP can be assumed to remain VP internal. Notice that this is the same analysis which can be attributed to sentences like

(16), containing a postverbal subject followed by a prepositional complement of the verb:

- (16) (?)*Risponderà Maria alla lettera.*<sup>21</sup>  
 Will answer Maria to the letter  
 ‘Maria will answer to the letter.’

As proposed in the cited work, in cases like (16) the postverbal subject can be analyzed as filling the clause internal low Focus position. Indeed, one essential feature of the approach developed here, which is worth underscoring in the present context, is that in SPD the doubler strong pronoun fills the same positions as that of a postverbal subject.<sup>22</sup> Notice that the doubler strong pronoun or the postverbal lexical subject can also be interpreted as Topic, hence filling (one of) the Topic phrase:

- (17) a. *Maria parlerà, lei, al dottore.*  
 Maria will talk she to the doctor  
 ‘Maria will talk to the doctor, as far as she is concerned.’  
 b. *Risponderà, Maria, alla lettera.*<sup>23</sup>  
 will answer Maria to the letter  
 ‘Maria will answer to the letter, as far as she is concerned.’

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21. The question mark in (16) reproduces the judgement in Belletti (2001, 2004). See the discussion there.

22. Notice that this makes explicit through the tools of the present approach a generalization which was already essentially noted in Burzio (1986). This conclusion will be refined momentarily taking into account the pronominal nature of the postverbal doubler/subject. See the discussion surrounding examples (18)–(19) below.

The PP can be assumed to remain in the VP internal position, where it is interpreted as non Focus by default; alternatively, it could be assumed to move into the lower Topic position. I leave open the decision between the two alternatives, difficult to distinguish at the level of current understanding.

23. In this type of examples the PP is naturally interpreted as a further Topic (then, filling either an iterated Topic phrase or the position where it is originally merged within the VP as pointed out in the previous footnote). This “iteration” of Topics expresses the “marginalization” phenomenology originally identified by Antinucci and Cinque (1977). See also Cardinaletti (2001) for recent discussion. Given the assumed VP periphery, the possibility of associating to it a Focus interpretation opens up, assuming the doubler strong pronoun (17a) or the postverbal subject (17b) to fill the higher Topic Phrase (See Belletti (2004) for discussion concerning the presence of a higher Topic phrase in the VP periphery). It is not straightforward to imagine what the pragmatic situation would be which should favor this interpretation. One possibility could be the following exchanges:

(i) A: *Hanno deciso a chi parleranno?*  
 ‘Have they decided to whom they will talk?’

Let us now consider the case where the verb takes a direct object. Here there is a distinction between a postverbal lexical subject and a strong pronoun; for concreteness, let us consider the case where the doubler strong pronoun or the postverbal subject would fill the Focus phrase:

- (18) (?) *Maria scriverà lei la lettera.*  
 Maria will write she the letter  
 ‘Maria herself will write the letter.’
- (19) \**Scriverà Maria la lettera.*  
 will write Maria the letter

The impossibility of VSO examples like (19) has been reduced to Case reasons (Belletti 2004), assuming that the postverbal subject would interfere between a VP external Case assigner of the direct object (in a “probe-goal” Agree type relation), thus blocking the appropriate Case relation. If an account along these lines is on the right track, this implies that the doubler strong pronoun does not interfere in the same way. I suggest that this is due to the fact that the doubler strong pronoun is allowed/required to further move to some higher position in the clause structure, dedicated to host strong pronouns. It is the pronominal nature that opens up a further possibility for the pronoun as opposed to the lexical (postverbal subject) noun phrase.<sup>24</sup>

That some mechanism of the sort distinguishing pronouns from lexical noun phrases may be at work is also suggested by contrasts like the following in (20), where the doubler strong pronoun can precede a low adverb like “bene”

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B: *Maria parlerà, lei, al dottore; lo sai com'è fatta. Gli altri non so a chi parleranno.*  
 Maria will talk she to the doctor you know the way she is the others I don't know to whom they will talk  
 ‘As for Maria, she will talk to the doctor; you know the way she is. The others I don't know to whom they will talk.’

- (ii) A: *Ha deciso Maria a quale messaggio risponderà?*  
 ‘Has Maria decided to which message she will answer?’
- B: *Risponderà, Maria, alla lettera.*  
 will answer Maria to the letter  
 ‘Maria will answer to the letter, as far as she is concerned.’

24. A reviewer suggests that lack of interference here might be a consequence of the doubling computation along the lines schematized in the following schema (22). The pronoun could be taken not to interfere here for Case purposes as “Maria” fills a Case position in (18). This line of explanation sounds rather reasonable and much in the spirit of the present work, even if it requires a rather subtle notion of (Case) interference. However, since (strong) pronouns are likely to move from their base position (see Footnote 18) as the contrast in (20) strongly suggests, the alternative presented in the text should probably play a role anyway in accounting for the pattern in (18)–(19).

(Cinque 1999), while a postverbal subject cannot (as noted in the quoted works by Belletti and also by Cardinaletti 2001):

- (20) a. (?)*Di questo (Maria) si informerà lei bene.*  
of this (Maria) will get informed she well  
‘Of this, Maria herself will get the information.’  
b. \*?*Di questo si informerà Maria bene.*  
of this will get informed Maria well

As suggested by the parenthesis surrounding “Maria” in (20a), the strong pronoun is admitted in the postverbal position preceding the low adverb independently of its doubler nature; it can appear there also as a “simple” pronominal postverbal subject.

These observations suggest then that the final position of a postverbal pronominal subject or of a postverbal doubler strong pronoun must be identified with some higher position in the clause. We can then assume that the doubler strong pronoun raises from the position in the VP periphery where it gets the relevant interpretation as Focus (or Topic) in the intended sense, and reaches a higher dedicated position for pronouns.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. Consequences: The assignment of nominative Case

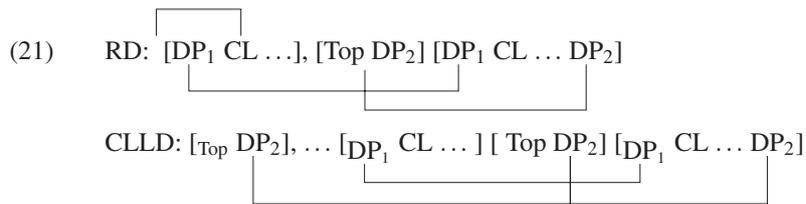
To the extent that the position of doubler strong pronouns can be essentially assimilated to the position of a postverbal subject (with the qualification at the end of the preceding section), an interesting possibility opens up for the account of one classical issue in both P&P and minimalism: how does nominative Case reach the postverbal subject in languages of the Italian type which admit so called “free inversion”? In order to make this possible consequence of the analysis explicit, let us first make the following further consideration concerning SPD.

As already mentioned in the introductory section, the big DP/constituent hypothesis can provide an answer to the Case side of the problem posed by doubling structures: since at least one of the parts in which the original big constituent is split fills a Case position, the relation which is established between the two parts through movement can be held responsible for the fact that Case reaches all parts of the original big constituent. As one example, let us take the case of CLLD and RD: in these cases the clitic can be seen as the Case

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25. Much as clitics have their derivational history due to their clitic nature, so also strong pronouns have theirs. According to the discussion in the text, the pronominal area of the clause is higher than the VP periphery. But, as noted in the examples (9)–(10) in the text, this position is still lower than one of the possible positions for FQs.

marked part of the split big DP. The connection which is established between this part and the part which has moved from there and fills the left peripheral (CLLD) or clause internal (RD) position can be assumed to also be Case marked. Schematically, the following relations hold (the line above indicates the last step of the cliticization process):<sup>26</sup>



It is natural to assume that a mechanism of the same kind is at work in establishing the Case relations in SPD: the lexical part of the original big DP is in a

26. I assume that in CLLD DP2 moves through the clause internal Top phrase. See Cecchetto (2000) for this idea.

Possibly, the well known fact that left dislocated PPs do not require the clitic in the clause following them

- (i) *Con Gianni non ho ancora parlato.*  
 with Gianni not have yet spoken  
 ‘With Gianni I have not yet spoken.’

could be reduced to Case theoretic reasons: the preposition introducing the dislocated DP can suffice for its Case licensing, thus making the presence of the clitic unnecessary. The fact that the clitic can be present might suggest a different structure for the original big constituent:

- (ii) *Con Gianni non ci ho ancora parlato.*  
 with Gianni not (I) with him(cl) have yet spoken  
 ‘With Gianni, I have not spoken with him yet.’

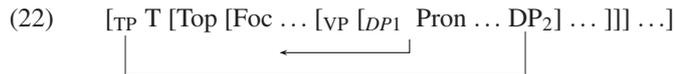
In cases like (ii) the original DP is richer in structure than in cases like (i) involving the iteration of DP projections typical of doubling configurations (see Cecchetto and Chierchia (1999) for arguments against the existence of “big PPs”). The slightly more standard flavor associated with sentences like (ii) as opposed to CLLD sentences involving a direct object:

- (iii) *Gianni non lo ho ancora conosciuto.*  
 Gianni not (I) him(cl) have yet have known  
 ‘Gianni, I have not met him yet.’

might be related to the fact that (ii) involves a less economical structure than the one which would suffice for an adequate computation. No violation of grammatical principles being involved, (ii) is not ruled out, but it is just ranked at a lower level of acceptability. I leave this speculation at this stage now.

As briefly mentioned in Section 1.1, it could be that in CLD of the Spanish kind the direct object is not moved to the Top phrase, but is left in the complement position where it realizes its Case through preposition *a*.

nominative Case position and the strong pronoun can be Case marked through the doubling relation along the lines schematized in (22):



where DP<sub>1</sub> containing the pronoun can move either to the Focus or the Topic phrase depending on the interpretation (and then further up to the position dedicated to strong pronouns; see the discussion in Section 2.1 above). Note that a parallel derivation and consequent Case marking can be taken to be at work in subject clitic constructions of the kind found in several Northern Italian dialects, where a lexical subject appears together with a pronominal clitic:

- (23) *La Maria la parla.*  
 the Maria she(cl) speaks  
 ‘Maria speaks.’

Apart from discourse factors, the only grammatical, formal, difference between the two cases in terms of the computation involved is to be recognized in the clitic (23) vs strong nature of the pronominal part of the original big DP.

According to the proposal just developed, in typical examples of SPD such as those in (11), (13) above, the doubler strong pronoun is Case marked with nominative Case by virtue of the doubling configuration. Notice now that this analysis opens up a direct possible account on the way nominative Case gets assigned to a postverbal subject in cases of simple subject inversion. Recall first of all that the nominative Case marking on the postverbal subject is unambiguously visible in Italian when a first person singular pronoun is present, as nominative has a morphological realization there:

- (24) *Parlerò io.*  
 will speak I  
 ‘I myself will speak.’

The hypothesis suggests itself that a doubling computation is involved in these cases as well, with the only difference with respect to the SPD cases analyzed so far that the part which moves to the nominative subject position is not an overt lexical noun phrase but rather a silent “pro”. According this proposal, in the original big DP both DP<sub>1</sub> and DP<sub>2</sub> are pronominal DP’s, one with no overt realization, a so called small “pro”. Thus, the analysis of sentences like (23) should be along the lines of (25), much as in traditional accounts, enriched of the doubling insight: “pro” moves to the nominative subject position originating in the big pronominal constituent containing the first singular pronoun *io*.

The remnant part of the original big DP containing *io* then moves to the relevant position in the VP periphery (and then further up to the dedicated position for strong pronouns; only movement of “pro” illustrated in (25)).

(25) *pro* parlerò [*io* ...]  


If a proposal of this sort is on the right track, a further extension suggests itself: all instances of subject inversion can be analyzed as cases of doubling, with a silent “pro” moved to the nominative position and the lexical part moved to the relevant position in the VP periphery (only movement of “pro” illustrated in (26)):

(26) *pro* parlerà [*Gianni* ...]  


According to this proposal, nominative assignment to the postverbal position comes as a direct consequence of the doubling computation.<sup>27</sup>

### 3.1. Further consequences: On the status of “pro”

What is the status of “pro” in the analysis just developed? In principle, there are two possible answers to this question: i. “pro” is the equivalent of an expletive pronoun (as proposed in traditional accounts on inversion, e.g., Rizzi (1982) and subsequent work); ii. “pro” is a silent personal (referential) pronoun. In the latter hypothesis, it is natural to assume that “pro” would share the same features as the overt pronoun or lexical noun phrase sitting in the postverbal

27. To the extent that a small silent “pro” could be licensed in the postverbal position, it could be proposed that sentences containing a preverbal subject involve raising of the overt part of the big DP and stranding of “pro”, the mirror image of the derivations in (25)–(26):

(i) *Gianni* parlerà [pro ...]  
 Gianni will speak

See Barbosa (2000) for a proposal which could share some similarity with (i). I leave open here a detailed discussion of the plausibility of a proposal along these lines, just noticing that it seems to be problematic given the (very) “weak” nature of “pro” and the fact that a weak subject (e.g., *egli*, Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) cannot in general be stranded in the postverbal position. Thus, I assume that sentences with a preverbal subject (either overt or non-overt) do not involve a doubling analysis.

The Agree relation of Chomsky (2004) can still be assumed to be operative for the identification of the “goal” (the big DP). The assumption is also maintained that the clause has an EPP feature triggering movement of the relevant portion of the big DP (the portion corresponding to “pro”).

position, which would be inherited through a regular agreement process taking place internally to the original big DP. It is tempting to propose that the latter hypothesis is the correct one, or possibly the preferred one. Notice that, if this is the case, verbal agreement with the postverbal subject could come as a consequence of the presence of the personal silent “pro” in subject position, with no need of special mechanisms to assure direct agreement in phi-features with the postverbal subject.<sup>28</sup>

There are language such as Brazilian Portuguese, BP, which are known to have “lost” a productive null subject property with referential null subjects. A way of characterizing this could be that “pro” does not have the referential status of a personal pronoun anymore in BP. Sentences like the following are impossible in modern BP:

- (27) a. *\*(Ela) não usa mais chapéu.*  
           ‘She does not use a hat anymore.’  
           (adapted from Figueredo 1996)
- b. *\*Encontrou a Maria ontem.*  
           he/she met Mary yesterday  
           (Figueredo 2000)
- c. *\*Cantam os pássaros.*  
           sing(3p,pl) the birds  
           ‘The birds sing.’ (Kato 2000)

Interestingly, BP has also lost a productive free subject inversion strategy, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (27c). If, as in the account proposed here, subject inversion is, in the typical case, just doubling with a referential/personal “pro” in the nominative preverbal position, the correlation be-

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28. Languages may vary as to the status of “pro” in the nominative position of inversion structures. In some languages, or in some cases in some languages (see BP to be discussed in the following footnote), it could be an “expletive”. We could relate the occurrence or non occurrence of phi-feature agreement within the original big DP to the personal vs expletive nature of “pro”. In those cases where “pro” has an expletive status, and it is thus assimilated to French *il* type expletive, verbal agreement would not obtain with the postverbal subject. A possibility which is well known to occur in several languages/dialects. I assume without further discussion that “there” type expletives constitute a different case along the lines of Moro’s (1997) analysis.

tween the two properties is directly captured.<sup>29</sup> Note that subject doubling with an overt strong pronoun is possible and even rather common in modern BP:<sup>30</sup>

- (28) a. *Ele, ele é meu amigo*  
           ‘he, he is my friend’ (Kato 2000)  
       b. *João, ele comprou um carro*  
           ‘João, he bought a car’ (Kato 2000)  
       c. *Ele telefonou, o João*  
           ‘he telephoned, João’ (Kato 2000)  
       d. *Eu, eu o adoro isso*  
           ‘I, I like it’ (Kato 1999)

### 3.2. *SPD in infinitival clauses and further instances of nominative Case*

There are other instances of nominative Case in seemingly doubling constructions obtaining within infinitival control clauses, illustrated in (29):

- (29) a. *Penso di [PRO parlare io di questo problema].*  
           (I) think to speak I of this problem  
           ‘I think that I myself will speak of this problem.’  
       b. *Gianni pensa di [PRO parlare lui di questo problema].*  
           Gianni thinks to speak he of this problem  
           ‘Gianni thinks that he himself will speak of this problem.’

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29. Postverbal subjects are typically possible with unaccusatives in BP. It can be suggested that in this case, for reasons yet to be understood, the expletive version of “pro” is more readily available in BP, as it is overtly the case in French (with expletive *il*). Note that, according to Figueredo (1996), the much preferred option here has not phi-feature verbal agreement:

- (i) *chegou os livros que eu pedi.*  
       arrived the books that I asked  
       ‘The books that I asked for arrived.’

30. And in French as well:

- (i) *Moi, je l’adore.*  
       me, I her(cl) love  
       ‘As for me, I love her.’  
       (ii) *Lea, elle viendra.*  
           Lea, she will come  
           ‘As for Lea, she will come.’

- c. *Maria mi ha chiesto di [PRO parlare io con  
 Maria me has asked me to speak I with  
 Gianni].*  
 Gianni  
 ‘Maria asked me that I myself speak with Gianni.’

Given the approach developed so far a natural analysis for sentences of this kind interprets the presence of the strong pronoun within the infinitival clause as a consequence of doubling where the original big DP contains both control PRO and the lexical pronoun, with PRO raised to the subject position of the infinitival clause as schematically illustrated in (30) for (29a):

- (30) ... [PRO parlare [ io ... ] ... ]  
 └──────────────────┘

Notice however that nominative here cannot simply be considered a consequence of the doubling derivation, as PRO is not in a nominative position. I will assume that nominative here is a “default” realization of Case in a context where no other Case would be available, as in the infinitival clause. More precisely, the “null Case” associated with PRO is incompatible with the overt realization of the pronoun; whence the necessity of realizing a different Case on it. We can think of nominative here as the overt realization of the null Case of PRO.<sup>31</sup>

Interestingly, continuing the comparison with BP, it is worth noticing that sentences totally parallel to (29) are possible in BP:

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31. That nominative can be a default Case in Italian is suggested by various facts. Consider for instance the following sentences where the pronoun is pronounced in isolation or inserted in contexts with no available Case; particularly revealing is the comparison with French and English where, in similar contexts, accusative is utilized instead of nominative, accusative functioning as the default Case in these languages:

- (i) A: *Chi ha detto questo?*  
 ‘Who said that?’  
 B: *Io.*  
 I  
 ‘Me.’
- (ii) A: *Who said that?*  
 B: *Me.*
- (iii) *Io fare questo? Tu scherzi!*  
 I to do that? You kidding  
 ‘I should do that? You must be kidding!’
- (iv) *Moi faire ça? Tu rigoles!*  
 Me to do that? You kidding  
 ‘I should do that? You must be kidding!’

- (31) *Os meninos querem [PRO falar eles com o diretor].*<sup>32</sup>  
 the kids want to talk they with the director  
 ‘The kids want that they themselves speak with the director.’

Thus, there is a contrast between the unavailability of inversion in finite clauses (e.g., (27c)) and the possibility of a the strong pronoun in postverbal position within the infinitival control clause. If subject inversion structures contain a referential small “pro” in subject position, as assumed in the previous analysis, but infinitival structures contain a big control PRO in subject position, the contrast comes as no surprise. Big PRO should be universally available, while availability of referential small “pro” is a consequence of the parametric choice connected to the null subject parameter, which, as pointed out above, is lost in modern BP in its productive form.<sup>33</sup>

Sentences parallel to (29) with a lexical (subject) noun phrase in the postverbal position instead of the strong pronoun are totally excluded:

- (32) a. *\*pro pensa di [PRO parlare Gianni di questo problema].*  
 (he/she) thinks to speak Gianni of this problem  
 problem  
 b. *\*lui pensa di [PRO parlare Gianni di questo problema].*  
 he thinks to speak Gianni of this problem  
 c. *\*Maria gli ha chiesto di [PRO parlare Gianni con Piero].*  
 Maria him has asked to talk Gianni with Piero  
 Piero

If subject inversion involves a computation which essentially reduces to doubling and if nominative can be available as a default Case, the impossibility of sentences like (32) is *prima facie* problematic. However, sentences of this kind can be naturally excluded as they may be taken to involve a violation of principle C of the binding theory, induced by the controller of big PRO present

32. Carlos Miotto, p.c. The construction in (31) should be kept distinct from the one involving an inflected infinitive, complement of verbs like “lamentar” (Raposo 1987).

33. The Focus (/Topic) position hosting a postverbal subject must be “active” in the language in order for it to be made use of. This is the case in BP, as infinitival clauses like (31) suggest. In languages like English or French, on the other hand, the (clause internal) position is not active (in general); hence, although PRO is certainly available in the subject position of infinitival clauses, still no (overt) subject pronoun can appear in the postverbal position in a way comparable to (29) and (31). We might speculate that activation of the clause internal Focus (/Topic) position is more readily available in null subject languages. Then, if the possibility of (31) in BP is a sign of the activation of the relevant position, this could be a trace of the once productive null subject nature of the language.

in the matrix clause. Essentially, the impossibility of (32) parallels the ungrammaticality of sentences like (33) which involve a principle C violation:

- (33) \**pro<sub>i</sub> ha chiesto a Maria<sub>j</sub> di [PRO<sub>j</sub> salutare Gianni<sub>i</sub>].*<sup>34</sup>  
 (he) asked Maria to say hello to Gianni

We may notice in conclusion of this point that, as is expected, raising structures minimally contrast with control infinitivals on this point. Sentences parallel to (32) involving a raising instead of a control verb are well-formed:

- (34) *pro Sembravano [... aver parlato [i ragazzi ...] di questo problema]].*  
 (they) seem to have spoken the boys of  
 this problem  
 ‘the boys themselves seemed to have spoken of this problem.’

As indicated by the schematic illustration of the derivation of the sentence, here the doubling analysis raises “pro” up to the matrix clause, thus avoiding any principle C violation, as is always the case in doubling structures. This implies that the nominative which can be seen within infinitival sentences parallel to (34), as the one illustrated in (35), is obtained through the standard doubling configuration assumed so far and it is not a case of default nominative, differently from (29):

- (35) *pro Risultavo [... aver parlato [io ...] di questo problema]].*  
 (I) turned out to have spoken I of this  
 problem  
 ‘I myself turned out to have spoken of this problem.’

As a final remark let us briefly discuss the status of sentences like the following:

- (36) *In una situazione del genere, parlare (?)/io/??tu/??lui/(?)noil/??voil/??loro/\*Gianni sarebbe strano.*  
 In a situation of this kind, to speak I/you/he/Gianni would be strange

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34. Although (32b, c) are totally out, (32a) may improve if a clear intonational break intervenes between the lexical subject and the following PP. As a reviewer interestingly points out, in this case the sentence might be amenable to a different analysis than the one suggested in (32a), along the lines in (i) following:

(i) *pro pensa [ di PRO parlare] Gianni, di questo problema*

with “Gianni” filling the clause internal Focus position of the matrix clause, doubling the preverbal “pro” in subject position (the PP should fill the lower Topic position and the complement infinitival clause possibly the other assumed higher Topic position surrounding the low Focus).

These sentences are generally considered very deviant by native speakers, at different levels of marginality, for which we will suggest one speculation. Let us first comment on the essential impossibility of (36). This could be due to the incompatibility between the ARB interpretation associated with the PRO subject of these independent infinitival clauses and the definite interpretation of the strong pronouns or of the lexical noun phrase. We can speculate that the fact that the first person pronoun *io/noi* is the most acceptable one could follow from the nature of the ARB interpretation which can have an “inclusive” version. This reading is totally excluded in the presence of a lexical noun phrase, and at a slightly less marked level, also with other persons of the personal pronouns paradigm, different from the first person.

#### 4. More on SPD and the ordering restriction of “doubler” and “doublee”

In the instances of SPD discussed so far two properties are systematically manifested: (i) the doublee is higher than the doubler; it is the lexical part of the original big DP which moves while the pronominal part is stranded;<sup>35</sup> (ii) the doublee is a subject. Let us discuss the two properties in turn.

(i) Consider the following pair:

- (37) a. \**Lui verrà Gianni.*  
           he will come Gianni  
       b. *Lui verrà, Gianni.*  
           he will come Gianni

(37a) is the reversed of the typical SPD constructions illustrated in (11), (13) which originated our discussion, repeated in (38) for convenience:

- (38) a. *Gianni verrà lui.*  
           Gianni will come he  
           ‘Gianni himself will come.’  
       b. *Gianni verrà, lui.*  
           Gianni will come he  
           ‘Gianni will come, as far as he is concerned.’

where the strong pronoun is either interpreted as Focus or as Topic within the VP periphery. The contrast in (37) opens the following considerations. On the one side the acceptability of (37b) indicates that nothing in principle prevents a doubling computation whereby the stranded part is the lexical noun phrase and the part which moves higher is the strong pronoun. This is a welcome conclusion: within the spirit of our approach there is no principled reason which

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35. On the partly different status of inversion structures in this respect see Footnote 37 below.

should exclude this computation.<sup>36</sup> The question then reduces to the following: why is (37a) excluded? Observe now that the only difference between (37a) and (37b) is to be recognized in the interpretation associated with the postverbal doublee subject: it is a Focus in (37a), it is a Topic in (37b). Let us then make the natural suggestion that this is the source of the contrast in acceptability. Let us make the proposal that the impossibility of (37a) is due to the operation of some discourse constraint which disallows that a topic element be less “rich” in content than a focussed element, if they are related. As mentioned in Section 2 above, the preverbal subject position(s) is associated with a non focus interpretation; it is typically associated with a topic like interpretation. Hence, in sentences like (37a) the relevant discourse constraint is violated, as the lexical noun phrase should be considered “richer” than the pronoun in the relevant sense. We can tentatively assume that this independent discourse factor is at the source of the unacceptability of this kind of sentences. For the sake of concreteness let us give a (informal) formulation of the discourse constraint we have in mind:

- (39) Topic (or topic-like) cannot be “less informative” than Focus, if they are related

In (39) the “richness” of the topic/topic like element referred to above is identified with informational richness, ultimately possibly reducing to richness in content. Thus a lexical noun phrase is richer in the relevant informational sense than a pronoun. Hence it can’t be the Focus of the sentence if the topic is the related pronoun.<sup>37</sup> I leave the proposal at this tentative stage. Let us point out that the operation of a constraint along the lines in (39) provides a way of interpreting the following paradigms:

- (40) a. *Lui* *verrà* *lui*.  
           he will come he  
       b. *Lui* *verrà*, *lui*.  
           he will come he

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36. Which, incidentally, is the one which most closely resembles CLD, with a strong pronoun instead of a clitic.

37. As we have proposed that subject inversion structures are doubling structures involving a personal small “pro” moved to the preverbal subject position, the proviso must be added to the discourse constraint in (39) that it only refers to “overt” constituents.

Note that in order for (37a) to be derivable, the DP containing the lexical noun phrase must vacate the big DP, as a reviewer appropriately underscores. According to our analysis, this implies that it ends up in either Focus or Topic position in the VP periphery. The point that a constraint along the lines in (39) tries to make explicit is the reason why the result is only acceptable if the second option is taken. The constraint also has a rather broad scope of application in that it carries over the cases discussed in the following examples (40) through (45).

- (41) a. \**Lui, verrà Gianni.*  
           he will come Gianni  
       b. *Lui, verrà lui.*  
           he will come he

To the extent that pragmatic conditions are met which justify the use of an expression like (40a) without too strong a feeling of redundancy, this sentence is perfectly acceptable, as would be expected through the constraint. Similarly for the other examples in (40b), (41b): in all cases the constraint applies vacuously in that the element functioning as topic and the one functioning as focus have the same informational/referential richness as they are both pronouns. (41a) is another instance of the operation of the constraint, where the preverbal pronominal topic is (presumably) located in a (Topic) left peripheral position, as suggested by the intonation.<sup>38</sup>

The generality of the operation of the constraint can also be seen in the distribution of judgments in sentences like the following (42):

- (42) a. *Quanto a Gianni, lo incontro sempre al*  
           as for Gianni (I) him(cl) meet always at  
           *cinema.*  
           the movie theater  
           ‘As for Gianni, I always meet him at the movie theater.’  
       b. \**Quanto a lui, incontro sempre Gianni al*  
           as for him (I) meet always Gianni at  
           *cinema.*  
           the movie theater  
       c. *Quanto a Gianni, incontro sempre lui al*  
           as for Gianni I meet always him at  
           *cinema.*  
           the movie theater  
           ‘as for Gianni, I always meet him at the movie theater.’  
       d.(?)*Quanto a lui, incontro sempre lui al*  
           as for him (I) meet always him at  
           *cinema.*  
           the movie theater  
           ‘as for him, I always meet him at the movie theater.’

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38. The comma is utilized here to indicate the pause + downgrading intonation typically associated with phrases in the left peripheral Topic position.

- e. *Quanto a lui, lo incontro sempre al*  
 as for him (I) him(cl) meet always at  
*cinema.*  
 the movie theater  
 ‘as for him, I always meet him at the movie theater.’

The sentences in (42) contain a hanging topic in the left periphery of the clause. The element referring to it in the following clause appears to follow the requirement of a discourse constraint along the lines of (39).<sup>39</sup>

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the effects of the constraint are also visible in the distribution of judgements for the sentences in (43), involving a FQ.<sup>40</sup>

- (43) a. *Hanno parlato tutti i linguisti.*  
 have spoken all the linguists  
 b. *Hanno parlato tutti, i linguisti.*  
 have spoken all the linguists  
 c. \**Hanno tutti parlato i linguisti.*  
 have all spoken the linguists  
 d. *Hanno tutti parlato, i linguisti.*  
 have all spoken the linguists  
 e. *I linguisti hanno tutti parlato.*  
 the linguists have all spoken  
 f. *I linguisti hanno parlato tutti.*  
 the linguists have spoken all  
 ‘All the linguists have spoken.’

The unacceptability of (43c) where the postverbal subject is interpreted as focus, combined with the perfect status of (43d) where it is interpreted as topic illustrate the direct operation of the discourse constraint. The other examples in (43) all illustrate the variety of other possible combinations compatible with the constraint.

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39. As suggested by the status of (42e), a strong pronoun is “richer” than a clitic in the sense relevant for the constraint. A hierarchy emerges for the features computed by the constraint: lexical noun phrase, strong pronoun, clitic. According to Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) an “animacy” feature distinguishes clitics from strong pronouns. If quantifiers are added, they are at the lowest position in the hierarchy. See the examples in (44) in the text.

40. As I have assumed throughout the topic interpretation can be characterized in a negative way as “non focus”. Hence, we can assimilate to topic also the interpretation of the FQ in the position reserved to quantifiers (and not available to pronouns) such as the one between the Aux and the PstPr.

The following sentences in (44) illustrate the operation of the discourse constraint in more complex structures, where the original big DP out of which the doubling computation starts out contains both a DP and a QP level.

- (44)
- a. *?\*Hanno tutti parlato loro, i linguisti.*  
have all spoken they the linguists
  - b. *Hanno tutti parlato, loro, i linguisti.*  
have all spoken they the linguists
  - c. *\*Loro hanno parlato tutti i linguisti.*  
they have spoken all the linguists
  - d. *\*Loro hanno tutti parlato i linguisti.*  
they have all spoken the linguists
  - e. *Loro hanno parlato tutti, i linguisti.*  
they have spoken all the linguists
  - f. *Loro hanno tutti parlato, i linguisti.*  
they have all spoken the linguists  
'All the linguists themselves have spoken.'

Note that the distribution of judgments in (44) suggests that a personal pronoun must be considered richer in the sense relevant for the constraint than a quantifier (cf. Footnote 39). Once again we have an indication that richness in content could be the relevant notion involved. A pronoun is richer than a quantifier in that it also carries a "person" feature.<sup>41</sup> The reader can compute the articulated operation of the constraint in the examples above with this proviso in mind.

As a final remark on this point, let us observe the shape of (45):

- (45)
- a. *?\*Egli parlerà lui.*  
he (weak) will talk he (strong)
  - b. *Egli parlerà, lui.*  
he (weak) will talk he (strong)  
'He himself will talk.'

In (45) the "weak" overt pronoun *egli* fills the preverbal subject position. Note that the very strong marginality of (45a) recalls that of (37a) discussed above where a strong pronoun and a lexical subject noun phrase were present and contrasts with the relative acceptability of (40a) where two overt strong pronouns were present. It may be speculated that the relevant discourse constraint

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41. On the centrality of the "person" feature in determining various syntactic constraints across languages and hierarchies of the type suggested in Footnote 39, see recent work by Bianchi (2003).

appears to be sensitive to the more “informative” character of a strong pronoun as opposed to a weak pronoun.<sup>42</sup>

(ii) Let us now address the second question raised at the beginning of this section: is SPD restricted to subjects? Indeed the case of subject SPD is by far the most typical one, the one which immediately comes to mind as an illustration of the construction. The question is whether there are reasons which exclude SPD with other constituents, in particular with a direct object or whether in fact SPD is also possible with a direct object.<sup>43</sup> It seems that the latter conclusion is the correct one. The limited availability of SPD with a direct object can indeed be interpreted as a further manifestation of the constraint in (39). Consider the often observed fact that, in the so called unmarked word order, a direct object typically constitutes the focussed constituent of the clause. Through the constraint in (39), it is immediately understandable why SPD should not be available with a direct object: the lexical part of the original big DP would count as the focussed direct object; the pronoun should then act as the topic, thus inducing a violation of the constraint. However, if the requirements of the constraint are satisfied there do not appear to be special problems in admitting instances of SPD with a direct object. This is the way in which we can interpret the judgements for examples like the following:

- (46) a. \**Ho salutato Maria, lei.*  
           I have greeted Maria her  
       b. (?)*Ho salutato lei, Maria.*  
           I have greeted her Maria

The requirements of a constraint along the lines of (39) are satisfied in (46b) since the most “informative” part of the split DP giving rise to doubling, the

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42. The total impossibility of (i.a) is probably due to the fact discussed in Cardinaletti (2001) that the weak pronoun “egli” can never appear in a postverbal position (independently of its interpretation as topic or focus):

- (i) a. \**Lui parlerà egli.*  
           he (strong) will talk he (weak)  
       b. \**Parlerà(,) egli.*  
           will talk he (weak)

Note that the obsolete use of the subject pronoun *egli* makes sentences like (45b) rather peculiar in current standard Italian. Interestingly, the contrast in acceptability judgment between (45a) and (45b) is, nevertheless, clearly detectable.

43. I leave on the side a potential case of SPD involving a PP in that various independent factors might be responsible for its non existence, ultimately related to the presence of a preposition. See Footnote 8 for related considerations for FQ.

lexical noun phrase “Maria”, is interpreted as the topic,<sup>44</sup> while the doubler strong pronoun is interpreted as focussed. On the contrary, the constraint is violated in (46a).

### 5. Concluding remarks: Why two (or more) and the “economy” of SPD

Let us conclude this study by asking one general question: the doubling structures considered in this work all share one property which looks surprising at a first consideration. They all have a kind of “uneconomical” flavor: more than one element, split in different positions in the clause, contribute to the constitution of a single argument. If in the case of quantified phrases analyzed here as QPs the quantifier and the DP can also co-occur in one single unsplit constituent (*tutti i ragazzi/all the boys*), in the other cases discussed the pronoun (clitic or strong) never overtly co-occurs with the rest of the DP where they are both initially merged, as proposed here (*\*Loro i ragazzi parleranno*). Nevertheless, when the big DP split in two (or more) parts they can be both overt and they can both somehow realize the same argument in the clause. The natural question arises as to why this should be possible. Let us identify two more specific questions: (i) why the split; (ii) why two (or more) for one single argument.

As for the necessary split of the different parts when a pronoun is involved, various reasons come to mind: let us assume that they can ultimately be reduced to the licensing conditions of the pronominal element involved, clitic or strong pronoun, which necessitates to move to a special position in the clause.<sup>45</sup>

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44. “Maria” is understood as a kind of “afterthought”. We can speculate that an “afterthought” is closer to a Topic than to a Focus interpretation, given our typology of positions/interpretations; whence the improvement of (46b) over (46a).

45. Note that the split is not always necessary: all conditions being equal, the following German examples discussed by Grewendorf (2001) might precisely illustrate the big DP in the unsplit form, possibly due to the different nature of the article/pronoun *den* in German from Romance type clitic and strong pronouns:

- (i) a. *Ich habe den Depp den hinausgeworfen.*  
 I have the jerk the kicked out  
 ‘I have kicked out that jerk.’ (Grewendorf 2001)
- b. *Ich kann den Kerl den nicht mehr ertragen.*  
 I can the character the no longer stand  
 ‘I cannot stand that character any longer.’

According to Grewendorf (2001) the expressions *den Depp den*, *den Karl den* can be analyzed as a big DP where internal movement to its specifier takes place of the DPs *den Depp* and *den Kerl*, respectively. Possibly, the English examples to be briefly discussed at the end of this work might be amenable to a comparable analysis.

Let us now address the question “why two” when the big DP contains both a pronoun and a lexical noun phrase (or a further pronominal DP). Possibly, the clitic case in CLLD and RD may have a different answer from SPD. I tentatively suggest that presence of the clitic in CLLD and RD (and CLD (?)) can be reduced to Case reasons, as already discussed in Section 1.1 and 3, with the clitic ultimately contributing to Case licensing of the noun phrase in Topic position.<sup>46</sup>

Let us concentrate on SPD. It is tempting to suggest that it is a discourse requirement the ultimate reason for the duplication: the doubler strong pronoun contributes to the informational content of the clause by adding new information (focus) to a given topic or by iterating a given topic. This might be what justifies the selection of a seemingly redundant/uneconomical lexical array.<sup>47</sup>

We may conclude these speculative remarks with the following empirical observation, which strengthens the point just made. We have proposed that the relation between the moved part of the original big constituent and the stranded part is what provides both parts with Case and Th-role. If this is correct, then one might expect that the system allows for the doubler to be also allowed to appear in Caseless positions, e.g., in the subject position of an infinitival clause, complement of a raising verb. However, the expected output is totally ungrammatical:

- (47) \**I ragazzi risultarono [loro aver risposto alla*  
the boys turned out they to have answered the  
*domanda].*  
question

We can assume that nothing would go wrong with the formal computation in (47), but the sentence results in ungrammaticality because the doubler strong pronoun does not serve any discourse requirement in that position. Whence exclusion of the “redundant” construction: the more economical lexical array (hence the simpler DP) is chosen, whenever possible. (47) minimally contrasts with the sentence in (48):

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46. For left peripheral Focussed phrases we can assume the traditional analysis dating back to Chomsky (1977) and propose that there is a Case marked variable in the clause internal argument position to which the focussed constituent is linked, whence no need of a clitic pronoun in the case of focalization. For clause internal focus as similar process could be assumed to hold at the level of LF interpretation.

47. Note that we are not comparing the doubling vs non-doubling derivations, but just the “economy” of the initial Lexical Arrays from which the computation starts out.

- (48) *I ragazzi risultarono [aver risposto loro alla domanda].*  
 The boys turned out to have answered they the question  
 ‘The boys themselves turned out to have answered the question.’

Here, as in the analysis presented for (34) above, the strong pronoun is interpreted as focus<sup>48</sup> in the sense discussed in this work, and fills the position dedicated for this interpretation within the infinitival clause (it then moves to the position dedicated for pronouns, as generally assumed). Informational discourse related reasons appear to favor the selection of a bigger in size lexical array in this case. Whence its selection.<sup>49</sup>

We conclude this work by pointing out one aspect which will be left open for the time being, but which will deserve further study. It is the comparative aspect, particularly relevant in SPD:<sup>50</sup> why don’t languages which have strong pronouns appear to also have a doubling strategy involving a doubler strong pronoun of the kind utilized by Italian? Take the case of English as one single example: although the subject can be said to be doubled in sentences like the following (49), yet both the kind of doubler and the position that it fills look very different from those discussed and analyzed here for Italian:

- (49) a. *I myself would say that.*  
 b. *John himself will come.*

The two differences are possibly related; I will not try to formulate precise hypotheses on how the relation could be expressed. I just speculate, in these conclusive remarks, that the very different location of the doubler be due to the fact that, for independent reasons, English does not activate the VP periphery

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48. Or topic, depending on the intonation associated to it.

49. The following is also possible:

- (i) *I ragazzi risultarono loro, aver risposto alla domanda.*  
 The boys turned out they to have answered the question  
 ‘The boys themselves turned out to have answered the question.’

The difference between (47) in the text and (i) is that (i) has the pronoun interpretable as either focus or topic in the usual sense, located in the VP periphery of the matrix clause, as suggested by the necessary associated intonation (suggested by the comma).

50. In constructions involving a clitic the comparative issue necessarily takes a different shape depending on whether the languages considered have clitic pronouns or not.

in the same way as Italian does, thus excluding the possibility for doubling to occur in the same fashion.<sup>51</sup>

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51. The activation of the VP periphery seems to correlate with the setting of the null subject parameter in the way discussed in some detail in Belletti (2004). See also Footnote 33. It should be noted that sentences like those in (i) following from Ronat (1979) appear to be possible in French:

- (i) a. *Je viendrai moi.*  
I will come me
- b. *J'ai moi rencontré Pierre à la campagne.*  
I have me met Pierre at the countryside

These cases of subject doubling might illustrate a limited activation of the VP periphery in French in a way analogous to Italian. This might in turn imply a less direct relation to the null subject parameter. The issue would require a deeper analysis of the French data which cannot be pursued here.

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