



snippets

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8.

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Here there is an ambiguity: two readings for the sequence here/there-P in Italian

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In Italian, locative pronouns (LocPros) *qui/qua* ('here') and *lì/là* ('there') obligatorily follow light prepositions, paralleling full DPs and personal pronouns:

- (1) Mario parte {*Milano/*qui} da {Milano/qui}
Mario leaves {Milan/here} from {Milan/here}

Conversely, LocPros contrast with full DPs and personal pronouns when used with heavy locative Ps (HPs), regardless of the occurrence of a light P. While full DPs and personal pronouns obligatorily follow HPs, LocPros obligatorily (though only optionally in the case of *fuori*, 'out') precede them (thus resembling Dutch R-words, Van Riemsdijk 1978):

- (2) Mario è {*casa/*mi} davanti {a casa/me}
Mario is {home/me} in front {of home/me}
- (3) Mario è {qui} davanti {*a qui}
Mario is {here} in front {of here}

Rizzi (1988:530) notes that LocPros combined with HPs cannot be interpreted as HP-complements. As evidence for this, he argues that (4) cannot mean 'come behind the place designated by here', but only 'come here, which is behind (some relevant place)'. Following Rizzi, a case like (4), in which a LocPro is modified by an HP taking an empty complement (or, in Terzi's 2008 terms, by an HP combined with an empty noun, *Place*), will be referred to as the modified reading (ModR). We call complement reading (ComplR) the reading where LocPros are interpreted as the semantic complement of HPs.

- (4) Vieni qui dietro
Come-2nd person singular here behind

Against Rizzi, we argue that LocPros can indeed be interpreted as preposed complements of HPs, but that the ComplR is unavailable in (4) due to the properties of 'come': the addressee must 'come' to the speaker's location ('here'), hence the availability of the ModR, but cannot 'come' where the speaker is not located ('behind here'), hence the unavailability of the ComplR.

The latter is the only available reading, when 'come' is substituted with 'go':

- (5) Vai qui dietro
Go-2nd person singular here behind
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The meaning of (5) is ‘go behind here’ and not ‘go here, which is behind’ since the addressee can never go to the speaker’s location and can ‘go’ only where none of the participants in the conversation is located: the PP ‘behind here’ can function as the complement of ‘go’ because it means ‘there’. The ambiguity of (6) confirms that the unavailability of the ComplR in (4) and of the ModR in (5) are due to the properties of ‘come’ and ‘go’:

(6) Il gatto è qui fuori
The cat is here out

(6) can be uttered either when the speaker and the cat are outside (ModR), or when the speaker is inside and the cat outside (ComplR). Obviously, the ModR is forced when the HP has an explicit complement as in (7), preventing *qui* from being interpreted as the complement of *fuori*:

(7) Il gatto è qui fuori dalla porta
The cat is here out of the door

With the ComplR, despite the linear order, fronted LocPros are interpreted as genuine semantic complements of HPs, like full DPs and personal pronouns, suggesting that LocPros move to a high position within the HP-projection (again resembling R-words, see Koopman 2000 and den Dikken 2006). This is supported by the fact that HP-modifiers (e.g. *three floors*) can only precede LocPros in the ComplR (see 8), while they follow them in the ModR (see 9).

(8) Vai {*qui} tre piani {qui} sotto
go {here} three floors {here} down

(9) Vieni {qui} tre piani {*qui} sotto
Come {here} three floors {here} down

As a final remark, it should be noted that native speakers in (7) and (9) favor *qui* to be the head of a phrasal prosodic constituent followed by an intonational boundary. This fact is presumably to be imputed to independent binary requirements on prosodic phrasing (Selkirk, 2000), rather than to properties of the ModR structure, given that in (6) *qui* is naturally phrased with *fuori*, both in the ModR and the ComplR.

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