

relative clauses, adjectives such as *wrong*, and the locative part of a demonstrative can provide the <R> leaving the nominal element free from the determiner. On the assumption that all nominal elements need case, the nominal part of a DT construction in object position will raise by itself to AgrO. This movement, and the proposal that the VP aspect calculated at AgrO accounts for the durative readings in DT configurations when the nominal element is a mass noun or non-quantized plural.

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THE POST-VERBAL SUBJECT POSITION OF ITALIAN UNACCUSATIVE VERBS OF INHERENTLY DIRECTED MOTION*

CHRISTINA M. TORTORA
University of Delaware

1. Introduction

Since Burzio (1986), it is assumed that intransitive verbs in Standard Italian divide into two distinct classes: unergatives and unaccusatives. Unaccusatives differ structurally from unergatives in that the former project a single internal argument (and crucially, project no external argument), whereas the latter project a single external argument. Thus, unaccusative verbs, such as *arrivare* 'arrive', project the d-structure word order VERB-SUBJECT.¹

Independent of this analysis of unaccusatives in Italian, it was first pointed out by Antinucci & Cinque (1977) that the linear order VERB-SUBJECT is the unmarked word order for verbs like *arrivare*. That is, given an unmarked context (such as that in 1), the sentence in 2 (with the word order VERB-SUBJECT) is appropriate.

- (1) *Che succede?*
'What's happening?'
- (2) *Arriva Maria.*
arrives Maria

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¹ Since the focus in this paper is on unaccusative verbs, the use of the term 'subject' throughout this paper should not be taken to refer to the argument that is projected in [spec, VP], but rather to the single argument projected by an unaccusative verb (sister-to-V).

If we take unmarked word order to be a reflection of d-structure word order, the hypothesis that at the level of d-structure the subject appears to the right of the verb might explain the above fact.

However, it was first noted by Benincà (1988) that the linear order VERB-SUBJECT is not the unmarked word order for all unaccusatives in Italian. In particular, she points out that given an unmarked context, the sentence in 3 with *partire* 'leave' is inappropriate.^{2, 3}

- (3) **Parte Maria.*
leaves Maria

That is, the order VERB-SUBJECT yields a marked interpretation for the single argument of *partire*. Specifically, the post-verbal subject in 3 can only be interpreted as contrastively focused.⁴ Thus, the sentence in 3 can be used felicitously only in a context which allows for a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject, such as that in 4:

- (4) *Chi parte?*
who leaves

The post-verbal subject in 2 can also receive this special interpretation (e.g. 2 can also be used in answer to the question *Chi arriva?* 'Who arrives?'). The difference between 2 and 3, however, is that in 3 this is the only possible interpretation of *Maria*, whereas in 2 *Maria* can receive both an unmarked as well as a contrastively focused interpretation.

In this paper I would like to provide an explanation for this interpretive difference between 2 and 3. The explanation I provide draws upon some independent data from Borgomanerese, a Northern Italian dialect spoken in the town of Borgomanero in Piedmont, Italy. The paper is organized as follows. In §2 I show that the lexical semantics of *arrivare* and *partire* differ in what will turn out to be a relevant way. I then show that the semantic difference between

² This is also noted for the verb *andare* 'go' in Antinucci & Cinque (1977).

³ The '*' in 3 is intended to indicate the ungrammaticality of this string in an unmarked context, not absolute ungrammaticality.

⁴ Here the term 'contrastive focus' is used to indicate an interpretation of the NP as an individual which necessarily belongs to a set of known individuals. Thus, in sentence 3, *Maria* is interpreted as belonging to a set of individuals (e.g. a set which includes *Maria*, *Gianni*, *Lucia*, & *Giorgio*) which constitutes the context in which the NP *Maria* can receive an interpretation in post-verbal position. The term 'contrastive focus' as used here does not entail a negation or a contradiction of a previously mentioned entity.

these two verbs has an overt syntactic reflex in Borgomanerese, and claim that these two verbs project two different syntactic structures (Tortora 1996). The Borgomanerese data will thus support the hypothesis that Italian unaccusatives like *arrivare* project two internal arguments, while unaccusatives like *partire* do not. In §3 I provide an analysis of the syntax of contrastive focus in Italian, and in §4 I show how this analysis, together with the hypothesis that there is a structural difference between *arrivare* and *partire* in Italian, allows us to explain the interpretive difference between 2 and 3.

2. The 'implicit locative' of arrive-type verbs

Benincà (1988) proposes that the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 is related to the fact that *arrivare* has an 'implicit locative', whereas *partire* does not.⁵ Several researchers after Benincà have concurred with the intuition that *arrivare* has an implicit locative (among others, Delfitto & Pinto 1992, Pinto 1994, and Saccon 1992). Note that the view that the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 is in some way related to the locative subcategorized by *arrivare* makes the following prediction: unaccusative verbs which have an implicit locative will pattern with *arrivare* in 2, while unaccusative verbs which do not have an implicit locative will pattern with *partire* in 3 (with respect to the interpretation of the post-verbal subject).⁶ If this prediction is borne out, then we are led to believe that the two phenomena (presence/absence of an implicit locative and interpretation of post-verbal subject) are indeed related.

Before we see whether this prediction is borne out, let us gain a more precise understanding of the nature of this 'implicit locative'. Which are the verbs that have an implicit locative? In what sense does *partire* not have an implicit locative? (the meaning of *partire* certainly entails the existence some kind of location).⁷ In order to give this object a more exact characterization, let us consider the lexical semantics of verbs of inherently directed motion, the class of verbs to which *arrivare* and *partire* belong.

⁵ She also notes that the implicit locative has a deictic interpretation; I will discuss this fact in detail in §4 below.

⁶ Benincà (1988) discusses some unergative cases, which for the purposes of this paper I will not consider, although I believe that they can ultimately be accounted for under the analysis presented here.

⁷ In Tortora (1996) the term 'non-locative unaccusative' is used for verbs like *leave*, but I believe this terminology to be misleading; see §2.1 below.

2.1 *The lexical semantics of verbs of inherently directed motion:*

GOAL as the implicit locative

Levin (1993) and Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995) (L&RH) group the verbs in 5 into a class which they call verbs of inherently directed motion (VIDMs):

- (5) *arrive, ascend, come, depart, descend, enter, escape, exit, fall, flee, go, leave, return, rise*⁸

Levin (1993:264) characterizes these verbs as including 'a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement.' L&RH (p. 58) characterize them as 'achievement verbs; they specify an achieved endpoint—an attained location.'

As can be seen by the contrast between 6a-b, 'achieved endpoint' cannot mean that all the verbs in 5 entail a reached goal.

- (6) a. Mary arrived at the station, *but she never got there.
b. *Mary left for the station, but she never got there.*

The sentence in 6a shows that *arrive* entails a reached goal. This is attested by the fact that the reached goal cannot be canceled by the adjunct *but she never got there*. However, as can be seen in 6b, although *leave* can appear with a PP denoting a location to be reached, the reaching of this location can be canceled by the adjunct *but she never got there*, suggesting that *leave* does not entail a goal.

This is not to say that *leave* does not entail a location of some sort (cf. Levin's 1993 and L&RH's observation that verbs like *leave* specify direction of motion, or an attained location). On an intuitive level, however, it seems that the type of location entailed by the meaning of *leave* is a source, rather than a goal. Given this lexical semantic difference between *arrive* and *leave*, then, let us say that the element referred to above as the 'implicit locative' of *arrive* might be more precisely characterized as a 'GOAL'.⁹ To avoid confusion, I will refer to the locative entailed by *leave* with the term 'SOURCE'. Given this terminology, we can restate the intuition that *arrive* has an 'implicit locative' by claiming that it entails GOAL. *Leave*, on the other hand, entails SOURCE.

⁸ All of these verbs are unaccusatives in Italian (they all take the auxiliary *essere* 'be').

⁹ Benincà (1988) also uses the term *meta* 'goal' for the 'implicit locative' of *arrivare*.

In our terms, then, SOURCE entailing verbs correspond to the verbs that in Benincà's (1988) terms do not have an 'implicit locative'. For the purposes of this paper, let us refer to the VIDMs which lexically entail GOAL as 'arrive-type verbs' and to the VIDMs which lexically entail SOURCE as 'leave-type verbs'. We can also refer to the former type as 'GOAL entailing' and the latter type as 'non-GOAL entailing'.

Note that there is a third type of VIDM, which is ambiguous between GOAL entailing and non-GOAL entailing. These VIDMs, which are referred to by L&RH as 'atelic verbs of inherently directed motion', include verbs like *descend, rise, and fall*. A verb such as *descend* does not necessarily entail a reached goal, as can be seen by its compatibility with a durative phrase:

- (7) *The airplane descended for 5 minutes.*

Of course, *descend* can also be interpreted as GOAL entailing (and thus, as telic), as the following sentence shows:

- (8) *The airplane descended onto the runway in 5 minutes / *for 5 minutes.*

For the present purposes, let us assume that what underlies this ambiguity is the existence of two different lexical items (one perhaps derived from the other via a lexical rule).¹⁰ Let us refer to the instance of *descend* which is non-GOAL entailing as '*descend*_{atelic}', and the instance of *descend* which is GOAL entailing as '*descend*_{telic}'. I adopt L&RH's terminology and refer to the case of such ambiguous VIDMs as 'atelic VIDMs'.¹¹

¹⁰ The idea here is that atelic VIDMs are 'variable behavior verbs', in the sense of L&RH. As L&RH note, across languages atelic unergative verbs of manner of motion (e.g. *run, swim, jump*) systematically also behave like telic unaccusative verbs of directed motion (hence the term 'variable behavior'). Under their account of this phenomenon of regular polysemy, unergative *run* is the basic instance of the verb, while the unaccusative instance of this verb is derived via a lexical rule (presumably one which maps the constant of the verb onto the lexical semantic template that unaccusative verbs of directed motion appear in). If such a lexical rule does indeed exist, it could conceivably apply to atelic VIDMs as well. In this case, the basic form of an atelic VIDM such as *descend* would be *descend*_{atelic}, but like the case of unergative *run*, the constant of this verb could be mapped onto the lexical semantic template that arrive-type verbs appear in, lexically deriving a GOAL entailing VIDM (i.e. *descend*_{telic}).

¹¹ Note that although *leave* is also non-GOAL entailing, unlike atelic VIDMs, it is telic (it passes all tests for telicity: for example, it is incompatible with durative phrases: **John left for 15 minutes* cannot mean 'it took John 15 minutes to leave'; likewise, *John is leaving* does not entail that *John has left*).

As a first pass, then, we have identified three types of VIDM:

- (A) Arrive-type (telic, entailing a GOAL; e.g. *arrive*)
- (B) Leave-type (telic, but entailing a SOURCE; e.g. *leave*)
- (C) Atelic VIDMs (ambiguous between not entailing / entailing a GOAL; e.g. *descend*)

Now let us see whether differentiating among VIDMs in this way can help us determine whether the prediction noted above is borne out.

2.2 Evidence that the interpretive difference between *arrivare* and *partire* is related to the GOAL / non-GOAL distinction

We pointed out above that the claim that the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 is related to the locative subcategorized by *arrivare* makes the following prediction: a verb which has an implicit locative will pattern with *arrivare* in 2, while a verb which does not have an implicit locative will pattern with *partire* in 3 (with respect to the interpretation of the post-verbal subject). Now that we have re-characterized the notion of 'implicit locative' in terms of the GOAL entailed by the lexical semantics of certain VIDMs, we can restate this prediction, which can be broken into two parts, in the following way. The claim that the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 is related to the presence/absence of a GOAL predicts that (i) a VIDM which entails a GOAL will behave like *arrivare* in 2, and (ii) a VIDM which does not entail a GOAL will behave like *partire* in 3.

The verb *scendere* 'descend' in Italian, like in English, is ambiguous between non-GOAL entailing (atelic) and GOAL entailing (telic), as can be seen by 9a-b:

- (9) a. *L'aereo è sceso per 5 minuti.*
the.airplane is descended for 5 minutes
'The airplane descended for 5 minutes'
- b. *L'aereo è sceso (sulla pista) in 5 minuti.*
the.airplane is descended on.the runway in 5 minutes
'The airplane descended (onto the runway) in 5 minutes'

The existence of ambiguous verbs like *scendere* allows us to readily determine whether our two-part prediction is borne out. Let us address the first part of the prediction: the fact that *scendere* can be interpreted either as GOAL entailing or as non-GOAL entailing leads us to expect that in an unmarked

context, the word order VERB-SUBJECT for this verb can be interpreted felicitously (i.e. as grammatical) only if it is interpreted as entailing a GOAL (i.e. only if it is interpreted as an arrive-type verb, namely, as *scendere_{tel}*). To put it differently, the interpretation of this verb as non-GOAL entailing (as *scendere_{atel}*) in an unmarked context should be impossible with the word order VERB-SUBJECT, if it is indeed the case that non-GOAL entailing verbs do not allow this word order in an unmarked context. Now let us see whether this part of the prediction is borne out.

Consider example 10, in which the subject of *scendere* is in post-verbal position. In an unmarked context such as that in 1 ('What happened?'), the verb in 10 can only be interpreted as entailing a GOAL (i.e. the Spitfire has to have landed). This is confirmed by the fact that the order VERB-SUBJECT with *scendere* is incompatible with a durative phrase in an unmarked context:

- (10) *E' sceso Lo Spitfire (, *per 5 minuti).*
is descended the Spitfire (, *for 5 minutes)
'The Spitfire descended (*for 5 minutes)'

Thus, the first part of our prediction is borne out: when the subject of *scendere* is in post-verbal position, in an unmarked context the sentence can only be taken to be grammatical if the verb is interpreted as entailing a GOAL (i.e. it patterns with *arrivare* in 2).

The second part of the prediction made by the claim that the presence/absence of a GOAL and the interpretation of the post-verbal subject are related phenomena is the following: given a context in which the post-verbal subject of *scendere* is interpreted as contrastively focused, this verb should be interpretable as non-GOAL entailing (i.e. as *scendere_{atel}*). In other words, it should behave like *partire* in 2. The sentence in 11 provides the context in which the post-verbal subject in 12 could be interpreted as contrastively focused. The grammaticality of 12 establishes that this prediction is borne out:

- (11) What descended for 5 minutes? (set: a dirigible, a helicopter, the Spitfire)
- (12) *E' sceso Lo Spitfire (, per 5 minuti).*
is descended the Spitfire (, for 5 minutes)
'The Spitfire descended (for 5 minutes)'

Thus, if the post-verbal subject of *scendere* is contrastively focused, the verb is interpretable as non-GOAL entailing (i.e. it behaves like *partire* in 2), as is attested by its compatibility with a durative phrase.

The fact that both parts of the prediction are borne out strongly suggests that the GOAL/non-GOAL distinction and this apparently independent interpretive difference with respect to focus are indeed two related phenomena. In §3 I will provide an analysis of contrastive focus in Italian which will ultimately allow us to account for the connection between these two phenomena. In what follows, however, I will present evidence for the syntactic representation of the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs.

2.3 The syntactic representation of GOAL: evidence from Borgomanerese

We have seen above that arrive-type verbs entail a GOAL, while leave-type verbs do not. We have also seen that in Italian the presence of this GOAL is in some way related to the interpretation of the post-verbal subject of unaccusative verbs (although we have yet to see how these two phenomena are related). A question we might ask at this point is whether we have any evidence that this GOAL is represented in the syntax. If 'GOAL' is an argument of arrive-type verbs, we might expect it to be projected into the syntax. The problem for Italian is that we obviously cannot see this argument (in 2 all we see is the verb and the subject argument), so we have no direct evidence which supports such an analysis. However, I would like to show here that there does exist a language in which this GOAL has an overt syntactic realization.

Borgomanerese, a Northern Italian dialect spoken in the town of Borgomanero (in Piedmont), like Italian shows a contrast between *arrive* and *leave*. In Borgomanerese this contrast manifests itself in the following way. As can be seen in 13, when the subject of *rivè* 'arrive' is in post-verbal position, a non-referential locative clitic, *ghi*, obligatorily appears:¹²

- (13) *N gh è riva-gghi tre mataj.*
CL LOCCL is arrived-LOCCL three boys
'Three boys arrived'

However, when the subject of the verb *partì* 'leave' is in post-verbal position, this clitic does not appear:

¹² For our purposes, let us take the *ghi* which is cliticized to the past participle to be the morpheme of interest here, and take the pre-auxiliary *n gh* to be a double of the enclitic *ghi*. For further discussion on the nature of this clitic and this construction in general, see (Tortora 1996).

- (14) a. *L' è partè la me amisa.*
SCL is left the my friend
'My friend left'
b. **N gh è partè-gghi la me amisa.*

There is evidence (aside from native speakers reporting that the sentence in 13 is a direct translation of the Italian sentence in 2) that the locative *ghi* in 13 does not refer to any specific location. Note that Borgomanerese (like Italian) does not allow the referential locative clitic *ghi* 'there' to be doubled by a locational PP:

- (15) a. *Maria l è riva-gghi.*
Maria SCL is arrived-there.
'Maria arrived there'
b. **Maria l è riva-gghi a la staziòn.*
Maria SCL is arrived-there at the station.
'Maria arrived there at the station'

In contrast, however, the locative *ghi* in 13 can be doubled by a locative PP:

- (16) *N gh è riva-gghi tre mataj a la staziòn.*
CL LOCCL is arrived-LOCCL three boys at the station.
'Three boys arrived at the station'

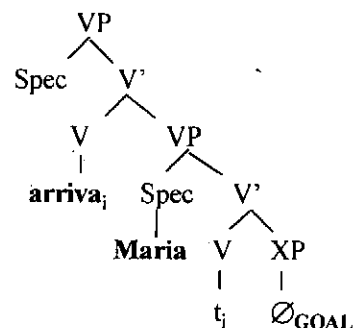
I assume that if the referential locative cannot be doubled by a locative PP (as in 15b), then the locative *ghi* in 13/16 must not (anaphorically) refer to any location (see Burzio 1986 for discussion of a similar case with Piedmontese *ye*).

I account for the presence of *ghi* with *rivè* and its absence with *partì* in the following way. Given that the presence / absence of this clitic correlates with the lexical semantic difference between *arrive* and *leave*, namely, GOAL / non-GOAL, I take this locative clitic *ghi* to be the overt morpho-syntactic instantiation of the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs. That is, in Borgomanerese the lexical semantic entity 'GOAL' is projected into the syntax as a second internal (indirect object) argument, spelled out as *ghi*. Since leave-type verbs do not contain the entity 'GOAL' in the lexical semantic representation, they do not project this argument (Tortora 1996).

Let us take the Borgomanerese data as evidence which supports an analysis in which 'GOAL' is syntactically instantiated in Italian as well. In other words, let us suppose that in Italian, like in Borgomanerese, arrive-type verbs project

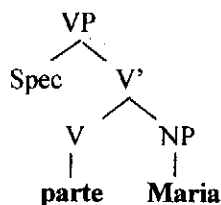
two internal arguments in the syntax: a direct object and an indirect object (GOAL). Of course, as can be seen by the example in 2, we must posit the existence of a phonetically null GOAL argument for Italian. Thus, arrive-type verbs in both Borgomanerese and Italian are unaccusative versions of 'Double Object' verbs, in the sense of Larson (1988). As such, they project the following structure (for the present purposes I use a Larsonian VP shell, although this is not crucial to the analysis):

(17) Arriva Maria.



Leave-type verbs, on the other hand, project a single direct object argument:

(18) Parte Maria.



Of course another possible analysis for Italian is to assume that arrive-type verbs not project two internal arguments. This may seem to be the more obvious analysis, especially since there is no direct evidence that a second argument is present in the syntax. However, I would like to show that the analysis proposed here, which is motivated by evidence from Borgomanerese, will allow us to account for the interpretive difference between 2 and 3. In other words,

while there is no direct evidence that the GOAL is projected into the syntax in Italian, the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 serves as indirect evidence that the GOAL is projected into the syntax.

However, before we see how the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 is related to the presence/absence of GOAL in the syntax, our next step is to understand the syntax of contrastive focus in Italian, given that the post-verbal subject of *partire* is interpreted as contrastively focused.

3. *The syntax of contrastive focus in Italian*

It has been noted that Italian has a specific structural position for contrastive focus (Calabrese 1982, 1992; Samek-Lodovici 1994, among others). As Samek-Lodovici (1994) points out, an NP receives a contrastive focus interpretation if it is the last constituent within VP.¹³ This is true not only for subjects of unergatives and transitives (19-20), but for direct objects (21) and indirect objects (22) as well.¹⁴

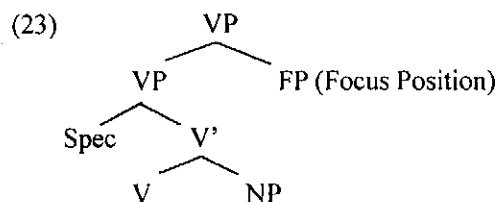
- (19) *Ha urlato Gianni.*
has screamed Gianni
'It is Gianni who screamed'
- (20) *Ha mangiato la torta Maria.*
has eaten the cake Maria
'It is Maria who ate the cake'
- (21) *Gianni ha presentato a Giorgio Maria.*
Gianni has presented to Giorgio Maria
'It is Maria who Gianni introduced to Giorgio'
- (22) *Gianni ha presentato Maria a Giorgio.*
Gianni has presented Maria to Giorgio
'It is to Giorgio that Gianni introduced Maria'

¹³ Samek-Lodovici points out that this 'structural' contrastive focus differs from 'non-structural' contrastive focus in that in the former, there is no emphatic stress on the NP in question (the whole phrase is assigned unmarked intonation), whereas in the latter, the NP in question must receive emphatic stress:

(i) GIANNI ha urlato. 'It was Gianni who screamed'

¹⁴ In an SVO string, then, this means that the object NP is ambiguous between a focused interpretation and an unmarked interpretation. The same holds true for the indirect object in the sentence in 22.

To account for this 'right-edge' placement of the focused constituent, Samek-Lodovici proposes a VP-(right)adjoined position as the focus position in Italian:



However, there is evidence which argues against the structure in (23). In particular, note that FP c-commands [spec, VP]. We should thus expect FP to be a possible landing site for an NP which strands a floating quantifier. That is, we predict the sentence in 24 to be grammatical, since the NP *i ragazzi* 'the boys' c-commands the floating quantifier *tutti* 'all' (G. Cinque, personal communication):

- (24) **Hanno mangiato tutti la torta i ragazzi.*
 has eaten all the cake the boys
 'It is all the boys who have eaten the cake'

Given that this prediction is not borne out, we are led to believe that the 'right-edge' focused constituent occupies a position lower than that shown in 23.

An alternative analysis of this right-edge focus position which allows us to maintain that it is lower than the FP position in 23 (without proposing any lowering rule) follows from Kayne (1995). Following Kayne, let us assume that there exists only leftward movement (and left adjunction). Furthermore, let us adopt the hypothesis that it is material which is left in situ (within the VP) which is focused, and not moved material. Thus, the rightmost XPs in 19-22 are constituents which have remained in situ, while the other material has moved out of the VP (cf. Diesing 1992, in which presupposed material moves out of the VP). Thus, the subject NP *Gianni* in 19, for example, has remained in its original [spec, VP] position, while the other material has moved to its left. Evidence that the post-verbal subject has remained within the VP comes from the fact that in many Italian dialects we find a lack of agreement between the verb and the post-verbal subject. Saccon notes this for the dialect of Conegliano (see also 13 above for Borgomanerese, and Cardinaletti 1995; 1996):

- (25) a. *El e rivà la Maria.*
 SCL is arrived the Maria
 b. *La Maria la e rivada.*
 the Maria SCL.fem is arrived.fem

Thus, I will assume that there is no specific focus position in Italian, but rather that the rightmost XPs in 19-22 are simply occupying their d-structure positions.

In what follows, we will see that the above analysis of the syntax of focus in Italian together with the hypothesis that the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs is syntactically represented allows us to provide an account of the interpretive difference between 2 and 3.

4. *Explanation for relation between presence / absence of GOAL and interpretation of post-verbal subject*

Let us refer back to the structure in 17. Given our discussion in the previous section concerning movement, the indirect object GOAL has two different movement possibilities: it can either move out of the VP or remain in situ. If the GOAL moves out of the VP, the direct object *Maria* becomes the rightmost constituent in the VP. According to our analysis above, this would mean that *Maria* receives a contrastively focused interpretation. As mentioned in §1 of this paper, this is one possible interpretation for the post-verbal subject of *arrivare* in 2.

However, if the GOAL remains in situ, *Maria* is no longer the rightmost constituent in the VP. In this case it would not receive a contrastively focused interpretation. Crucially, note that this second possibility is not available in 18. The verb *partire* does not project a second internal argument, and thus the single direct object argument *Maria* will always necessarily be the rightmost constituent within VP if it remains in situ. In other words, the post-verbal subject of *partire* in 3 will always be on the right edge, and as such will always receive a contrastively focused interpretation.

One more fact concerning the interpretation of 2 supports the present analysis. Benincà (1988) was the first to note that the implicit locative of *arrivare* (i.e. the GOAL in our terms) has a deictic interpretation (again, several researchers afterwards have concurred with her intuition that the implicit locative of *arrivare* receives a deictic interpretation; among others, Delfitto & Pinto 1992 and Pinto 1994). Specifically, when the subject of *arrivare* is in post-verbal position, the GOAL must be interpreted as a location that is

speaker oriented (i.e. it must be a location that the speaker is in at the moment of speech, or, if the sentence is in the past tense, it must at least be a location that the speaker was at when the referent of the NP did the arriving). Interestingly, however, it turns out that this is only the case when the post-verbal subject of *arrivare* is unmarked. When the post-verbal subject of *arrivare* is contrastively focused, the GOAL does not receive this deictic interpretation. I sketch out these facts in 26-27:

- (26) *Arriva Maria*. UNMARKED INTERPRETATION
GOAL receives deictic interpretation.
- (27) *Arriva Maria*. MARKED INTERPRETATION
(*Maria* contrastively focused)
GOAL does not receive deictic interpretation.

It is difficult to see how these facts could be accounted for under an analysis in which the GOAL is not syntactically represented. Under an analysis such as the present one, however, the interpretation of the GOAL in 26 syntactically corresponds to it having remained within the VP, while the interpretation of the GOAL in 27 syntactically corresponds to it having moved out of the VP. The idea here is that the interpretation of the GOAL bears on its position in the structure. Perhaps the GOAL is interpreted deictically when it remains within the VP because a [-presupposed] (in the sense of Diesing 1992) non-referential locative must receive an interpretation. It might be that the default interpretation for such a locative obtains by assigning the positive value of the feature [speaker], yielding the deictic interpretation [+speaker].¹⁵

5. Conclusions

We have seen that in Italian the semantic difference between *arrivare* and *partire* (GOAL entailing vs. non-GOAL entailing) correlates with an apparently independent phenomenon, namely, the different interpretations of the post-verbal subjects of these verbs. The hypothesis that these two phenomena are related makes correct predictions concerning the behavior of ambiguous

¹⁵ The assumption would have to be that a locative is non-referential when it is lacking a value for the feature [speaker]; a referential locative, on the other hand, already has a specified value for the feature [speaker] (+ or -, yielding, for example, *qua* 'here' and *là* 'there'). In the case of 26, then, the GOAL is ultimately referential (it ends up meaning 'here'), but acquires its reference compositionally, through the interaction of both semantic and syntactic factors.

VIDMs (GOAL/non-GOAL entailing) like *scendere*, suggesting that the hypothesis is on the right track. Indirect evidence from Borgomanerese, in which the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs is morpho-syntactically instantiated, suggests that this argument, although phonetically null, is projected in Italian as well. That we can explain the interpretive difference between 2 and 3 by pursuing the independently motivated hypothesis that GOAL is syntactically represented in Italian turns this interpretive difference itself into indirect evidence for the syntactic instantiation of GOAL. Further indirect evidence for this hypothesis derives from the interpretation of the GOAL, which, as we have seen, varies according to its position in the structure.

Several questions remain unanswered, not the least of which is why SOURCE is not projected into the syntax. In other words, the claim seems to be that if a language has a non-referential locative element in its morphological inventory (*ghi* in Borgomanerese, \emptyset_{GOAL} in Italian), this element is only used as the spell-out of the lexical semantic entity GOAL, and not SOURCE. The answer to why this is so might lie in the nature of the lexical semantic representation itself; it might be that GOAL has a special status with respect to SOURCE.

We have also not investigated further predictions made by the present claims. For example, if Borgomanerese *ghi* is the overt counterpart to Italian \emptyset_{GOAL} , then we should expect it to undergo the same default interpretation as that noted for Italian \emptyset_{GOAL} in §4. Whether or not this prediction is borne out is also a matter for future research.

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