Atypical Demonstratives

Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics

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New insights from Italian varieties

Abstract: This paper investigates the use of distal demonstratives as relativizers in order to shed light on the typology of relativization strategies. We concentrate on three Italian varieties, Campobellese (an Eastern Sicilian dialect), Venosino (a variety spoken in Lucania) and Marebbano (a Rhaetoromance V2 variety). In all these varieties the usual form of the relativizer is reinforced with the distal demonstrative. We argue that this relativization strategy is an instance of a syntactically and semantically motivated renewal of the relativizer form, which proceeds according to an implicational hierarchy. By comparing Italian varieties with colloquial standard Italian, we show that the relative clause contexts in which distal demonstratives appear progressively broaden along the following scale: demonstratives are attested in light-headed free relatives only; in addition to being the head of a light-headed free relative clause, they become real relativizers in the same contexts in which we find the standard Italian *il quale*-relativizer. The first contexts in which demonstratives appear as real relativizers are two types of non-integrated appositives (see Cinque 2008), i.e. structures related to the head noun through a small clause structure. The other context is represented by integrated relative structures where extraction/deletion of the head noun is banned for syntactic reasons, namely prepositional relative clauses. This spreading through contexts corresponds to a progressive loss of features of the demonstrative, notably of location, deixis, contrast, and referentiality, which can be described on the basis of a hierarchy on the featural make up of demonstratives, with Person, Number and Gender features being the highest and most resistant ones.

Keywords: free relatives, deixis, Italian dialects, features

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1 Introduction

This paper investigates the use of distal demonstratives as relativizers in Italian varieties. The aim is twofold: (i) to shed light on the syntax of relativization from a dialectal perspective and (ii) at the same time, to define the feature specification of demonstratives. We argue that the demonstrative pronoun intrudes into relative clauses (henceforth RCs) and is thereby reanalyzed as a relativizer through a stepwise process, which implies a concomitant loss of feature specification on the demonstrative. We identify four steps of this renewal process. Therefore, the empirical domain will be limited to four varieties which are each representative of one step. They are colloquial standard Italian, Campobellese (an Eastern Sicilian dialect), Venosino (a southern variety spoken in Basilicata) and Marebbano (a Rhaetoromance V2 variety); the comparative distribution of demonstratives in these four varieties will turn out to be crucial in order to understand why and how a demonstrative can intrude into RCs.

To introduce RCs, these four Italian varieties pattern alike with Standard Italian in exhibiting the invariable complementizer *che* and can in addition display a resumptive pronoun. However, the dialectal varieties differ in allowing *che* to be reinforced by the distal demonstrative in some contexts, which gives rise to the periphrastic form *quell(o/a/i/e) che* 'that that'. This relativization strategy is rather unexpected given the Italian and Romance paradigm of relativizers. We demonstrate that this is the result of a renewal process that starts from the use of the demonstrative in light-headed free RCs, and ends with the use of demonstratives as relativizers in non-integrated appositives and in integrated prepositional RCs. This spreading hierarchy is exemplified in (1).

(1)   light-headed free RCs > non-integrated RCs / prepositional RCs

Since this relativization strategy coexists with the one where the "simple" complementizer is used, the first part of the paper is devoted to assess the import of the periphrastic relativizer and to analyze the structures where it occurs. After having introduced the theoretical tools (section 2), in section 3 we will first single out the contexts in which demonstratives appear as relativizers. Whereas in colloquial standard Italian the demonstrative lexicalizes part of the light head of a free RC and therefore cannot be defined as a real relativizer internal to the relative clause, in the three dialects investigated demonstratives are indeed used in contexts in which it is impossible to extract/delete the internal head as well as in contexts in which the internal head must be interpreted as an intrinsically referential pronoun, which shows that they have become part of the relative clause. We will also demonstrate that the contexts in which the demonstrative appears as a relativizer

in the dialectal varieties are the same where *il/la/i/le qual(e/i)* in Standard Italian occurs, namely (i) non-integrated appositive clauses and (ii) prepositional RCs. As a more general theoretical point, our empirical evidence supports a theory of relativization along the lines proposed by Cinque (2008, 2013) as well as a theory of non-integrated appositives as a phenomenon at the interface between syntax/semantics and discourse as outlined in Del Gobbo (2007). Furthermore, we provide evidence that Cinque's (2008) analysis, which splits appositive relatives into integrated and non-integrated appositives, needs further refinements. Our data show that non-integrated appositives have to be further split into two subtypes depending on the type of functional head connecting the head noun with the appositive RC. The two types of heads can be either an equative-like head and or a discourse head similar to the one found in Hanging Topic constructions, as originally proposed by Cinque (2008).

After having singled out the contexts and the properties of demonstrative RCs, the second part of the paper (section 4) shifts the focus to the internal structure of the demonstrative relativizers. We will argue that this strategy is an instance of synchronic renewal of the relative pronoun paradigm, which is syntactically and semantically motivated. Demonstratives are usually defined as bundles of morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic features. The question we address is whether demonstrative relativizers have the same feature specification of demonstratives occurring in other contexts. We will show that the spreading of the distal demonstrative through RC contexts correlates with a concomitant feature impoverishment of the demonstrative itself and will identify which features are lost first and which are more stable. Whereas renewal is usually defined as the replacement of old grammatical forms, subject to attrition and no longer distinctive, by new periphrastic expressions (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993), we will propose a synchronic reformulation of the process of renewal. This perspective allows us to predict that not only should the feature specification of demonstrative relativizers be different from the one of "real" demonstratives, but it should also contain fewer features than those specified on "real" demonstratives. As in standard cases of grammaticalization, the loss of features we see in synchronic terms can be arranged in a stepwise fashion, which can be formalized in an implicational scale (2).

(2)   Location > Deixis > Contrast > Referentiality > Person/Number/Gender

The feature hierarchy based on our finding shows that Person, Number and Gender specified on demonstratives are the most stable features, at least in the languages investigated here.
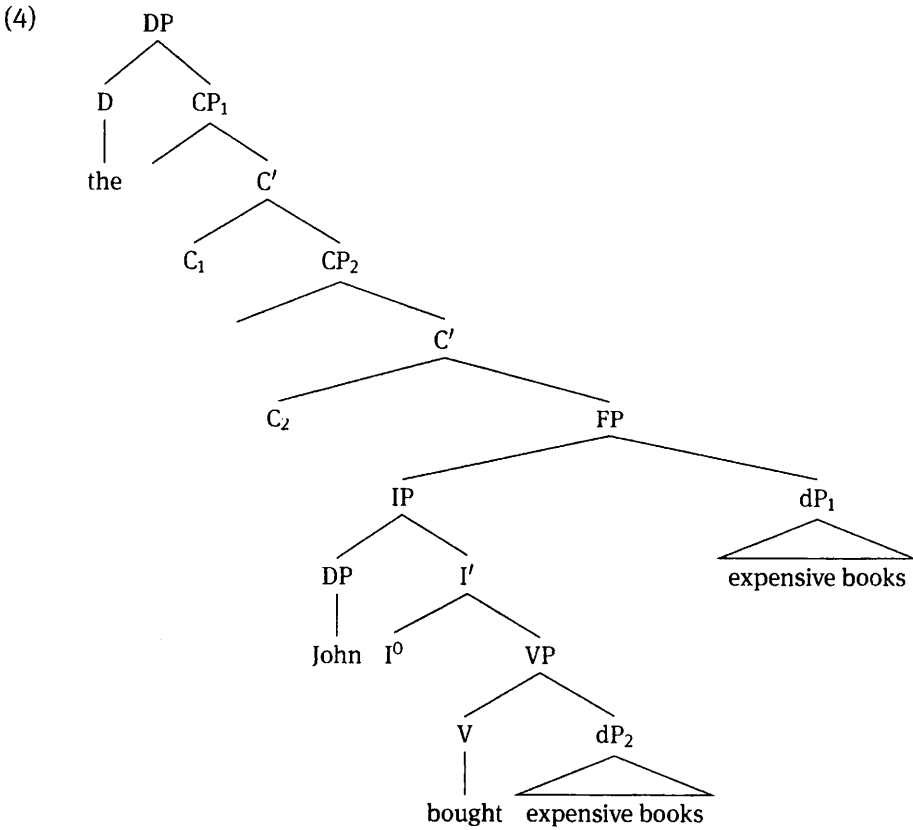
2 Theoretical background

In this section we briefly outline the theoretical premises on which this paper is built. Three main types of RCs have been distinguished in the literature: restrictive, appositive and free (maximalizing) relatives. We first summarize Cinque's (2008, 2013) proposal on the syntax of restrictive relatives, and then we focus on the structure of appositive RCs as defined in Cinque (2008). Finally, we turn to the structure of free relatives as formulated in Benincà (2010, 2012).

Restrictive RCs are defined as predicates denoting properties that combine with the meaning of the nominal head they are attached to in an intersective way. As such, they restrict the set denoted by the nominal expression they modify (Heim & Kratzer 1998). On the contrary, appositive relatives do not combine directly with the denotation of a nominal head, rather they convey additional information about the referent of the DP they relate to. From a structural perspective the differences between restrictive and appositive RCs are captured by Cinque (2008, 2013) in the following way. On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence and in accordance with Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry theory, the author suggests that both RCs are adjective-like structures which are merged in the specifier of a functional projection of the DP. Finite restrictive RCs are merged in a projection above numerals and below universal quantifiers, whereas appositive relatives are merged higher than universal quantifiers as in (3).

(3) $[RC_{APP} \; X^0 \; [QP_{Universal} \; Q^0 \; [DP \; D^0 \; [RC_{REST} \; X^0 \; [NumP \; Y^0 \; [AP \ldots Z^0 \; [NP \;]]]]]]]$

The core of Cinque's (2008, 2013) proposal is that there always are two heads involved in the derivation of a RC: an external one base-generated as the complement of the functional projection that hosts the RC in its specifier; an internal one base-generated inside the RC. These two heads are non-distinct.[1] Since restrictive RCs are attached below D, the two heads are a smaller category than a DP, i.e. they are dPs in Cinque's terms. On the contrary, given the high attachment of appositives above D, the two heads are full DPs. As follows we clarify the structure of a restrictive RC, first in a tree diagram adapted from Cinque (2013): dP_2 is the head internal to the RC, i.e. "internal head" and dP_1 the nominal expression modified by the RC, i.e. "external head".

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1 On the realization of the internal head, languages differ in the sense that in some languages the internal head is always deleted at PF, whereas in others it is spelled out (Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999, Hulsey & Sauerland 2006, Cinque 2013: ch.17).

(4)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
                 D      CP₁
                 |     /   \
                the   /     C'
                     /     /  \
                    /    C₁    CP₂
                   /          /   \
                  /          /     C'
                 /          /     /  \
                /         C₂     /    FP
               /               /    /   \
              /              IP    /     dP₁
             /             /   \  /    /      \
            /            DP    I' expensive books
           /             |    /  \
          /            John  I⁰   VP
         /                       /  \
        /                       V    dP₂
       /                        |   /    \
                              bought expensive books
```

Given a structure like (4), the head of the RC will be the dP that surfaces in PF and controls the PF deletion of the other dP. Hence, if this head is dP1, i.e. the external head, matching is the operational derivation adopted and no reconstruction effects are detectable: the spelled out head is not linked to the chain inside the RC. If the spelled out head is dP2, i.e. the internal head, the derivation is obtained through raising and hence reconstruction effects are expected.

As for appositive RCs, Cinque (2013) suggests that their structure is similar to the one sketched in (4) for finite restrictive relatives but it differs in three respects: a) as stated above, appositive relatives are attached above D. b) The two heads are full DPs and not dPs and, c) since no reconstruction effects are found in appositives, appositives are only derived through matching. This means that it is always the external head that is spelled out (5).

(5)

```
                    FP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             DP           CP₁
              │        ┌────┴────┐
            John            C'
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     C₁          CP₂
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        C'
                                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                                 C₂           FP
                                        ┌──────┴──────────┐
                                       IP              DP₁
                                  ┌─────┴─────┐          │
                                 DP          I'        ⟨John⟩
                                  │      ┌────┴────┐
                                John   I⁰         VP
                                              ┌───┴───┐
                                             V       dP₂
                                             │
                                          bought  expensive books
```
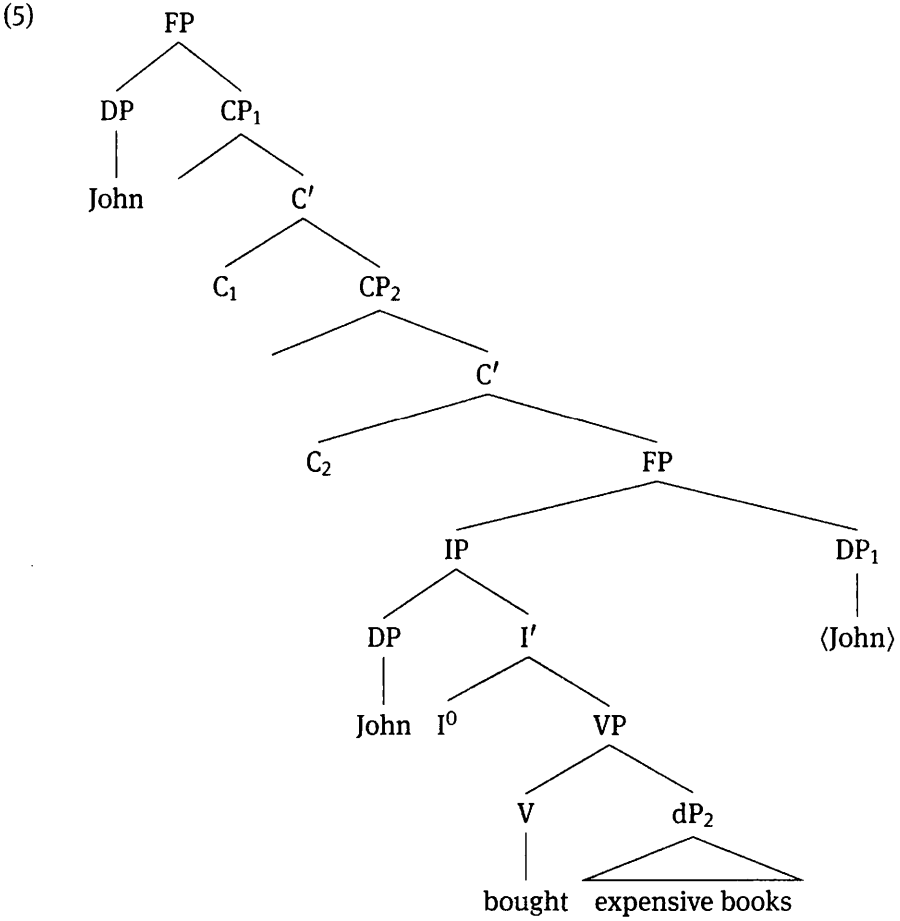
Cinque (2008, 2013) notices that not all types of appositive RCs have the structure proposed in (5). He convincingly proves that there exist at least two types of appositive RCs: integrated ones, to which the structure (5) applies, introduced by the relativizer *che* 'that' and non-integrated appositives, which exhibit structure (6) and are introduced by the relative pronoun *il quale* 'the which'. Non-integrated appositives seem to be related to the external head by means of a discourse procedure in the sense of Williams (1977): they are the complement of a discourse head, whereas the external head sits in its specifier as in (6).

(6)

```
              HP
        ┌──────┴──────┐
      DP/CP          H'
                 ┌────┴────┐
                H⁰      CP-rel
```
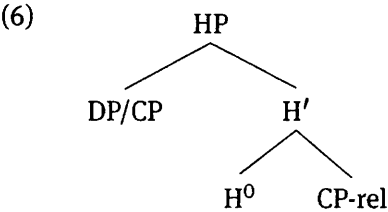
Cinque (1982, 2008) shows that there are substantial differences between integrated appositives (cf. (5)) and non-integrated ones (cf. (6)). We summarize some of his tests distinguishing the two types in Table 1.

Tab. 1: Properties of integrated and non-integrated appositives

		Integrated appositives structure (3)	Non-integrated appositives structure (4)
A.	Illocutionary independence	*	✓
B.	Non-adjacency	*	✓
C.	Split antecedents	*	✓
D.	Temporal adverbials	✓	*
E.	CP-antecedent	*	✓

A. Only *il quale*-appositives can be either interrogative or imperative when the matrix clause is declarative (7a). On the contrary, *che*-appositives can only be declarative (7b).

(7)   a.   Tuo padre, il quale potrà mai perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?, non si sarebbe mai comportato così.

       b.   *Tuo padre, che potrà mai perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?, non si sarebbe mai comportato così.
          'Your father, by whom will we ever be forgiven for what we have done?, would have never behaved like that.'

B. Whereas *che*-appositives must be adjacent to the external head (8b), *il quale*-appositives can be separated from it (8a).

(8)   a.   Da quando i russi se ne sono andati, i quali non si erano veramente integrati con la popolazione, la pace è finita.

       b.   *Da quando i russi se ne sono andati, che non si erano veramente integrati con la popolazione, la pace è finita.
          'Since the Russians left, who had not really mixed with the population, there is no more peace.'

C. Only *il quale*-appositives can have split antecedents (9a). On the contrary che-appositives cannot (9b).

(9)   a.   Se Carlo$_j$ non amava più Anna$_i$, i quali$_{j+i}$ d'altra parte non si erano mai voluti veramente bene una ragione c'era.

b. *Se Carlo$_j$ non amava più Anna$_i$, che$_{j+i}$d'altra parte non si erano mai voluti veramente bene una ragione c'era.
'If Carlo was no longer in love with Anna, who at any rate never really loved each other, there was a reason.'

D. Only *che*-appositives can have a temporal adverbial as an antecedent (10a), whereas *il quale*-ones cannot (10b).

(10) a. La settimana prossima, che sono in ferie, gioco a carte finalmente.
'Next week, which I am on holidays, I will finally play cards.'

b. *La settimana prossima, la quale sono in ferie, gioco a carte finalmente.

E. Whereas *che*-appositives only allow for nominal antecedents (11b), *il quale*-appositives can take a larger class of antecedents, such as CPs (11a).

(11) a. Carlo lavora troppo poco. La qual cosa verrà certamente notata.

b. Carlo lavora troppo poco. *Che verrà certamente notato.
'Carlo works too little, which will certainly be noticed.'

From our perspective, the crucial difference between integrated and non-integrated appositive RCs lies in the nature of the internal head of the appositive CP. In the case of integrated appositives, the internal head is an identical copy of the external one, whereas in non-integrated structures the head of the appositive CP is an independent DP only discourse bound to the external head, hence, the two heads can be identical but they do not need to be. (12) shows that in non-integrated structures the two heads can be different DPs, since we have *Gianni* as the external head and *il quale ragazzo* as the internal head.
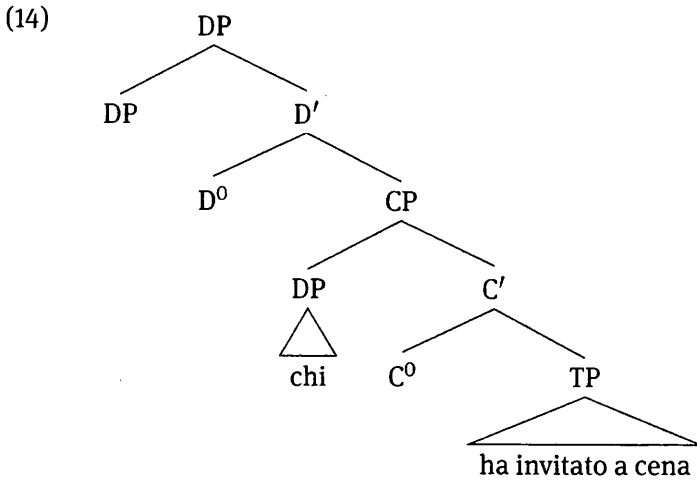
(12) Ho sempre lodato Gianni per la sua correttezza, il quale ragazzo infatti non ha mai criticato nessuno.
'Lit. I have always praised Gianni for his honesty, which boy indeed has never criticized anybody.'

This difference has the semantic reflex that only non-integrated appositives contain a definite pronoun able to denote nominalized properties and propositions. On the contrary, integrated appositive clauses lack this type of pronoun and contain an identical copy of the external head only denoting nominal properties (Del Gobbo 2003, Potts 2005).

The last type of RC we discuss here is represented by free RCs. Free RCs are different from both restrictive and appositive relatives in not displaying a visible nominal head, rather they just display a wh-element as in (13).

(13) *Conosco* [FR chi hai invitato a cena]
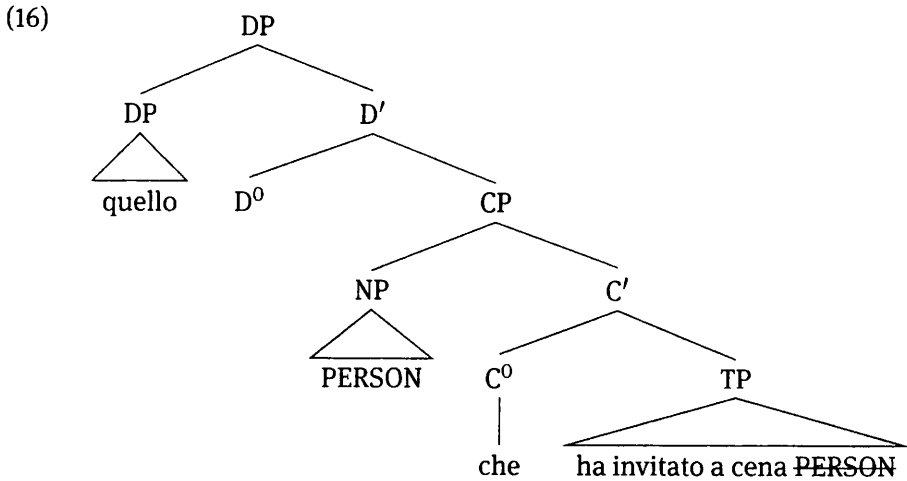   'I know who you invited to dinner.'

We adopt Beninca's (2010) proposal which considers free RCs as standard relatives headed by a silent DP, while the wh-element is part of the RC (cf. Carlson 1977, Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978, Groos & van Riemsdijk 1981, Larson 1987, Grosu 1996, among many others).

(14)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
               DP       D'
                       /   \
                     D⁰     CP
                           /   \
                         DP      C'
                         /\     /   \
                       chi    C⁰     TP
                                    /  \
                              ha invitato a cena
```

As already noticed by Munaro (2000) and Beninca (2010, 2012), Italian can actually spell out the head of a free RC with a light pronominal head (*ciò/colui/quello* 'it/the.he/that'). The RC is introduced by the relativizer *che* or *il quale* and the light headed RC can either have a free choice or a specific reading (15).

(15) a. Non conosco **quello che** vincerà questa sfida.
          'I do not know who will win this game.'
      b. Preferisco **quello che** hai comprato.
          'I prefer what you bought.'

Building on Beninca's (2010, 2012) analysis, we propose that free relatives headed by a demonstrative have the same structure as in (14) with the difference that the SpecDP of the light external head is occupied by the demonstrative itself. Both the external and the internal head of the RC correspond to null elements like PERSON or THING as in (16).

(16)

```
                        DP
                  _____/_____
                 /              \
               DP                D'
              /△\             ___/\___
             /___\           /        \
            quello          D⁰         CP
                                   ____/\____
                                  /          \
                                NP            C'
                             __/△\__        __/\___
                            /_____\       /       \
                           PERSON         C⁰        TP
                                          |      ___/△\___
                                          |     /_____\
                                         che   ha invitato a cena P̶E̶R̶S̶O̶N̶
```

Thus, light-headed free relative structures as in (16) differ from restrictive RCs in two respects (Cinque 2013). First, in free relatives the internal head is a phonetically null light noun either PERSON or THING, whereas in restrictive ones it is a lexical N. Second, the external determiner is a distal demonstrative in SpecDP, whereas it usually is an article in D° in restrictive relatives.

With these theoretical tools in mind, we are now ready to turn to our empirical section and to the distribution of demonstratives in RCs.

3 The distribution of demonstratives in relative clauses

Standard Italian has three types of relativizers: a) agreeing wh-pronoun of the type *il quale/la quale/i quali/le quali* 'the which'; b) an invariable element identical to the one used to introduce complement clauses, namely *che* 'that'; c) an uninflected wh-pronoun *cui* 'which:obl' only used in oblique RCs. As follows, we will only concentrate on the first two types of relativizers. Their distribution depends on two factors, namely the type of relativized element, whether bare or PP, and the type of RC. Following Cinque (1978, 1982, and subsequent works), the use of *il quale* is restricted to two contexts, namely non-integrated appositive RCs as in (17b) and (restrictive and appositive) prepositional RCs (henceforth, PP-RCs) as in (18).

(17)   a.   La ragazza **che/*la quale** ho incontrato mi ha parlato di te.
              'The girl that I met talked about you.'

  b. Maria, **che/la quale** non vedo da oltre tre anni, arriva domani.
    'Maria, whom I haven't seen for three years, arrives tomorrow.'

(18) a. La ragazza **con la quale/*che** ho parlato ieri si chiama Maria.
    'The girl with whom I talked yesterday is called Maria.'
  b. Mario, **con il quale/*che** ho parlato ieri arriva alle 14:00.
    'Mario, with whom I spoke yesterday, will arrive at 14:00.'

In colloquial standard Italian and in the non-standard Italian varieties collected by the 'Atlante Sintattico d'Italia (ASIt)' project the paradigm of relativizers differs as follows from standard Italian. First, the only relativizer is of the *che*-type. In the case of PP-relatives, speakers use *che* plus a resumptive clitic or they opt for a structure which is not a RC (either adjectives, or coordinates CPs or various types of adverbial embedded clauses). The same holds for appositive relatives.

 Interestingly, in some varieties demonstratives followed by the relativizer *che* surface in various contexts according to the variety taken into account. As follows we describe the distribution of this relativization strategy, by looking at colloquial standard Italian (Section 3.1), Campobellese and Venosino (Section 3.2), and Marebbano (Section 3.3). These varieties can be split in two groups:

 i. Varieties where the demonstrative is (still) the external head of a light-headed free RC, as in colloquial standard Italian;
 ii. Varieties where the demonstrative is (already) a real relativizer and, hence, a portion of the RC-internal head, as in the three dialects.

The second group will be further divided with respect to the contexts where the demonstrative relativizer occurs:

 ii.A Varieties, such as Campobellese and Venosino, where the demonstrative relativizer occurs in non-integrated appositive relatives. The RC is not directly inserted into the DP spine but sits in the predicate position of a small clause. In these cases the demonstrative is a referential pronoun which obeys principle B of binding theory.
 ii.B Varieties where the demonstrative relativizer occurs in all types of PP-relatives, i.e. contexts in which it is impossible to extract/delete the internal head. This is exemplified by Marebbano. In these contexts, the demonstrative is an anaphoric pronoun which obeys principle A of binding theory.

3.1 Demonstratives as the external head of the relative clause: colloquial standard Italian

As already noticed by Munaro (2000) and Benincà (2010, 2012), in Italian demonstratives occur in light-headed free RCs with either a free choice or a specific reading (cf. (15)), whose structure is illustrated in (16), repeated here as (19), where we formulate the structure in accordance with Cinque's proposal that RCs contain two non-distinct heads, an internal and an external one, both of which are phonetically null, hence represented as a null nominal of the type discussed in Kayne's recent work, i.e. PERSON in (19).

(19) $[_{DP}$ $[_{SpecD}$ quello$]$ D^0 $[_{RelCP}$ $[[PERSON]$ $[che$ $[_{NP\text{-}internal}$ ~~PERSON~~$]]]$ $[C^0$ $[_{TP}$ ... $[che$ $[_{NP\text{-}internal}$ ~~PERSON~~$]]]]$ $[_{NP\text{-}external}$ PERSON$]]]$

We argue that in colloquial standard Italian the demonstrative is still the external head of a light-headed free relative as in (17), but can function as an apposition to a nominal expression. Therefore, the demonstrative is located outside the boundaries of the RC.

In these contexts, the antecedent is a nominal expression that cannot entail unique reference, a restriction which also holds for restrictive relatives. For instance, in (20) the unique reference antecedent *padre* 'father' is not allowed to be followed by the free RC.

(20) *Ho incontrato tuo padre, **quello che** è stato in prigione.
      'I met your father, who was in jail.'

Free RCs headed by a demonstrative are compatible with what *prima facie* looks like a restrictive interpretation. In (21), for instance, the interpretation is as follows: among the class of individuals whose name is *Maria* there is exactly the one that has the property of being known by both the speaker and the addressee, and left for Rome.

(21) Maria, **quella (là)**   che conosci anche tu, è partita per Roma.
      Maria that   (there) that know   also you is left   for Rome
      'Mary, the one you also know, left for Rome.'

Notice that the demonstrative may be reinforced by the locative adverb *là* 'there'. However, differently from real demonstratives, the meaning of the adverb has no locative import, but it expresses a link to the previous discourse (see Section 4). Differently from real restrictive RCs, in order for these structures to be grammatical, the antecedent must already be identified at least as part of a specific set from

which the demonstrative returns an identified token, as it is clearly shown by the ungrammaticality of (22).

(22)   Ho incontrato un uomo, (*__quello__) **che** è stato in prigione.
       'I met a man who was in jail.'

Since in (21) the proper name is not fully individuated although it refers to possible individuals available in the discourse, we analyze it as an NP (following a long tradition; cf. Elbourne 2005, for an overview) and the anchor of the modification is the demonstrative, more precisely the null light noun PERSON that the demonstrative modifies. We propose that despite appearances, these structures are not real restrictive relative clauses where the demonstrative would be part of the internal head. We surmise that in these cases the demonstrative is the head of a free RC, which is an apposition specifying the token of the referents introduced by the antecedent. Building on Cinque's and Benincà's proposals, the structure instantiated in (21) is given in (23).

(23)   [FP [NP Maria] [F₀ [DP quella [D₀ [RelCP [dP [PERSON] che [NP-internal ~~PERSON~~]]
       [C₀ [TP ... [dP-internal ~~che~~ [NP-internal ~~PERSON~~]]]]] [dP-external PERSON]]]]]

The free relative character of these structures is further supported by fact that the case of the demonstrative must be the one of the external head, and not the one of the internal head, as one would expect from a relativizer. This would be mysterious if (21) were either a case of appositive or of restrictive RC.[2] Since the demonstrative is external to the RC head, it must receive its Case from the matrix predicate, while it is the *che* that gets oblique case and turns into *cui*.[3]

(24)   Maria, con (*__quella che/cui__) ho parlato ieri, arriva stasera.
       'Maria, with whom I talked yesterday, arrives tonight.'

Taken our data altogether, we conclude that the demonstrative in colloquial standard Italian is part of the head of a light-headed free RC which sits outside the

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2 Another piece of evidence that the demonstrative must be external to the RC comes from cases like (i), where the demonstrative copies the external case: *a Maria* and *a quella che*.

(i)   Ho dato il libro a Maria, **a quella** che Gianni ha visto ieri in biblioteca.
       'I gave the book to Mary, to the one that Gianni yesterday met in the library.'

3 Our hunch to explain the distribution and the diachronic development of *cui* is that *cui* is an oblique form of *chi/che*. We will not further develop this point here because it is tangential to the main argumentation.

boundaries of the RC. The position of the free RC in (23) may be similar to that proposed in Cinque (2007) were epithets are merged.

3.2 Demonstratives as relativizers in non-integrated appositive relative clauses: Campobellese and Venosino

In this section we investigate two Italian varieties, Campobellese di Licata and Venosino. We first demonstrate that, contrary to colloquial standard Italian, where the demonstrative is not merged within the RC but rather it is part of the external (otherwise null) head, the demonstrative in these varieties is a real relativizer since it spells out the RC-internal head. The main empirical difference between colloquial standard Italian is that in these dialects demonstratives can occur in non-integrated appositive RCs.

Campobellese and Venosino exhibit two types of relativizers: *ca*-relativizers and the demonstrative followed by *ca*.[4] This pattern resembles that found in standard Italian, i.e. *che* and *il quale*. However, whereas the distribution of the Standard Italian relativizers depends both on the type of RC as well as on the type of relativized element, bare vs PP, in the two dialects the distribution of the two relativizers is determined only by the type of RC. Restrictive RCs only exhibit *ca*-relativizer and *ca/cu* in PP-relatives as in (25a-b).[5]

(25) a. Lu libru **ca** mi consigliaiu Mario, mi piaci.
          'I like the book that Mario suggested to me.'
      b. Lu trenu **ccu cu** viaggiannu iera un intercity.
          'The train on which he travelled yesterday was an intercity one.'

(Campobellese)

Free relatives can be both headless and light headed, as in the case of Italian (cf. ex (11-13)). When free relatives are light-headed, the distal demonstrative *chiddru* spells out the demonstrative of the light head.

(26) a. **Cu** dissi chistu, nun canusciva la situazioni.
      b. **Chiddru ca** dissi chistu, nun canusciva la situazioni.
          'Who(ever) said this, did not know the situation.'

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5 Due to space limits, we only report data from Campobellese. However, the pattern exhibited by Campobellese in the examples (26-29) is identical to that found in Venosino.

(27) a. Ammitammu a **cu** ancora nun ammu ammitatu.
      b. Ammitammu a **chiddri ca** ancora nun ammu ammitatu.
          'We invite those that we have not invited yet.'

The same relativizers found in restrictives and light headed free relatives are also found in appositive RCs (28a,b). Moreover, what looks like an appositive RC can also exhibit the demonstrative (29a,b).

(28) a. Giuvanni, **ca** lu vitti aieri a lu mercatu, si maritá la simana passata.
          'Giovanni, (lit.) that I saw him yesterday at the market, got married last week.'
      b. Gianni, **cu cu(i)** mi parlavu aieri, mi telefona stamatina.
          'Gianni, with whom I spoke yesterday, phoned me this morning.'
(29) a. Giuvanni, **chiddru ca** vitti aieri a lu mercatu, si maritaju na simana passata.
          'Giovanni, whom I saw yesterday at the market, got married last week.'
      b. Gianni, **cu chiddru ca** parlavu aieri, mi telefona stamtina.
          'Gianni, with whom I spoke yesterday, phoned me this morning.'
                                                            (Campobellese)

The question now is to understand what structure the example in (29) instantiates and what import the demonstrative has. We argue that the demonstrative in both Campobellese and Venosino is a portion of the internal head.

Differently from colloquial standard Italian (cf. (24)), it can be clearly shown that the demonstrative is not part of the external head of the RC, but rather sits in the SpecCP of the RC and as such is a real relativizer, i.e. a spelled out portion of the internal head. Straightforward evidence that this is so is provided by the fact that the demonstrative does not receive its Case from the matrix predicate but it receives its case from within the RC:

(30) Gianni, **cu chiddru ca** parlavu aieri, mi telefona stamatina.
      'Gianni, with whom I talked yesterday, will call me this morning.'
                                                            (Campobellese)

This means that the structure of demonstrative relatives must be different from the structure of Italian in (16) and (23), which only allow for demonstratives to occur in light-headed free relatives. The same observations hold for Venosino.

We conclude that the demonstrative is indeed a relativizer in these varieties. The question that now arises is what the difference is between the two appositive clauses introduced by bare *ca* and by the demonstrative+*ca*. We argue that the dif-

ference lies in the integration of the appositive RC (cf. Section 2: ex (5-6)). Similarly to *il quale*-relativizers in Standard Italian, only relatives with the demonstratives can be non-adjacent to their antecedent (31-32b) (cf. Section 2, Table 1). On the contrary, the simple relativizer *ca* must be adjacent to the head noun as (31-32a).

(31) a. *Giorgiu e Francu partieru **ca** vulivamu mmitari a mangiari stasira.
     b. Giorgiu e Francu partieru, **chiddri ca** vulivamu mmitari a mangiari stasira.
     'Giorgio and Franco left, whom we wanted to invite for dinner tonight.'
     (Campobellese)

(32) a. *I fegl' touje van' vul'ndir' a la scol', ca stann' semb' a studjà.
     b. I fegl' touje van' vul'ndir' a la scol', chir ca stann' semb' a studjà.
     'Your children go willingly to school, who are always studying.'
     (Venosino)

Whereas *ca*-RCs are integrated appositive clauses, those with the demonstrative are non-integrated structures. This means that in these dialects, where forms of *qual-* are unknown, the demonstrative has taken on the function of standard Italian *qual-*.

Although the two dialects pattern alike in many respects as we have shown, there is still a crucial difference between the two. Whereas in Campobellese, similarly to colloquial standard Italian, demonstratives cannot occur with a unique reference antecedent (33a), in Venosino they can (33b).

(33) a. Su patri (***chiddru**) **ca** è simpri malatu sinni a lu spitali.
     'His father, who is always sick, is at the hospital.'
     b. Aier ajj nguntrat a ppant, **cor ca** jè stət ign carcər.
   'Yesterday I met your father, who was in jail.'

We interpret this difference as the reflex of the fact that the demonstrative in Campobellese is a pronoun of the type "that one" in the sense of Sauerland (2003). On the contrary, in Venosino it is a third person pronoun. This makes the immediate prediction that none of the two demonstratives can occur with a speech participant as its antecedent. This prediction is indeed borne out as shown in (34a) for Campobellese and (34b) for Venosino. Notice that (34) is ungrammatical independently from the verb agreement pattern: with both first and third person the sentence is considered unacceptable.

(34) a. Ia, (*chiddru) ca t'affinnivu/affinniva aieri mo ma scusari.
     'I, who offended you yesterday, apologize to you now.'

b. Ie, (*****cor**) **ca** su/jè stat a u fresk u trov sobbt u fateig.
    'I, who was in jail, cannot easily find to work.'

On the basis of the contrast in (33), we argue that the two dialects instantiate two slightly different structures. In Campobellese the RC introduced by the demonstrative is a free RC with a null nominal head PERSON/THING, and hence a DP (35). The antecedent and the free RC form a small clause instantiating an identity relation between two DPs: the DP *Gianni* as its specifier, and the DP – which is a free RC – as its complement.[6] The head mediating the small clause is a sort of equative head similar to the one found in copular constructions.
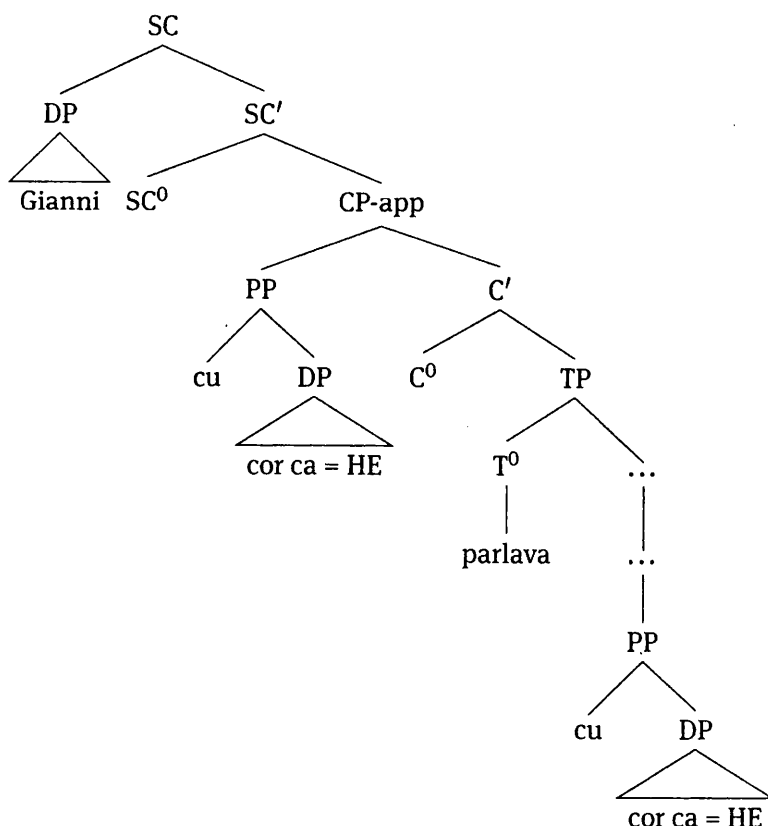
(35)
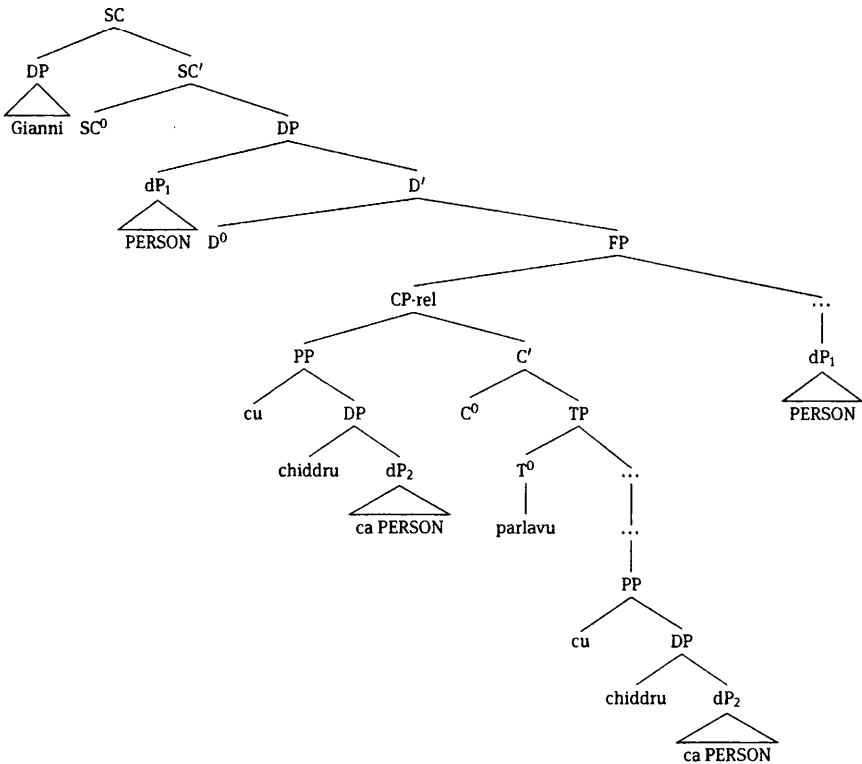
Since Venosino demonstratives allow for unique referent antecedents, we adopt the structure that Del Gobbo (2003) proposed for who/which-appositive relatives in English, which is also the one Cinque (2008) proposed for non-integrated RCs (cf. Section 2): we still have a small clause whose subject is the head noun, but

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6 This is reminiscent of De Vries (2006)'s analysis of appositive clauses. Crucially, taking into consideration Cinque (2013)'s critiques, we do not overgeneralize this structure to all appositive RCs.

the predicate is realized by a relative CP and not by a DP. Hence, in Venosino the RC introduced by the demonstrative is an appositive CP, and hence a proposition (36), not a DP. The mediating head is a discourse one.

(36)

```
                        SC
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            DP                   SC′
          ╱────╲          ┌───────┴────────┐
        Gianni  SC⁰              CP-app
                          ┌────────┴────────┐
                        PP                 C′
                     ╱──┴──╲          ┌─────┴─────┐
                   cu      DP        C⁰         TP
                        ╱──┴──╲            ╱─────┴─────╲
                     cor ca = HE        T⁰           ...
                                         │            │
                                      parlava        ...
                                                      │
                                                     PP
                                                   ╱──┴──╲
                                                 cu      DP
                                                      ╱──┴──╲
                                                   cor ca = HE
```

Although in both dialects the antecedent and the RC are in a small clause relation, their structures differ in two respects: (a) the type of complement, a DP in (35) and a CP in (36); (b) the mediating head, an equative-like head in (35) and a discourse head in (37) (as originally proposed in Cinque (2008) for non-integrated relatives).[7] The two distinctions are related, since the equative head cannot be used in equating a DP with a CP, i.e., a proposition. Therefore, in structures like (36) the only possible mediating head is the loose discourse one. In addition, these two distinctions directly follow from the nature of the demonstrative which is a

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[7] These two properties are most probably related in the sense that the whenever two DPs are in the spec and complement position of a small clause, the SC head is interpreted as equative. In the case in which the complement is a CP, the only possibility is a discourse head.

pronoun of the type "that one" in Campobellese and a third person pronoun in Venosino.

Our proposal makes an interesting prediction with respect to the categorial nature of the antecedent. According to our analysis Campobellese demonstratives are expected not to allow CPs as antecedents, whereas Venosino demonstratives are. Again, this prediction is borne out: in Campobellese (37a), demonstratives cannot have clauses as antecedents. In these contexts, only ca is found. In Venosino (37b), on the contrary, demonstrative relativizers allows for a CP as an antecedent.

(37) a. Ma maritu voli finiri di fumari, (*__chiddru__) **ca** nun gne facili.
          'My husband wants to quit smoking, which is not easy.'
      b. Attanama u trova sobbt u fateig. **Cor ca** jé na schifezz.
          'My father cannot easily find a job. Which is an awful thing.'

In conclusion, we have singled out two types of non-integrated appositive structures. The first type is represented by Campobellese where the RC is a free relative and is linked to the DP antecedent by a small clause whose head can be roughly represented as an equative head. This structure and this mediating head aim to ensure the nature of the antecedent, i.e. DPs only. The second is shown in Venosino where the RC is a proposition containing a third person pronoun. The appositive clause is linked via a discourse head as in the case of Standard Italian non-integrated appositive clauses (as proposed in Cinque 2008). The nature of the demonstrative in Venosino is so that it can pick up a larger class of antecedents, among which CPs.[8]

Given our observation regarding the similarity between Italian *il quale* and the demonstrative in these two varieties, we now discuss how far the similarity between the two elements goes. We have noticed that the Campobellese and Venosino demonstrative has common properties with the Italian *il quale*, since both are licensed in non-integrated structures. This is further supported by the fact that both *il quale*-relativizer in Italian and the demonstrative in these two dialects are banned when there is a temporal adverbial DP as antecedent (cf. Section 2, (10)). In Campobellese (38a) and in Venosino (38b), the demonstrative cannot be licensed when the antecedent is a temporal DP.

(38) a. Dumani, (*__chiddru__) **ca** sunu acca', iuocu a li carti.

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8 A possible way to capture the distinction between the two types of appositives may be to equate these structures with copular constructions as in Moro (1997) and den Dikken (2006). We leave this topic for future research.

b. Craje, (***cor**) **ca** so' in cast, scioc' accart'.
    'Tomorrow, that I am at home, I will play cards.'

Cinque (2008: 120) suggests that the impossibility of *il quale*-relativizers to have temporal antecedents may be attributed to the particular relation that is established between the pronoun and the head: 'in the non-integrated non-restrictive with il quale the pronoun is a kind of E-type pronoun requiring coreference with some object(s) [...]; hence requiring that the antecedent be independently capable of referring (something that nominal temporal adverbials are not)'. We propose that the same reason holds for demonstrative relativizers. Following the classification of pronouns outlined in Büring (2011) the demonstrative in our small clause structures is intrinsically referential, which means that it is to be interpreted as a definite DP (see also Kaplan 1989; Del Gobbo 2003).

Il quale in Standard Italian crucially differs from the demonstrative in the two dialectal varieties in being able to occur not only in non-integrated appositive relatives but also in integrated PP-relatives, both restrictive and appositive. On the contrary, the demonstrative only appears in non-integrated appositives both on bare NPs as well as on PPs. The question is why the demonstrative should be banned in integrated appositives and in PP-restrictive RCs. A possible answer could be that the demonstrative in these varieties is only a referential pronoun, a DP, and obeying principle B of binding theory, it must be free in its complex functional domain. This means that the head can only be outside its functional domain as in the small clause structures above. This proposal is an adaptation of Cinque's (1978) idea that *il quale* in non-integrated structures is an intrinsically referential pronoun. Cinque also proposes that on the contrary, *il quale* in integrated relatives is an anaphoric pronoun, obeying in these cases principle A of binding theory. Whereas in Standard Italian *il quale* can both behave as a definite pronoun and as an anaphoric pronoun, in these two varieties the demonstrative is only a definite, referential pronoun, and as such, it is not licensed in those contexts in which its antecedent c-commands it in its complex functional domain (see Hinterwimmer, this volume for similar binding facts in German).

3.3 Demonstratives as relativizers in integrated prepositional relative clauses: Marebbano

In this section we consider the case of a language where demonstratives can also be relativizers in restrictive RCs. In this case, we argue that the demonstrative plays a role similar to that of *il quale*-relativizer in Italian PP-relatives: it is an anaphoric pronoun which obeys principle A of binding theory. We propose that

the demonstrative spells out the RC-internal head, which as in the case of *il quale* needs to be syntactically a pronoun, either strong or weak, to be stranded after preposition. Similarly to the three varieties we saw above, Marebbano allows for demonstratives in light-headed free RCs, both with a free choice and a specific reading.

(39)   Chel co à dit cösch ne conescea nia la situaziun.
       'Who(ever) said this did not know the situation.'

In addition to light-headed free RCs, the demonstrative can also appear in other contexts. Similar to Standard Italian *il quale*, the distribution of the demonstrative in Marebbano is dependent only on the type of relativized element, whether bare or PP: the demonstrative only occurs in prepositional RCs. Differently from Campobellese and Venosino, there is no restriction on the type of RC: the demonstrative is allowed in both true restrictive (40a) as well as in appositive relatives (40b).

(40)   a.   L seniëur **de chël che** cunësci la sor röa enco.
            'The man of whom I know the sister arrives today.'
       b.   Mio pere **a chell che** mia oma à albù rajun da ti scraiè ados laura trep.
            'My father, whom my mum rightly reprimanded, works too much.'

Moreover, the demonstrative can also occur with an indefinite antecedent (contrary to the previous varieties).

(41)   Maria ie na persona **sun chëla che** te posses te lascé.
       'Mary is a person whom you can rely on.'

In Marebbano the distribution of demonstratives is partially identical to the one of *il quale* in Italian, since they are both found in restrictive and appositives introduced by a preposition. The data above suggest that the demonstrative is used as an equivalent form to *il quale*-relativizer of Italian, i.e. it also includes the value expressed by the definite article in Italian. The similarity with the *il quale*-relativizer is also shown by the fact that the sentence is degraded when the antecedent is provided by a speech-participant. Whereas in Italian the use of *il quale*-relativizer is banned in bare relatives (42a), speakers differ when it comes to PP-relatives: some speakers judge (42b) ungrammatical, whereas for others it is barely acceptable. The same difference is also found in Marebbano (43).

(42)   a.   *Tu, **il quale** mi dai sempre preoccupazioni, non riesci a capire la situazione.
            'You, who always worry me, do not understand the situation.'

    b. ??/*Posso sempre contare su di te, **al quale** infatti confido sempre tutto.
      'I can only rely on you, to whom indeed I always tell everything.'

(43) ??/*A mé mo plej te **sun chel che** i poss i lascé.
      'I like you on whom I can rely.'

Leaving aside the slight tolerance shown by some speakers in (42), we take the contrast between the previous examples, e.g., (40-41) and (43) as a significant one. We interpret it as the result of the fact that the demonstrative, presumably as *il quale*-relativizer, maintains [third person] as one of its feature.

    In order to account for this distribution, we propose that the RC containing the demonstrative is integrated into the spine of the DP it modifies, as it is the case of *il quale*-type in restrictive PP-relatives in Standard Italian. Hence, Marebbano instantiates the integrated structures proposed by Cinque sketched in Section 2, (4) in the case of restrictive and (5) in the case of appositive RCs. Taking these results together, we surmise that the last structure that demonstrative relatives can instantiate is the canonical one proposed for integrated RCs by Cinque (2008, 2013; cf. Section 2). In Marebbano, the demonstrative RC is merged in the spine of the DP, crucially also in the position of restrictive relatives. As in the case of Standard Italian *il quale*, the insertion of the demonstrative in PP-relatives reflects the need of stranding a pronoun, either strong or weak, after the preposition (on this we refer the reader to Poletto & Sanfelici 2014, to appear). Contrary to the other varieties, the demonstrative can be the head of a restrictive RC, which under standard assumptions is an indefinite nominal expression. Adopting the definition proposed in Cinque (1978), we can conclude that the demonstrative in this variety is an anaphoric pronoun which obeys principle A of binding theory and not an intrinsically referential pronoun as we saw in the other two dialects. This proposal predicts the impossibility of the demonstrative to occur in non-integrated structures, differently from what happens in Venosino and Campobellese. As shown, this prediction is indeed borne out.

3.4 Interim conclusion

In the previous sections we investigated the use of the distal demonstrative in RCs in four Italian varieties, namely colloquial standard Italian, Campobellese, Venosino and Marebbano. Table 3 summarizes our findings regarding the RC-contexts where the demonstrative appears, the role of the demonstrative and its interpretation.

    As shown in Table 2, the demonstrative can be the external head of a light-headed free RC in all four variaties. In addition to this context, the demonstrative

Tab. 2: Overview of the uses of the demonstrative + *che* in four Italian varieties

	Syntactic environment	Role of the demonstrative	Interpretation of the demonstrative
Colloquial standard Italian	Apposition to nominal expressions	External head of the free RC	the one
Campobellese	Non-integrated free RCs	Internal head of the RC	That one
Venosino	Non-integrated appositive RCs	Internal head of the RC	He
Marebbano	PP-integrated RCs	Internal head of the RC	Anaphoric pronoun

can also be the spell-out of a portion of the internal head in three structures. In Campobellese and Venosino, the demonstrative is a relativizer in non-integrated constructions: respectively in free RCs which are the complement of an equative head and in non-integrated appositive RCs which are the complement of a discourse head. In Marebbano the demonstrative appears as a relativizer in PP-RCs. Given the distribution of demonstratives in RCs in our data, we can draw an implicational scale as in (44).

(44)   light-headed free RCs > non-integrated appositive structures / PP-RCs

According to (44), if a language uses the demonstrative in contexts to the right, it also uses the demonstrative in contexts to its left each variety exhibits the demonstrative. Accordingly, colloquial standard Italian only has demonstratives in light-headed free RCs, whereas the three dialects have demonstratives in the structures on the left as well as in light-headed free RCs. On the basis of these three varieties we are not able to order the two structures to the left of the arrow. In fact, what emerges from our data is that either a variety develops the demonstrative in non-integrated appositive structures or it does so in PP-RCs. We lack data on a variety with the demonstrative occurring in both non-integrated appositive structures and PP-RCs to properly identify the order between the last structures (see Section 4 for a refinement of (44)). Notably, the demonstrative is used as a relativizer in those contexts where a pronoun, either an anaphoric (obeying principle A) or a referential (obeying principle B) one, is needed, similarly to what happens with Italian *il quale*.

Given the different distribution of the demonstrative in the four Italian varieties a natural question arises as to which feature specification the demonstrative has in each variety. The next section addresses this problem.

4 The renewal process of the relative pronoun

The previous sections show that whereas in colloquial standard Italian the demonstrative is the external head of the RC, in the three dialects – Campobellese, Venosino and Marebbano – it is part of the paradigm of relativizers, i.e. part of the internal head. In order to capture the differences between these varieties we proposed that relative demonstratives instantiate different structures in each variety. We captured the different distribution of the demonstrative relativizers by proposing that in non-integrated structures the demonstrative is an intrinsically referential pronoun whereas in PP-relatives it is an anaphoric pronoun following the terminology proposed in Cinque (1978). The question that now arises concerns whether demonstrative relativizers have the same feature specification as "real" demonstratives and whether the three dialectal demonstrative relativizers are alike in their feature endowment.

4.1 Feature specification on the demonstrative

In all the dialectal varieties the usual relativization strategy is the complementizer-like *che*-relativizer. However, in the contexts individuated above, the relativizer must be reinforced with the distal demonstrative. This is reminiscent of the procedure usually seen in diachrony and labeled as renewal. The synchronic variation we observe can be taken as evidence of the steps that the relative pronoun undergoes in the renewal process. Renewal is defined as the replacement of old grammatical forms, subject to attrition and no longer distinctive, by new periphrastic expressions (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993).

An example of renewal is the development of the future during the history of Latin. In Latin, the future originates from the combination of an Indo-European infinitive and the copula, such as **vidē b^{h}wō* 'I am to see'. In Classical Latin, the form had undergone attrition to *videbo* and was then renewed in Late Latin by the form *videre habeo* 'I have to see' (cf. Lazzeroni 1987, Roberts & Roussou 2002). Since von der Gabelentz (1891), renewal was assumed to have a typical non-linear but cyclical nature. Particular forms are renewed again and again in a language, but renewals are seldom identical to the forms they replace. For instance, going back to the example about future forms, the Indo-European *be*-future was replaced in Vulgar Latin by the *have*-future and this was again renewed by the *go*-future in some modern Romance languages, such as French or some Northern Italian varieties or *want*-like in Rhaetoromance.

However, in all cases there is a clear pattern which can be identified through the different instances of the process: the form is renewed by means of a non-finite form of the lexical verb plus a functional verb. Which non-finite form and which functional verb is selected are properties determined by the single linguistic system in which the change occurs. If we leave aside for a moment the diachronic dimension of what renewal means, we can assimilate our construction to the examples on the future forms: as in the case of the periphrastic future, the simple *che*-relativizer is replaced by the periphrastic form [demonstrative + *che*-relativizer]. In this sense, the feature specification of demonstrative relativizers is expected to be not only different from the one of 'real' demonstratives but also to contain fewer features than those specified on 'real' demonstratives.

Demonstratives are bundles of morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic features. We tentatively propose that the features specified on the distal demonstrative are the following (see also Giusti, this volume for a similar proposal):

i. Spatial location, which is specified for the value [distance] (Leu 2008; Büring 2011; Giusti this volume)
ii. Deixis, as the identification of the referent with respect to the speaker (Lyons 1977: 637; Diessel 2014; Büring 2011)
iii. Contrast, as suggested by Hawkins (1978), Diessel (1999, 2006, 2014)
iv. Referentiality, in the sense that demonstratives carry the referential index of the nominal expression (Lyons 1977; Kaplan 1989; Longobardi 1994, 2001)
v. Person, specified for [3rd] as a value (Lyons 1999)
vi. Number and Gender, at least in Romance languages (Giusti 1997, 1998)

We propose that in Standard Italian real demonstratives are endowed with all these features. On the contrary, demonstratives in the four varieties we analyzed exhibit a different feature make-up, which is more impoverished than the specification seen in Standard Italian.

i. The loss of Location

In colloquial standard Italian the demonstrative is not specified for the spatial location, as shown by the example (21). All the other features are retained on the demonstrative. Notably, the possibility of adding the adverbial reinforcer without its the spatial meaning but with a discourse speaker-oriented meaning is here taken as evidence that the demonstrative is specified for deixis, and therefore establishes a link between the speaker and the referent.

ii. The loss of Deixis

In Campobellese we claimed that the demonstrative is a definite pronoun and as such it is intrinsically referential. It is specified for third person and indeed it cannot refer to a speech participant antecedent. Furthermore, it still involves the Contrast feature, which for the moment we translate with the expression 'that one'. This means that the demonstrative identifies a token or a type from a set of possible referents. The presence of the Contrast feature can explain the ban on referring to unique reference antecedents. The feature that undergoes a change are both spatial location and deixis. 'Simple' distal demonstratives can appear with a stranded adverbial PP such as *là* 'there', on the contrary, when used as relativizers they never allow it. This holds for when the adverb has both a spatial and a deictical/contextual meaning.

iii. The loss of Contrast

As seen for Campobellese, Venosino demonstratives are referential pronouns and are specified for 3rd person, not allowing a speech participant as an antecedent. However, contrary to Campobellese, the demonstrative in Venosino can refer to a unique referent antecedent (cf. (35b)). Hence, we argued that the Venosino demonstrative relativizer behaves like a third person pronoun. In order to capture this behavior, we propose that the demonstrative lacks not only the location and deixis but also the Contrast feature: there is not a set of possible referents from which the demonstrative individuate a single token.

iv. The loss of Referentiality

In Marebbano the demonstrative relativizer shows the same feature specification instantiated by the Venosino one. However, here the demonstrative relativizer lacks definiteness (on the indefinite character of demonstratives, see Arsenijević this volume). Restrictive relatives are analyzed as denoting properties, which combine with the meaning of the nominal head in an intersective way, such that they further restrict the set denoted by nominal predicate they modify (Heim & Kratzer 1998). This means that the head internal to the restrictive RC does not have its own reference (see Cinque (2008), who proposes that the internal head of a restrictive RC is smaller than a DP, i.e. dP cf. (3)).

As the definite article in some context is inserted because of a Strong-D requirement (Longobardi 1994) but it does not imply definiteness, we claim that the

demonstrative in PP restrictive RCs is subject to the same requirement (see also Los and van Kemenade, this volume: Section 5.4).[9]

Table 3 summarizes the variation in the feature loss of the demonstrative when used as relativizers with respect to "standard" demonstratives. We consider the four varieties investigated in Section 3: (colloquial) Italian, Campobellese, Venosino and Marebbano.

Tab. 3: Feature specification in the four Italian varieties

	Location	Deixis	Contrast	Referentiality	Person	Num/Gen
Colloquial standard Italian	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Campobellese	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
Venosino	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓
Marebbano	*	*	*	*	✓	✓

The results from our survey suggest that features are lost in a stepwise fashion and that they are hierarchically ordered such that the loss of one feature implies the loss of another located lower in the scale that is to read from right to left in out table. Given this, we propose the following featural scale:

(45)   Location > Deixis > Contrast > Referentiality > Person/Number/Gender

Whereas demonstratives in colloquial standard Italian are specified for all the features except location, both location and deixis is lost in the Campobellese demonstrative relativizer. In Venosino location, deixis, and contrast are lost and finally Marebbano demonstrative relativizers lose location, deixis, contrast and referentiality. The morphosyntactic features Number and Gender and Person specification seem to be the most resistant ones. We surmise that this is due to the fact that at least number and gender are morphologically encoded. The path of feature loss that we see in Table 2 is very similar to the one instantiated in grammaticalization processes (e.g., van Gelderen 2004).

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9 Notice that also *il quale*-relativizer is not referential per se (cf. Bianchi 1999).

4.2 Feature specification and demonstrative relativizers

Comparing Table 2 and Table 3, we can draw a few interesting generalizations. In Table 2, we showed that whereas in colloquial standard Italian demonstratives spell out the external head of free RCs, in the three varieties they spell out portions of the internal head, and are thus considered as relativizers. Whereas Campobellese and Venosino demonstrative relativizers occur in non-integrated structures, in Marebbano the demonstrative RC is integrated inside the spine of the DP. From Table 3 it emerges that in Marebbano the demonstrative relativizer has fewer features than those specified on Campobellese and Venosino demonstratives, which in turn display fewer features than colloquial standard Italian demonstratives.[10] We conclude that the demonstrative can be a relativizer if it has fewer features than a real demonstrative and its level of integration correlates with the number and type of features it possesses. Demonstratives appear in non-integrated appositive RCs if they lose location, deixis, and possibly also contrast and in restrictive RCs if they also lose referentiality.[11] When the demonstrative has the full feature specification, it can only be the light head of a free RC in apposition to a nominal expression. Crucially, the feature specification of the demonstrative relativizer is different in the three dialectal varieties, which all together differs from the featural make up of real demonstratives. If we take referentiality to be instantiated in D^0 as suggested in Longobardi (1994), our findings according to which the demonstrative can be referential as well as non-referential may support an analysis of demonstratives as being first merged below D^0 (e.g., i.a. Giusti 1994).[12]

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10 This pattern is similar to that discussed by Los and van Kemenade (this volume: Section 2.2).
11 It is tempting to take the analysis one step further and combine the synchronic variation in the integration level seen in the previous sections and the feature specification of the demonstrative depicted in Table 3 and to interpret the progressive integration of the demonstrative into the RC as the result of a diachronic feature loss. However, we leave this point open for further research since it may well be the case that the various trajectories of development observed here are not the same.
12 On the basis of the hierarchy in (45) and on the claim according to which features are hierarchically ordered (e.g., Rizzi 2004, among others), we may rephrase the generalization in (44) and speculate that the two structures to the right may be ordered as in (i).

(i)   light-headed free RCs > non-integrated appositive structures > PP-RCs

For the time being we leave (i) as a tentative proposal which needs to be proved with further research.

5 Conclusion

In this work we have shown that the distal demonstrative can be used as a relativizer co-occurring with the relativizer *che*. By looking at Italian varieties, we argued that the demonstrative followed by the relativizer *che* is an instance of the renewal process the demonstrative undergoes. We first demonstrate that demonstratives intrude into RCs from light headed free RCs. As relativizers, they occur in the same contexts in which the *il quale*-relativizer is attested in Standard Italian, namely (a) contexts in which the internal head must be a definite pronoun, intrinsically referential, as in non-integrated appositive structures and (b) contexts in which it is impossible to extract the internal head, namely PP-RCs unless an anaphoric pronoun is stranded. We argued that in both contexts the head internal to the RC must be a pronoun, either weak or strong: an intrinsically definite one and an anaphoric one (in the sense of Cinque 1978). In the case of non-integrated appositives, the use of the demonstrative is interpreted as the result of the semantic and discourse requirements to have a definite pronoun, which obeys principle B of binding theory (see del Gobbo 2007). In restrictive RCs the use of the demonstrative is interpreted as the result of the need to extract the internal head in a raising derivation, or to delete it in a matching one, in phrases headed by a preposition. Hence, in these contexts the demonstrative is an anaphoric pronoun, which obeys principle A of binding theory. These findings support a theory of relativization along the lines proposed in Cinque (2013) as well as a theory of appositives as a phenomenon at the interface between syntax/semantics and discourse as defended in Del Gobbo (2007). Furthermore, our analysis suggests that two types of non-integrated structures must be identified: (a) non-integrated appositive clauses mediated by a discourse head, as originally proposed in Cinque (2008), but also (b) a free RC as the complement of an equative-like head.

The other theoretical relevant outcome of this study concerns the feature specification of demonstratives occurring in the previously identified structures. We have shown that demonstrative relativizers in each dialectal variety have a different feature specification, depending on the level of integration of the RC they introduce. The interesting aspect that emerges from our survey is the way in which features are lost in demonstrative relativizers. We have shown that feature loss probably proceeds in a stepwise fashion along the hierarchy illustrated in (45). The generalization emerging from the data is that Person, Number and Gender are the most resistant ones and this might be related to the fact that they are morphologically expressed, hence more difficult to cancel.

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