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1. Evidence for DP and Dₚ

DPs are finite constructions found in Italian (2), and many other languages, that are only superficially Agreed with DP S

(2) They can complement prepositions (3a), unlike standard finite CPs/infinitives (3b).

φ (5) Gianni

Null D

terminer D

within

Long Distance Agreement with a subject embedded

‘Gianni saw Maria crying’ (after Radford 1977: 160)

‘M. never saw G. dance the tango / dancing the tango.’

‘The story that G. danced is not true.’ (Cinque 1995 (35b))

C

‘The story of G. dancing is fantastic.’ (Cinque 1995: (35b))

DP

story

S

ha
di

mai

to DP

che

Maria

cry .

an

event/

thought

I N F

-predicate with a subject gap (Radford

2. Dₚ TRANSFORMS CASE TO DPₚ

The Case of the PR Subject is whatever the whole PR is:

(7) a. [s]the book / s to write an event to not miss.
                            Me writing a story is a sight I cannot recommend.

b. [s]the book / s to write an event to not miss.

He has seen me ACC/I that she smoked in the street.

The PR subject is base-generated as sister to che-clause predicate (see Moulton and Grillo 2015 for evidence from reconstruction).

Dₚ mediates the Case relation between external v/T and DPₚ (see §5) à la Reuland (1983).

Dₚ is needed for Case because Italian generally does not allow Case assignment to Spec,CP nor does it have standard ECM (see Rizzi 1982)

(8) ‘Mario credeva [questa donna non volerlo sposare’

Mario believed this woman did not want to marry him.’ (after Rizzi 1982 (3b))

But the presence of Dₚ turns the PR into a referential description of situations, so it cannot complement propositional attitude verbs (giving direct rather than indirect perception).

3. AGREEMENT

Long Distance Plural

(9) ‘Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango sono un evento speciale: Carlo e Paolo che dance firmly agree that the tango event is not to be missed. Carlo and Paolo dancing the event are a sight not to be missed. (Cinque 1995 (33))

Long Distance Person Agreement

(10) a. [Tu che balli] sei/a un evento da non perdere.

You that dance RE:2G:3RC:3T:3C:3E an event to not miss.

‘You dancing is an event not to be missed.’

b. [Tu che balli] sono/a un evento da non perdere.

I that dance RE:1G:1C:1T:1E:13 an event to not miss.

‘Me dancing is an event not to miss.’

Acceptability Study In a 2 x 2 (Agreement-noun vs. LDA) [1] Position (Embedded vs. Free) acceptability study we compared 3-sing agreement (6) with grammatical and ungrammatical LDA (e.g. sono, sei).

The baseline ungrammatical LDA was generated by embedding the PR within an event-taking nominal (e.g. picture-NP)

16 item sets distributed over 4 lists in Latin Square style, with an additional 40 fillers.

PR-LDA sentences designed to promote situation-denoting subjects.

4. AN ALTERNATIVE PARSE?

Cinque (1992) claimed agreement with DPₚ reflects a parse where DPₚ is a matrix subject and the PR is a DP-adjunct. However ...

Agreement with DPₚ is possible even when DPₚ cannot be the semantic argument of the predicate.

(11) a. [Carlo e Paolo sono un evento da non perdere.

b. [Carlo e Paolo ballano un evento da non perdere.

‘Carlo and Paolo are an event not to miss.’

‘Carlo and Paolo dancing is an event not to miss.’

Verbs like precede in (13) relate situations – not individuals – and still agreement is with DPₚ

(12) Carlo e Paolo che ballano sono un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance RE:3T:3E an event to not miss.

‘Carlo and Paolo dancing is an event not to miss.’

(13) Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango precedono sempre l’arrivo di Maria.

C. and P. dancing tango always precedes M’s arrival.

‘Carlo and Paolo dancing the tango precede virtually always the arrival of Maria.

Verbs like camminare ‘walk’ do not take situations, and do not accept PR arguments, suggesting the DP-adjunct PR does not exist.

(14) ‘Gianni e Maria che si vestono da soli camminano sul palco.

G. and Maria that SE dress as soldiers walking 3T:3E on stage.

‘G. and Maria dressing as soldiers were walking out on stage.’

Conclusion: Agreement with DPₚ is agreement with the subject within the PR (+LDA)

5. MEDIATED AGREE VIA D

Dₚ combines with a clausal constituent CP that does not bear 8-features (lattitude & Embick 1997)

The grammar allows 2 options:

1. Dₚ can bear default 3G:3C which is typical of clausal elements. In this case, only a Case relation exists between Dₚ and DPₚ.

2. Dₚ values its 8-features using DPₚ, and then in turns Agrees with T.

(1) Carlo e Paolo che ballano è un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance RE:3G:3C an event to not miss.

‘You dancing is an event not to miss.’

Nom/Default:3G:3C T: [a] NomDP: [a] DP: [a] che ...]

(2) Carlo e Paolo che ballano sono un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance RE:3T:3E an event to not miss.

Nom/3T:3E [a] DP: [a] che ...]

Similar cases of mediation by a clausal determiner in LDA have been proposed for Basque (Pre-

Grillo & Moulton 2015) and then in turns Agrees with T.

Carlo e Paolo che ballano è un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance RE:3G:3C an event to not miss.

‘You dancing is an event not to miss.’

Nom/Default:3G:3C T: [a] NomDP: [a] DP: [a] che ...]

Carlo e Paolo che ballano sono un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance RE:3T:3E an event to not miss.

Nom/3T:3E [a] DP: [a] che ...]

REFERENCES


We need to re-run this with 26 participants, I ran it with mixed models and the interaction is mass-

(20) Breaking down the interaction effect shows no effect of agreement in the PR stage (R²= 0.022) and a strongly significant effect of Agreement in the Nominal condition (R²= 0.096).

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