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Clausal Determiners and Long Distance AGREE in Italian

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PROPOSAL

Pseudo-relativizers (PRs) consist of a subject (DP), and a finite C-predicate with a subject gap (Radford 1977, Kayne 1975, Cinque 1995, et al.).

- Either DP, or can trigger matrix agreement or the whole PR can, giving rise to 3sg.

I. EVIDENCE FOR DP AND Dc

PRs are finite constructions found in Italian (2), and many other languages, that are only superficially like relative clauses (Radford 1975, Kayne 1975, Gausing 1988, Cinque 1995, et al.). PRs can be constituents that refer to events/situations.

(2) Ciò che ( /ChiChe) ho visto è Maria che piangeva;

That which ( /What?) I saw is Maria that crying (after Radford 1977: 170(98))

PRs are DP's. They can complement constructions (3a), unlike standard finite CPs/infinitives (3b).

(3) a. La storia di [Da Gianni che balla è fantastica.]
The story of G. that dances is fantastic. (Cinque 1995: (66))

b. *La storia di che Gianni ballava / Gianni ballare non è vera.
The story of G. that danced / G. danced is not true.

The story that G. danced is not true.

The story that G. danced is not true.

3. AGREEMENT

Long Distance Prusal

(9) Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango sono uno spettacolo da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance the tango are a sight not to miss.

Carlo and Paolo dancing the dance are a sight not to be missed. (Cinque 1995: (33))

Long Distance Person Agreement

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

You that dance the event is an event not to be missed.

You dancing is an event not to be missed.

b. [io che ballo] sono/è un evento da non perdere.

I that dance the event is an event not to be missed.

I am an event not to be missed.

Acceptability Study

In a (Agreement)/3-sing. vs. LDA/[2]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 4 fillers.

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

3rd-sing

LDA

Nominal

La storia di che ballo è un evento da non perdere.

I storia di che ballo è un evento da non perdere.

Mean acceptability score per condition

Predicate 5-tuple

Mean ratings (N=26) and standard error

Analysis

We need to re-run this with 26 participants, I ran it with mixed models and the interaction is massive (t-value = 6.303, p < .01). Breaking down the interaction shows no effect of agreement in the PR condition (t-value = -0.229) and a strongly significant effect of Agreement in the nominal condition (t-value = 3.299).

4. AN ALTERNATIVE PARSE?

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

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

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

Carlo and Paolo are an event not to miss.

b. Carlo e Paolo sono un evento da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that event is an event not to miss.

Carlo and Paolo dancing is an event not to miss.

Carlo e Paolo che ballano sono uno spettacolo da non perdere.

Carlo and Paolo that dance the event is an event not to miss.

c. *Carlo and Paolo dancing is an event not to miss.*

Verbs like procedere in (13) relate situations – not individuals – and still agreement is with DP:

(13) Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango precedono sempre l’arrivo di Maria. Carlo and Paolo that dance the event precede: always the arrival of Maria.

G. and Maria are walking out on stage.

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

5. MEDITATED AGREEMENT VIA D

- Dc combines with a clausal constituent CP that does not bear e-features.

The grammar allows 2 options:

1. Dc can bear default 3sg, which is typical of clausal elements. In this case, only a Case relation exists between Dc and DP.

2. Dc values its e-features using DP,

and then in Agrees with T.

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

Carlo and Paolo that dance is an event not to miss.

Nom./Default:3sing: T: ... [a] NomDP: [a] DP: [c] che [ ... ]

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

Carlo and Paolo that dance is an event not to miss.

Nom./3sing: T: ... [a] Nom: [a] DP: [c] che [ ... ]

Similar cases of mediation by a clausal determiner in LDA have been proposed for Busque (Preminger 2009) and Toc (Bjorkman and Zeijlstra 2015).

REFERENCES


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