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Clausal Determiners and Long Distance AGREE in Italian

Nino Grillo (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Keir Moulton (Simon Fraser University)
nino.grillo@hu-berlin.de, kmoulton@sfu.ca

PROPOSAL

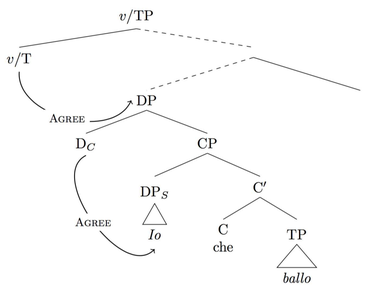
Pseudo-relatives (PRs) consist of a subject (DP_S) and a finite C′-predicate with a subject gap (Radford 1977, Kayne 1975, Cinque 1995, et. al.).

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

(1) [$_{PR}$ [$_{DP_S}$ **Io**] **che ballo**] è/sono un evento da non perdere.
I.NOM that dance BE.3SG/BE.1SG an event to not miss.
'Me dancing is an event not to miss.' (Cinque 1995 (66))

Our Claim: Agreement with DP_S is a form of Long Distance Agreement with a subject embedded **within** the PR.

Our Proposal: PRs are headed by a null clausal determiner D_C which mediates Case and optional **long distance (LDA)** ϕ-AGREE to DP_S.



1. EVIDENCE FOR DP AND D_C

PRs are finite constructions found in Italian (2), and many other languages, that are only superficially like relative clauses (Radford 1977, Kayne 1975, Guasti 1988, 1992, Cinque 1995, a.o.).
PRs can be constituents that refer to events/situations.

(2) **Ciò che**$_1$ /(***Chi**$_2$) ho visto è **Maria**$_2$ **che piangeva**$_1$
That which /(Who) I.have seen is Maria that cry-IMPF
'What /(*Who) I saw was Maria crying' (after Radford 1977: 160(98))

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

(3) a. La storia di [$_{PR}$ Gianni che balla] è fantastica.
The story of G. that dances is fantastic.
'The story of G. dancing is fantastic.' (Cinque 1995: (35b))
b. *La storia di che Gianni ballava /Gianni ballare non è vera.
The story of that G. danced /G. dance.INF not is true.
'The story that G. danced is not true.'

PRs, describe direct perception (4), unlike standard finite clauses which give indirect perception (5).

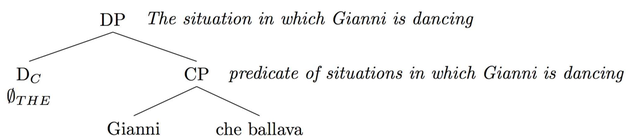
(4) Gianni ha visto [$_{PR}$ **Maria che piangeva**] …ma ha pensato che ridesse.
Gianni has seen Maria that cry.IMPF …but has thought that laugh.SUBJ
'Gianni saw Maria crying … but he thought she was laughing.'

(5) Gianni ha visto dalle lacrime **che Maria piangeva**, #ma pensava ridesse.
Gianni has seen from.the tears that Maria cry.IMPF, but thought laugh.SUBJ.
'Gianni saw from the tears that Maria was crying, #but thought she was laughing.'

Semantic evidence for D_C: PRs are referential, in comparison to infinitives which are existentially quantified (Higginbotham 1983).

(6) Dato che Gianni non ha mai ballato…
Maria non ha mai visto **Gianni ballare il tango /# G. che ballava il tango**
M. NEG has never seen G. dance.INF the tango / G. that dance-IMPF the tango
'M. never saw G. dance the tango / dancing the tango.'

Null D_C is responsible for referentiality.



2. D_C TRANSMITS CASE TO DP_S

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

(7) a. [Io/*me che fumo per strada] è uno spettacolo che non raccomando.
[I.NOM/*ACC that smokes in the.street] is a sight that not recommend.1SG
'Me smoking in the street is a sight I cannot recommend.' (Cinque 1995 (66))
b. Ha visto [me/*io che fumavo per strada].
He.has seen me.ACC/*I that smoke-IMPF in street.
'He saw me smoking in the street.'

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

- D_C **mediates** the Case relation between external v/T and DP_S (see §5) à la Reuland (1983).
- D_C 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 not to.want.him to.marry
'Mario believed this woman did not want to marry him.' (after Rizzi 1982 (3b))

- But the presence of D_C 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/è** uno spettacolo da non perdere.
Carlo and Paolo that dance.PRES the tango **are/is** a sight to not miss.
Carlo and Paolo dancing the dance are a sight not to be missed. (Cinque 1995 (33))

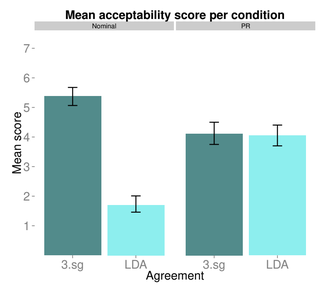
Long Distance Person Agreement

(10) a. [Tu che balli] sei/è un evento da non perdere.
You that dance BE.2SG/BE.3SG an event to not miss.
'You dancing is an event not to be missed.'
b. [Io che ballo] sono/è un evento da non perdere.
I that dance BE.1SG/BE.3SG an event to not miss.
'Me dancing is an event not to miss.'

Acceptability Study In a 2[*Agreement*(3-sing vs. LDA)]*2[*Position*(Embedded vs. Free)] acceptability study we compared 3-sing agreement (**è**) 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.

	3rd-sing	LDA
Nominal	***La scena*** *di me che ballo* ***è*** …	/****sono*** *un evento da non perdere*
PR	***Io*** *che ballo* ***è*** *un evento da non perdere*	/***sono*** *un evento da non perdere*



Mean ratings (N=26) and standard error

Analysis

contrast	Estimate	SE	*t*-value	*p*-value
Predicate Type	3.3708	0.5348	6.303	<0.01

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=-0.529) and a strongly significant effect of agreement in the Nominal condition

4. AN ALTERNATIVE PARSE?

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

- Agreement with DP_S is possible even when DP_S cannot be the semantic argument of the predicate:

(11) a. #Carlo e Paolo sono un evento da non perdere.
C. and P. are an event to not miss.
'Carlo and Paolo are an event not to miss.'
b. La distruzione di Roma era un evento da non perdere.
the destruction of Rome was an event to not miss.
'The destruction of Rome was an event not to miss.'

(12) Carlo e Paolo che ballano sono un evento da non perdere.
Carlo and Paolo that ballano BE.3PL an event to not miss.
'Carlo and Paolo dancing is an event not to miss.'

- Verbs like *precedere* in (13) relate situations – not individuals – and still agreement is with DP_S:

(13) [Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango] precedono sempre l'arrivo di Maria.
C. and P that dance the tango precede.PL always the'arrival of Maria.
'C. and P. dancing tango always precedes M.'s arrival.'

- 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 soldati camminano sul palco.
G. and Maria that SE dress as soldiers walking.3PL on stage.
'G. and Maria dressing as soldiers were walking out on stage.'

Conclusion: Agreement with DP_S is agreement with the subject **within** the PR (=LDA)

5. MEDIATED AGREE VIA D

- D_C combines with a clausal constituent CP that does not bear ϕ-features (Iatridou & Embick 1997)
- The grammar allows 2 options:
  1. D_C can bear default 3SG, which is typical of clausal elements. In this case, only a Case relation exists between D_C and DP_S.
  2. D_C values its ϕ-features using DP_S, and then in turns Agrees with T.

1. [Carlo e Paolo che ballano] **è** un evento da non perdere.
Carlo and Paolo that dance **BE.3SG** an event to not miss.

NOM/DEFAULT.3SG T … [$_{DP}$ NOMD_C [$_{CP}$ DP_S [$_{C'}$ che …]]]

2. [Carlo e Paolo che ballano] **sono** un evento da non perdere.
Carlo and Paolo that dance **BE.3PL** an event to not miss.

NOM/3PL T … [$_{DP}$ NOM/3PLD_C [$_{CP}$ DP_S [$_{C'}$ che …]]]

Similar cases of mediation by a clausal determiner in LDA have been proposed for Basque (Preminger 2009) and Tsez (Bjorkman and Zeiljstra 2015).

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