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A Note on Restructuring and Quantifier Climbing in French¹

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Although Modern French had originally been taken to lack the “restructuring” phenomenon altogether, four different restructuring effects have more recently been claimed to exist in the language: *En* and *y* Climbing, Quantifier Climbing, Adverb Climbing, and Long Movement in *easy-to-please* constructions.

Here, evidence will be discussed which shows that only *En* and *y* Climbing and Long Movement in *easy-to-please* constructions are bona fide instances of “restructuring” in French.

Key words: French, Restructuring, Quantifier Climbing.

1. “Restructuring” effects in French

The fact that Modern French (as opposed to Italian) has no systematic Clitic Climbing (**Jean le voudrait manger* ‘J. would like to eat it’), nor Long Object Preposing in *se* constructions (**Ces maisons se doivent détruire* ‘These houses have to be destroyed’), nor Auxiliary Change (**Je suis voulu partir* ‘I wanted to leave’), had initially been taken

¹. I wish to thank Rose-Marie Déchaine, Marie Christine Jamet, Pierre Pica and Jean-Yves Pollock for patiently offering me their judgments, and Richard Kayne and two anonymous reviewers for their comments on a previous version of this article.

to suggest that it lacks “restructuring” altogether (cf. Kayne 1978,fn7; 1980,39f; 1981,fn5; Rochette 1988, section 2.3, among others):²

It was soon realized, however, that some transparency effects exist in Modern French which point to the existence of “restructuring” in this language too³.

So, for example, *tous*, *tout*, *rien* (and other quantifiers) are known (since Kayne 1975) to extract out of the infinitival complement - and, for many, out of the subjunctive complement (if any)- of certain verbs (*vouloir*, *oser*, *devoir*, *pouvoir*, *falloir*, etc. – cf.(1)), but not of others (*avouer*, *certifier*, *jurer*, *croire*, *dire*, etc. – (cf. (2)):

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | a. Marie a <i>tous</i> voulu les lire | ‘M. wanted to read them all’ |
| | b. Elle n’aurait <i>rien</i> osé dire | ‘she would have dared to say nothing’ |
| | c. Tu vas <i>tout</i> devoir apprendre | ‘you will have to learn everything’ |
| | d. Vous n’avez <i>rien</i> pu dire | ‘you were able to say nothing’ |
| | e. ?Il n’a <i>rien</i> fallu que je fasse | ‘it was necessary that I do nothing’ |
| | | |
| (2) | a. *Elle va <i>tout</i> avouer mépriser
everything’ | ‘she’s going to confess scorning
everything’ |
| | b. *Elle a <i>tous</i> certifié les connaître | ‘she certified knowing them all’ |
| | c. *Jean a <i>tous</i> juré les avoir lus | ‘J. has sworn to have read them all’ |
| | d. *Je crois <i>tout</i> qu’ elle leur a enlevé
everything from them’ | ‘I think that she has taken away
everything from them’ |
| | e. *Je dis <i>tous</i> qu’ils sont partis | ‘I say that they have all left’ |

Pollock (1978) characterized the verbs that allow such extraction as verbs that enter a “close semantic connection” with their complement (p.103), and subsequent work

². This conclusion was rendered even more plausible by the observation that such transparency effects were all attested in French before the XVII century (Kayne 1978,162).

³. This is not surprising if “restructuring” is a universal phenomenon dependent on the functional make up of the clause (Cinque 2001), with languages only differing in the way they overtly manifest it (in ways that remain largely to be worked out). Here I will not address the question how best to account for the difference in “restructuring” effects found between Modern French and Italian (or between Old/Middle French and Modern French).

explicitly suggested that they correspond to the “restructuring” verbs that allow for Clitic Climbing and other transparency effects in Italian and other Romance languages.⁴

Another “restructuring” effect noted in Pollock (1978,fn18) (cf. also Kayne 1975, chapt.2,fn7) is “the survival of an Italian-like structure” with *en* and *y* (cf. (3)a-b, “which are only felt slightly more literary than [(4)a-b]”):⁵

⁴. See Taraldsen (1981,271ff; 1983,section 4.2), Haik (1985, section 1.7.3), Watanabe (1993), Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994), Bonneau and Zushi (1994), Zushi (1995), De Cat (2000), Nicolis (2000).

⁵. This property of **en** and **y** appears to go together with their possible occurring separated from the verb (cf. (i) and (ii)). This is something not possible with DP clitics (cf. (iii)), although Bonneau and Zushi (1994,fn1) report a case of *le* separated from the V by *bien* ‘well’ as not entirely excluded (??*Elle veut le bien voir* ‘she wants to see him well’):

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) a. N’ en presque rien dire... | (Kayne 1991,fn18) |
| ‘NEG of-it almost nothing to-say’ | |
| b. En (fort) bien parler... | (Kayne 1991,fn18) |
| ‘Of-it (strong) well to-speak’ | |
| c. N’ en pas parler... | (Kayne 1991,fn19; Sportiche 1996,fn22) |
| ‘NEG of-it not to-speak’ | |
| d. ?N’y plus en trouver serait surprenant | (Kayne 1991,fn44) |
| ‘NEG no-longer of-it find would-be surprising’ | |
| | |
| (ii) a. ?J’aimerais mieux n’y point accéder | (Taraldsen 1983,308) |
| ‘I would prefer NEG to-there at all adhere’ | |
| b. ?Elle a décidé de n’ en plus parler | (Taraldsen 1983,308) |
| ‘She has decided to NEG of-it no-longer speak’ | |
| | |
| (iii)a. *J’aimerais mieux ne les point voir | (Taraldsen 1983,308) |
| ‘I would prefer to NEG them at all see’ | |

(3) ***En* and *y* Climbing**

- a. J'**en** voudrais voir beaucoup 'I would like to see many of them'
 b. J'**y** voudrais aller 'I would like to go there'

- (4) a. Je voudrais **en** voir beaucoup
 b. Je voudrais **y** aller

En and *y* Climbing indeed appears possible (in non colloquial styles) with verbs like *vouloir* 'want', *devoir* 'must', *pouvoir* 'can', *falloir* 'to be necessary', *oser* 'dare', *finir*, *terminer de* 'finish', etc., which correspond to "restructuring" verbs in Italian, and impossible with verbs like *avouer*, *dire*, *croire*, *admettre*, *déclarer*, *certifier*, etc., whose analogues are non-"restructuring" in Italian. Cf., e.g., (5) and (6): ⁶

-
- b. *Elle a décidé de ne **lui** plus adresser la parole (Taraldsen 1983,308)

'She has decided to NEG to-him no-longer speak'

⁶. It is also possible with *faillir* 'to almost..', *venir de* 'to have just..', *être en train de* 'to be _-ing', to which no "restructuring" verbs correspond in Italian, but which are nonetheless arguably "functional", corresponding to the so-called 'prospective', 'retrospective', and 'progressive' aspects, respectively (cf. Cinque 1999,2001).

En and *y* Climbing actually appears to be more restricted, for some speakers, than Long Movement in *easy-to-please* constructions. One of the two reviewers finds a contrast between (8)a-b below and (i)-(ii), which are ungrammatical for him/her:

- (i) a. *Il **en** a commencé à lire trois 'he started to read three of them'
 b. *Il **y** a commencé à penser 'he started to think of it'
- (ii) a. *Il **en** a su où classer trois 'he knew where to classify three of them'
 b. *Il **y** a su quand penser 'he knew when to think of it'

This state of affairs finds an analogue in Italian where transparencies involving non 3rd person DPs (climbing of *ne*, *ci*, etc.) are also possible with fewer "restructuring" verbs than cases involving 3rd person

- (5) a. *Il **en** a dit avoir vu trois ‘he said to have seen three of them’
 b. *Il **y** a dit d’être resté ‘he said he remained there’
- (6) a. *Il **en** a cru aimer beaucoup ‘he thought he loved many of them’
 b. *Il **y** a cru avoir dormi ‘he thought he had slept there’

A third “restructuring” effect was noted in Kayne (1989,sect.12). Modern French *easy-to-please* constructions, like Italian (and unlike English) ones, are normally limited to one infinitive:

DPs (climbing of *lo*, Long Object Preposing in *si* and *easy-to-please* constructions). See Cinque (2001,fn.27) and (iii)-(vi):

- (iii)a. **Lo** scordò di fare anche lui ‘he too forgot to do it’
 b. **Certe cose** non si scordano mai di fare ‘one never forgets to do certain things’
 c. ?**Questo** è facilissimo da scordare di fare ‘this is very easy to forget to do’
- (iv)a. ***Ne** scordò di parlare ‘he forgot to talk about it’
 b. ***Ci** scordò di andare ‘he forgot to go there’
- (v) a. Non **lo** so dove mettere ‘I don’t know where to put it’
 b. **Certe cose** non si sanno mai dove mettere ‘one never knows where to put certain things’
 c. ?**Questo** non è facile da saper dove mettere ‘this is not easy to know where to put’
- (vi)a. *Non **ne** sa dove parlare ‘he doesn’t know where to talk about it’
 b. *Non **ci** sa come andare ‘he doesn’t know how to go there’

Whatever principle derives this difference will also account, it seems, for the difference between (8) and (i)-(ii) noted by one of the two reviewers. Thus (ii) provides no evidence against the monoclausal nature of (8) (for which see Cinque 2001, § 3.3).

- (7) a. Ce genre de livre serait difficile à lire
 ‘This kind of book would be hard to read’
 b. *Ce genre de livre est facile à promettre de lire
 ‘This kind of book is easy to promise to read’
 c. *Ce genre de livre serait difficile à convaincre Jean de lire
 ‘This kind of book would be hard to convince Jean to read’

“[W]hen the gap is two infinitives distant, the higher infinitive must be of the class that allows clitic climbing [in Italian]” (Kayne 1989,250):⁷

- (8) **Long Movement in *Easy-to-please* constructions**
 a. ?(Pour moi), ce livre serait impossible à commencer à lire aujourd’hui
 ‘(For me), this book would be impossible to begin to read today’
 b. ?Ce genre d’article est difficile à savoir où classer
 ‘This kind of article is hard to know where to file’

A fourth transparency effect which has been claimed (Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe 1994, 200) to be possible in Modern French only with “restructuring” verbs is the climbing of adverbs originally observed in Kayne (1975,chapter 1,fn29):⁸

- (9) **Adverb Climbing**
 a. (?)Vous avez **mal** dû raccrocher ‘you must have hung up badly’
 b. Il aurait **mieux** voulu se comporter ‘he would have liked to behave better’
 c. Il faut **très bien** que tu te comportes ‘it is necessary that you behave very well’
 d. ??Marie a **soigneusement** fini de ranger sa chambre
 ‘M.finished tidying up her room carefully’

⁷. Kayne suggests that this restriction may be due to the (covert) movement of a null pronominal clitic (as opposed to the null operator of the corresponding English construction).

⁸. The adverbs involved include manner adverbs and other lower adverbs like *ne plus* ‘no longer’, *jamais* ‘never’, *toujours* ‘always’, etc., though the exact set that partakes in this construction remains to be investigated.

- (10) a. *Il a **mal** avoué s’être comporté ‘he confessed to have behaved badly’
 b. *Il a **mal** dit avoir mangé ‘he said to have eaten badly’
 c. *Il a **très bien** assuré de se comporter ‘he guaranteed he would behave very well’
 d. *Marie a **très bien** prétendu avoir travaillé
 ‘M. has claimed to have worked very well’

At a closer scrutiny, however, matters turn out to be more complex, as the four transparency effects just seen do not pattern alike. Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing appear to behave differently from *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions. We may begin to see this by examining a special instance of Quantifier Climbing (returning later to Adverb Climbing).⁹

2. A special instance of Quantifier Climbing

As Kayne (1975, section 1.11) noted, many (though not all)¹⁰ French speakers allow a quantifier to climb across the finite (subjunctive) *que* complement of verbs like *falloir* and *vouloir* (also see Kayne 1981):

⁹ Modern French actually displays another “restructuring” effect: “Long Passive” (Grevisse 1993,1124f; Rochette 1988,245fn23; Cinque 1998;2001,fn47), which is only possible with “restructuring” predicates:

- (i) a. ...une boîte qui n’était pas tout à fait finie d’installer
 ‘...a box which was not at all finished installing’
 b. Le château n’était pas achevé de meubler ‘the castle was not finished furnishing’

We leave this effect to the side here, as it is found only with a subset of “restructuring” verbs, like in Spanish, Japanese, and Italian - see Aissen and Perlmutter (1983), Nishigauchi (1993), and Cinque (1998); the latter also for a possible account of such restriction in Romance vs. Germanic (on which now see Taraldsen 2002).

- (11) a. %Il faut **tous** que Jean les lise ‘It is necessary that J. read them all’
 b. %Je veux **tout** que tu leur enlèves ‘I want that you take away everything from them’
 c. %Il faut **tout** que je leur enlève ‘It is necessary that I take away everything from them’
 d. %Il ne faut **rien** que tu fasses ‘it is necessary that you do nothing’
 e. %Il faut **beaucoup** que tu lises de livres
 ‘it is necessary that you read many books’

It would be surprising if such instances of quantifier climbing were a function of “restructuring”, as no “restructuring” effect is found in such contexts in Italian.¹¹

It is thus interesting that independent evidence exists for concluding that (11) is not a genuine case of “restructuring”.¹²

For one thing, two of the transparency effects examined above (*En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions) are excluded in that context (which makes them bona fide manifestations of “restructuring”):

¹⁰. De Cat (2000,fn.37) indeed reports that none of her eleven informants accepted Quantifier Climbing out of subjunctive complements.

¹¹. In Cinque’s (2001) analysis of “restructuring”, (11) is unexpected for two reasons: 1) because Quantifier Climbing spans over two clauses, and 2) because it applies (at least with *vouloir*) across an embedded subject distinct from the matrix subject (a non-“restructuring” configuration). Such cases as (11) appear to be different from the Salentino and Serbo-Croatian cases discussed in Terzi (1992,1994); first, because the apparent finite form of the verb in the latter languages, but not in French, is a surrogate form of the infinitive (which is either inexistent or highly restricted in use); and, second, because the embedded subject in the latter languages not only must be identical to the matrix subject, but must also be unpronounced (see Cinque 2001, § 3.3, for a ‘monoclausal’ analysis of such cases in Salentino and Serbo-Croatian).

¹². Déprez (1997) and Bonneau and Zushi (1994) also conjecture that (11) should perhaps receive a separate treatment.

- (12) a. *J'y veux que tu ailles 'I want you to go there'
 ((x) of Pollock 1978,fn18)
- b. *J'en veux que tu manges 'I want you to eat some of it'
 ((xi) of Pollock 1978,fn18)
- (13) *Ce genre de livre est difficile à vouloir qu'un enfant lise
 'This kind of book is difficult to want that a child read'

Secondly, speakers who accept (11) can also raise the Q out of the complement of clearly non-“restructuring” verbs (see the examples in (14)a and b, provided by Marie Christine Jamet and Pierre Pica, respectively):

- (14) a. Il n'a **rien** exigé que tu fasses 'he has demanded that you do nothing'
- b. Ils auraient **tout** cru que je mangerais 'they would have thought that I eat everything'

Thirdly, even speakers (like Pollock) who allow Quantifier Climbing with fewer predicates (thus not accepting, say, (14)b) still allow it from at least some non-“restructuring” verbs (cf. (15)a and b, below), and make a distinction between extraction from an infinitive (ok), extraction from a subjunctive clause (possible to marginal) and extraction from an indicative clause (always impossible):¹³

¹³. This recalls Quantifier (Phrase) Movement in Icelandic as described in Svenonius (2000) (see also Kayne 1998,141 and references cited there). According to Svenonius's description:

a) *All speakers allow a Q to cross an infinitival/participial clause boundary (complement of certain verbs) (p.266f)*

- (i) a. Þorgerður mun **lítið** borða
 'Þ. will little eat' *T. will eat little*
- b. Eyþór getur **ekkert** gert
 'E. can nothing done' *E. can't do anything*
- c. Hann mun **mikið** hafa viljað lesa
 'he will much have wanted read' *He has wanted to read much*

- (15) a. Je lui ai **tous** promis de les lire ‘I promised him to read them all’
(Pollock 1978,fn15)
- b. ??Je dis **tous** qu’ils partent ‘I say they all ought to leave (SUBJ)’
(Pollock 1978,102)
- c. *Je dis **tous** qu’ils sont partis ‘I say that they have all left (IND)’
(Pollock 1978,103)

d. Hann hefur **margar bækur** lofað að lesa
'he has many books promised to read' *He has promised to read many books*

b) *Some speakers allow Q to cross a subjunctive clause boundary (complement of certain verbs) (p.267)*

- (ii) %Hún hafði **margt** viljað að hann gæti keypt
'she had many wanted that he could.SUBJ bought'
she had wanted him to be able to buy many

c) *No speakers allow Q to cross an indicative clause boundary (p.267f)*

- (iii) *Hún hefur lengi **margt** vitað að hann getur keypt
'she has long many known that he can bought'
she has long known that he could buy many

A further resemblance between the two languages is the fact that Quantifier (as opposed to Wh-) Movement cannot extract a subject from a subjunctive clause:

- (iv)a. *Hún hafði **marga** stelpur viljað að kæmu í veisluna (Svenonius 2000,270)
she had many girls wanted that came in the party
She had wanted many girls to come to the party
- b. *Je veux tout que/qui leur soit enlevé (Kayne 1981b, section 4.2.1)
'I want everything to be taken away from them'

We conclude that Quantifier Climbing out of subjunctive clauses should be treated differently from such other transparency effects as *En* and *y* Climbing, Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions (and Long Passive); namely, as an A-bar operator movement (not dependent on “restructuring”).¹⁴ In particular, we would like to analyse it in ways reminiscent of Kayne’s (1998) analysis of the ambiguity of sentences like (16):¹⁵

(16) I will force you to marry no one

Kayne argues that the ambiguity in relative scope between *force* and *no one* in (16) is best captured through two different **overt** (rather than covert) leftward movements of the negative quantifier *no one*. One moves *no one* to the embedded Spec,NegP, which is in the scope of *force* (yielding the interpretation: I will force (on) you that there is no *x* such that you marry *x* – cf. (17)); the other moves *no one* to the matrix Spec,NegP, which takes *force* in its scope (yielding the interpretation: There is no *x* such that I will force you to marry *x* – cf. (18)).¹⁶

(17) I will force you to marry no one → (neg phrase preposing)
 I will force you to no one marry *t* → (VP preposing)
 I will force you to [marry *t*] no one

(18) I will force you to marry no one → (neg phrase preposing)
 I will no one force you to marry *t* → (VP preposing)
 I will [force you to marry *t*] no one

¹⁴. Cf. Sportiche (1988), where it is suggested that *L-tous* is overt QR.

¹⁵. That such cases as *Il n’a rien fallu que je fasse* ‘It neg-has nothing been-necessary that I do’ might be similar to (18) is also suggested in Kayne (1998,141).

¹⁶. We abstract here from the further raising of Neg° to W introduced later in Kayne (1998).

(11) involves an analogous overt movement of *tous, tout, rien, beaucoup* to the matrix sentence (in addition to their possible movement within the embedded one). The similarity between the two cases is supported by two facts.

The first, noted in Sportiche (1996,232; 1998,316), is that quantifiers extracted from subjunctive *que* clauses “have matrix scope, not embedded scope”. Sportiche shows this with the following minimal pair contrast (in the first, but not the second, *tous* necessarily takes scope over the embedded negation - as the paraphrases illustrate; and, we take, over *falloir*):

- (19) a. Il aurait tous fallu que tu ne les aies pas vus
It would have been necessary that you see none of them
b. Il aurait fallu que tu ne les aies pas tous vus
It would have been necessary that you do not see all of them

The second fact supporting the similarity is that Quantifier Climbing – as noted in Kayne 1978,fn9 - shows the same grammaticality pattern showed by *personne* (the analogue of *no one*). Just as overt extraction of *tous, tout, rien* (and other quantifiers) out of (selected) infinitives is accepted by everybody, and only by some out of subjunctive *que* clauses (cf. (20)), everybody accepts (21)a, but only some (the same that accept (20)b-c) accept (21)b-c:¹⁷

- (20) a. Je veux **tout** voir ‘I want to see everything’
b. %Je veux **tout** que tu leur enlèves ‘I want you to take away everything from them’
c. %Je n’exige **rien** que tu fasses ‘I demand that you do nothing’

¹⁷. Jean-Yves Pollock tells me (p.c.) that to his ear (20)a and the like are ambiguous in terms of scope. *Tout* may have narrow or wide scope with respect to *veux*. This suggests 1) that *tout* is merged below *veux* (in which case it has narrow scope), and 2) that it may move to a position to the left of *veux* (in which case it yields the wide scope reading), with *veux* subsequently moving past it on its way to T (a movement which is known not to alter scope relations). Expectedly (if past participles remain lower), there is for him a definite preference for *tout* to take wide scope in *J’ai tout voulu revoir* ‘I wanted to see everything again’, and narrow scope in *J’ai voulu tout revoir* ‘I wanted to see everything again’.

can be either bare or modified/ coordinated/focussed, but in sentence final position they **must** be modified/ coordinated/focussed. In a direct merge analysis of their sentence internal position that could be a consequence of VP-movement around them, motivated by their focus status (cf. Cinque 1999, § 1.4). Also note that, under the direct merge analysis, Relativized Minimality issues inherent in such putative multiple attraction cases as *Ils ont tous tout bien compris* ‘they all have understood everything well’ do not even arise.²⁰

Also note that (long) movement of *personne* appears possible in the same contexts that allow long extraction of *tous, tout, rien* (infinitives and subjunctives – cf. (21)), and impossible where the latter is not allowed (from indicatives – cf. (22)):

- (22) a. *Je n’ai dit qu’il a vu personne ‘I did not say that he saw anybody’
 b. *Il n’a avoué qu’il a aidé personne ‘He did not confess that he helped anybody’

²⁰. Contrasts in Quantification at a Distance like (i)a-b (vs. (ii)a-b and (iii)a-b), which show that *beaucoup* can only be interpreted ‘in situ’, and not in the ‘reconstructed’ position (Obenauer 1984/85), may be taken as a further indication for the direct merge (vs. movement) of *beaucoup* (and similar quantifiers) (cf. Kayne 1975,29ff; but see Kayne 2002, § 2):

- (i) a. Il a beaucoup rencontré de collègues ‘He has many met of colleagues’
 b. *Il a beaucoup apprécié de collègues ‘He has many appreciated of colleagues’
- (ii) a. Combien a-t-il rencontré de collègues? ‘How many has he met of colleagues’
 b. Combien a-t-il apprécié de collègues? ‘How many has he appreciated of colleagues’
- (iii) a. Il a rencontré beaucoup de collègues ‘He has met many of colleagues’
 b. Il a apprécié beaucoup de collègues ‘He has appreciated many of colleagues’

3. Adverb Climbing

As opposed to *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions, which are impossible out of subjunctive complements (cf. (12) and (13) above), Adverb Climbing is apparently possible there (at least, for speakers, like Pica, Pollock, and one of the reviewers, who accept extraction of *tous*, *tout*, *rien* out of the same contexts). See (23)a-b:²¹

- (23) a. Elle aurait **mieux** voulu que tu te comportes
 ‘She would have liked that you behave better’
 b. Il faut **très bien** que tu te comportes
 ‘It is necessary that you behave very well’
 c. Il aurait **mieux** fallu que tu te comportes
 ‘It would have been necessary that you behave better’

4. “Restructuring” and non-“restructuring” configurations in French

We have seen that subjunctive *que* clauses discriminate between *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions, on one side, and Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing, on the other. For only the latter are possible in that context.

We also concluded that only the former are bona fide “restructuring” phenomena as “restructuring” is never found, in Italian, across subjunctive (*che*) clauses.

Given this, we might expect there to be other contexts allowing Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing while excluding *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions, and indeed there are. In each case, we have independent evidence from Italian that the context in question is non-“restructuring”.

²¹. Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994,205) claim that Adverb Climbing is not allowed out of subjunctives, but cite no source, nor give any examples. It is of course to be expected that just as some speakers reject (11) (cf. fn.10), some will reject (23).

Whether the order in (23) is dependent on scope (as seems to be the case with *tous*, *tout*, *rien*) is much less clear.

For example, the infinitival complements of (24), which allow Quantifier Climbing out of them, are non-“restructuring”, to judge from Italian (cf. (25)):

- (24) a. Je lui ai **tous** promis de les lire ‘I promised him to read them all’
(Pollock 1978,fn15)
b. Elle a **tous** envie de les lire ‘She feels like reading them all’
(Kayne 1975,26fn.28)
c. (?)Tu n’as **rien** le droit de dire ‘You have the right to say nothing’
(Kayne 1975,26fn.28)
d. Il a **tous** été obligé de les lire ‘He has been obliged to read them all’
(Pollock 1978,99)

- (25) a. *Non te **lo** avrà mica promesso di leggere!
‘(He) will not have promised you to read it’
b. ***L**’ho voglia di leggere
‘(I) feel like reading it’
c. *Tu non **l**’hai il diritto di dire
‘You do not have the right to say it’
d. ***Li** è stati/o obbligati/o a leggere
‘(He) has been obliged to read them’

Significantly, they also allow Adverb Climbing (cf. (26)), but crucially not *En* and *y* Climbing (cf. (27)), nor Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions (cf. (28)).

- (26) a. Il a **mieux** promis de se comporter ‘He promised to behave better’
b. Elle a **très bien** envie de se comporter ‘She feels like behaving very well’
c. Tu as **mal** le droit de te comporter ‘You have the right to behave badly’
d. Il a **mieux** été obligé de travailler ‘He has been obliged to work better’²²

- (27) a. *Il **en** a promis de lire trois ‘He promised to read three of them’
a’. *Il **y** a promis d’aller ‘He promised to go there’

²². Adverb Climbing in this context is apparently less good with other embedded verbs (Jean-Yves Pollock, Marie Christine Jamet, p.c.): *Il a mieux été obligé de se comporter ‘he has been obliged to behave better’.

- b. *Elle **en** a envie de posséder beaucoup ‘She feels like owning many of them’
 b’. *Elle n’**y** a envie de rester ‘She does not feel like remaining there’
 c. *Tu n’**en** as pas le droit de posséder beaucoup
 ‘You do not have the right to own many of them’
 c’. *Tu n’**y** as pas le droit d’entrer ‘You do not have the right to enter there’
 d. *Il **en** a été obligé de lire beaucoup
 ‘He has been obliged to read many of them’
 d’. *Il **y** a été obligé d’aller ‘He has been obliged to go there’

- (28) a. *Ce genre de livre est facile à promettre de lire (Kayne 1989,251)
 ‘This kind of book is easy to promise to read’
 b. *Ce genre de livre est facile d’avoir envie d’écrire
 ‘This kind of book is easy to feel like writing’
 c. *Cette richesse n’est pas facile d’avoir le droit de posséder
 ‘This wealth is not easy to have the right to own’
 d. *Ce livre est difficile d’être obligé de savoir par coeur
 ‘This book is difficult to be obliged to know by heart’

We conclude that Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing (as opposed to *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions) are not dependent on “restructuring”. Their acceptability seems rather to depend on an *irrealis* context (infinitive or subjunctive vs. indicative), although the precise nature of this context (also at work, apparently, in the Icelandic case mentioned in fn.13 above) remains to be investigated.²³

²³. Cf. Haspelmath (1989,298f), who characterizes *irrealis* complements as those that the speaker presents as not realized, or for which there is no guarantee that they will be realized.

Concerning Quantifier and Adverb Climbing I found two contexts where apparently they don’t pattern alike (see (i) and (ii)), but I will not explore this dissociation any further here (a similar context is pointed out in fn.25 below).

- (i) a. J’ai tous été ravi de les voir ‘I was enthusiastic about seeing them all’

-
- b. *Il a très bien été ravi de se comporter ‘he was enthusiastic about behaving very well’
- (ii) a. Je n’ai rien promis que je ferais ‘I promised that I would do nothing’
- b. *J’ai mieux promis que je travaillerais ‘I promised that I would work better’

As expected (given their non-“restructuring” nature, to judge from Italian) these contexts also exclude *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions:

- (iii) a. *J’en ai été ravi d’acheter beaucoup ‘I was enthusiastic about buying many of them’
- a’. *J’y ai été ravi d’aller ‘I was enthusiastic about going there’
- b. *Ce livre est difficile d’être ravi d’avoir lu ‘This book is difficult to be enthusiastic about having read’
- (iv) a. *J’en ai promis que je ferais beaucoup ‘I promised that I would do many of them’
- a’. *J’y ai promis que je travaillerais ‘I promised that I would work there’
- b. *Ce livre est facile à promettre que je lirais aux enfants ‘This book is easy to promise that I would read to the kids’

Another context where Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing don’t pattern alike is (v), pointed out by one of the reviewers (this, to judge from Italian, is also a non-“restructuring” context – cf. Cinque 2001, § 3.3):

- (v) a. *Il a bien su quand se comporter ‘he knew when to behave well’
- b. Il a tous su quand les lire ‘he knew when to read them all’

For the same reviewer, (26), with Adverb Climbing, is also slightly worse than (24), with Quantifier Climbing, (thus echoing the contrasts in (i), (ii), and (v) above). But the contrast with (27) remains for him/her quite sharp.

5. The apparent sensitivity of Quantifier and Adverb Climbing to “restructuring”

The conclusion that Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing are not dependent on “restructuring” (as shown by their application out of subjunctive and infinitive contexts which otherwise preclude bona fide “restructuring” phenomena such as *En* and *y* Climbing and Long movement in *easy-to-please* constructions) at first sight appears to lose a simple account of the differences between (1) and (2), and (9) and (10) above, which indeed seemed to involve a contrast between “restructuring” and non-“restructuring” verbs. But this is illusory. If Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing are restricted (to irrealis contexts) only when they apply across a clause boundary, being unrestricted in simple clauses, and if restructuring configurations are monoclausal (cf. Cinque 2001), the grammaticality of (1) and (9) is unsurprising. The ungrammaticality of (2) and (10) must then derive from the fact that such contexts are neither “restructuring” nor belong to the restricted class of irrealis contexts which allow Quantifier Climbing and Adverb Climbing to extract from a complement clause.

The contrast between (29)a and b, noted in Pollock (1978,98), appears perhaps amenable to the same account.²⁴

- (29) a. ?Elle a tous semblé les avoir lus ‘she seemed to have read them all’
 b. *Elle m’a tous semblé les avoir lus ‘she seemed to me to have read them all’

As Pollock observed, the presence of the dative argument of *sembler* blocks the climbing of *tous*, and other quantifiers. This, in itself, is rather curious as in other contexts a dative argument of the matrix verb does not block Quantifier Climbing (see, for example, (24)a: *Je lui ai tous promis de les lire* ‘I promised him to read them all’ - Pollock 1978,fn15).

The reason for the contrast in (29), we submit, is due to the combination of the following factors: *Ssembler* ‘seem’ is a “restructuring” verb (as *sembrare* is for many Italian

²⁴. One of the two reviewers does not find a contrast between (29)a and b (both marginally possible for him/her). The same reviewer also assigns the same status to (2)a-c, which might suggest that for him/her the conditions under which Quantifier and Adverb Climbing take place are somewhat more liberal than Pollock’s.

speakers – see Cinque 2001, fn.27); but, crucially, only when the verb has no internal arguments (as the evidence presented in Cinque 2001, § 4.1, for Italian, suggests). This implies that only (29)a is a monoclausal configuration (whence the unrestricted application of Quantifier Climbing there). The ungrammaticality of (29)b derives, instead, from the fact that it is neither “restructuring” (owing to the presence of the dative argument), nor, plausibly, irrealis; a conclusion supported by the impossibility of extracting a quantifier also from the finite counterpart of (29)b (and (29)a, for that matter, even in the absence of a dative argument). See (30)a-b.²⁵

- (30) a. *Il me semble tous qu'elle les a lus ‘It seems to me that she read them all’
 b. *Il semble tous qu'elle les a lus ‘It seems that she read them all’

Another contrast, noted in Bonneau and Zushi (1994,30ff), also appears reducible to the same account:²⁶

- (31) a. Combien est-ce que Jean a (à) **tous** voulu leur donner de vélos?
 How many bicycles did J. want to give to all of them?
 b. *Combien est-ce que Jean a (à) **tous** voulu que tu leur donnes de vélos?
 How many bicycles did J. want you to give to all of them?

²⁵. Pollock however finds no comparable contrast with Adverb Climbing in the same context:

- (i) a. Il a très bien semblé s’être comporté ‘he seemed to have behaved very well’
 b. Il m’a très bien semblé s’être comporté ‘he seemed to me to have behaved very well’

²⁶. (31)b has in fact been slightly modified after a suggestion of one of the reviewers, to make the pair more minimal. The same reviewer points out that the significance of the contrast between (31)a and b may be somewhat diminished by the fact that the climbing of dative *tous* out of subjunctive clauses is already a bit marginal:

- (i) ??Il a tous voulu que tu leur présentes des filles
 ‘ he wanted you to introduce some girls to all of them’

Quantifier Climbing, in interaction with the fronting of *combien*, gives rise to a violation in (31)b, but not in (31)a. (31)a can in principle be a “restructuring” configuration, but not (31)b, given the presence of the subjunctive complement. We suggest that a Relativized Minimality violation only arises in the non-“restructuring” configuration (31)b because it alone involves genuine extraction from a CP (the “restructuring” configuration being instead ‘monoclausal’ – Cinque 2001). As both the extraction of the quantifier and that of *combien* apply successive cyclically (Rizzi 1990, Cinque 1990), they come to compete for one and the same COMP ‘escape hatch’.

If this is so, we must conclude that the sensitivity of Quantifier and Adverb Climbing to “restructuring” is only apparent.

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Sequence of Tense and the Speaker's Point of View: Evidence from the Imperfect¹

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0. Introduction

The idea that the imperfect has a basically quantificational meaning has the consequence that the so-called continuous readings, as in *Alle cinque Mario dormiva* (at five Mario slept(IMP)), tend to be either disregarded or explained as instances of the partitive phenomenon (Krifka 1998).

In previous work (Giorgi and Pianesi 2001a; see also §2 below) we argued that the partitive analysis of the imperfect (and, generally, of the imperfective aspect) is inadequate, both empirically and theoretically. We believe that in order to understand the properties of the imperfect tense in Italian – and in Romance languages in general – the continuous readings, and the many others that do not seem to directly involve quantificational phenomena need be taken as prime source of evidence. This can be accomplished by acknowledging a basic distinction in the domain of eventualities between terminated and non-terminated ones, by readdressing the telic/atelic divide, and by rethinking imperfectivity/perfectivity as a morpho-syntactic phenomenon, and separating it from its notional counterpart.

In this paper, we will review, and provide details about, some of these points. We will propose a view of the Italian imperfect which crucially relies on two intuitions (and which, taken separately, are by no means new): a) that in some sense to be made more precise,

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this tense is a 'dependent' one, often relying on the availability of suitable temporal referents, and b) that it behaves as a sort of present-in-the-past.

As observed, these two ideas are not new. It is an old observation that the continuous readings of the imperfect require some contextual temporal referent. However, we extend this idea to readings of the imperfect that have been rarely addressed in the literature, as the one we will dub 'modal'.

Even the idea of the imperfect as a present in the past is not new. On the one hand, the data show that most of the phenomena (including continuous, modal, quantificational/habitual, and reportive readings, as well as its behaviour in subordinate contexts) pertain to the present tense as well.

On the other hand, the intuition is clear that the dependence on contextually supplied temporal referents corresponds to introducing a different perspective, or point of view, from the one provided by a perfective tense. As many scholars would say, the imperfect (and imperfective aspect in general) seems to introduce an *internal* perspective on events, presenting them as if they were seen from the inside, and contrasting with perfective tenses, which privilege an external appreciation of eventualities.

In many respects the imperfect tense of Romance languages has been a puzzle for linguistic theory because of the variety of contexts of use, and the diversity and apparent contradictoriness of its occurrences.

In this work we propose an analysis that differs from the other ones present in the literature. In the first place, we will add more puzzles to the stock of phenomena that people considered so far. At the same time, we will depart from many current approaches that, more or less explicitly, take the behaviour of the imperfect in quantificational environments as displaying and revealing the very basic properties of this tense. In this work we will neglect the quantificational readings arising in the presence of adverbs such as *always*, *often* etc., and the habitual/generic readings as well.

This paper is structured in the following way: the first section will set the scene, describing the distribution of the imperfect in various contexts, many of which often neglected in the literature. In the second we will review results from previous works, concerning the interplay between perfectivity/ imperfectivity, telicity/ atelicity and terminativity/ non-terminativity. We will also discuss the distribution and role of temporal phrases with the imperfect tense. In Section 3, sequence of tense phenomena and temporal anchoring will be discussed, along with the idea that they require temporal coordinate shifting. In Section 4 we will provide our analysis of the imperfect tense, building on the framework provided in the previous sections.

1. The distribution of the imperfect: a description

1.1. Temporal and modal interpretations

The imperfect has usually been considered in the literature as an *anaphoric past* verbal form, since it appears to need a past referent, made available by the sentential or the extra-sentential context.² Consider for instance the following examples:

- (1) Ieri alle 4 Gianni studiava matematica
'Yesterday at four Gianni was studying(IMPF) math'
- (2) #Gianni studiava matematica
'Gianni was studying(IMPF) math'
- (3) Mario ha detto che Gianni studiava matematica
'Mario said that Gianni was studying(IMPF) math'

Sentence (1) represents the ordinary usage of the imperfect — namely, a form introducing a past event, therefore compatible with adverbs such as *ieri* (yesterday). Example (2), on the other hand, is non-felicitous if uttered out of the blue — that is, without a previous context — for lack of a suitable temporal referent. Sentence (2) becomes perfectly acceptable if the right context is provided, for instance if it is used as an answer to the question: *Che faceva Gianni ieri alle 4?* (What was Gianni doing yesterday at four?).

In example (3), the time of studying is taken to be simultaneous with the time of the saying. According to the traditional point of view we mentioned above, therefore, the anaphoricity requirements of the imperfect are satisfied by means of the temporal location of the superordinate event.

Importantly, the imperfect is a non-perfective form and does not entail the reaching of a *telos*, contrasting in this with the simple past and the past/present perfect. In a sense to be made more precise in §2.1., the imperfect is a non-completive, so that (1) can be paraphrased by saying that a certain event was going on at a given time.

The generalization underlying these cases seems to be that the imperfect needs a temporal topic. Notice that if explicitly provided by the sentential contexts, the phrase realizing the temporal topic must appear at its left. The counterpart of (4) with the

² See, e.g., Delfitto and Bertinetto (1992), Giorgi and Pianesi (1995, 1997, ch. 4, 2001a)

temporal specification appearing on the right is grammatical, but has a different range of interpretations:

- (4) #Gianni studiava matematica ieri alle 4.
'Gianni studied(IMPF) math yesterday at four'

If pronounced with a “normal” intonation, without adding contrastive focus, this sentence is not easily interpretable and does not mean what (1) means – namely, that at a certain time, yesterday at four, a certain event was going on. It could mean, for instance, that Gianni *was supposed* to study math yesterday at four, or that he *intended* to study it at that time, etc.³ We will consider these modal readings in a while. For the time being, it is enough to stress that (4) doesn't have the continuous/factual reading of (1).

In a sentence such as (3), the topic can be taken to be an empty category, which receives its interpretation from the matrix event – in other words; the topic of the embedded clause is identified with the time of the event of the main clause.

The imperfect can also be used to express a variety of meanings, which have often been called *modal*.⁴ Consider for instance the following sentence:

- (5) Domani cantava Placido Domingo
'Tomorrow Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)'

Contrary to examples (1)-(3), (5) doesn't convey that an event of a certain kind (a singing) was ongoing at a given past time. In the first place, the temporal phrase makes clear that pastness does not affect the event: the latter is neither located at, nor ongoing in the past. Secondly, utterances of (5) do not inform about actual states of affairs, but talk about possibilities. So (5) could be used as a reply to someone inquiring about whether there's going to be any interesting performance tomorrow. By so doing, the utterer of (5) would not directly endorse the proposition that tomorrow Pavarotti will sing, but report

³. Beside contrastive focus, the sentence could be acceptable with a *list reading*: Gianni studied math yesterday at four, literature on Tuesday, etc. The two readings, as is well-known, share several properties which we are not going to discuss further in this work.

⁴. Cf Bertinetto (1991); Giorgi & Pianesi (1997 ch.4, 2001a); Ippolito (2001, 2002). But see also Roberts (2002), where these readings are discussed with respect to Spanish imperfect.

that, as far as her knowledge goes, a performance by Placido Domingo was *expected*. In another context, suppose A invites B to dinner; B already has the tickets for a concert where Placido Domingo is going to sing, and is reluctant, even if tempted, to give up the opportunity of listening to it. She might then reply with (5). Notice, incidentally, that there is nothing *counterfactual* about this latter use, for Placido Domingo is indeed going to sing tomorrow (as far as the utterer of (5) is concerned). Yet, the reference to a not necessarily current schedule/plan invites the implication that the utterer had elaborated plans in this respect, which somehow interfere with the other party's proposal.

Contrasting with examples (1)-(3), in modal cases the temporal phrase can appear both at the rightmost, or at the leftmost position, without truth-conditional changes:

- (6) Placido Domingo cantava domani
'Placido Domingo sang(IMPF) tomorrow'

We will argue in §2.2. that this contrast reveals the different interpretative role of temporal phrases in continuous and modal sentences with the imperfect.

Modal readings of the imperfect can be exploited in a dialogue to correct or update the information provided by someone else:

- (7) A: Domani Pavarotti canterà alla Scala
'Tomorrow Pavarotti is going to sing at the Scala Theater'
B: Veramente, domani cantava Placido Domingo!
'Actually, tomorrow Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)'

Here, speaker B counters A's statement, which concerns a future event, by using a sentence whose verb is in the imperfect. In doing so she conveys something that can be paraphrased as *the expectation was that Placido Domingo sings tomorrow*.

The examples of modal/epistemic readings of the imperfect we have given might suggest that they are available only in the presence of a future-oriented adverbial. This is not so; true, the presence of such an adverb make the modal reading the only available choice, but they are always available, if the right context is provided. Consider for instance the following dialogue:

- (8) A: Ieri ha cantato Pavarotti
'Yesterday Pavarotti sang'

B: Ma veramente ieri cantava Placido Domingo!
 'Actually, Yesterday Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)'

This exchange is very close to (7). Speaker A states something about a past event — namely, that a performance by Pavarotti took place yesterday — and B rejects A's statement. She doesn't do so, however, by explicitly stating that the actual performer was Placido Domingo; this would have required the use of an 'ordinary' past tense, as in (9):

(9) Ma veramente, ieri ha cantato Placido Domingo.
 'Actually, yesterday Placido Domingo has sang'

By using the imperfect, B conveys that *the expected performer was Placido Domingo*. The rest is left to conversational implicatures. Example (8) is important since it shows that modal readings don't stem, or require, a mismatch between the *past* component of the imperfect and the non-past meaning of the temporal phrase.⁵ At the same time, (8), together with (7), shows that the modal readings can be used to go so far as to almost endorse the relevant proposition. B's utterance in (7) is a clear case in point. Hence, it doesn't seem entirely correct to hypothesise – as Ippolito 2002 does – that the modal uses of the imperfect trigger a conversational implicature to the effect that at the speech time the speaker doesn't fully endorse the relevant proposition (e.g., that Pavarotti will sing tomorrow). If we stick to the suggested paraphrases, and maintain that the meaning of one such a sentence involves past expectations concerning a tenseless proposition, *p*, then the absence of a present endorsement of *p* need not be left to conversational implicatures. At the same time, the kind of propositional attitude towards *p* that the speaker presently (at speech time) entertains is vague, and susceptible of further contextual determination, ranging from something close to full endorsement, as in (7), to compatibility with explicit assertion of the contrary:

(10) Domani cantava Pavarotti, ma questa notte gli è venuto il mal di gola,
 quindi sarà sostituito.
 'Tomorrow sang(IMP) Pavarotti, but this night he had a throat-ake attack, hence
 he will be substituted'

⁵ See Ippolito (2002).

Just to stress this point, it should be remembered that while discussing (5) we considered a scenario in which that sentence was used to actually convey that Pavarotti will sing tomorrow, and that the speaker had plans in this respect that conflict with the other speaker proposal. In other words, (5), in the intended scenario, does not support the hypothesis of an implicature to the effect that the speaker doesn't fully endorse the relevant proposition.

If the present analysis is correct, therefore, even in 'modal' cases, the imperfect contributes a past meaning. This does not affect the event, though — as the future orientation of (5)-(7) makes clear — but a set of expectations, or, more generally, propositional attitudes towards the content of the clause: *I knew/ expected that yesterday/ today/ tomorrow Placido Domingo sing(tensless)*. The paraphrase explicitly extends to examples such as (8) where there is no superficial mismatch with the meaning of the temporal phrase. Future-orientation is present in all cases, since an utterance of (8) clearly requires the relevant attitudinal state about Domingo's singing to be before the event itself. So, it seems that the suggestion that the relevant attitude take the form of an expectation is on the right track, for the latter are intrinsically future-oriented. The conclusion is that, in modal readings the imperfect differs from other tenses in that it doesn't locate the event with respect to any temporal anchor. In §2.2. we will argue that this is actually a more general property of the imperfect, which extends also to continuous readings.

The 'modal' readings share with the factual/continuous ones a certain amount of context dependency; sentence (11) is odd if uttered out-of-the-blue, as (2) is:

- (11) #Mario partiva domani
'Mario left(IMPF) tomorrow'

For an utterance of (11) to be felicitous, an appropriate discourse context is necessary wherein the 'modal' meaning can find an appropriate discourse anchor, as in the following example:

- (12) Ieri ho incontrato Giuseppe. Mario partiva domani e lui appariva preoccupato.
'Yesterday I met Giuseppe. Mario left(IMPF) tomorrow, and he seemed worried'

This piece of evidence emphasises the fact that context-dependency is an important property of the imperfect, which can take different forms according to the relevant

reading. It can be oriented towards times, hence time-topics, as in (1)-(3), yielding continuous readings, or towards more generic discourse topics, past expectational backgrounds, as in the examples just discussed.

To conclude this section, let us point out that (12) shows that the relevant set of past expectations need not be the speaker's. At least one possible reading of the second sentence of (12) has it that the leaving of Mario was something communicated by Giuseppe. If so, for the small discourse to be felicitous there is no need to understand the speaker as sharing, at some past time, the expectation that Mario leave tomorrow. All is required in this case is that Giuseppe had that expectation — that is, the modal background is that of a subject different from the speaker and suitably located at a past time. Generalising a little bit more, all the cases we have considered so far rely on (possibly unexpressed) subjects which are different from the current one (the speaker) in that they have a different temporal coordinate. Ultimately, this statement covers both examples (8) and (9), where the subject of the expectation can be the speaker *as* located in the past, and (12), where the subject can be a different person, provided that, again, her location be in the past.

1.2. Embedded contexts

In embedded contexts, at least those introduced by verbs of propositional attitude, the properties of the imperfect parallel those found in matrix contexts:

- (13) Mario ha detto che ieri alle 4 Gianni studiava matematica.
'Mario said that yesterday at four Gianni was studying(IMPF) math'

In (13), the phrase *ieri alle 4* (yesterday at four) specifies when the studying was taking place (according to the subject whose dictum is reported), and we can interpret the embedded event either as simultaneous with the saying – in which case the event of saying is located at *yesterday at four* as well – or as preceding it. In the latter case, the sentence reports about a past-oriented utterance of Gianni, as for instance in the following example:

- (14) Questa mattina Mario ha detto che ieri alle 4 Gianni studiava matematica.
'This morning Mario said that yesterday at four Gianni was studying(IMPF) math'

In Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) we suggested that the possibility for the event associated with the imperfect morphology to be interpreted as simultaneous with the superordinate form depends on its aspectual properties. We will consider this issue later.

Modal readings are available in embedded contexts as well:

- (15) Due giorni fa Gianni ha detto che ieri cantava Placido Domingo
'Two days ago Gianni said that yesterday Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)'
- (16) Due giorni fa Gianni ha detto che oggi cantava Placido Domingo
'Two days ago Gianni said that today Placido Domingo sang(IMPF) to sing'
- (17) Due giorni fa Gianni ha detto che domani cantava Placido Domingo
'Two days ago Gianni said that tomorrow Placido Domingo sang(IMPF) to sing'

Examples (15)-(17) are all grammatical, and express future orientation — namely, the embedded event follows the event of the main clause independently of its location with respect to the utterance time. Such a future orientation is (notoriously) unavailable with ‘normal’ past tenses, as in (17a) with an embedded present perfect, and in (18b) with an English simple past:

- (18) a. *Due giorni fa Gianni ha detto che ieri/ oggi /domani ha cantato Placido Domingo.
'Two days ago Gianni said that yesterday/ today/ tomorrow Placido Domingo sang (PAST) '
- b. *Two days ago John said that Placido Domingo sang tomorrow.

The future-orientation, and the modal/epistemic reading underlying it, is therefore strictly dependent on properties of the imperfect, which displays properties similar to those of the so-called future-in-the-past, in Italian realized by the conditional perfect:

- (19) Due giorni fa Gianni ha detto che ieri/oggi/domani avrebbe cantato Placido Domingo.
'Two days ago Gianni said that yesterday/ today/ tomorrow Placido Domingo would sing'

Here, the embedded event is temporally located only with respect to the matrix one, and not with respect to the time of the utterance. Moreover, it is future oriented with respect to the matrix clause, independently of its location with respect to the utterance time. The meaning is modal, even if there is a meaning of *pastness* included. The epistemic state, as we pointed out above, must be based on the past experience of the subject bearing the modality.

Let us now go back briefly to examples where the imperfect is interpreted as simultaneous to the matrix verb. With respect to this point, as is well known, we find the following contrast:

(20) Gianni ha detto che Maria ha mangiato/ mangiò un panino.
'Gianni said that Maria ate(PAST) a sandwich (simul)'

(21) Gianni ha detto che Maria mangiava un panino.
'Gianni said that Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich (past)'

In Giorgi & Pianesi (2001b) we argued that (20) is an instance of *Generalized Double Access Reading*. Normally, in Italian the embedded tense must be interpreted in such a way that both the perspective of the speaker and that of the attitude's subject are accounted for, as it happens with the present tense in the *traditional* DAR contexts:

(22) Gianni ha detto che Maria è incinta.
'Gianni said that Maria is pregnant'

In (22), the pregnancy is taken to hold both at the saying time and at the time of the utterance. In examples such as (14), however, the embedded event is anchored to the matrix clause, but it is not *past* with respect to it.⁶ In other words, there is no DAR in these cases.

⁶ It *could* be past with respect to the matrix event, as in the following case:

- a. Venerdì Gianni ha detto che mercoledì alle tre Maria mangiava un panino.
'On Friday Gianni said that on Wednesday at three o'clock Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich'

However, in order to obtain this interpretation, a temporal reference to this purpose must be provided, either in the sentence or in the discourse.

The contexts reviewed in this section, are contexts where temporal anchoring is enforced. The temporal value expressed by the imperfect is *past*, either to directly locate an event in the past, or to locate the source of the modality connected to the embedded predicate.

1.3. *Fictional and oniric contexts*

In this section we consider a different set of data involving the Italian imperfect, which reveal a behavior quite different from that discussed in previous section. What these data have in common, is that they are all about contexts which are, in some respects, fictional. The unexpected behaviour consists in the fact that in the sentences we are going to discuss the imperfect doesn't either have a temporal meaning, and/or a modal one. We start with the so-called *imperfait prelude*, typically used by children when playing — e.g., (24) — or by any other subjects (for instance, actors) involved in role-playing activities, —e.g., (23):

- (23) (nella terza scena), Gianni era il re e Maria la regina.
'(in the third scene), Gianni was(IMPF) the king and Maria the queen'
- (24) (facciamo finta che) Gianni era il ladro e Maria la guardia.
'(let's pretend that) Gianni was(IMPF) the thief and Maria the guard'

In these contexts the imperfect seems to be a-temporal. For instance, with actual uses of (23) the state of Gianni's being the king and Mary's being the queen is clearly not located with respect to the usual anchor (the speech time); in the end, this is fiction. Nor is there any suggestion that the relevant scene was, is being, or will be performed. Finally, (23) can be used when talking about a play that hasn't been written, hasn't ever been played and ever will. At the same time, sentence (23) could be used to talk about a would-be play, but also to instruct real actors who are actually going to play a certain scene, as a description of a presently played scene, or as a report about a scene played in the past.

In these examples, the imperfect does not seem to express a modal meaning either. Not, at least, the kind of 'modal' reading discussed above — i.e., one involving the notion of expectation. In particular, (23) does not require that there be some past expectation to the effect that Gianni was the king and Maria the queen. Finally, no deontic/volitional/etc modality is at stake. Quite directly, utterances of (23) are true iff it is the case that in the

third scene (irrespective of whether it was/is/will be performed) the mentioned people play the specified characters.

Sentence (24) might seem to indicate that some modal meaning is available, because of the exhortative nature of the matrix (let's pretend that...). But the latter is by no means a necessary ingredient of the phenomenon we are pointing at. The same reading arises with plain assertions:

- (25) a. Gianni e Maria stanno recitando Amleto. Lui era il re e lei era la regina.
'Gianni and Maria are playing Hamlet. He was(IMPF) the king and she was(IMPF) the queen'
- b. Facevano che lui era il re e lei la regina.
'(They) were pretending that he was the king and she was the queen'

As with (24), an utterance of (25) is true iff it is/was actually the case that the two people are/were playing the specified characters, acting appropriately, etc.

If these observations are correct, then the assimilation of the imparfait prelude to the modal readings, attempted by Ippolito (2002), might not be granted. Rather, the imparfait prelude turns out to be close to sentences reporting about the content of books, movies, etc., the so-called *contentive contexts*:⁷

- (26) In Peter Pan, Capitan Uncino catturava Campanellino.
'In Peter Pan, Captain Hook captured(IMPF) Tinker Bell'

In all these cases, the imperfect doesn't either contribute a temporal or modal meaning. As to other tenses, in contentive contexts the present tense yields results similar to the imperfect, and both contrast with other past forms:

- (27) In Peter Pan, Capitan Uncino cattura Campanellino.
'In Peter Pan, Captain Hook captures Tinker Bell'
- (28) #In Peter Pan, Capitan Uncino ha catturato/catturò Campanellino.
'In Peter Pan, Captain Hook has captured/captured Tinker Bell'

⁷ See Katz (1996). See also Zucchi (2001).

Past tenses are marginal/very marginal in these contexts, as pointed out by several scholars.⁸ Intuitively, the contrast seems to be due to the fact that (28) means that an event of capturing Tinker Bell by Captain Hook took place in *the speaker's* past – which is obviously not the intended meaning. On the other hand, the acceptability of (26) and (27) stresses that, in these contexts, the present tense and the imperfect don't require the relevant event to be in the speaker's past.⁹

Another context with similar properties is provided by *dream* sentences (see Giorgi & Pianesi 2001a):

- (29) Gianni ha sognato che Maria partiva
'Gianni dreamed that Maria left(IMPF)'
- (30) #Gianni ha sognato che Maria è partita/partì
'Gianni dreamed that Maria left(PRES PERF/PAST)'

As with the previous cases, the leaving in (29) is not temporally located with respect to the dream (the temporal anchor). That is, it is neither simultaneous to, nor in the past or in the future of the dreamer. Further evidence that these contexts do not trigger temporal anchoring is provided by the absence of restrictions on the temporal interpretation of embedded past tense achievement predicates in English:

⁸. For a recent analysis of these contexts in Italian see Bonomi e Zucchi (2001) and Zucchi (2001). The judgements they give in their works is analogous to the one we are discussing here, with the difference that they do not analyze the distribution of the imperfect. Notice also that for some speakers the imperfect is more marked than the present tense. For one of the authors of this work in fact the sentence with the imperfect is slightly degraded with respect to the other one.

⁹. In *preludique* contexts, the present is felicitous only with current plays:

- (i) a. Facciamo che io sono il re e tu la regina.
'Let's pretend that I am the king and you are the queen'
- b. #Facevano che lui è il re e lei la regina.
'They were pretending that he is the king and she is the queen'

- (31) a. John dreamed that Mary ate an apple
 b. John said that Mary ate an apple

The event of eating need not precede the dreaming, whereas the interpretation of (21b), where anchoring is at play, crucially requires the eating to precede the saying – that is, the past of the embedded verb is interpreted as locating the eating in the past with respect to the perspective of the subject. See also section 3 below.¹⁰

1.4. Conclusions

Concluding this section, the generalizations concerning the distribution of the imperfect are the following:

- The imperfect always needs to be predicated of a local topic. Such a topic can be:
 - a temporal reference
 - an epistemic background
 - a fictional location.
- The imperfect can appear in contexts requiring anchoring—namely, contexts created by attitude predicates – in which it is interpreted as *past*. The pastness can either directly concern the location of the event appearing with imperfect morphology, or the (epistemic) modality expressed by it.
- When appearing in anchoring contexts, the imperfect can give rise to a simultaneous reading, given its peculiar aspectual properties.
- It can appear in contexts not enforcing anchoring. In this case it simply contributes to the interpretation the event itself, without adding any temporal information. These readings are a-temporal and non-modal.

Let us also briefly point out that in English only some of the functions we described for the imperfect can be taken over by the simple past.

As a first consideration, note that only non-eventive predicate, can be predicated of a topic as the imperfect is – namely, meaning that at a certain time a certain event is ongoing. If the predicate is eventive, the form must appear in the progressive:

¹⁰. And trivially with respect to the perspective of the speaker.

- (30) Yesterday at four John was sick.
- (31) #Yesterday at four John studied mathematics.
- (32) Yesterday at four John was studying mathematics.

The same happens in embedded contexts as well – i.e., a simultaneous interpretation of the embedded event with the superordinate one is admitted only if the predicate is a non-eventive one, or, if eventive, it appears with progressive morphology:

- (33) John said that Mary was sick. (simul)
- (34) John said that Mary ate a sandwich. (shifted in the past)
- (35) John said that Mary was eating a sandwich. (simul)

Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) analyzed these contexts and attributed the differences to aspectual properties varying across languages. We will briefly address this question in the next section.

The English past can never be interpreted modally, independently of word order, neither in matrix, nor in embedded clauses:

- (36) *Tomorrow Placido Domingo sang.
- (37) *Placido Domingo sang tomorrow.
- (38) *John said that Placido Domingo sang tomorrow.
- (39) *John said that tomorrow Placido Domingo sang.

Moreover, the English past cannot be used in fictional contexts:

- (40) #I was the king and you were the queen.
- (41) #In Peter Pan, Captain Hook captured Tinker Bell.

Sentence (40) is grammatical, but it is not a prelude sentence. Sentence (41) is infelicitous if used to describe the content of a fictional context.¹¹

The English past is perfectly acceptable in dream contexts:

(42) John dreamed that Mary ate an apple.

The interpretation of the embedded clause is analogous to the Italian one and is non-anchored from a temporal point of view. As far as the aspectual interpretation is concerned, the English embedded verb in (40) is perfective, as expected. It contrasts with the following example:

(43) John dreamed that Mary was eating an apple.

In (43) the embedded event is viewed as continuous.

With the exception of the dream contexts – which will be considered below – we can conclude therefore that the English past must always, and only, be interpreted as a temporal relation, locating an event with respect to another one, and can never be used in contexts in which the verbal form undergoes some other kind of interpretation.¹²

2. The imperfect at the interface

2.1. *Terminativity vs. non-terminativity*

In this section we briefly review the aspectual properties of the imperfect, in particular with respect to the telic/atelic distinction.¹³ This distinction can be given firm empirical grounds by resorting to the well-known *for-X-time/ in-X-time* adverbial test. It can be

¹¹. See fn. 8 above.

¹². Notice also that in dream contexts in English the present tense gives rise to marginal sentences:

(i) ?*John dreamed that Mary is pregnant.

¹³. For more on this, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2001c).

observed that sentences, which have been classed as telic, can be modified by *in-X-time* adverbials while rejecting *for-X-time* ones.

- (44) a. John ate an apple in/ *for ten minutes.
 b. John ran home in/ *for ten minutes.
 c. John reached the top in/ *for ten minutes.
 d. John died in/ *for ten minutes.

Conversely, atelic sentences admit *for-X-time* adverbials and yield infelicitous results with *in-X-time* ones:

- (45) a. John ate apples #in/ for ten minutes.
 b. John ate #in/ for ten minutes.
 c. John ran #in/ for ten minutes.
 d. John pushed the cart #in/ for ten minutes.

Finally, the telic/atelic distinction is affected by the nature of the arguments the verb combines with. Thus (4), where the direct object is countable, is telic, whereas (8), with a bare plural, is atelic. Similarly, (5) with a prepositional locative phrase is telic, whereas (10), where such a phrase is missing, is atelic.

The *in-X-time/ for-X-time* adverbial test seems to be a rather secure basis for telling telic and atelic sentences apart. Extending it to languages other than English, and to tenses other than the English simple past, yields interesting results. With the Italian imperfect, the use of *in-X-time/ for-X-time* adverbials makes the factual, continuous reading unavailable, whereas, depending on the actional nature of the verbal predicate, the habitual reading might still be there:

- (46) a. Mario mangiava (una mela) *in / *per un'ora.
 'Mario ate (IMPF) (an apple) in/ for an hour'
 b. Mario correva (a casa) *in / *per un'ora.
 'Mario ran (home) in/ for an hour'

For our purposes, the stars in (46) mark the unavailability of the factual reading. Factoring habituality out, these facts seem to show that the telic/atelic distinction simply does not apply to continuous sentences with the imperfect. The problem at this point is to figure out what's wrong with the imperfect. A possibility is that the problem is caused by

the fact that the imperfect is an imperfective verbal form, a conclusion strengthened by the observation that the same pattern as in (12) can be reproduced with the Italian present tense, another imperfective tense:¹⁴

- (47) a. Mario mangia (una mela) (*in / *per un'ora).
 'Mario eats (an apple) in/ for an hour'
 b. Mario corre (a casa) (*in / *per un'ora).
 'Mario ran (home) in/ for an hour'

Whereas sentences with present tense eventive predicates — with the exception of achievement predicates — are grammatical in Italian, yielding a *continuous* reading, the same sentences become ungrammatical when featuring an *in-X-time* or *for-X-time* adverbial. Therefore, it seems possible to propose a generalisation to the effect that the telic/atelic distinction does not apply to imperfective predicates. This, however, is not the whole story. In Giorgi and Pianesi (2001c) we proposed the following generalisation:

- (48) a. the notional counterpart of morphologically perfective verbal forms is *terminativity*;
 b. the morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective verbal forms does not correspond to two distinct aspectual (notional) values, but to the presence vs. absence of the unique aspectual value of terminativity.

The first thesis is rather simple and, in a way, uncontroversial. Sticking, for the time being, to an intuitive notion of *terminativity*, (48b) states that the events referred to by perfective predicates are terminated. The second thesis, on the other hand, says that the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbal forms does not amount to that between terminated and non-terminated events. Rather, perfectivity/ imperfectivity distinguishes between verbal forms enforcing terminativity, and verbal forms that do not impose any

¹⁴. We haven't reproduced examples with achievement predicates because they are ungrammatical with the present tense, irrespectively of the presence of *in-time/ for-time* adverbials. This fact holds crosslinguistically and is but another manifestation of the intrinsic perfectivity of achievement predicates, which will be discussed below. For more on this point, and the reasons why perfective predicates are not available with the present tense, see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997; 1998).

requirement to this effect. In technical terms, the perfective/imperfective distinction is a *privative* one.

Consider the following sentences:¹⁵

- (49) a. (Alle tre) Mario mangiava una mela (e la sta mangiando tutt'ora).
 (CONT, NON-TERM)
 '(At three) Mario ate (IMPF) an apple (and he is still eating it)'
- b. *(Alle tre) Mario mangiò/ha mangiato una mela (e la sta mangiando tutt'ora).
 (*CONT, TERM)
 '(At three) Mario ate (SP)/ has eaten an apple, and he is still eating it'

In its continuous reading, it is possible to understand (49a) as made true by an event *e* such that *e* was ongoing at a past time, and *e* is still ongoing at the utterance time. Such a possibility is not available if the imperfect tense of (49a) is substituted by a perfective one, as in (49b): in this case the intuition is that the event has terminated, and that it cannot continue at the utterance time. Similar effects can be obtained if the accomplishment predicates of (49) are substituted by activity ones:

- (50) a. Questa mattina Mario spingeva il carretto, e lo sta spingendo tutt'ora.
 'This morning Mario pushed(IMPF) the cart, and he is still pushing it'
- b. ?Questa mattina Mario ha spinto il carretto, e lo sta spingendo tutt'ora.
 'This morning Mario pushed(PRES PERF) the cart, and he is still pushing it'

While it is possible to understand (50a) as made true by one and the same event, which is ongoing both at a past time and at the time of utterance, this is not the case with (50b). If

¹⁵. Here and in other examples we resort to both the Italian simple past (the so-called *passato remoto*) and to the present perfect as cases of perfective verbal forms. Perfect tenses deserve a more complex analysis than the one we are going to provide here. In particular, they have been argued to involve reference to the consequent state of the event described by the past participle (see Parsons 1990; Higginbotham 1994; Giorgi & Pianesi 1997). For our purposes, however, we can neglect the stative component since it is clear that the eventuality described by the past participle falls under the generalisation we are going to draw—namely, that they are terminated.

accepted, (50b) requires two different events: a terminated event making the first clause true, and a non-terminated one, which is going on at the utterance time.¹⁶

These differences do not depend on the use of past tenses:

(51) *Domani mattina Mario mangerà una mela. Alle tre del pomeriggio la starà ancora mangiando.

'Tomorrow morning Mario will eat an apple. At three pm he will still be eating it'

To conclude, perfective verbal forms require events that are, in an intuitive sense, terminated, whereas imperfective ones *may* refer to non-terminated events. As a further argument in favour of Thesis b — namely, the non-committal nature of imperfective verbal forms as to terminativity — consider the following sentence:

(52) Tre ore fa, Messner raggiungeva la vetta (*e la sta ancora raggiungendo).

(*CONT)

'Three hours ago, Messner reached (IMPF) the top (*and he is still reaching it)'

This example is parallel to (49b). Despite the presence of the imperfect, the event is terminated—Messner reached the top at a past time—and the continuous/ on-going reading is disallowed. Consider also (53):

(53) a. #Mario raggiungeva la vetta quando un fulmine lo colpì (e lui non arrivò mai in cima).

'M. reached(IMPF) the top when a bolt stroke him (and he never got to the top)'

b. Mario stava raggiungendo la vetta quando un fulmine lo colpì (e lui non arrivò mai in cima).

'M. was reaching the top when a bolt stroke him (and he never got to the top)'

Example (53a) is odd because the first part asserts that Mario did reach the top, whereas the second implicitly negates that this was the case. However, if we replace the imperfect tense of (53a) with a progressive form, as in (53b), the oddness is removed. Now the

¹⁶. The possibility is open for the first event to be a part of the second, in case we admit that non-terminated events can have terminated parts. The important point is that (50a) differs from (50b) since one and the same non-terminated event can make true both the clauses of (50a), but not those of (50b).

sentence conveys that Mario was on the point/ about reaching the top, when a bolt stroke him so that he never got to the top.

Examples (52) and (53) show that sentences featuring an achievement predicate in the imperfect tense pattern together with perfective sentences, in the relevant respects — namely, they yield terminative readings. Given that in other cases — e.g. (50a) and (51a) — sentences with an imperfective predicate can provide for non-terminated readings, it is possible to conclude that: i) the facts in (52) and (53) are due to the actional properties of achievements, and ii) the imperfect is compatible both with terminative and non-terminative readings. This proves Thesis (b): imperfective verbal forms are aspectually neutral.

Now, consider the following sentences:

- (54) a. Ieri Gianni raggiungeva la vetta in tre ore.
 'Yesterday Gianni reached(IMPF) the top in three hours'
 b. Ieri Mario correva il miglio in un'ora.
 'Yesterday Mario ran (IMPF) the mile in an hour'
 c. Due giorni fa Gianni leggeva la Divina Commedia in tre ore.
 'Two days ago Gianni read(IMPF) the Commedia for three days'

Despite the presence of the imperfect, these three sentences report about terminated events, something which is possible according to Thesis b.¹⁷ Importantly, in these cases *in-X-time* adverbials are allowed, showing that the predicates in (54), once terminative, are also telic.¹⁸

¹⁷. The sentences in (54) have a strong reportive flavour. We will not discuss what reportivity amounts to. For our purposes it is enough to notice that, *nuances* apart, the imperfect is compatible with terminative readings.

¹⁸. Many authors (e.g., Ippolito 2002; Cipria and Roberts 2002) dub 'progressive' the readings we have termed 'continuous'. This suggests – or has the consequence (Cipria and Roberts, 2002) – that those readings can actually be accounted for by resorting to the same machinery exploited for progressives. In previous works (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, 2001a) we argued against such a reduction, proposing that the continuous reading be kept distinct from those arising with the progressive. One reason was the contrast exemplified by (53): the continuous reading isn't available with achievement predicates — that is, (i) doesn't mean that at three o'clock an event of reaching the top was ongoing. As discussed in the text, (i) can only have the terminative reading according to which the reaching culminated at the given time:

These facts are important because they permit to improve on the conclusion we reached before about the reasons why the telic/ atelic distinction doesn't seem to apply to the continuous readings sentences with the imperfect (or present) tense. The right generalisation seems that telicity/ atelicity is restricted to terminative predicates, and that the restriction is independent of the (morphological) ways terminativity is realised—either by means of a perfective verbal form, as in *Mario corse a casa in tre ore* (Mario ran home in three hours), or by means of imperfective ones, as in (54).

-
- (i) #Alle tre Mario raggiungeva la vetta.
'At three o'clock, Mario reached(IMPF) the top'

The use of the progressive yield the expected results; (ii) actually means that at the given time Mario was involved in an event of reaching the top:

- (ii) Alle tre Mario stava raggiungendo la vetta.
'At three Mario was reaching the top'

The pattern is reversed with stative predicates: the present or the imperfect tense are perfectly acceptable with them, whereas the progressive form, notoriously, is not:

- (iii) Alla festa Mario sembrava felice.
'During the party, Mario looked happy'
- (iv) Alla festa Mario stava sembrando felice.
'During the party, Mario was looking happy'

To our view, these distributional data are strong evidence in favour of a distinction between the two verbal forms, and the resulting readings. This is finds further support in the observation that whereas there seems to be enough evidence to think that the progressive is intensional, the same evidence doesn't seem to apply to continuous readings. We won't discuss this last point here, referring the reader to the quoted work. To conclude, there seem to be enough support to the thesis that the continuous readings made possible by imperfective verbal form should be kept distinct, and given different account, from those arising with the progressive.

As expected, it is sometimes possible to force terminative atelic readings with the imperfect:

- (55) Nel 1995 Mario Rossi dormiva per tre giorni, battendo così il record.
'In 1995 Mario Rossi slept(IMPF) for three days, this way beating the record'

Suppose that the topic of the discourse is how long people can sleep before awaking. Then (55) would be both appropriate and acceptable, reporting about a remarkable achievement by Mario Rossi in this respect. The event making the sentence true is terminative and atelic, as witnessed by the availability of the *for-X-time* adverbial. Interestingly, similar conclusions hold for the events featuring in sentences with 'modal' readings:

- (56) a. Domani Gianni correva per/*in un'ora.
'Tomorrow Gianni ran(IMPF) for/in an hour'
b. Domani Gianni leggeva la Divina Commedia in tre ore.
'Tomorrow Gianni read the Comedy in three hours'

In conclusion, we have established the following three facts:

- (57) a. the notional counterpart of morphologically perfective verbal forms is *terminativity*;
b. the morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective verbal forms does not correspond to two distinct aspectual (notional) values, but to the presence vs. absence of the unique aspectual value of terminativity;
c. the telic/atelic distinction only applies to terminative predicates.

As already observed, the relevant connection is that between telicity/ atelicity, on one side, and terminativity/ non-terminativity, on the other. Both distinctions are notional/ semantic ones, whereas that between perfectivity/ imperfectivity is a morphological one, and plays a role only as a vehicle for the former(s). The proposal permits to account for the range of phenomena discussed above — namely, the vacuity of the telic/atelic distinction with continuous predicates — while extending to such facts as (55) — terminative predicates built out of imperfective verbal forms — without resorting to such devices as coercion.

2.2. Temporal phrases

In this section we focus on facts concerning temporal phrases, showing that both their distribution and their contribution to the truth-conditional meaning vary according to the status of the verbal predicate along the terminative/non-terminative dimension.¹⁹

- (58) a. Alle tre Mario ha preso il tè.
 'At three Mario had tea'
 b. Mario ha preso il tè alle tre.
 'Mario had tea at three'

In perfective sentences, e.g. (58), the initial vs. final position of a temporal locating phrase such as *alle tre* (at three) does not affect the truth-conditions. Both (58a) and (58b) are true iff there is a past and terminated event of Mario having tea which occurred at three o'clock. Using the predicate *t* to distinguish terminate events (see Giorgi and Pianesi 2001b), and the asymmetric *at* relation, which is true of two temporal entities (events and/or times) iff the first is located at the second, we have the following truth-conditions for the sentences in (58):

- (59) $\exists e(\text{have-tea}(e) \wedge \mathbf{t}(e) \wedge \text{at}(e, \text{three-o-clock}))$

With imperfective sentences, the position of the temporal phrase does matter:

- (60) a. Alle tre Mario prendeva il tè. (CONT; HAB; FUTURATE)
 'At three Mario had (IMPF) tea'
 b. Mario prendeva il tè alle tre. (*CONT; HAB; FUTURATE)
 'Mario had (IMPF) tea at three'

When the temporal phrase is in the sentence-initial position, the continuous/non-terminative, the habitual, and the future oriented (modal) readings are all available. On the other hand, if the temporal locating phrase is sentence-final, the factual/continuous reading is unavailable, and (60b) cannot convey that at the given past time (three o'clock) an event of having tea was ongoing. Achievement predicates, which

¹⁹. See also Delfitto and Bertinetto (2000).

always provide terminative readings, give rise to the same pattern as in (58), with the position of the temporal phrase being truth-conditionally irrelevant:

- (61) (Alle tre) Mario raggiungeva la vetta (alle tre).
'(At three) Mario reached(IMPF) the top (at three)'

Thus, setting habitual and futurate readings aside, it must be concluded that sentence-final locating temporal phrases are allowed only with terminative readings.

Those differences seem to be related to the fact that in terminative sentences temporal phrases provide a value for the temporal location of the event, whereas this is clearly not the case in non-terminative, continuous ones. Not so, at least, under the ordinary understanding that the temporal location of an event is some entity (a time interval/region) that completely contains it. Thus, sentences (58a), (58b), and (61) report about (terminated) events such-and-such, whose temporal location is as specified by the temporal phrase. A sentence such as (60a), in its continuous reading, doesn't have the same meaning: its truth conditions are not such that there is a past event whose temporal location is three o'clock. This can be easily seen if you consider that, as observed, (60a) can be continued as follows:

- (62) ... e lo sta ancora bevendo
'... and he is still drinking it'

Given that relevant event can still be on-going at the utterance time, there is no ground for assigning it a past location. Indeed, it turns out that non-terminated events cannot be located at all: according to the theory developed in (Giorgi and Pianesi 2001c), only terminated events can. For, how would a non-terminated event be assigned a temporal location, under the intuitive understanding that the latter be some entity temporally containing the former?

According to the proposed account, the possibility of temporal phrases to provide the location of the event depends on whether the latter are terminative. If so, we expect that such a possibility be available not only in sentences with perfective verbal forms, like those in (58), but also in imperfective sentences whenever terminative readings arise. We have already seen that this expectation is confirmed by achievement predicates in the imperfect tense, cf. (61). It is also borne out by the 'modal' readings of sentences with the imperfect whose events, we argued above in connection with (56), are terminated:

- (63) a. Domani Mario partiva.
'Tomorrow Mario left(IMPF)'
b. Mario partiva domani.
'Mario left(IMPF) tomorrow'

As with (58), the position of the temporal phrase does not affect the truth condition. In both cases, utterances of those sentences are true iff it was expected/ it was established that Mario would leave on the mentioned day. In other words, in these cases too the temporal phrase fixes the temporal location of the event. Finally, the same conclusions hold for other cases of terminative readings with the imperfect, as with 'reportive' sentences:

- (64) a. Nel 1492 Cristoforo Colombo scopriva l'America.
'In 1492 Cristoforo Colombo discovered(IMPF) America'
b. Cristoforo Colombo scopriva l'America nel 1492.
'Cristoforo Colombo discovered(IMPF) America in 1492'

Expectedly, the two sentences have the same truth conditions, irrespective of the position of the temporal phrase. In the end, it seems possible to conclude that the possibility for a temporal phrase to fix the location of the event is determined by aspectual properties: as soon as the event is terminated, the temporal phrase can function in the expected way, and the truth conditions are insensitive to its position. As seen, this is so, irrespective of whether terminativity is morphologically enforced (by means of a perfective verbal form), or is due to lexical properties (as in (61)), or to any other reasons.

Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Delfitto and Bertinetto (2000) argue that the temporal phrases of examples such as (58a) actually are arguments of the verbs; indeed, the lowest ones.²⁰ Cases such as (58b), then, are obtained from (58a) by moving the temporal argument to a sentence-initial position. The facts just discussed suggest to extend this account to all terminative sentences, again irrespective of how terminativity is arrived at: in (58), (61) and (63) the temporal phrase fixes the location of the event and is an argument of the verb. Quite generally, it can be concluded that:

²⁰. See also Larson (1998).

- (65) (a) temporal arguments locate the event;
 (b) their presence is ruled by aspectual properties; in particular, they are selected/licensed whenever the predicate is terminative.

Given this picture of the syntax and semantics of temporal phrases in terminative sentences, what can be said of the temporal phrases of sentences such as (60a) in their continuous/factual reading? According to the observations above, *alle tre* (at three) in (60a) doesn't fix the location of the event. If (65) is taken as stating the defining properties of temporal arguments, it can be concluded that those appearing in contexts like (60a) are different entities. We will propose that those temporal phrase are topics which are generated in the leftmost position. Interpretatively, they introduce (or regulate) the perspective from which the truth/falsity of the rest of the clause is assessed. This view is germane to the one that the imperfect is a present in the past: once the past perspective is fixed, the interpretation proceeds as if the main tense were the present. In past works (Giorgi and Pianesi 2001b, 2001c) we argued that sequence of tense phenomena require that the perspective of the subject (the believer, the sayer, etc.) be taken into account when interpreting embedded clauses. We also showed how this could be accomplished through a semantics that manipulate assignment sequences, making them sensitive to those subject. In this paper, we would like to suggest that the perspective shifts operated by the imperfect can be accounted for by resorting to, fundamentally, the same machinery.

3. Sequence of Tense

At the end of the previous section we suggested that the imperfect tense induces perspective shifts. In §4 we will propose that a mechanism of sequence change (or update) similar to that developed for tenses in subordinate contexts can be exploited to account for the basic properties of the imperfect tense. Hence, it seems appropriate to devote this section to give some details about the facts mentioned above and about the proposed account of temporal anchoring.

Besides the facts already discussed in §1.3. in connection with (27)-(29), there is other evidence in favour of the idea that dream contexts do not enforce/require anchoring. For instance, (66a) and (66b) are acceptable, simply conveying that in Gianni's dream the singing/leaving was taking place at the specified times (yesterday, today or tomorrow):

- (66) a. Gianni ha sognato che ieri/oggi/domani cantava Placido Domingo.
'Gianni dreamed that tomorrow Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)' (not modal)
- b. Gianni ha sognato che partiva ieri/oggi/domani.
'Gianni dreamed that he left(IMPF) tomorrow' (not modal)

If the matrix predicate is a verb of saying, the only available reading is that in which the subordinate clause has the sort of 'modal' reading we discussed in §1.3.:

- (67) a. Gianni ha detto che domani cantava Placido Domingo. (modal)
'Gianni said that tomorrow Placido Domingo sang(IMPF)'
- b. Gianni ha detto che partiva domani.
'Gianni said that he left(IMPF) tomorrow' (modal)

Sentence (67a) conveys that Gianni said something to the effect that, from his perspective, it was expected that Placido Domingo would sing tomorrow.

Furthermore, we know that achievement predicates in the imperfect tense do not give rise to simultaneous readings when embedded under verbs of saying, given that, for aspectual reasons, they could not be properly anchored. Only backward shifted readings are available for (70a), provided that the context supplies a suitable temporal referent.²¹

- (70) a. #Gianni ha detto che Maria raggiungeva la vetta.
'Gianni said that Maria reached(IMPF) the top'
- b. Gianni ha sognato che Maria raggiungeva la vetta.
'Gianni dreamed that Maria reached(IMPF) the top'

Such a restriction does not extend to the *dream* context in (70b).

Finally, in dream contexts the matrix eventuality may not be available for reference from within the subordinate clause. Consider a temporal locution such as *in quel momento* (in that moment). It is anaphoric, as it ordinarily requires a temporal referent to be made available by the context, either sentential, or extra-sentential:

²¹. The reason is the same we briefly discuss below: terminative events cannot be simultaneous to their temporal anchor. See fn. 25.

- (71) #In quel momento Gianni mangiava/mangiò una mela.
'In that moment Gianni ate(IMPF)/ate(SIMPLE PAST) an apple'

Sentence (71) is odd if the context does not provide a suitable temporal reference for the locution *in quel momento* (in that moment) to draw its reference from. Matrix eventualities seem capable of play this role, so the sentences in (72) are acceptable, even when uttered out-of-the-blue:

- (72) a. Gianni credeva che in quel momento Maria mangiasse una mela.
'Gianni believed that in that moment Maria ate (PAST SUBJ) an apple'
b. Gianni ha detto che in quel momento Maria mangiava una mela.
'Gianni said that in that moment Maria ate (IMPF) an apple'

In both cases, *in quel momento* can have the same referent as the matrix eventive variable. This possibility however is hardly available with *dream* predicates:

- (73) #Gianni ha sognato che in quel momento Maria mangiava una mela.
'Gianni dreamed that in that moment Maria ate (IMPF) an apple'

The temporal locution can connect to something *outside* the dream context, provided that it is not the dream itself, as in (74), where the event providing the reference to *in that moment* is the taking of the math examination:

- (74) Tre giorni fa Mario ha dato l'esame di matematica. Ieri Carlo ha sognato che in quel momento Mario partiva.
'Three days ago Mario took the math examination. Yesterday Carlo dreamed that in that moment Mario left(IMPF)'

Also, *in quel momento* can draw its reference from times/events that are part of the dream content:

- (75) Mario ha sognato che sua sorella entrava. In quel momento la madre piangeva.
'Mario dreamed that his sister entered(IMPF). In that moment his mother was crying'

This is a case of modal subordination, where the second sentence is understood as continuing the description of the dream, and the temporal locution's antecedent is constituted by the event of Mario's sister's entering.

The oddness of (73) is a striking fact, especially if confronted with the acceptability of (74), which shows that contextually supplied referents are available in dream sentences. More generally, we think that these observations are important because they show that temporal anchoring is not (easily) reducible to cross-clausal anaphoric processes — that is, processes which rely on previously supplied linguistic material for the purpose of reference assignment. Suppose, in fact, that this were not so, and that temporal anchoring simply amounted to the fact that the embedded tense directly accesses the matrix eventuality. Then, we would be at odd at explaining why such a process (which would be essentially driven by syntax) doesn't obtain in the dream contexts we have discussed. Why (and how) shouldn't the matrix eventuality figure among the accessible referent to the tense in (73)? Even if we stipulated that tenses embedded in dream contexts behave in peculiar ways, still we would have to explain why cross-clausal anaphora should fail with *in quel momento*.

We must admit that a) when *in quel momento* has the same reference as the temporal anchor, as in (72), this is not because it takes its reference directly from the matrix event (time), but because it has the same reference as the (local) temporal anchor; and b) from within the embedded clause, the matrix event is either available (represented) as the local anchor, or it is not accessible at all. Hence, utterances of the sentences in (72) are felicitous because: temporal anchoring is enforced; the temporal anchor is the saying/belief eventuality and it is available from within the embedded clause; the temporal locution ends up having the same referent as the temporal anchor — that is, the saying/belief eventuality. On the other hand, (73) is odd because temporal anchoring is not enforced, so that the dream eventuality is not an available referent.

Ultimately, temporal anchoring is closer to indexicality than to anaphora: in both cases, reference is not simply a matter of what has been made available by linguistic means, but involves considerations of other factors. We will return to those in a while.

Before closing our review of the phenomena concerning *dream* contexts, let us mention that if the tense of the embedded clause is an indicative tense other than an imperfect, a different meaning is obtained, which we called *evidential dream* (see Giorgi and Pianesi 2001a).

(76) a. #Gianni ha sognato che c'è stato un terremoto.

'Gianni dreamed that there has been(PAST) an earthquake'

- b. #Gianni ha sognato che Maria mangerà un panino.
'Gianni dreamed that Maria will eat a sandwich'

In these cases (some form of) temporal anchoring is enforced:

- (77) La settimana scorsa Gianni ha sognato che ieri Maria vinceva /*ha vinto al totocalcio.
'Last week Gianni dreamed that yesterday Maria won(IMPF/PAST) the lottery'

The sentence is grammatical with the imperfect, but not with the present perfect. The incompatibility of the present perfect with the future-oriented temporal phrase shows that with such a verbal form temporal anchoring is enforced. In some sense, the subordinate events of (77) is located in the speaker's past.

The availability of temporal anchoring with non-imperfect indicative tenses has further consequences. Consider the following sentences:

- (78) a. Gianni ha sognato che c'è stato un terremoto.
'Gianni dreamed that there has been an earthquake'
b. Gianni ha sognato che c'era un terremoto.
'Gianni dreamed that there was(IMPF) an earthquake'

These sentences do not only differ in that the first locates the earthquake in the past, with respect to the utterance and the dream, whereas the second sentence doesn't. They also differ in the kind of *attitude* the speaker takes with respect to the content of the subordinate clause. When uttering (78b) — and, more generally, any dream-sentence with the imperfect — the speaker simply reports about someone's dream. When using (78a), on the other hand, the speaker does something more: she talks about current states of affairs, exhibiting an attitude of hers towards the dream content and entailing some behavioural disposition. More precisely, the speaker presents the content of the dream as concerning her actuality, offering the dream itself as evidence. Obviously, the speaker needs not commit herself (and the hearer) to the truth of the embedded proposition; rather, she is presenting a proposition/possibility together with supporting evidence, the dream. In Giorgi and Pianesi (2001a) we argued at length that these and other facts make dream contexts with a non-imperfect indicative tense very similar to *epistemic evidentials*:

- (79) Visto che i suoi libri sono qui, Mario deve essere/ sarà in casa.
 'Given that his books are here, Mario must be/ will be here at home'

In this case, the presence of the books is offered as evidence in favour the presence of Mario. These contexts and non-imperfect dream sentences exhibits several similarities at the interface, even if they are realized by means of different morphosyntactic structures. We refer the reader to the quoted paper for more on this topic.

So we have the following generalisations concerning dream contexts

- a) dream contexts can be non-anchored; in this case the tense is the imperfect.
- b) When a tense other than the imperfect is used, temporal anchoring is again obligatory. However, temporal anchoring mainly obtains with respect to the speaker (rather than the subject) and goes together with the expression of some kind of speaker's attitude towards the proposition expressed by the embedded clause (the dream's content).
- c) The discussion above suggest that when there is temporal anchoring, the anchor is explicitly represented at some level in the embedded clause, and is available for anaphoric reference.

We argued above that temporal anchoring is an indexical phenomenon, given that it has in common with indexicality the reliance on information which is not merely provided by linguistic means. That tenses behave as indexical in matrix clauses is by no means new. What is more interesting is the possibility that they maintain such a property in embedded clauses too.

Indexicality is usually associated to reference to such 'contextual' parameters as the time, the agent, or the place of utterance/thought. The classical view (Kaplan 1989) has it that indexical reference always targets the current context. Recently, however, there have been attempts at showing that this need not be so, and that indexicals might shift their reference, considering contexts different from the current one.²²

In previous work (see Giorgi & Pianesi 2001a) we argued for a theory assigning subjects of (ascribed) mental states a major role in determining the kind of assignment sequences to be used in the evaluation of embedded clauses. More precisely, when an embedded proposition is anchored, and the temporal anchor represent the temporal coordinate of the subject to whom the mental state/event is ascribed. However, in view of

²². See Schlenker (2002).

well-known data concerning ignorance about temporal identity, it seems preferable that the temporal coordinate be such that it does not require attribution of full temporal knowledge to the subject. So, temporal instants or intervals don't work, whereas states and events seem to be more appropriate, in particular those mental/communicative states and events that are introduced by such verbs as *say*, *believe*, *fear*, etc. Indeed, despite the fact that the subject of an utterance or of a thought might have reasons to doubt about, or be wrong about, its temporal location on the objective time series (is it three or four o'clock?), it doesn't seem possible for her to doubt that when she thinks 'John is sleeping', she is having the thought that the sleeping is simultaneous to that very thought, a situation which could be reported by saying 'X thought that John was sleeping'. The subject might then continue to wonder about time, but her uncertainty doesn't undermine her knowledge that the sleeping state she attributes to John is simultaneous to her thought. So, she cannot continue by asking herself 'is John sleeping NOW?'. As it turns out, thoughts and dicta are anchored and the anchoring entity (the temporal coordinate) is the thought/utterance itself.

Reports about thoughts and dicta maintain such an anchoring, and reproduce the temporal perspective of the subject by using the very attitudinal state/event as the temporal anchor, with the embedded tense connecting the event to it. This explains why tenses don't behave in embedded contexts the same way as in matrix ones: their primary function is to reproduce the relation between events/states and the temporal anchor, which was present in the ascribed thought/utterance.

The existence of contexts in which temporal anchoring is not required calls for a qualification of these conclusions. Dreams and statements about books have content, referring to events, states, etc. But dreams differ from thoughts in that there is no intrinsic (ontological?) connection between the temporal location of the subject/dreamer and the dreamed event. So John might dream that he is a passenger of the Titanic and that the Titanic is sinking, but also wonder 'Is the Titanic sinking NOW?', and be reassured that this is not possibly the case. Quite simply, despite being mental events, dreams do not have the same status of thoughts. In particular, whereas the contents of thoughts and utterances include the connection between the event/state they talk about and the very thought/utterance, this is not the case with dreams. The latter are not tensed the same way thoughts are. Thoughts and utterances are, so to speak, containers which require their content to be connected to them. Dreams are containers which don't. Similarly with books: the content of *Moby Dick* as expressed by 'In *Moby Dick* the whale smashes the boat with its tail' is untensed in that there is no connection between the smashing and the container.

So, there are mental events/state whose content includes a connection with the event/state itself, and other containers whose content doesn't. Importantly, reports about the former (have to) reproduce that temporal connection, whereas reports about the latter don't, for there isn't any to reproduce.²³ According to the discussion above, the distinction seem to parallel that between predicates that express a propositional attitude, and predicate that don't. The former (*say, believe, etc.*) enforce temporal anchoring — namely, require that the embedded event be linked to the subject's temporal coordinate (the attitude itself). The latter don't.

The semantics of embedded clauses can take the form of an ILF-based theory, according to which verbs taking clausal complements establish a relation between individuals (sayers, believers, dreamers) and syntactic objects enriched with semantic values, so called Interpreted Logical Forms. ILF are representations, and are suited to be used as the vehicle of communication and as the language of thought. As usual, values to variables (traces, pronouns, etc.) are provided by assignment functions/sequences. If tenses contribute a relation between the eventive variable and the temporal coordinate, then:

- (80) a. temporal anchoring amounts to the fact that the ILF of the embedded clause contains a temporal relation between the event of the embedded clause, and that of the embedding one (the attitude's eventuality).
 b. If a clause is the complement of a verb entailing a propositional attitude by the subject, then temporal anchoring obtains.

If we factor out the relational part (which we can take to be due to tense), we obtain that:

- (81) For a clause to express the object of an attitude by a subject, it is necessary that its ILF contain the attitude's eventuality.

By this, we mean that the ILF of a clause that expresses the content of a propositional attitude of a subject X has one of its nodes annotated with a value corresponding to the

²³. Another way to state the same conclusion is that subjects locates themselves in time by means of certain episodes of their mental life: thoughts. Dicta, being the expression of thoughts take over the same property. Other mental episodes don't have the same property/role.

attitude's eventuality. If we consider that the latter amounts to the temporal coordinate of the attitude's subject, then we can state the following condition on propositional attitudes:

- (82) **Condition on propositional attitudes:** if a clause is the object of an attitude by a subject, then its ILF contains her temporal egocentric coordinate (Evans, 1982);

In general, if S is a clause describing the content of the attitude of some subject X , the tense relates the event to X 's egocentric coordinate. In ordinary matrix clauses (assertions) the subject in question is the speaker, and the attitude is one of asserting the truth of the clause itself. In clauses which are subordinate to verbs of propositional attitude, X is the attitude's subject. If S , on the other hand, is subordinate to the verb *dream*, anchoring doesn't obtain and the behavior of tense may vary according to other factors. In the end, tenses seem to behave as shiftable indexical: rather than always and invariably picking up the speaker's coordinate, they relate some entity (time and/or event) to the temporal coordinate of the attitude's subject.

The sensitivity of tenses to subjects of propositional attitudes suggests that ILFs can be computed by considering subject-oriented value assignments. For the sake of simplicity, let us assume that tenses are relational devices, which relate a distinguished variable, x_0 , to the eventive variable:

- (83) a. $\text{Val}(\langle x_0, e \rangle, \text{Pres}, \sigma)$ iff $\text{overlaps}(\sigma(0), \sigma(e))$
 b. $\text{Val}(\langle x_0, e \rangle, \text{Past}, \sigma)$ iff $\sigma(e) < \sigma(0)$, etc.

Assignment sequences for clauses reporting about attitude's contents are relativised to the subject's coordinate. Hence, we distinguish between $\sigma_{\text{sub}}(0)$ and $\sigma_{\text{sp}}(0)$, the values assigned by the subject-oriented, and the speaker oriented sequences, respectively. $\sigma_{\text{sub}}(0)$ corresponds to whatever value the matrix eventive variable is given by σ_{sp} (the subject's attitude episode).²⁴ $\sigma_{\text{sp}}(0)$ assigns the variable with index '0' the speaker's attitude episode (ultimately, the utterance). Therefore, in both cases the sequence assigns the 0-th variable the (contextually determined) value of the temporal coordinate of the attitude/communicative act episode.

²⁴ That is, we could rewrite take s_{sub} to be like s_{sp} but for the fact that $s_{\text{sub}}(0) = s_{\text{sp}}(i)$, where i is the index of the variable of the matrix eventuality.

4. Deriving the properties of the imperfect

In this section we will develop the idea that the main properties of the imperfect that we discussed in the previous section can be explained by hypothesising that such a tense is a “present in the past”. This is a recurring idea that builds on many parallelisms between the two tenses, some of which we already remarked upon in the previous sections. Here is a sample of relevant cases:

continuous/factual readings:

- (84) a. Mario canta/mangia (una mela)/ama Maria.
'Mario sings/eats (an apple)/loves Maria'
- b. (Alle cinque) Mario cantava/mangiava (una mela)/amava Maria.
'(At five) Mario sang(IMPF)/ate(IMPF) (an apple)/loved Maria'

habitual readings:

- (85) a. Mario mangia sempre/spesso/talvolta una mela.
'Mario eats always/often/sometimes an apple'
- b. Mario mangiava sempre/spesso/talvolta una mela.
'Mario ate(IMPF) always/often/sometimes an apple'

future-oriented (modal) readings:

- (86) a. Domani Mario scrive a sua sorella
'Tomorrow Mario writes to his sister'
- b. Domani Mario scriveva a sua sorella.
'Tomorrow Mario wrote(IMPF) to his sister'

Both the present tense and the imperfect are aspectually neutral. In particular, with both tenses, continuous readings are non-terminative:

- (87) a. #Mario mangia una mela per un ora/in un'ora.
'Mario eats an apple for an hour/in an hour'
- b. #(Alle tre) Mario mangiava una mela per un'ora/in un'ora.
'(At three) Mario ate(IMPF) an apple for an hour/in an hour'

Both tenses admit modal readings, and in both cases they are terminative:

- (88) a. Domani Mario mangia una mela in un'ora.
 'Tomorrow Mario eats an apple in an hour'
 b. Domani/il giorno dopo Mario mangiava una mela in un'ora.
 'Tomorrow/the day after Mario ate(IMPF) an apple in an hour'

4.1. *The imperfect in matrix clauses*

There seems to be plenty of empirical reasons in favour of the idea that the imperfect tense is a present tense upon which some kind of temporal shift has operated. According to the examples above, the imperfect seems to behave as the present tense would, though not presenting events/states from the same perspective as that of the speaker, but from a point of view which has been shifted in the past. For instance, in (84b) the point to which shifting obtains is provided by the temporal phrase which appears in the leftmost position of the sentence.

Our strategy in the following will be twofold: in the first place, we will take the idea of the imperfect as a present shifted in the past at face value, proposing that the relevant tense morpheme contributes two features: **past* and *present*. The former is presuppositional, since it contributes a check to the effect that the relevant assignment sequence obeys certain conditions. The second feature, *present*, behaves as one would expect a present tense to behave, basically obeying axiom (83a).

As to the temporal shift, we implement it as a change/update of temporal coordinate, and, eventually, of assignment sequence: the imperfect is a present tense which is not evaluated with respect to the speaker's (current) temporal coordinate, but to a past one. In more details: let us hypothesise that in anchored contexts, the continuous reading of the present tense amounts to requiring that a non-terminated event overlap the temporal coordinate, as provided by the current assignment sequence, $\sigma(0)$. Normally, in main clauses $\sigma(0)=u$, so that a continuous/factual reading of (89a) has the LF in (89b) and the truth conditions expressed by (89c):

- (89) a. Mario dorme.
 'Mario sleeps'
 b. [Mario T-pres [VP dorme]]
 c. $\exists e(\text{sleep}(e) \wedge \text{overlap}(e, u))$

With the imperfect, the temporal coordinate is shifted to a past time; the shift can be realized by selecting an assignment sequence, whose temporal coordinate is past with

respect to that of the speaker, and which is used to evaluate the relevant portion of the clause. The availability of a different time which is in the past is presupposed by the imperfect, thanks to the feature **past*. This view can be implemented by imposing suitable conditions on available assignment sequences:

(90) If $\sigma(0)$ is defined and $\sigma(0) < u$, then σ is an appropriate sequence for [**past* XP]

This says that among the assignment sequences which are appropriate for evaluating a phrase introduced by a node hosting the feature **past*, there are those which are defined for the 0-th variable, and assign it an entity which temporally precedes the utterance.

As to morphosyntax, we propose that the continuous/factual reading of the following sentence correspond to the schematic LF in (91b):

- (91) a. *Alle cinque Mario dormiva.*
 'At five Mario slept(IMPF)'
 b. [*Alle cinque* [F0-**past* [_{IP} *Mario present dorme*]]]

The temporal phrase *alle cinque* (at five) plays the role of a time topic, and is inserted in the derivation as the specifier of an appropriate functional category, F.²⁵ The latter has features which match/attract the feature **past* of the imperfect tense morpheme, so that, at LF, the time topic and the temporal features of the imperfect are in a Spec,head relationship. We hypothesise the following interpretative axiom:

(92) Val(t, [T-term F'], σ) iff Val(t, F', σ') where σ' is an appropriate assignment sequence which is like σ but for the fact that $\sigma'(0) = \sigma(\text{T-term})$

This axiom performs the time shifting, by requiring F' to be evaluated with respect to a new assignment, σ' , whose temporal coordinate (the value of the 0-th index) is (the referent of) the temporal term (as determined by the old assignment sequence σ). Shifting is treated syncategorematically, triggered by a configuration where the head has the **past* feature, and its syster is a temporal term.

²⁵ We follow Rizzi's (1997) hypothesis that at LF topics are located in the so-called *left periphery* of the clause.

Once shifting has been accomplished, appropriateness of σ' is checked within $F'=[F0-*$ *past* IP], according to (90); the check is passed if the new sequence has a temporal coordinate — that is, σ' is defined — and the temporal coordinate is in the past with respect to the speaker's.

The interpretation then proceeds as it should, with the feature *present* within IP interpreted by means of (83a), and with respect to σ' .²⁶ Thus, we obtain the following truth conditions:

(93) For a time t such that $\text{five-o-clock}(t) \ \& \ t < u, \ \exists e(\text{sleep}(e) \wedge \text{overlap}(e, t))$

In (94), where no explicit temporal phrase is present, we take Spec,FP to be occupied by an empty pronominal, as in (94b).

- (94) a. Mario dormiva.
'Mario slept(IMPF)'
b. [T-pro [F0-**past* [Mario *present* dorme]]]

Thus, our analysis of the imperfect in continuous sentences is based on the following ingredients:

- the imperfect has both a **past* and a *present* feature;
- the feature **past* checks that the phrase it combines with at LF is interpreted by means of an assignment sequence whose temporal coordinate is shifted in the past;
- the feature *present* is interpreted in the usual way, according to (83a).
- the presence of a temporal topic causes the current assignment sequence to be updated to another one whose temporal coordinate corresponds to the referent of the time topic.

Let us turn now to modal cases, considering again an example with the present tense first:

- (94)' Mario parte domani.
'Mario leaves tomorrow'

²⁶ Indeed, this is a special present tense, in that it does not take as its temporal anchor the utterance, but the locally available temporal coordinate.

We know that 'modal' sentences involve terminated events, and that in these cases the temporal phrase, even if it appears to the left of the clause, is an argument, as in *Domani Mario parte* (Tomorrow, Mario leaves). The usual rule for the present tense, which requires the temporal coordinate to overlap the event, cannot apply. If it did, there would be a temporal mismatch between the location of the event as constrained by the temporal phrase *domani* (tomorrow), and as constrained by the present tense. Besides this, it must be recalled that terminated events cannot be simultaneous to the temporal coordinate (see Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, 1998, 2001c).²⁷ Given that (94) is grammatical, it must be concluded that the tense does not affect the event, but something else. Notice that even in

²⁷. The constraint was proposed to account for the well know facts that: a) present tense English sentences with an eventive predicate cannot have a factual (continuous reading):

#John eats an apple

and b) in no language the present tense can report about terminated events occurring at the speech time. The explanation proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) was that terminated events cannot, quite generally, overlap their temporal anchors. The English facts then follows if one can argue, as Giorgi and Pianesi did, that English eventive verbs are uniformly terminative. The impossibility of the continuous reading for the Italian (94)' follows as well, given that *partire* (to leave) is an achievement, hence a lexically terminative verb.

This diagnosis is confirmed by the behaviour of eventive predicates in clause that are subordinate to verbs of propositional attitude:

- (i) a. John said that Mary slept.
- b. John said that Mary was sleeping.
- c. John said that Mary loved John.

Contrary to (b), which features a progressive, and to (c), with a stative verb, (a) does not admit a simultaneous reading, that is, the reading according to which the sleeping is simultaneous to, and ongoing at, the saying. If English verbs are uniformly terminative, the contrast in (i) follows from the hypothesis that the matrix eventuality behaves as the temporal anchor/ temporal coordinate of the subordinate clause, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2001a).

In the present context, appeal to the mentioned constraint seems redundant in view of the fact that the presence of *domani* (tomorrow) already seems to prevent the present tense to affect the event.

this respect, the present tense parallels the imperfect. In §1.1 we showed that in modal readings the pastness of the imperfect does not affect the VP's event, but constrains the expectation. The same happens with the present tense: what is simultaneous to the speaker's coordinate is the expectation that Mario leaves tomorrow.

We analyse modal readings with the present tense as due to the presence of an optional empty modal head, which we indicate as *0-expect*, the name meaning to suggest that the favorite reading of (94) can be spelled out, as argued in §1.1, as 'it is expected/planned that Mario leaves tomorrow'. As to the position of this empty head, it can be noticed that modal interpretations are in complementary distribution with quantificational readings.

- (95) Ogni volta che la incontravo/le parlavo, Maria partiva il giorno dopo.
'Every time I met(IMPF)/talked to her, Maria left(IMPF) the day after'

In (95), quantification is on actual events: to each event in which the speaker met Mary there corresponded an event of Mary leaving the following day. The 'modal' reading — which would have it that each time the speaker met Maria there was an expectation to the effect that she would leave the following day — is hardly available. To have something close to this reading, we need to resort to an overt modal head:

- (96) Ogni volta che la incontravo, Maria doveva partire il giorno dopo.
'Every time I met(IMPF) her, Maria had(IMPF) to leave the day after'

Following many authors (including Delfitto and Bertinetto (2000) and, at least partially, Chierchia (1995)) we hypothesise that quantificational and habitual readings involve an (overt or covert) adverb of quantification in Spec,Asp, which can be selected/checked by an appropriate quantificational feature in Asp. Then, the complementary distribution between modal and quantificational readings can be accounted for by hypothesizing that the empty modal head and the quantificational features compete for the same position. In other words, *0-expect* occupies the head of AspP.²⁸

²⁸. Alternatively (see, e.g., Cipria and Roberts 2002) the modal readings of the imperfect could be seen as a mere semantic phenomenon, due to the possibility for such a tense to take appropriate modal bases. In the light of our discussion in the text, such a property should be extended to the present tense. Notice, however, that the complementary distribution of modal and quantificational readings would not follow as straightforwardly as in our hypothesis. Hence, the syntactic approach in the text seems preferable to us.

We take *0-expect* to have, in the relevant respects, the same properties as the verb *to expect*. In particular, it takes a propositional complement, in our case the VP.²⁹ With this, the logical form of (94) is as in (97a), and the truth conditions are as in (97b):³⁰

- (97) a. [T-present [_{AspP} 0-expect [_{VP} Mario partire domani]]
 b. $\exists e(\text{expect}(e) \wedge \text{overlap}(e, u) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, / \psi /))$

Here */ψ/* stands for the Interpreted logical form of the VP, whose truth conditions require a terminated event of leaving occurring tomorrow. Hence:³¹

- (98) $\exists e(\text{expect}(e) \wedge \text{overlap}(e, u) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, / \exists e' (\text{leave}(e') \wedge t(e') \wedge \text{at}(e', \text{tomorrow}) /))$

The case with the imperfect tense would then be as follows:

- (99) a. Mario partiva domani.
 'Mario left(IMPF) tomorrow'
 b. [T-pro [F0-**past* [T-present [_{AspP} 0-expect [Mario partire domani]]]]]

As before, the presence of the temporal topic T-pro causes the current assignment sequence to be updated to one whose temporal coordinate corresponds to the referent of T-pro, σ' . The appropriateness condition for clauses headed by **past* checks that the new

²⁹. The availability of expect-0 is subject to cross-linguistic differences. Hence, English doesn't have it, as witnessed by the fact that the English counterparts of (86a) and (86b) do not have a futurate reading. If so, one would expect that, even if the English past tense were to behave, at least in some circumstances, as the Italian imperfect, it couldn't exhibit modal readings because the underlying present tense doesn't admit of them.

³⁰. The use of the infinitive within the VP is meant to suggest that this propositional phrase is tenseless.

³¹. How can we account for the fact that non-terminated events are excluded from those constructions? It immediately follows from our theory, if we are right in hypothesising that Asp is occupied by *0-expect*. As shown in (Giorgi and Pianesi 2001a), in fact, activation of such a node is enough for providing for terminated events.

coordinate is before the speaker's, and the embedded clause is evaluated with respect to σ' . From now on, the interpretation proceeds as with (97). The result is:³²

- (100) For a time t , $t < u$, $\exists e(\text{expect}(e) \wedge \text{overlap}(e, t) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, / \exists e' (\text{leave}(e') \wedge \text{t}(e') \wedge \text{at}(e', \text{tomorrow})))$

4.2. *Embedded contexts*

Let us turn now to the embedded contexts introduced by predicates of propositional attitude. In (Giorgi and Pianesi 2001b) we argued that the complementiser of the embedded clause, C , can attract (some or all of) the temporal features of T , and proposed the following axiom:

³². For some reason, when the imperfect yields modal readings, an explicit time topic is not fully acceptable:

- (i) ??Ieri Gianni partiva domani.
'Yesterday, Gianni left(IMPF) tomorrow'

Such a sentence should mean, according to our theory, that as far as the speaker's knowledge goes, yesterday it was expected/planned that Gianni should leave tomorrow. Notice that similar results are obtained with overt modals:

- (ii) ??Ieri Gianni doveva partire domani.
'Yesterday Gianni had(IMPF) to leave tomorrow'

Moreover, these sentences becomes more almost acceptable if they have a contrastive reading:

- (iii) Due giorni fa Mario doveva partire/partiva domani, ieri doveva partire/partiva dopodomani, ...
'Two days ago Gianni had(IMPF) to leave/left(IMPF) tomorrow, yesterday he had(IMPF) to leave/left(IMPF) the day after tomorrow,'

In the end, the impossibility of explicit time topics in sentences realising the modal reading of the imperfect seems to be ruled by the same factors that prevents explicit temporal phrases to play the role of time topics in sentences with over modals.

- (101) $\text{Val}(\langle e, x \rangle, [V [_{CP} C [_{XP} \dots]]], \sigma)$ iff for some y , $\text{Val}(\langle e, x, y \rangle, V, \sigma)$ and $y = /_{XP/\sigma_{sub}}$

Axiom (101) is used to compute the semantic value of phrases of the form $[V [_{CP} [_{XP} \dots]]]$, where V is a verb of propositional attitude, and $[_{CP} [_{XP} \dots]]$ is its complement. The axiom requires the ILF of the complement clause to be computed by means of the subject-oriented sequence, and skipping the C node.³³

Suppose that in the simultaneous reading of (102a) the feature **past* moves to C, and the feature *present* remains in situ, yielding the LF in (102b):

- (102) a. Mario ha detto che Carlo dormiva.
 'Mario said that Carlo slept(IMPF)'
 b. [...[C-**past* [_{XP} ... T-pres...]]]

According to (101), the ILF of the embedded clause is computed by means of σ_{sub} , which assigns the 0-th-indexed variable the matrix eventuality (see §4.1.). The only temporal feature within XP is *present*, so that the ILF of the embedded clause ends up talking about a sleeping event which is simultaneous to σ_{sub} 's temporal coordinate — that is, the matrix event. As to **past*, the configuration it is in triggers (90), checking that the XP is evaluated by means of an assignment sequence σ' such that $\sigma'(0)$ is defined and $\sigma'(0) < u$. The test is successful, for XP is evaluated by means of σ_{sub} , and $\sigma_{sub}(0) < u$. Thus, the case in which **past* moves to C, accounts for the simultaneous readings of the embedded imperfect.

One might observe that the structure assigned to the embedded clause of (102b) is different from those discussed in the previous section, because there is no (implicit or explicit) temporal topic. Why is this so, and what about the possibility that the temporal topic is absent in matrix sentence?

Our reply is that we believe that the presence of temporal phrases (topics) with the imperfect is fully optional. The difference between (102b) and cases such as (94b), where we posited an implicit temporal topic, becomes clear if we consider the option without the temporal pro the LF for (94) more closely:

³³. For reasons why the C node should be skipped, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b) and Higginbotham (1991).

(103) [F0-**past* [Mario *present* dorme]]

This LF would be evaluated by means of σ_{sp} , without any intervening temporal shift, for the latter is triggered by (92), and requires a temporal topic. But, then, the presuppositional check (90) fails, for $\sigma_{sp}(0)$ cannot precede itself. Hence, in cases such as (94) the lack of a temporal topic leads to a presuppositional failure. Example (102a) is different: even if there is no temporal topic, no presuppositional failure need arise, for the sequence used to evaluate the relevant constituent is the subject-oriented one, and passes the check (which is performed at the level of C), as we have seen above.

The remaining case features a temporal topic (explicit or implicit) in the subordinate contexts, to which we now turn:

(104) [.....[C [T-term [F0-**past* [IP ... *present* dorme]]]]]

These cases exactly parallel those discussed in §4.2: **past* raises to F0, and the interpretative processes would be the same as for (91) or (94).³⁴ The only difference is that the assignment sequence for the subordinate clause of (104) is σ_{sub} , rather than σ_{sp} . As a consequence, the ILF ends up talking about a non-terminated event which is on-going at a time preceding the subject's temporal coordinate. That is, (104) accounts for the so-called backward-shifted readings.

In conclusion, we have two configurations for the features of an embedded imperfect at LF:

- (105) a. [.....[C-**past* [XP ... T-*present* V ..]]
 b. [.....[C [T-term [F0-**past* [IP ... T-*present* V ..]]]]]

The first option takes advantage of the property of embedded C's to attract (some or all of) the temporal features of the embedded tense, and accounts for the simultaneous readings. The second option, which reproduces the structures we discussed in §4.1, accounts for backwards shifted readings.

³⁴ As in Abusch (1997), we take it that the time topic is interpreted de-re, hence by means of the speaker-oriented assignment. How this result is to be obtained is something we don't have anything to say about.

4.3. Dreams

Thus far, we have analysed anchored contexts. The idea we have developed is that the imperfect is a present in the past. Its interpretation requires the update of the current assignment sequence to a new one exploiting a new temporal coordinate, and the presupposition that the latter be in the past with respect to the previous temporal anchor. Non-anchored contexts differ from anchored ones because there is no requirement that any temporal entity (be it a time or an event) be related to the coordinate of any subject. Let us hypothesise that this simply means that the assignment sequence used to compute the ILF of the relevant clause, and determined by the lexical properties of the verb, is undefined for the 0-th index. In this case, (90) applies vacuously. So consider the following:

- (106) a. Gianni ha sognato che alle tre (di domani/ ieri/ oggi) sua madre mangiava un panino.
 'Gianni dreamed that at three o'clock (of tomorrow/ yesterday/ today) his mother ate(IMPF) a sandwich'
 b. $\exists e(\text{dream}(e) \wedge e < u \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \sigma // \psi //))$

We take the truth conditions expressed by the ILF of the subordinate clause of (106a), ψ , to be as in (101b).

Let σ_{dr} be the assignment sequence used to compute ψ . As said, $\sigma_{dr}(0)$ is undefined, hence, (90) applies vacuously. There is, however, a temporal phrase in the time-topic position; therefore (92) applies, changing the assignment sequence into σ' , with $\sigma'(0)$ assigning the value 'three o'clock'. From now on, the computation of ψ proceeds as for (91), yielding the truth following truth conditions:

- (107) for a time t such that $t = \text{three-o-clock}$, $\exists e'(\text{eat-a-sandwich}(e') \wedge \text{overlap}(e', t))$

According to this, the dream content is about a non-terminated event which is ongoing at three o'clock. Expectedly, there is no sign of temporal anchoring — that is, the time topic is not explicitly related to any temporal coordinate.

Now, consider the case where there is no time-topic (neither explicit or implicit):

- (108) a. Gianni ha sognato che Carlo mangiava un panino.
 'Gianni dreamed that Carlo left(IMPF)/ate(IMPF) a sandwich'
 b. [...sognato.[C-*past [_{XP} ... T-present V ..]]

As for the cases of simultaneous readings discussed in the previous section, the **past* feature raises to C. However, this time the assignment sequence determined by the lexical properties of the verb, σ_{dr} , doesn't define any temporal anchor, so that, again, (90) applies vacuously, (92) doesn't apply, the current assignment sequence is left unchanged and is used to interpret XP in (108b). What remains is the feature *present* within XP.

Up to now, we have taken *present* to fully correspond to the feature (or one of the features) of the present tense, and interpreted it by means of (89). But, now, this strategy cannot be maintained, since σ_{dr} is undefined for the index 0. The only possibility seems to give *present* a treatment similar to that we suggested for **past*:

(109) If $\sigma(0)$ is defined, then σ is appropriate for [*present* XP]

But using (109) would be pointless, for it simply says that a given assignment is appropriate when it is defined for the 0 index, leaving open the possibility (which we want to exploit in the case at hand) that assignments undefined for 0 are appropriate too. So, it seems better to suggest that *present* operates as a default:

(110) If *present* is an anchoring environment, then it contributes (90).

In other words, as far as anchoring is required (the current assignment sequence is defined for the 0-th index) then *present* contributes what it is expected to. When anchoring is not enforced, nothing happens. In our case, $\sigma_{dr}(0)$ is undefined, then nothing happens. Eventually, all there is to the content of the dream according to (108) is a (possibly terminated) event of eating a sandwich:

(111) $\exists e'(\text{eat-a-sandwich}(e') \wedge t(e'))$

When a temporal argument is available, as in (112a), the computation is expected to proceed as for (108a), the only difference being the overt temporal argument:

- (112) a. Gianni ha sognato che domani Carlo mangiava un panino.
'Gianni dreamed that tomorrow, yesterday/today Carlo ate(IMPF) a sandwich'
b. $\exists e'(\text{eat-a-sandwich}(e') \wedge \text{at}(e', \text{tomorrow}) \wedge t(e'))$

Notice that the reading of (108a) and (112a) that (11) and (112b) capture are non-modal. The modal ones are possible in dream contexts, and can be obtained through computations similar to those used for (106a), and depend on the availability of a time topic, and of the 0-expect head. What is important here is that modal readings are not obligatory in dream contexts, whereas they are so in anchored ones. The crucial factor is anchoring, obviously. If the subordinate clause of (112a) were under a verb of propositional attitude, anchoring would have required the application of the default rule for the present, with the result of having the terminated event of eating overlap its anchor; something impossible, as we know.

Preludique and fictional contexts are analogous to the dream ones: they are non-anchoring environments.

The distribution of the English past, which we saw at the end of section 1, can easily follow by hypothesizing that in English the zero modal head is not available. As a consequence, the past form must be anchored, giving rise to simultaneous readings – with stative predicates – or to past shifted readings – in all the other cases. But all the readings yielding a non-past interpretation cannot arise at all.

In dream contexts, on the contrary, anchoring is not enforced – due to the peculiar nature of the matrix predicate – and no modal head must be provided. As a consequence, the past form can appear there, without differentiating between stative or eventive predicates and with no pastness interpretation.

5. Conclusions

Let us spend a few words now on some residual questions. The first question is the following: why is the present tense also available in Italian in the modal contexts, as well as in the *preludique* and fictional ones, but not in the dream ones? The second question is connected to the first one: for which reason in English the present tense is not available in contexts embedded under *dream* (see ex (i) in fn. 9)?

The answers we are providing to these questions are very speculative and deserve further work. Let us suggest that the present tense is always anchored, both in Italian and English. Its presence in fictional and *preludique* contexts, therefore, should be impossible, were these contexts *always and only* non-anchored ones.

However, we might follow a suggestion by Zucchi (2001) for fictional contexts – and extend it also to the *preludique* ones – according to which in these very peculiar cases the

utterance event undergoes a sort of *resetting* due to the fictional context. Anchoring therefore, occurs not with respect to *u*, but with respect to new object *u'*, created by the context itself. We might propose that this process is optional in Italian.

In other words: these contexts can either be genuinely non-anchored ones – in which case the imperfect appears – or can undergo an operation, which we can dub here *utterance event resetting* – in which case they appear with the present tense. As noted by Bonomi & Zucchi (2001) and Zucchi (2001), it could be that past tenses – in our perspective, past tenses other than the imperfect – are incompatible with a resetted *u*, and obligatorily require the “original” utterance event as an anchor.

Concluding: in Italian, in the *preludique* and fictional contexts, real past forms cannot appear, because they require need be anchored. The present tense can appear if the *utterance event resetting* operation takes place, given that the present tense is compatible both with *u* and *u'*. Otherwise, when the imperfect appears, the contexts in question work as purely non-anchored ones.

Moreover, in *dream* cases no *utterance resetting operation* can take place, because these contexts are syntactically embedded, and no *u*, or *u'*, can ever be available. Therefore, only the imperfect can appear, in that it is the only form compatible with non-anchored domains.

Finally, the English past cannot appear in *preludique* and fictional contexts for the same reason Italian past forms, other than the imperfect, cannot appear – namely, it is incompatible with a resetted *u*. Analogously, in English the present tense cannot appear in dream contexts, for the same reason the Italian present tense cannot, because it obligatorily requires anchoring, though being compatible with the resetted *u*.

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Possessives in Old Italian¹

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0. Preliminaries

The aim of this paper is twofold, as most linguistic work. From the empirical point of view it wants to contribute a description of the syntax of possessive adjectives and their pronominal counterparts in Old Italian to the more general ItalAnt project for a comprehensive description of Old Italian Grammar. The Old Italian data is taken from the ITALNET DATABASE of the OPERA DEL VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO – ARTFL PROJECT – NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY.²

¹. This paper is an elaboration of a draft section for ItalAnt (a grammar of Old Italian), a project created and directed by Lorenzo Renzi. I could never enumerate in a short footnote the many ways in which I am indebted to Cino Renzi both as a teacher and as a research director. I also thank Giampaolo Salvi for comments on the ItalAnt draft. This paper was read at the giornata Italant, Padua Oct. 23rd 2002. I wish to thank the audience among whom Giuliano Bernini, Verner Egerland, Cecilia Poletto, Giampaolo Salvi, Laura Vanelli, Nigel Vincent and the organizers, Paola Benincà, Nicoletta Penello and Lorenzo Renzi for comments and discussion. Particular thanks go to Laura Brugè and Anna Cardinaletti who have extensively commented on the paper and whose work largely inspired it and to Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova for in-depth discussion. It is clear that this line of theoretical research has been developed, directed, and promoted at the University Ca' Foscari of Venice by Guglielmo Cinque. At this point, the usual disclaimers necessarily apply.

². The OPERA DEL VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO is an institute of the CNR located at the Accademia della Crusca in Florence. I wish to thank all the people who work there for the invaluable tool of research they provide the research community with.

From the theoretical point of view, it aims to providing an analysis of possessive modifiers tracked on the leading ideas of the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 1998 and much other work inspired by it). In this paper, I will support the following claims:

- Possessive adjectives (and their pronominal counterparts) are complex (namely XP) modifiers of the noun. They are not merged as heads, since they can have a branching structure.
- Possessive adjectives (and their pronominal counterparts) are at the same time referential and predicative. This hybrid nature of theirs can derive a number of properties that differentiate them on the one hand from possessor noun phrases and on the other hand from other types of adjectives.

A research based on a corpus of a language with no native speakers alive has particular demands. It presents the challenge to work on data that cannot undergo further scrutiny by a native speaker. As a consequence, arguments cannot be built on judgements of (a)grammaticality, so that logically possible but unattested cases cannot be necessarily considered as (a)grammatical given the finite nature of the corpus. Also the status of rare occurrences is not straightforward, given the possibility of performance errors (including inaccurate copying), marginal acceptability, or (again) just chance, due to the finite nature of the corpus. These and other issues will be apparent in the course of the discussion.

1. Some basic facts

The syntactic description of Old Italian (OI) will often make reference to comparison with Modern Italian (MI) which is a well-known and well-studied language in the generative framework. There is a major parallelism and a major difference in the distribution of possessives in OI w.r.t. MI. The similarity is that possessives in the two stages of Italian can be found both in prenominal and in postnominal position, as shown in (1)-(3):

- (1) a. *ch' io solo intesi il nome nel mio core*; (Dante, Vita nuova 23.100)
'that I alone heard the name **in-the my heart**'

- b. e pareami che lietamente mi dicesse nel **cor mio**: (Dante, Vita nuova 24.106)
'and seemed-to-me that happily [s/he] said **in-the heart my**'
- (2) a. ove **la mia donna** fue posta da l' altissimo sire, (Dante, Vita nuova 06.22)
'where **the my woman** was put by the very high king [GOD]'
- b. ricordarmi de **la gentilissima donna mia**, (Dante, Vita nuova 38.152)
'remind me of **the very gentle woman my**'
- (3) a. e molto ho già udito predicare dell' **opere loro**-. (...)
b. **Le loro opere** son tutte perfette, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, 32.56)
'And much I have heard **of-the works theirs**. (...) **The their works** are all perfect'

Notice that *loro* is a weak pronoun, at least in MI, as analysed by Cardinaletti (1991) for sentence structure and Cardinaletti (1998) for noun phrase structure. The common position with the possessive adjective provides evidence for the hypothesis that both possessive adjectives and possessive noun phrases are first merged in the same position and can also compete for the same intermediate (weak) prenominal position.

The difference between MI and OI is the fact that the presence of the possessive appears to make the article optional in a well-attested minority of cases in OI.³ In (4)-(5), I give a couple of the many quasi-minimal pairs:

- (4) a. Lo re, per non rimanere scoperto, prese **la sua partita** e teneva. (Novellino 18.169)
'The king took **the his party** and kept'
- b. (...) io difenderò **mia partita** sì come un altro cavaliere, (Novellino 81.315)
'I will defend **my party** ...'
- (5) a. Come li capitani possano adunare **loro** consiglio (Stat. Fior. p. 667)
'How the captain can gather **their council**'

³. The possibility for the definite article to be missing in the presence of a possessive in older stages of Italian, is treated in Renzi (1988). It is difficult to find the semantic value of the missing article, or to explain the optionality of it. But we must reckon that this is not a performance mistake.

- b. Possano li capitani fare richiedere e adunare **il loro** consiglio (...)
 (Stat. Fior. p. 667)
- 'Can the captains and gather **the their council**'

Given this basic empirical background, I now proceed to review some recent proposals on the structure of possessive phrases and discuss the relevance of OI data to them. In section 2, I focus on the internal structure of the possessive adjective, which I claim to be rather complex. In section 3, I focus on possessive movements inside the noun phrase. Section 4 is devoted to possessives occurring with kinship terms.

2. The complex structure of possessive constituents

2.1. *Previous analyses*

Cardinaletti (1998) extends to possessive adjectives (and pronouns) the tripartition proposed by Cardinaletti e Starke (1999) for pronominal elements. She provides some diagnostics to decide what kind of pronominal a given element belongs to, as in (6):

- (6) a. **Clitic** possessives can occur in a “doubling” construction.
 b. **Weak** possessives cannot occur in a “doubling” construction or be modified by a PP.
 c. **Strong** possessives can be modified by a PP.

The generalization in (6) hinges on two different assumptions:

- clitic, but not weak or strong pronouns can be related to overt argument positions (in clitic doubling languages),
- strong, but not deficient⁴ pronouns can have a full-fledged structure containing modifiers.

Cardinaletti gives Paduan as a sample language in which the tripartition across possessive elements is fully represented, as shown in (7):

⁴. In Cardinaletti's terminology “deficient” refers to weak and clitic pronouns as opposed to strong pronouns.

- (7) a. **clitic** so pare (de Toni)
 b. **weak** el so libro (*de Toni)
 c. **strong** el libro suo (de ju)

The clitic pronoun in (7a) is an X° (at least at the final point of the derivation), related to an argument position which can be realized by an overt PP. Weak and strong pronouns in (7b-c) cannot be related to an overt PP. This correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (7b) but leaves the grammaticality of (7c) unexplained. According to Cardinaletti, in (7c) *suo de ju* is a strong pronoun modified by a PP. The possessive and the PP build a constituent, contrary to (7a) in which the possessive is coindexed with the PP but never build a constituent at any point of the derivation.⁵

Although very elegant, Cardinaletti's analysis misses to capture an apparent parallelism between (7a) and (7c), namely that in both cases the PP-modifier has basically the same semantic function of disambiguating among possible referents for the possessive.⁶

A possible way out of this, which I want to pursue here, is to extend to these cases a proposal made by Brugè (1996, 2000) for the syntactic structure of demonstratives. Brugè claims that when a postnominal demonstrative is modified by a locative, as in (8a), it builds a constituent with it. She also convincingly claims that the demonstrative can move out of the complex constituent, leaving the locative in place, as in (8b):

- (8) a. ?el libro viejo *este de aquí* de sintaxis
 b. *este* libro viejo ___ *de aquí* de sintaxis

In (8a) the demonstrative is a maximal element and remains as such after movement to SpecDP in (8b). Movement to SpecDP of the demonstrative was also argued in Giusti

⁵. For the analysis of possessive doubling constructions in a clitic doubling language cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1999) on Bulgarian. Notice that in Bulgarian the clitic possessive cooccurs with the definite article. This is also the case in other Balkan languages, as in Rumanian and Modern Greek. The complementary distribution of the possessive and the article is therefore neither necessary nor sufficient condition of the clitic status of the possessive.

⁶. This is related to the fact that in Paduan (as well as in many Italian variants), the third person possessive is ambiguous in number as well as in gender.

(1993) on the basis of Rumanian data. Parallel to Spanish, the demonstrative can be postnominal in Rumanian, but differently from Spanish it is never the rightmost modifier; on the contrary it is the leftmost of the specifiers of the noun. In Giusti (1993), I observed the postnominal demonstrative in Rumanian as a “second” position, cf. (9b):

- (9) a. acest {frumos} băiat {frumos}
 b. băiatul acesta ~~băiat~~ (frumos) ~~băiat~~
 c. frumosul (*acesta) ~~frumos~~ băiat
 d. băiatul [[DemP acesta] [băiat [[AP frumos] [băiat [[DemP acesta] [băiat]]]]]]]

(9a) is parallel to Italian (*questo bel ragazzo simpatico*). The contrast between (9b) and (9c) is evidence in favour of the XP nature of the demonstrative that can be crossed over by N-movement but not by AP movement. (9d) gives the derivation of (9b) in terms of bare phrase structure (the labels being inserted only for expository reasons).⁷

2.2. An alternative analysis

If Brugè is correct, XP-movement inside the noun phrase is possible leaving a remnant in the basic position (in a stranded fashion à la Sportiche (1988)), we can unify cases such as (7a) and (7c) above in the following fashion. I propose that (7c) displays the basic position of the possessive, as in (10a). From this position the clitic possessive in (7a) moves to D°, as in (10b). In this analysis, it is unexpected that the weak possessive in (7b) cannot move out of PossP to reach the position immediately following the article, as in (10c):

- (10) a. [DP [D° el] [libro [PossP suo [PP de ju/Toni]] [pare]]]
 b. [DP [D° so] [pare [PossP ~~so~~ [PP de Toni]] [pare]]]
 c. # [DP [D° el] so [libro [PossP ~~so~~ [PP de ju/Toni]] [pare]]]

⁷. If the demonstrative is very low in the hierarchy of nominal modifiers, how can it be so high in Rumanian? A possible solution is given in Giusti (2002), where I suggest that the postnominal position in (9b) is derived by movement of the demonstrative in the high field of the noun phrase (where the referential properties of the noun phrase are computed at the LF interface) and that Rumanian allows a further move of N°.

According to Cardinaletti, Italian also shows the tripartition found in Paduan. The only difference is that in MI they are (partially) homophonous, in that they only differ in the strength of the syllabic structure which does not carry stress in the weak and clitic items:⁸

- (11) a. **clitic** suo padre (*di Toni)
 b. **weak** il suo libro (*di Toni)
 c. **strong** il libro suo (di lui)

In Cardinaletti's (1998) proposal the ungrammaticality of (10a) in MI is expected since MI does not display clitic doubling in the clause. The ungrammaticality of (10b) is therefore irrelevant to decide whether the possessive is weak or clitic, but contrasts with the possible (10c) where the strong possessive cooccurs with a disambiguating pronoun in the PP.

Old Italian comes into the discussion here in that it shows that there is nothing that prevents a prenominal (arguably weak) possessive to be related to a disambiguating pronoun embedded in the PP. Examples like (12)-(13) are solidly attested.

- (12) a. **a' suoi succiessori di lui** nella seggia di Roma (p. 308)
 'to his successors of him to the chair of Rome'
 b. così aversanti **sua possanza di lui** (idem 438)
 'so opposing his might of him'
 c. contra **i suoi vichari di lui** e ffedeli sugietti, (idem, p. 442)
 'against the his vichars of him and faithful subjects'
 (Il Libro del difenditore della pace e tranquillità volgarizzato, Marsilio da Padova, Defensor pacis, nella traduzione in volgare fiorentino del 1363)

In (12a) and (12c) the article is missing, but this makes no difference with respect to the cooccurrence of the possessive adjective with the PP *di lui*. Notice also that the presence of the PP could be due to a context requiring disambiguation (*cuore* is masculine while *carne* is feminine), as in (13a) or to stylistic reasons. In (13b) the pronoun is emphatic:

⁸. The examples are mine but they can be inferred from Cardinaletti's discussion.

- (13) a. s'egli aviene che il cuore pecchi alcuna volta, per ciò no de' tu credere che ciò sia **per sua natura di lui**, ma ciò gl'aviene per la grande fragelità de la carne, di ch'egl'è caricato e coperto.
 'if it happens that the heart.MASC sins some time, for that you should not believe that this is for his nature of him[=the heart], but it happens for the great fragility of the flesh.FEMM, of which he [=the heart] is loaded and covered. (La storia del San Gradale. Volgarizzamento toscano dell'Estoire del Saint Graal p. 205)
- b. E servirà a lui ogni gente, e al suo figliuolo, e al figliuolo del suo figliuolo, d' insino a tanto che venga il tempo **della sua terra di lui**;
 'And all people will serve him, and his son, and the son of his son, until the time comes **of-the his world of him**' (Anonimo, La Bibbia volgare p. G137.)

2.3. *Covert possessives in Old Italian*

The corpus provides no case of *suo di lui*, *suo di lei*, or *suo di loro*, in any position, contrary to what is found in Paduan and MI. I do not believe this is evidence that such sequences are agrammatical in OI, but only that the corpus (for historical, contingent reasons) does not include the colloquial register in which such forms are attested in MI. What we find in the corpus is a postnominal possessive PP modified by a title such as *Capitano* in (14a). I suppose that in (14a) the postnominal possessive is covert and what we actually have is [[*sue*] [*di lui Capitano*]]. In the same pages of the corpus we have abundant evidence of the postnominal position of a possessive as shown in (14b):

- (14) a. se alcuno sbandito da messer la Podestà dei Pisani perverrà alle mani **di lui Capitano**,
 'If anybody banned by Master the Podesta of the Pisans falls in the hands of him Captain,'
- b. Si ancora che, se alcuno sbandito da messer lo Capitano del populo perverrà **alle mani sue**, sia tenuto et debbially ponere et consegnare in forsa di messer lo Capitano del populo di Pisa, che debbia essere punito da quel messer Capitano per l' **ufficio suo** (Breve del Popolo e delle Compagne del Comune di Pisa (Statuti inediti della città di Pisa dal XII al XIV secolo, vol. II, p. 582)

Notice that the use of the personal pronoun appears to be a stylistic choice as in (15a), which would be semantically equivalent with a possessive (cf. *l'anima sua*, or *la sua anima*) and the case in (15b) in which *di me* is interpreted as Theme of “love”. This would not be possible for the possessive adjective which could only be interpreted as the Experiencer of “love”:⁹

- (15) a. perochè **l' anima di lui** non avrebbe niuno prò, ma danno (...)
 'since the soul of him would not have any pro, but damage (...)'
 b. perochè per **l' amore di me** è morto il mio Signore
 'since for **the love of me** died the my Lord'
 (Anonimo [1300], Il Libro dei Sette Savj di Roma p. 68)

The possibility of a covert possessive is attested in several Romance languages including MI and OI, as well as French and Spanish as studied by Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992). The examples in (16) show that the possessive adjective can be covert in OI with kinship terms or body parts:

- (16) a. Ben sapemo quante ruine fece ardendo Roma, tagliando **i parenti** et uccidendo il **fratello** e sparando **la madre**. (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica p. 181)
 'We know well how many disasters [he] did burning Rome, cutting **the relatives** and killing **the brother** and sparing **the mother**'
 b. l' arcivescovo senti che 'l medico avea dato commiato **alla nepote**. (Novellino 49.234)
 'the bishop heard that the doctor had given **the niece** leave to depart'
- (17) a. se non fosse uno che 'l tenne per **lo braccio**. (Novellino 96.343)
 'if [there] wasn't one who held him on **the arm**'
 b. ed a messer Guido de' Galli fu moçço **il naso** con tutto **il labro**, e fessa **la bocca** da ciascuno lato insino **alli orecchi**. (Cronica fiorentina, p. 119)
 'and to mr. Guido de' Galli was cut off the nose with all the lip, and split the

⁹. For the thematic properties of possessives cf. Cinque (1980) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1991). I have not checked if these generalizations apply in OI. It is rather safe to suppose they do, since they are quite generally found in unrelated languages. Cf., as an example, Bulgarian as analysed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1999).

mouth on each side till the ears'

In both cases (17) the possessor is present in the interpretation of the noun phrase and is interpreted as anaphoric to an antecedent in the clause. Its behaviour is that of a (small) *pro*, which is present in other positions in OI and MI, and is absent in other languages, e.g. English. This may be the reason why in English the possessive is obligatory precisely with these nouns, while it is regularly missing in Italian.

2.4. “*Suo proprio*”

Further indirect evidence to assume that a postnominal possessive adjective can be modified by a different constituent in OI is the robust occurrence of the complex possessive *suo proprio* (“his own”) which is another means of emphasizing the possessor (parallel to *di lui stesso* “of himself”). *Suo proprio* can occur in postnominal position in (18a), in prenominal position in (18b) and in discontinuous position in (18c):

- (18) a. **la vertude sua propia** (Dante, *Convivio*, p. 393)
 'the virtue his own'
- b. **lo suo proprio strumento** (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, [Parte non numerata 1 page 4])
 'its own instrument'
- c. **la sua vertude propia** (Dante, *Convivio*, p. 368)
 'its virtue own'

(18a) and (18c) build a minimal pair taken from the same text, given slightly more extensively in (19a-b) to show that the prenominal or postnominal position of the possessive, also in this case, is a matter of stylistic choice determined both by the informational structure and by the prosody of the whole sentence.¹⁰

¹⁰. It is plausible that the prosodic structure of the sentence is particularly relevant in the elaborate prose that was conceived to be a model for the newly born literary language of Old Italian.

- (19) a. E in questa cotale anima è **la vertude sua propria**, e la intellettuale, e la divina,
(Dante, Convivio, p. 393)
'And in this such soul is the virtue his own, and the intellectual, and the devine,
- b. aggiugne **la sua vertude propria**, e allora è massimamente secondo sua natura;
(Dante, Convivio, p. 368)
[it] adds the its virtue own, and then [it] is maximally according to its nature'

(20) gives the context of (18b), which is particularly telling in that it conjoins noun phrases with possessive adjectives of different kinds: a prenominal possessive with no article such as *sua materia*, prenominal possessives preceded by an article such as *lo suo officio*, *le sue parti* and *lo suo artefice*, the prenominal position of the entire constituent *suo proprio* as in *lo suo proprio strumento*, and a covert possessive in *la fine*, which is clearly to be interpreted as “la sua fine”:

- (20) Di fuori s' insegna dimostrando che è rettorica e di che generazione, e quale **sua materia e lo suo officio e le sue parti e lo suo proprio strumento e la fine e lo suo artefice**; (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, [Parte non numerata 1, p. 4)
'Externally it is taught showing what is Rhetorics and of what generation, and which [is] **its topic and the its duty and the its parts and the its own instrument and the goal and the its creator**'

Proprio can also modify a demonstrative as in (21), with the interpretation of “exactly that” (cf. It. *proprio quella*):

- (21) La prima si è teorica, ed è **quella propria scienza** che a noi insegna la prima questione di sapere e di conoscere la natura delle cose celestiali terrene.
(Tesoro volg. L. 1, cap. 3, p. a011)
'The first is Rhetoric, and [it] is **that own science** that to us teaches the first question of knowing and learning the nature of the things celestial and earthly'

The discussion to this point leads us to extend Brugè's proposal for demonstratives given in (22a) to other cases of complex demonstratives such as (22b) and to complex possessives as in (23):

- (22) a. [[DemP questo] [X° [AdvP qui]]]
b. [[DemP quella] [Agr° [AP propria]]]

- (23) a. [[POSSP suo] [X° [PP di lui]]]
 b. [[POSSP suo] [Agr° [AP proprio]]]

There is a striking parallelism between (22) and (23). Both the demonstrative and the possessive can either be modified by an element that does not agree with it, or by an AP such as *proprio* which shares nominal features with it. Following Giusti (2002) I propose that the complex constituents given in (22)-(23) are merged very early in the bottom up structure building mechanism, immediately higher than the NP-shell where the thematic structure of the noun is projected.¹¹ This position is always postnominal in Italian assuming that the noun moves across its low modifiers as proposed by the seminal work of Cinque (1994) and much other work inspired by it. According to this proposal, prenominal possessives are moved from this low position to a higher one.

2.5. Phonologically reduced forms

Reduced forms of possessives are present in Old Italian. However, they do not have a distribution which is different from their full fledged counterparts. We observe some examples in (24). In (24a) we see that the reduced form may appear with or without a preceding definite article. In (24b) we see that a preposition may precede a reduced or a full form:

- (24) a. se **per tu' conforto** / **il su'** dispende a torto / e torna in basso stato, / tu ne sarai biasmato. (Latini, Brunetto, *Il Tesoretto* pag 235, l. 1700-1702)
 'if for **the your comfort** / **the his** [you] wrongly lower / and [he] goes back in low state, / you of-it will be blamed'
- b. Et advegnia che ti parli così **di sue lusinghe**, e ravolgasi **cun su' parole** composte; (Andrea da Grosseto, *Dei Trattati morali di Albertano da Brescia volgarizzati* p. 283)
 'And it [may] happen that [he] speaks to-you so **of his flatters**, and approaches [you] **with his words kind**'

¹¹. This is claimed by Cinque (1994) on independent reasons and Brugè (1996).

The reduced form never appears to be obligatory or impossible. It cooccurs with full forms in the same text and it even appears in the pronominal form *il su'* in (24a). So, although it would be tempting to analyse the full forms in (25a) as triggered by the presence of the reinforcer *propie*, I think that it is safe to apply the benefit of the doubt and leave the reduced – strong usages in (24a) to a matter of personal choice of the author, as the contrast in (25b) immediately shows:

- (25) a. tenean **sue propie mene**, / ed avean **su' legnaggio**, / **su' corso e su' viaggio**, / e
'n sua **propria** magione / tenean corte e ragione: (Latini, Brunetto, *Il Tesoretto*
p. 220, l.1254-1258)
- b. la ragione perfetta si è **il su' propio bene**. (Pistole di Seneca, 76 p. 192)
'the reason perfect is **the his own good**'

These short observations are certainly not sufficient to exclude that reduced possessives have syntactic properties that distinguish them from full possessive, but we can safely claim that the reduced vs. full forms in OI cannot be straightforwardly related to the deficient / strong distinction that appears to hold in Paduan. For this reason, I will disregard this (phonological) distinction in OI.

3. The landing position(s)

At this point, we must inquire why the possessive adjective moves and to what position. Following Giusti (2002), I take the landing position of the possessive adjective to be a very high one in the functional structure of the noun phrase. It is the position immediately following the article, which in turn is the head of the highest projection of the noun phrase. In other words the position of the prenominal possessive in Italian is the same as the “second” position found for the postnominal demonstrative in Rumanian in (9) above. I briefly review some evidence for this proposal.

The prenominal possessive tends to precede all other modifiers in OI, as in (26):¹²

¹². Apparent evidence to the contrary can be dealt with in terms of A-bar movement of the adjective to a Topic/Focus position in the left periphery of the noun phrase, as argued for in Giusti (1996). In this

- (26) a. Quando serai vecchio, non per natura né per ragione viverai con nettezza, ma per **la tua bella, piacevole e lunga usanza** ch' avrai fatta. (Novellino, 68. 285)
'When [you] are old, not because of nature neither because of rationality you will live with cleanness, but because of **the your nice, pleasant and long habit** that you'll have had'
- b. L' ora che **lo suo dolcissimo salutare** mi giunse, (Dante, Vita nuova, 03.12)
'The hour that **the her sweetest farewell** reached me'
- c. «Proporremo dinanzi da te **le nostre ragionevoli ragioni**, (Novellino, 061.260)
'[We] Will show you **the our reasonable reasons**'
- d. e non sappiamo **i vostri mali intendimenti**, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, 67.106)
'and [we] do not know **the your bad intentions**'

Although the definite article appears to be formed in OI, with a syntax that generally parallels the MI usage of the definite article, the presence of a prenominal possessive appears to favour the absence of the definite article, as in the cases in (27)-(28):

- (27) a. che le saprà contar **mia ragion bona**: (Dante, Vita nuova 12.50)
'that to-her will tall **my reason good**'
- b. di dimostrar con li occhi **mia viltate**. (Dante, Vita nuova 35.142)
'to show with the eyes **my cowardliness**'
- c. (...) che consolasse **mia vita dolente**: (Guido Cavalcanti, 33 p. 538)
'which comforted **my life painful**'

perspective, it is not chance that in (i)-(iii) the adjectives that precede the prenominal possessive are “great” and “unique” that are intrinsically emphatic:

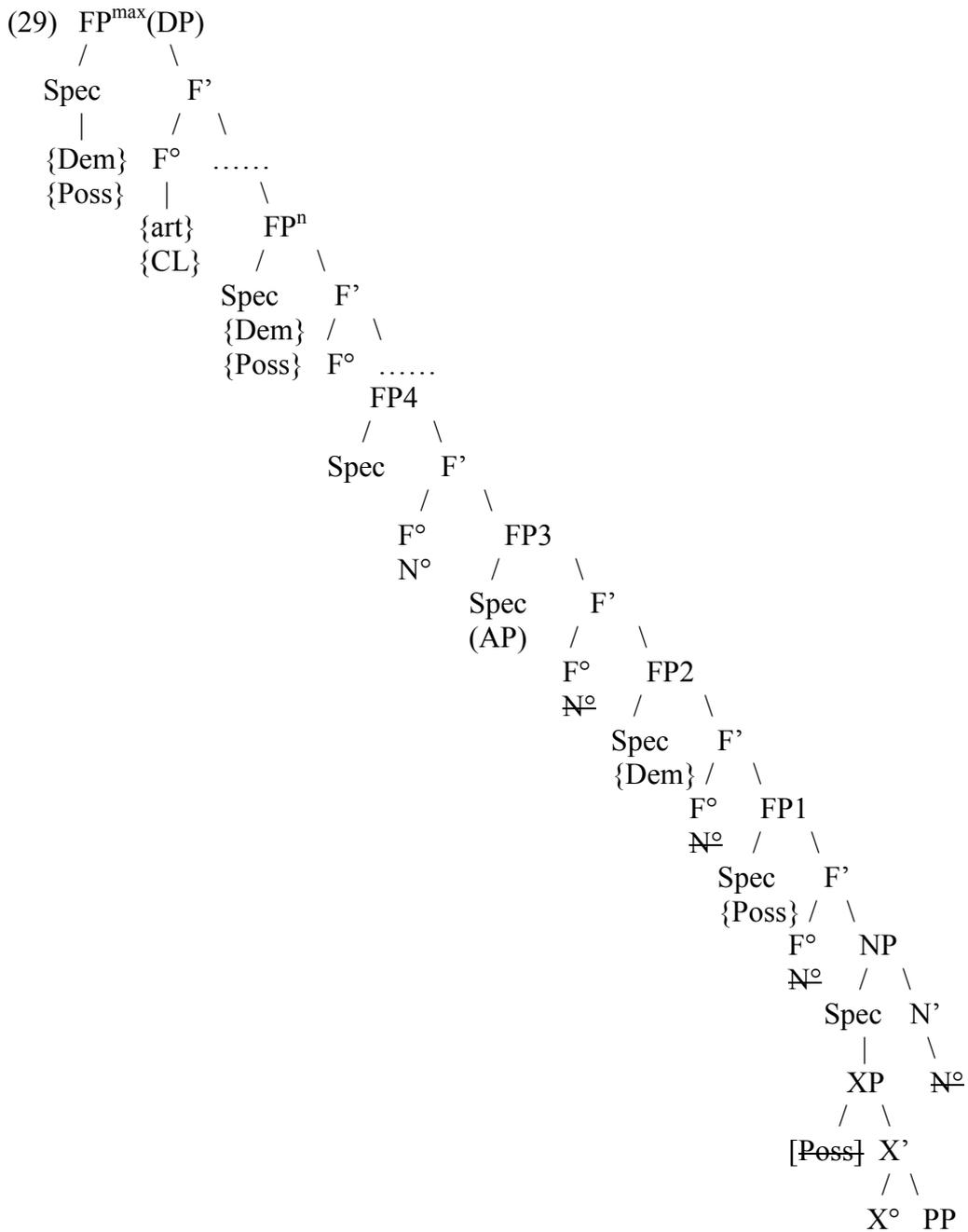
- (i) perché era **grande suo amico** (...) (Novellino, 088.330)
'because [he] was **great his friend**'
- (ii) Qualuse vedesse li spirti fuggir via, / **di grande sua pietate** piangeria. (Cavalcanti 07.498)
'Whoever would see the souls fly away / **of great his pity** would weep'
- (iii) E in Gesù Cristo **unico suo figliuolo**, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, 17.36)
'And in Jesus Christ **unique his son**'

- (28) a. quando saldamo **nostra ragione** (...) (Doc. fior., p. 545)
 'when [we] fix **our reason**'
- b. perciò che **mia limosina** ritenesti (...) (Novellino 17b.165)
 'because that **my charity** [you] kept'
- c. (...) è da menare inn altra parte **loro abitamento?** (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, 51.122)
 'Is to bring to another part **their housing**'
- d. per compiere **nostra giornata**, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi 15.32)
 'to complete **our day**'
- e. senza **tuo perverso adoperamento**. (Rinuccino, Rime, p. 134)
 'without **your perverse intervention**'

All occurrences of the possessive in (28) are prenominal. I did not find occurrence of postnominal possessors in OI with missing articles.¹³ Running the risks mentioned above with respect to the interpretation of the unattested occurrences, I claim that this is evidence for the possibility that the possessive adjective in OI is in SpecDP (here indicated as SpecFP^{max}, as I proposed for Germanic languages in Giusti (1993, 2002).

Up to now, we have established that the possessive adjective can either be in a low position and in this case it is postnominal, or it can be in a high position preceded or not by a determiner. To capture this behaviour in a unified way, I assume the structure in (31) motivated in detail in Giusti (2002). In (31) the possessor is merged in SpecNP where it receives its θ -role from the noun. It is then moved to an immediately higher position where it checks its ϕ -features against the ϕ -features of the noun that I assume to be all merged in a bundle in F1. At that point it may either stay in SpecFP1, or it can be moved to a high Specifier, here labelled SpecFPⁿ or Spec FP^{max}:

¹³. Unless they could be reduced to the general possibility of having an indefinite plural noun phrase in object position without an article (cf. It.: *ho da risolvere problemi miei* "[I] have to solve problems of mine") and are therefore independent of the presence of the possessive.



In structure (31) numbers and superscript letters only serve to distinguish one functional projection from the other. From what I understand of the spirit of bare phrase structure, it is the numeration of each given instance of linguistic items that is crucial to decide how many functional projections end up being merged in a structure. The lesser the more optimal, provided all uninterpretable features are checked and deleted at the relevant level of representation (before Spell-Out) and that all semantic features are merged in the relevant position. I propose that the highest specifier is the position

visible to interpretive rules at the interface level. This position can be filled with the relevant material before or after Spell-Out according to language specific requirements. In OI, as well as in MI, the possessor does not have to move to SpecFP^{max}, this is why it can cooccur with another determiner, including demonstratives (which must be obligatorily merged in Spec FP^{max}), and existential quantifiers (which select an indefinite noun phrase as their complement),¹⁴ as shown in (32):

- (30) a. ella dea compiere **questo suo viaggio**, Restoro d'Arezzo, (L. II, dist. 8, cap. 21, p. 237)
'She had to make **this her travel**'
- b. ke **un suo destrieri** non potea stare nella sua stalla (Questioni filosofiche, L. IV, pt. 4, cap. 3, p. 3)
'that **a/one his horse** could not be in the his stable'
- c. poi ch' ebbe parlato e contato **molte sue perfezioni**, (Cavalca, Specchio di croce, cap. 9 p. 39)
'after he had spoken and told **many his perfections**'

Given that in bare phrase structure the number of functional heads merged depends on the numeration of the given structure, the high position in which the demonstrative is moved is indicated as SpecFPⁿ in (29). If the specifier position in which the possessive is inserted is not FP^{max}, namely the final projection which completes the nominal “phase”, then a definite article can be inserted. In this way, the Specifier of FP^{max} becomes available for covert movement of the possessive at LF. Alternatively, the numeration does not contain the article and the possessor is merged in the highest Specifier and the structure building procedure ends with the possessive in SpecFP^{max}.

This movement occurs also when the possessive is part of a larger projection, as in (31). Movement of the possessor will leave a remnant in the basic position:

- (31) a. la [[_{AP} sua] [terra [[_{AP} ~~sua~~] [X° [_{PP} di lui]]]]]]
b. la [vertude [[_{AP} sua] [X° [_{PP} propria]]]]
c. la [[_{AP} sua] [[vertude [[_{AP} ~~sua~~] [X° [_{PP} propria]]]]]]
d. lo [[_{AP} suo [X° [_{PP} proprio]]] [strumento [[_{AP} ~~suo~~] [X° [_{PP} ~~proprio~~]]]]

¹⁴. For the position of the demonstrative cf. Giusti (1993, 1994), and Brugè (1996, 2000). For the selection of quantifiers cf. Giusti (1991, 1993), Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2002).

Let me summarize the proposals and assumptions made so far.

- Following Cinque (1980, 1994), I assume that possessives are first merged in SpecNP where they are assigned a θ -role. In case of a complex event nominal the θ -roles to be assigned are more than one and in that case I assume that an NP-shell à la Larson (1988) is projected.
- Following Cinque (1994), I assume that the postnominal position of the modifiers of the noun is derived by N-movement to higher functional heads.
- In languages where possessives have adjectival form (not genitival pronominal form) I assume that they are further moved to a low functional specifier. I proposed this is SpecFP1, the first specifier merged in a bottom-up fashion (for this proposal cf. Giusti 1993 and Brugè 1996)
- Possessives may (and in some languages must) be computed by the interpretive component in order to attribute referential properties to the noun phrase. Following Giusti (2002), I assume that they move to the DP (FP^{\max}) area, but they are not necessarily heads, on the contrary they can be merged as XPs into Spec FP^{\max} . This amounts to saying that possessives that are in complementary distribution with articles are not necessarily clitics.
- If possessives are merged in F^{\max} because they are clitics, I propose that they have an empty operator in its specifier, which is computed as a strong possessive by the interpretive component.
- In languages in which possessives do not have to reach Spec FP^{\max} before Spell-Out, as in Modern and Old Italian, possessives appear to move to a high specifier (the highest immediately preceding FP^{\max} in the bottom-up procedure. This is the “weak” position of Cardinaletti (1998).
- Any movement of the possessive can leave a modifier of the possessive stranded in the base position, not in the intermediate position if this is weak.

4. Kinship terms

Let us check our general framework with a recalcitrant empirical field such as kinship terms as they are modified by (c)overt possessive modifiers. Giorgi and Longobardi (1991) claim that in (Modern) Italian, possessive adjectives are in D with kinship terms, as in (32), on the basis of their complementary distribution with the definite article:

- (32) a. (*il) tuo padre
 b. (*il) suo fratello
 c. (*il) mio cugino

Cardinaletti (1998) also shows that a weak, non clitic possessive such as *loro* cannot precede kinship nouns if not cooccurring with a definite article as shown in (33a, b).

- (33) a. *loro padre, *loro madre, *loro nonno, etc.
 b. il loro padre, il loro madre, il loro nonno, etc.
 c. papà loro, mamma loro, nonno loro

The contrast in (33) is related by Cardinaletti to a particular property of kinship terms to have a clitic possessive in D. In (33c) the noun can move across the weak pronoun confirming the hypothesis that the possessive *loro* is not in a head position.

Cardinaletti applies the test of focussing to possessives modifying kinship terms with the results in (34):

- (34) a. *È MIO padre che ci ha salvato non TUO.
 b. È papà MIO che ci ha salvato non il TUO.

In (34a) the clitic is prenominal and cannot bear contrastive focus, while in (34b) it is postnominal and can be contrastively focussed. This is given as evidence for the deficient status of the possessive in (34a). However, the ungrammaticality of (34a) can be due to the last part of the example which shows the impossibility of pronominalizing a bare possessive adjective. If the last part of (34a) is left out, my judgement is of perfect acceptability, as in (34a). In (35b) I also give a different contest of contrastive focus which is perfectly acceptable to me:

- (35) a. È MIO padre che ci ha salvato.
 b. È MIO non TUO padre che ci ha salvato.

The examples in (35) to show that lack of the definite article with kinship terms in Italian is not necessarily evidence for the clitic status of the possessive. I take kinship terms to attract the possessive directly to SpecFP^{max}, as I already proposed in (1993), where I had no motivation for this movement.

An explanation for this property of kinship terms is provided by Penello (2001) who proposes a feature [+R] (relational) in the DP area. It is this feature that is related to the referential properties of the kinship term that forces the possessive in the highest Specifier, which in my framework is the position where the referential features of the noun phrase are computed at LF.

Let us now turn to kinship terms in OI. Since it is possible for possessive adjectives to occur in the SpecFP^{max} of common nouns, one would expect the feature [+R] to be obligatorily checked in that position. However this is not the case. Kinship terms in OI often occur with a possessive and an article, as in (36), although lack of article is also found, in (37) below:

- (36) a. «Io proverò che giustamente uccisi **la mia madre**, (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 191)
'I will prove that rightly [I] killed **the my mother**'
- b. «Io l' uccisi giustamente, perciò ch' ella uccise **il mio padre**». (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 108)
'I her-killed rightly, because she killed **the my father**'
- (37) a. Vogliolo sapere da **mia madre**; (Novellino, 2 p.128)
'[I] want-it to know from **my mother**'
- b. onde **mio padre** ha offeriti duomila marchi (Novellino, 18.167)
'for this **my father** has offered two-thousand marks'

Like MI, kinship terms may occur with a definite article and no possessor; in that case the possessive is understood, as seen in 2.3. above and in (38):

- (38) a. «Ben sapemo quante ruine fece ardendo Roma, tagliando **i parenti** et uccidendo **il fratello** e sparando **la madre**». (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica p.181)
'[We] well know how-many ruins [he] did burning Rome, cutting **the relatives** and killing **the brother** and saving **the mother**'
- b. l' arcivescovo senti che 'l medico avea dato commiato **alla nepote**. (Novellino 49.234)
'the archbishop heard that the physician had given leave to **the niece**'

In (38a), “the relatives”, “the brother” and “the mother” are related to the subject; in (38b) “the niece” is the bishop’s niece, although the structure may have also allowed for

the doctor to be a possible antecedent for the null possessive. This shows that the missing element has pronominal properties and can refer freely outside the nominal domain.

In (Giusti 1993), I noticed that kinship terms appear to lose the property of attracting possessives in SpecDP when they are modified by an adjective as in (39a), or morphologically complex, as in the inflectional diminutive in (39b):

- (39) a. *il tuo amato padre*
b. *il tuo paparino*

Since Penello's [+R]-feature is a semantic feature that must be interpreted at LF, we expect its checking to be subject to lexical as well as parametric variation, contrary to uninterpretable features that must be deleted before Spell-Out. I therefore propose that the [+R]-feature is present in SpecFP^{max} in (39) and it is checked at LF.

Movement of the possessive to SpecFP^{max} appears to be restricted to bare kinship terms, which are bare nouns of a special kind and, as such, have a minimal bare phrase structure.

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On the Left Periphery of the Bulgarian sentence

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1. Introduction

On the basis of data from several Germanic and Romance languages, Rizzi (1997) proposes an analysis of the CP domain according to which the latter has a finer structure than previously thought and should be split into several CP projections, as illustrated in (1):

- (1) $V_{\text{matrix}} \dots [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Force} [_{\text{TopP}} \text{Topic} [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Focus} [_{\text{TopP}} \text{Topic} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Finiteness} [_{\text{IP}} \dots]]]]]]]]$

The Force-Finiteness system marks the boundaries of the complementizer system. ForceP contains information about the type of complement (declarative, exclamative, relative, etc.), i.e. information pertaining to specification of (illocutionary) Force (Chomsky 1995) or clause type (Cheng 1991) and is a matter of selection by the matrix predicate. Fin(iteness)P is at the interface with IP and provides information which “faces the inside, the content of the IP embedded under it” (Rizzi 1997: 283). Its head, Finiteness, differentiates between finite and non-finite clauses and expresses distinctions which are related to tense, agreement and mood. Rizzi also mentions the possibility of a higher (possibly the highest) CP: SubordinatorP.

In previous work, based on Rizzi (1997), Krapova and Karastaneva (2002) arrived at a similar mutual ordering of CP elements in Bulgarian, with one difference, which I will address immediately. In this paper, I will propose certain refinements of the Bulgarian CP structure, concerning in particular the following issues:

- 1) the distribution of Topic and Focus in relation to different complementizers. This may provide evidence to locate the complementizers in different head positions, as well as for the possible movement of such complementizer heads.
- 2) the dissociation between the syntactic properties of Topic and Focus (namely whether they act as operators binding variables, or not) and their respective prosodic properties (such as contrastive intonation).
- 3) the order of Topic and Focus, based on their syntactic properties.

2. Complementizer movement in Bulgarian

Starting from the distribution of focus and topic phrases in Bulgarian, in the above mentioned work we proposed that it is worth subdividing Rizzi's ForceP (which was meant to convey information about clause type or illocutionary force), into two different heads – a declarative and an interrogative head. Like English, Bulgarian possesses a single lexical item for declaratives, the complementizer *če* 'that', which appears only in subordinate clauses. Bulgarian also disposes of an interrogative complementizer, *dali* 'whether', which unlike *če*, can appear both in embedded and main yes/no questions.

- (1)' Znaja *če* Ivan na Petăr knigite mu gi e dal včera.
'(I)know that Ivan to Peter books-the him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- (2) Ne znaja Ivan na Petăr knigite dali mu gi e dal včera.
'not (I)know Ivan to Peter books-the whether him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'

Since topics appear to follow *če* 'that', but to precede *dali* 'whether', we can establish a structure which looks like (3):

- (3) Force > Topic* > Interrogative
 če *dali*

In more recent work, Rizzi (2001) reaches an apparently similar conclusion which leads him to posit an Int(errogative) head, occupied by the Italian complementizer *se* 'if', which is distinct from and lower than Force, as the following examples show:

- (4) a. Maria crede (*il tuo libro) che il tuo libro lo potrà leggere per domani.
 ‘M. believes (the your book) that the your book it will-be able to-read for tomorrow’
- b. Maria non sa il tuo libro se il tuo libro lo potrà leggere per domani.
 ‘M. not knows the your book if the your book it will-be able to-read for tomorrow’

Since in Italian, Topics necessarily follow *che*, but may precede *se*, Rizzi arrives at the following structure of the relative ordering of the complementizers wrt Topic:

Force Topic* Int (Topic*)

The picture becomes more interesting and apparently inconsistent in the two languages with the above hierarchy when we consider the distribution of focused phrases. According to Rizzi, the position of the Focus phrase is below Int from which it can be separated by another topic.

Force Topic* Int (Topic*) Foc (Topic*)

The first unpredicted fact which shows an inconsistency in the distribution of XPs wrt. Heads, is that in Bulgarian, but not in Italian a focused phrase can precede the Int head, cf. (5) and (6)a-b, taken from Rizzi (2001, 289):

- (5) Čudja se KNIGITE **dali** Ivan šte vzeme (ili spisanijata).
 ‘(I)wonder BOOKS-the whether Ivan will take (or journals-the)’
- (6) a. Mi domando **se** QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos’ altro)
 ‘(I)wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him (not something else)’
- b. *Mi domando QUESTO **se** gli volessero dire (non qualcos’ altro)
 ‘(I)wonder THIS if they wanted to say to him (not something else)’

The apparent contrast, exemplified in the above examples, can be taken to show that the position of Focus is different in the two languages. However, instead of abandoning the appealing idea that the two languages share the same underlying CP structure, I will consider a way to reconcile this apparent mismatch between them.

The first thing to take into account is that Bulgarian also appears to allow a Foc phrase after the Int head *dali*:

- (7) Čudja se **dali** KNIGITE Ivan šte vzeme (ili spisanijata).
 ‘(I) wonder whether BOOKS-the Ivan will (he)take (or journals-the)’

Judging from (5) and (7), one might conclude that Bulgarian has one Foc position before *dali* and another one after *dali*. The cross-linguistic difference between the two languages then will reduce to the number of Focus positions: one in Italian (after *se*) vs. two in Bulgarian. A more interesting alternative which could make the two structures identical would be to consider the possibility of raising the head around a single Foc projection. Thus, optional head movement will account for the Bulgarian order, obligatory head movement would account for the Italian order. In fact, there are speakers of Italian, who marginally allow a focused phrase also to precede the Int head *se*, exactly as in Bulgarian:

- (8) ?Mi chiedo DI QUESTO **se** siano veramente disposti a parlare
 ‘(I) wonder ABOUT THIS if (they) are really willing to talk’

While it may seem unmotivated to posit a movement of a complementizer just for the sake of maximizing the similarities between the two languages, there appears to be corroborating evidence for such movement coming from the complementizer *če*. This complementizer introduces complements to both factive and non-factive verbs:

- (9) Mislja *če* Ivan šte dojde. *non-factive*
 ‘(I) think that Ivan will (he)come’
I think that Ivan will come
- (10) Sāžaljavam *če* Ivan ne dojde. *factive*
 ‘(I) regret that Ivan not (he)came’
I regret that Ivan didn’t come

There is, however, a difference between the two cases: while with non-factives one or two topics resumed by a clitic (CLLD topics) can precede *če*¹, in factive complements such phrases have to follow *če*:

- (11) a. Mislja knjigata **če** Ivan šte ja kupi utre.
 ‘(I) think book-the that Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’
 b. Mislja **če** knjigata Ivan šte ja kupi utre.
 ‘(I) think that book-the Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’
- (12) a. *Sžaljavam knjigata **če** Ivan šte ja kupi utre.
 ‘(I) regret book-the that Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’
 b. Sžaljavam **če** knjigata Ivan šte ja kupi utre.
 ‘(I) regret that book-the Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’

It is reasonable to suppose that *če*, which checks the declarative feature, moves to check the factive feature on a higher head (cf. Watanabe 1993 who also proposes raising of factive *that* in English for the purpose of clause-typing). If, semantically, facts are declarative propositions presupposed true, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they are also structurally more complex (with the factive head taking the declarative proposition in its scope).

The same contrast reappears in (13) and (14) where the *če*-clause is a subject clause, respectively non-factive and factive:

- (13) [Ivan **če** ništo ne razbira] e jasno.
 ‘Ivan that nothing not understands is clear’
That Ivan does not understand anything is clear
- (14) a. *[Ivan **če** ništo ne razbira] e žaljo.
 ‘Ivan that nothing not understands is pity’
 b. [Če Ivan ništo ne razbira] e žaljo.
 ‘that Ivan nothing not understands is pity’
It’s a pity that Ivan does not understand anything

¹. This fact has been noted first by Rudin (1986, 1994) and constitutes one of her main arguments for locating Topics in a CP, rather than IP, adjoined position.

These facts lead to the conclusion that factivity, rather than just selection, should be the crucial factor for the ungrammaticality of (12a) where the topical object precedes the declarative complementizer. An even better case in point is (15) where a factive *če*-subject clause in a non-selected context (e.g. subject of a non-unaccusative verb) must obey the same restriction, thereby forcing *če* to move to the highest C position.

- (15) **Če** Ivan (***če**) ne e došal označava *če* ne e mogāl.
 ‘that Ivan not has come means that not has managed’
 (The fact) that Ivan has not come means that he has not managed to

The following structure exemplifies the generalizations arrived at so far, as well as the possible landing sites of *če*-movement.

- (16) C_{Fact} TOP *če* TOP *če*
 ↑ | |

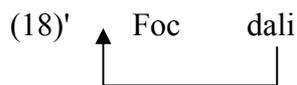
The structure in (16) predicts that in factive clauses all CLLD topics may follow the declarative complementizer, while in non-factives, they have the option of either following or preceding it. Indeed, (17) and (18) show that this is precisely the case:

- (17) Sāžaljavam **če** [Ivan] [knigite] [na Peter] ne mu gi e dal.
 ‘(I) regret that Ivan books-the to Peter not him-cl them-cl has given’
- (18) a. Mislja **če** [Ivan] [knigite] [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.
 ‘(I) think that Ivan books-the to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’
 b. Mislja [Ivan] **če** [knigite] [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.
 ‘(I)think Ivan that books-the to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’
 c. (?) Mislja [Ivan] [knigite] **če** [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.
 ‘(I)think Ivan books-the that to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’

The parallelism in (17) and (18a) with respect to the surface position of *če* can be captured in two ways. One is to suppose that C_{Fact} is specified as plus or minus factive (and in that case *če* would move to the same position in both factive and non-factive subordinate clauses). Alternatively, *če* could be said to exploit a different position in

non-factives, SubordinatorP, which in Rizzi's (1997) framework is the highest CP projection.

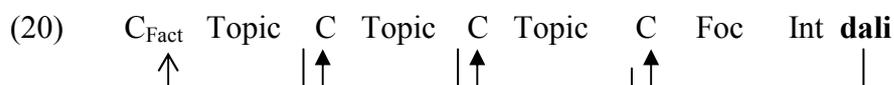
Given the plausible *če*-raising around the highest CLLD topic (obligatorily in certain contexts, factives, and optionally in others, non-factives), we might suppose that *dali*, around the Foc phrase, as shown in (18).



If this is true, the apparent difference between Italian and Bulgarian wrt the position of Focus and the Int head that we saw in (5), (6), (7) and (8) disappears. The raising analysis just suggested claims that the double position of Focus phrases, one above and one below *dali*, is actually an illusion created by the optional raising of *dali*, which is merged below the unique Contrastive Focus position. This happens in Bulgarian (5), as well as for some speakers in Italian, cf. (8).

In fact, if Foc is lower than the CLLD Topics, to which I will return in a moment, the fact that *dali* may also be found to the left of the highest CLLD topic, as well as interspersed between the various Topic positions, as illustrated in (19), may be taken to show that it can also raise leftward to the highest C.

- (19) a. Čudja se **dali** knjigite Ivan na Peter mu gi e dal včera.
 '(I)wonder whether books-the Ivan to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- b. Čudja se knjigite **dali** Ivan na Peter mu gi e dal včera.
 '(I)wonder books-the whether Ivan to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- c. Čudja se knjigite Ivan **dali** na Peter mu gi e dal včera.
 '(I)wonder books-the Ivan whether to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- d. Čudja se knjigite Ivan na Peter **dali** mu gi e dal včera.
 '(I)wonder books-the Ivan to Peter whether him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'



This suggestion, that Focus is lower than CLLD topics, as is commonly assumed and also shown for Bulgarian in our previous work (Krapova & Karastaneva 2002), needs to be looked at more carefully.

3. The Topic and Focus positions in the Left Periphery

3.1. Assumptions about the notion of Contrastive Focus

One distinction is relevant for the purposes of this work: the distinction between Contrastive Focus and Information Focus, also called presentational Focus. Contrastive Focus is necessarily associated with a contextually determined set of alternatives, for which the predicate might actually hold, by pointing out the unique member (or subset) of that set for which the predicate actually holds and thus eliminating the other(s). To quote from Zubizarreta (1998): “Contrastive Focus makes a statement about the truth or correctness of (certain aspects of) the presupposition provided by its context statement.” (p. 10) “On the one hand, it negates the value assigned to a variable in the AS [assertion structure] of its context statement (as can be seen by the implicit or explicit negative tag associated with the contrastive focus), and on the other hand, it introduces an alternative value for such a variable” (ibid. 1998, 6).

Unlike Contrastive Focus, Information focus is the domain of new (non-presupposed) information and has been described as the new part, or what is being said about the topic or as the information of the sentence that makes contribution to the hearer’s knowledge store (Vallduví 1992, and in particular Arnaudova 2001).

The two types of focus are frequently associated with different representations. Thus, Kiss (1998) and others argue that only Contrastive Focus corresponds to a separate syntactic position and has operator properties. The contrastive Focus projection clearly has operator properties, since the focused phrase has to reach a designated scope position, from where it binds a variable. Kiss clearly distinguishes this quantificational projection from presentational (Information) focus, which is associated with the domain of new information and hence allows focus spreading rather than movement to an operator position. Information Focus has no operator properties and is instantiated in a canonical, base generated position.

Thus, if we look at the Bulgarian example (21a), we see that the Foc phrase affects the truth of the sentence by excluding the alternative value for which the predicate does

not hold, although it could, potentially, and by asserting the value for which it actually holds (Arnaudova 2001):

- (21) a. KOLA Ivana iska (ne kážta)
 ‘car Ivana wants (not house)’
It is a car that Ivana wants, not a house

The focused phrase is moved to take scope, which is also signaled prosodically, by emphasis (higher pitch). Of course, CF can be signaled just by prosodic marking, without movement.

- (21) b. Ivana iska KOLA (ne kážta).²

The pair in (21) already shows that prosodic marking is not enough to claim that there is a separate Foc projection in Bulgarian with quantificational properties. In this paper, I will be concerned only with the preverbal CF, i.e. Focus in the Left Periphery, which may have more stringent contextual conditions, yet to be determined more precisely. Below I will also show that in order for the postverbal constituent to receive a contrastive focus, certain syntactic conditions have to be met.

3.2. *The relative order of Topic and Focus positions*

Above we have seen that one or more Topic phrases can precede a Focus phrase.

- (22) a. [Parite] [na Ivan] MARIJA šte mu gi dade (ne Peter).
 ‘money-the to Ivan Maria will him-dat them-acc(she) give(not P.)’
Top Top Foc CI CI V
- b. Ne znam parite na Ivan dali MARIJA šte mu gi dade.
 ‘not (I)know money-the to Ivan whether Maria will him-cl them-cl
 (she)give’

². In the examples to follow focus constituents will appear in capitals, while contrastive Topics will appear in bold.

- c. Ne znam parite na Ivan MARIJA dali šte mu gi dade.
 ‘not (I) know money-the to Ivan Maria whether will him-cl them-cl (she)give’

First, it should be noted that not all topics have to be clitic left dislocated. Thus, in the following example, we have, seemingly, two topics, only the second of which (in this case the direct object) is clitic left dislocated. Contrastive stress is on the subject.

- (23) Na Ivan parite MARIJA šte gi dade (ne njakoj drug)
 ‘to Ivan money-the Maria will them-cl (she)give (not someone else)’
It is Maria that will give to Ivan the money

Since the lower topic is resumed by a clitic, the higher one should also be a topic, considering that it is the subject *Marija*, which receives the emphatic/contrastive marking. But, as opposed to direct objects, indirect objects, especially if they are good topics, like proper names or definite descriptions do not need to be resumed by a clitic. Since Topic constituents serve to anchor the new information (the comment) to the previous context, they are expected to be outside of the domain of Focus. Apparently, however, one finds examples in Bulgarian, where the reverse ordering, namely Foc > Top seems possible, as can be inferred by the high pitch intonation of the first fronted constituent in (24).

- (24) **Biletite** Marija na Ivan štjala da (mu) gi prati (ne parite)
 ‘tickets-the M. to Ivan (she)would (him-cl) them-cl (she)send (not money-the)’

As mentioned above, clitic resumption is obligatory with topicalized direct objects and only optional with topicalized indirect objects. Crucially, in (24) the apparent Focus phrase to the left of the two Topics (*Marija* and *na Ivan*) is itself resumed by a clitic. Therefore, it counts as a syntactic Topic, and not as a syntactic Focus. Since some contrastively focused phrases can in certain cases be resumed by a clitic in Bulgarian (definite direct and even more so indirect objects, restricted quantifier phrases, certain distributive quantifiers with referential use, etc. see below), it becomes important to distinguish between the notion of CLLD topic, which can be contrastively focused by intonation from the prototypical notion of a Focus phrase which from an Op position binds a gap which qualifies as a variable. The dissociation of prosodic and syntactic properties therefore becomes a necessary condition for establishing the syntactic

position of the various types of left-peripheral phrases. A similar case of intonative emphasis of topicalized phrases has already been noted for Italian by Beninca' (2001, 58f.). It thus seems that prosodic emphasis on a constituent is not what matters as a means of marking the constituent as Focus, but rather the existence of a separate Focus projection, different from and lower than Topic. CLLD Topics with a contrastive stress will be referred to here as *contrastive topics*.

Contrastive Topics can appear in embedded clauses, preceding or following the Int. head *dali* (26a/b), as well as following the declarative complementizer *če* 'that', (26).³

- (25) a Ne znam **kāštata** dali na Marija (i) ja e pripisal (ili samo kolata).
 'not (I)know house-the whether to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated (or just car-the)'
I don't know whether he has donated the house to Maria (or just the car)
- b. Ne znam dali **kāštata** na Marija (i) ja e pripisal bašta í.
 'not (I) know whether house-the to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated father her'
- (26) Ne znaex *če* **kāštata** na Marija (i) ja e pripisal bašta í.
 'not (I) knew that house-the to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated father her'

This distribution can be accommodated under our previous proposal that complementizer raising can leave Topic constituents behind, so that they appear to the right of the complementizer.

3.3. *Distinguishing between CLLD Topics and Operators*

1) Clitic resumption

As opposed to D-linked specific indefinite or distributive quantifiers and wh-phrases, which can appear in CLLD structures, cf. (27), clear cases of wh-quantifiers (non D-linked wh-elements) and non-specific (bare) indefinites are incompatible with clitics (28).

³. On the properties of the additional position preceding the complementizer *če* 'that', see below, section 3.6.

- (27) a. Njakoi (ot knigite) Ivan ne gi e pročel.
 ‘some (of books-the) Ivan not them-cl has read’
Some of the books, Ivan hasn’t read
- b. Koi ot tjax gi vidja i včera?
 ‘who-pl of them them-cl saw also yesterday’
Which of them have you seen also yesterday?
- c. Vseki pazient go pregleždam vnimatelno.
 ‘every patient him-cl (I)visit carefully’
I visit carefully every patient
- (28) a. Kakvo (*go) vidja Ivan.
 ‘what (it-cl) saw Ivan’
- b. Koj (*go) vidja Ivan?
 ‘who (him-cl) saw Ivan’
- c. Nešto (*go) razbrax.
 ‘something (it-cl) (I)understood’
- d. Ništo ne (*go) razbrax.
 ‘nothing not (it-cl) (I)understood’

2) Sensitivity to WCO

Wh-operators not resumed by a clitic (and only these) are also sensitive to WCO, namely they cannot cross a pronominal interpreted as bound by them.

- (29) *Kogo nabi bašta mu?
 ‘whom beat father his’

WCO effects disappear if the wh-phrase is resumed by a clitic, cf. (30).

- (30) Kogo go nabi bašta mu?
 ‘whom him-cl beat father his’
Who did his father beat?

The examples in (31) show that when focused phrase, as well as quantifiers are doubled, they give rise to new binding dependencies – a property, which also characterizes CLLD structures. In such cases, WCO effects are obviated, as can be seen

from the contrast between (31) and (32), containing a Focus operator, a negative quantifier and presumably, a weak quantifier.

- (31) a. *IVAN bašta mu uvolni.
 'Ivan father his fired'
 b. *Nikoj prijatelite mu ne ostavjat v trudni momenti
 'nobody friends his not leave in difficult moments'
 c. *Vseki prijatelite mu ne ostavjat v trudni momenti.
 'everybody friends his not leave in difficult moments'
- (32) a. Ivan_i bašta mu_i go_i uvolni.
 Ivan father his him-cl fired
 Ivan, his father fired him
 b. Nikoj_i prijatelite mu_i njama da go_i ostavjat v trudni momenti.
 'nobody friends-the his will-not to him-cl leave in hard moments'
 Nobody's friends will leave him in hard times
 c. Vseki_i prijatelite mu_i šte go_i spasjat v truden moment.
 'everybody friends-the his will him-cl save in hard moment'
 Everybody's friends will come to their rescue in hard times

The presence of the clitic and the absence of WCO effects show that elements which surface in CLLD positions do not act as operators, as opposed to quantificational elements.

Thus, we can conclude, with Rizzi (1997), that clitic resumption and lack of WCO are properties, identifying Topic–Comment structures, which are clearly to be differentiated from operator–variable structures.

3.4. *Operator focus cannot be higher than any CLLD Topic (*Op Foc > CLLD Top)*

So far, we have seen that a contrastively stressed constituent, preceding a CLLD Topic must itself be resumed by a clitic, as we showed in (24) above. However, when a contrastively stressed phrase follows, rather than precedes, a CLLD Topic, then it is no longer the case that it must be resumed by a clitic.

- (33) Na Ivan KUFARA šte mu dam.
 ‘to Ivan suitcase-the will him-dat-cl (I)give’
It is the suitcase that I will give to Ivan

The linear order of the two left dislocated constituents in (33) suggests that the Op Foc position can only be lower than the CLLD Topic field, where the clitic resumed topics are located. Moreover, (34) shows that the Focus phrase cannot bind the pronominal variable inside the subject, a WCO effect.

- (34) *Na Marija IVAN majka mu í predstaví t.
 ‘to Marija IVAN mother his her-cl (she)introduced’
It is Ivan’s mother that introduced him to Maria

We can thus conclude that the operator Focus position is lower than the CLLD Topic positions, as exemplified in (35).

- (35) CLLD Topic(s) > OP Foc

An Op focus, however, apparently allows for a following Topic phrase not resumed by a clitic (at least according to some speakers).

- (36) a. Ivan NA MARIJA dolarite dade (ne na Peter)
 ‘Ivan to Maria dollars-the (he)gave (not to Peter)’
It was to Maria that Ivan gave the dollars (not to Peter)
 b. Ivan DOLARITE na Marija dade (ne evroto).
 ‘Ivan dollars-the to Maria (he)gave (not euros-the)’
It was the dollars that Ivan gave to Maria (not the euros)

The lack of clitic resumption can be taken to suggest that the Topic becomes part of (is assimilated to) the quantificational domain. Both the clitic-less Topic and the Focus are able to bind a variable, as confirmed by the WCO test exemplified in (37) below. (On the existence of two corresponding positions in Italian, cf. Beninca’ (2001, 59f) who argues that both are instances of Focus as a type of Focus attraction, and Belletti (2002, sect. 3.2.1, fn. 48) who suggests that the appearance of a clitic-less object in the left periphery is a special type of topicalization licensed by a preceding focalized constituent):

- (37) *PARITE na Ivan majka mu dade t t
 ‘money-the to Ivan mother his gave’

(37) shows that *na Ivan* acts like an OP, because it is unable to bind the subject variable. I will call it **OP(erator) Topic** (cf. Lambova 2001, who also proposes a lower (between CP and TP) position for Topics, but without differentiating English-type topicalization from Romance-type clitic left dislocation – a perspective which, according to us, plays a crucial role in determining the relative order of the full range of left peripheral positions). It seems therefore that an OP Topic may follow an OP Focus. Taken together with (35), this suggests the following relative order of left peripheral (preverbal) constituents.

- (38) CLLD Topic > OP Focus > OP Topic

3.5. *Contrastive Topics are part of the Topic field*

The supposed hierarchy in (38) predicts that if a contrastively stressed phrase precedes a CLLD Topic, the former will constitute part of the Topic field, regardless of its contrastive stress. This prediction is borne out, as the contrast between (39a) and (39b) shows: the direct object phrase following the clitic resumed and contrastively stressed indirect object is itself necessarily resumed by a clitic.

- (39) a. Ivan **na Marija** parite í gi dade.
 ‘Ivan to Maria money-the her-cl them-cl gave’
 b. *Ivan **na Marija** parite í dade.
 ‘Ivan to Maria money-the her-cl gave’

Note that even though contrastively focused indirect objects are more readily clitic-doubled than contrastively focused objects (cf. Beninca’ 2001 for Italian, Cornilescu 2000 for Romanian), the dative clitic in (39) is impossible, unless the direct object is also clitic resumed. In view of (39), we can conclude that if there is a prosodically marked focus resumed by a clitic (i.e. a contrastive topic), the following clitic-resumed material must also be part of the Topic field.

The fact that an Op focus binding a variable has to follow a CLLD Topic (as stated in (38)) not only shows that Topics are higher than Focus but also that the clitic of a CLLD Topic is obligatory. This would seem to imply that it is impossible to find a CLLD

Topic without a clitic. This is exactly what I am going to claim, despite some apparent counterevidence. Consider the following paradigm, where the clitic seems to be optional, with a preference for clitic resumption (the material in parenthesis shows that the same is true if the topic is dislocated long distance):

- (40) a. [_{Top} Parite] (kaza če) Ivan (gi) e dal [_{Fna} Marija].
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) Ivan (them-cl) has given to Maria’
He/she said that the money Ivan has given to Maria
- b. [_{Top} Parite] (kaza če) (gi) e dal [_FIvan].
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) (them-cl) has given Ivan’
- c. [_{Top} Parite] (kaza če) na Marija (gi) e dal [_FIvan].
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) to Maria (them-cl) has given Ivan’

However, one very interesting fact about (40) is that a postverbal narrow (Information) Focus is obligatory for the sentences to be grammatical. Cf. the contrast between (40) and (41):

- (41) a. [_{Top} Parite] (kazaxa če) Ivan *(gi) e dal.
 ‘money-the ((they)said that) Ivan (them-cl) has given’
- b. [_{Top} Parite] (kazaxa če) na Marija *(gi) e dal
 ‘money-the ((they)said that) to Maria (them-cl) has given’
- c. [_{Top} Na Marija] (kazaxa če) parite *(i gi) e dal.
 ‘to Maria ((they)said that) money-the (her-cl them-cl) has given’

(41) shows that clitic resumption is required in the absence of a lower constituent carrying Information Focus. If no such constituent is present, focus is on the verb, by default, but then the clitic becomes obligatory (again). Clitic resumption therefore, is not at all an optional process, but is sensitive to the presence of a postverbal XP, carrying Information focus. The seeming optionality of clitic resumption in (40) might in fact conceal the existence of two different constructions: one, a CLLD construction (exemplified in 42a), and another, an OP Topic construction (42b). Only in the latter a lower Information Focus is required. In the CLLD construction, on the other hand, the presence of a postverbal constituent carrying Information Focus is optional; moreover, that constituent can also receive contrastive focus:

- (42) a. Parite (kazaxa če) gi e dal ([_{IF/CF} Ivan]) CLLD
 ‘money-the ((they)said that) them has given (Ivan)’
 b. Parite (kazaxa če) e dal [_{IF} Ivan] OP Topic
 ‘money ((they)said that) has given Ivan’
(They said that) Ivan gave the money

As expected, the CLLD construction passes the WCO test (i.e. it is not sensitive to WCO), while the OP Topic one is sensitive to WCO.

- (43) a. Ivan_i majka mu_i šte go_i predstavi [_{Fna} Petăr]
 ‘Ivan mother his will him introduce to Peter’
 b. *Ivan_i majka mu_i šte predstavi [_{Fna} Petăr].
 ‘Ivan mother his will introduce to Peter’

If in (42a) the fronted topic is a CLLD topic, then any constituent preceding it should also be clitic resumed, as part of the Topic field, while any constituent following it may fail to be clitic resumed, therefore acting as an OP Focus or an OP Topic.

These options are illustrated in (44):

- (44) a. [_{CLLD TOP} Na Marija] [_{CLLD TOP} parite] í gi dade [_FIvan]
 ‘to Maria money-the her-cl them-cl gave Ivan’
 b. [_{CLLD TOP} Kăštata] [_{CLLD TOP} na Marija] í j pripisa [_FBAŠTA í] (ne majka í)
 ‘house-the to Maria her-cl it-cl donated father her (not mother her)’
 c. [_{CLLD TOP} Na Marija] [_{OP} PARITE/parite] í dade Ivan.
 ‘to Maria MONEY-the her-cl gave Ivan’

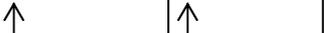
In (44a) and (44b) we have a sequence of two CLLD Topics, co-occurring with sentence final Focus (in this case, the subject), which probably is assigned after so-called evacuation for focus, allowing for the (re)selection of the sentence final constituent by the Focus rule (as in Arnaudova 2001).

3.6. Conclusion: The highest Topic position is a CLLD position

If clitic resumption is not an optional process, we can check whether the highest XP position in the CP is an operator or CLLD position. Recall that we saw above (section 2.) that the complementizer *če* ‘that’ in certain contexts (non-factive clauses) can be preceded by a Topic phrase. See (11a) repeated here as (45a). In view of our discussion of topics and operators in section 2, it is interesting to see whether this position is reserved for one of the two types.

- (45) Mislja knjigata *če* Ivan *šte* *(ja) kupi utre.
 ‘(I)think book-the that Ivan will (it) (he)buy tomorrow’

Recall also that the highest Topic position within the CP field (indicated as TOP1 in 46) has to be obligatorily resumed by a clitic – a fact, which we interpreted as due to the syntactic (CLLD) properties of this position. (The other Topics around which *če* raises are also part of the Topic field.)

- (46) C_{Fact} TOP1 *če* TOP2 *če* TOP3 Op Foc Int dali


Interestingly, there are restrictions on the possible types of elements that can be hosted by this position. For example, indefinite affirmative quantifiers with specific interpretation, D-linked universal/distributive quantifiers (like e.g. *vsičko* ‘everything’ in (47a)) can function as TOP1, but not negative quantifiers (like e.g. *ništo* ‘nothing’ in (47b)) and non-specific indefinites. The difference seems to be due to the semantic properties of the phrases (i.e. specific, referential, or partitive, cf. (47c,d)). Cf. also Enç (1991), de Hoop (1992) for a more general treatment of the role of specificity/partitivity in non-quantificational structures:

- (47) a. Mislja *vsičko* *če* si kazax.
 ‘(I) think everything that refl said’
I think I gave all the correct answers
 b. *Mislja *ništo*, *če* ne sām napravil.
 ‘(I)think nothing that not (I) have done’
I think I haven’t done anything

- c. Mislja vse *nešto* če sām spečelil.
 ‘(I) think at least something that have gained’
I think I gained at least something
- d. Mislja *vseki ot pacientite* če go pregležda vniatelno.
 ‘(I)think each of patients that him (he)examines carefully’
I think he examines carefully each patient

It is thus reasonable to suppose, following Beghelli and Stowell (1996,5), that the highest position, preceding the complementizer in certain contexts, may host only referentially independent elements which fulfil the function of subject of predication and are interpreted with widest scope relative to other scope-bearing elements. To give just one example, consider the pair in (48), which shows that the TOP1 constituent can only take wide scope (corresponding to the distributive interpretation in (48a) and the specific interpretation in (48b)):

- (48) a. Mislja *vseki čovek* če njakoj go običa.
 ‘(I) thought every person that someone him (he)loves’
I thought that every person is loved by somebody
 for every x (x person), there is an y, such that y loves x.
- b. Čux *edin* če kacnal na lunata. (Jordan Radičkov)
 ‘(I)heard one that (he)landed on moon-the’
I heard there is someone who has landed on the moon
 there is a specific x (x a person) and x landed on the moon

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued, based on evidence from Bulgarian, that the Left Periphery can be divided basically into two fields – a higher Topic field and a lower Focus field. We gave evidence for this from the distribution of complementizers, from obligatory clitic resumption, and from lack of WCO effects. The Topic field can be occupied by constituents which qualify as syntactic Topics (definite phrases, indefinite phrases with specific interpretation, D-linked elements). Apparent cases of contrastively focused constituents were shown to be in fact contrastive topics, i.e. clitic resumed phrases with contrastive intonation. Because they qualify as syntactic Topics, they do

not interfere with operators such as *wh*, focus and other operators which occupy the lower Focus field. This is the field targeted by focus constituents which do not allow clitic resumption – operator topics, non-D-linked quantifiers, negative operators. WCO effects have been shown to characterize these positions. Topics following the OP Focus position have been argued to have operator properties. Movements of XPs into the Left Periphery were argued to be movements targeting dedicated positions, and bearing a particular relation to the sentence and its interpretation. Additional (complementizer, X⁰-type of) movements were argued to play a role in deriving the surface order and offering a wider empirical coverage of the observed freedom of constituents within the CP domain in Bulgarian.

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Aspectual Interpretation in Spanish of Adverb-Modified Verbal Forms*

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Summary

García Fernández (2000a) showed that compound forms of Spanish verbs can express what in the literature is known as “Continuative Perfect”, and held that this aspectual variety focalises an event from its beginning until an internal point, without focalising its end. He further proposed a classification of aspectual varieties whose first and foremost division was that between conclusive and inconclusive events. Imperfect and Continuative were regrouped within the first division, Continuative being considered as an aspectual variety different from the Perfect. The aim of the present paper is, in the first place, to cover the possible morphological expressions of the Continuative and study which ones are shared with the Imperfect aspect. We will later establish the restrictions imposed upon them by the different *Aktionsarten*. We will furthermore analyze the relationships between the Continuative and the Imperfect aspect variety called “continuous”, and, lastly, we will provide an explanation for the obligatory use of certain adverbial complements in the Continuative’s expression.

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1. The Notion of Grammatical Aspect

In this paragraph we are going to introduce the notion of grammatical aspect that will be employed throughout the paper. Following, among others, Smith (1991) and Klein (1992, 1994), we will define the grammatical aspect as a relational category, more specifically, as the grammaticalization of the non-deictic relationship between two intervals. According to Klein (1992), aspect is the relationship between the Time of the Situation and Topic Time¹. The Time of the Situation is the time during which the event denoted by the lexical part of the verb takes place. Topic Time, on the other hand, is the period during which a certain statement holds true in a given situation. According to Klein, this relationship may present, among others, the following possibilities:

Imperfect: Topic Time is included in the Time of the Situation.

In this aspectual variety an internal part of the situation is focalised, without focalising either its beginning or its end. In this way, any supposition about the end of a situation in Imperfect is a pragmatic inference, as grammar has nothing to say in this respect. So, in the sentence *Ayer Pedro ordenaba sus libros* (*Yesterday Peter ordered-IMP (imperfect) his books*) we only know that Pedro was ordering his books yesterday, but we do not know whether he is continuing with this task today or not.

Perfective or Aorist: Topic Time includes the end of the Time of the Situation and the beginning of the time that follows the Time of the Situation.

We will employ the term Aorist throughout this paper, following Bertinetto (1986: 198 and following); Klein called it Perfective. In this variety the whole event is focalised, the beginning as well as the end, as Smith (1991) points out, so that Topic Time coincides exactly with the Time of the Situation². In this manner, in a sentence like *Ayer Pedro ordenó sus libros* (*Yesterday Peter ordered his books*), the whole event is stated, so that the subject finished ordering his books.

¹. The relationship between the Time of the Situation and Topic Time is not deictic, unlike grammar tense. Deictics are linguistic elements that take part of their meaning from the situation in which they are used; see Cinque (1976), among many others.

². We do not follow Klein (1992) in the definition of Aorist, as it is not indicated here, as though it is in Smith's, that in Aorist is focalised the end as well as the beginning of the event. See García Fernández (2000b: 50-51) on this same subject.

Perfect: Topic Time follows the Time of the Situation.

In this aspectual variety the results of an event are focalised. In order to do this, in the first place, the situation must be concluded, and, secondly, there must be something after the situation that can be focalised. A sentence that illustrates this aspectual variety is the following one: *Ayer Pedro ya había ordenado sus libros* (*Yesterday Peter had already ordered his books*), where it is stated that the result of the event *ordenar sus libros* was relevant yesterday, that is, the books were already ordered yesterday.

We can graph the different aspectual varieties Klein distinguishes if we represent, as appears in García Fernández (2000b: 49 and 50), the Time of the Situation by the – sign, the time that follows or precedes the Time of the Situation by the + sign and Topic Time between square brackets [] :

TABLE 1

Imperfect (*Ayer Pedro ordenaba sus libros*)

-----[-----]-----+++++

Aorist (*Ayer Pedro ordenó sus libros*)

+++++[+-----+]+++++

Perfect (*Ayer Pedro ya había ordenado sus libros*)

-----+++++[++++]+++++

In the following TABLE the morphological correspondence in Spanish of the above defined aspectual varieties is shown:

TABLE II

	Imperfect Aspect	Aorist or Perfective Aspect	Perfect Aspect
Morphological Expression	present and imperfect	simple past and compound forms	compound forms

Klein's definition provides for the existence of other aspectual varieties, that is, it provides for the possibility of the two intervals in question, the Time of the Situation and Topic Time, relating to each other in other ways. In the next section we are going to maintain that, in Spanish, as in English, there are verbal forms that, in the circumstances we will later specify, express what in the literature is known as "continuative Perfect". This aspectual variety focalises or states an event from its beginning until an internal point, without focalising its end. We can graph it this way, following Klein's system:

continuative Perfect

+++++++[+-----]-----

2. The continuative

2.1. *The continuative and the Perfect*

García Fernández (2000a) tried to prove that the compound forms of the Spanish verb can express what we have just called "continuative Perfect"³, that is, an aspectual variety that focalises or states an event from its beginning until an internal point, without focalising its end, as shown in the following examples:

- (1) a. Ha vivido sola desde que llegó a España.
 She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'
 b. Ha estado preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.
 'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'

³. We take the denomination "continuative" from Fenn (1987: 6), who attributes it to Kruisinga (1931). Bertinetto (1994) employs "inclusive" and Havu (1997: 226), "persistent". Once we establish that the continuative is an aspectual variety independent from the Perfect, we will employ the initial block capital. The aspectual varieties will be written with an initial capital; within each aspectual variety, the subvarieties such as experiential, resultative, habitual, etc. will be written in lower case. We now have to point out that, for reasons of space, we will limit ourselves to the study of past forms and set future forms aside. In the same fashion, we will set aside the negative sentences very often associated with the continuative; see García Fernández (2000a).

In many works dedicated to the English verb, the continuative is included in the Perfect varieties, resultative and experiential, as it coincides with them in being expressed by compound "*to have*" forms:

- (2) a. They have arrived. (RESULTATIVE)
 b. We have already visited England. (EXPERIENTIAL)
 c. We have known her for six years. (CONTINUATIVE)

In the resultative Perfect of (2a), the results of a previous action are discussed; in our example, the one denoted by the verb *arrived*, so that this sentence would come to be equivalent to *they are here*. In the experiential Perfect we talk about the state implied by having a certain kind of experience, in a very broad sense; in our example, having visited England at least once. In the continuative Perfect, we discuss an event that began at a time point in the past and goes on without interruption until the present. As we can see, the (2a) and (2b) examples' resultative and experiential have in common the fact of affirming the state of things, result or experience produced by a previously concluded event, whereas in the example (2c) we have an event that was started previously but is not completed. This difference separates the working of the continuative from resultative and experiential and brings it closer to the Imperfect aspect, characterized by not stating the end of events.

There are other facts that lead us to think that the continuative, in spite of being expressed by compound verb forms, is closely related to the Imperfect. We will consider them in the next section.

2.2. *The continuative and the Imperfect*

Some forms typically associated with the Imperfect aspect can also express the continuative aspectual variety; we will prove it, in the first place, with stative predicates, which are the ones that appeared in (1):

- (3) a. Vive sola desde que llegó a España.
 'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'
 b. Está preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.
 'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'

In the two examples of (3), as occurred in (1), there is an event in the main clause that started to take place at a point in the past and continues taking place without interruption at the moment of speech. The point when the events denoted by the indicative present predicates of the main clauses starts is given by the event denoted by the subordinate predicates, which is, in (3a), the arrival in Spain and, in (3b), the news of the accident. That is, the examples (1) and (3) are synonymous⁴. The possibility of this happening depends on the appearance of a temporal complement headed by the preposition *desde*. We will consider the following examples, where such a complement does not appear:

- (4) a. Ha vivido sola.
'She has lived alone'
b. Ha estado preocupado.
'He has been worried'
- (5) a. Vive sola.
'She lives alone'
b. Está preocupado.
'He is worried'

It is evident that (4a) is not synonymous with (5a) and neither is (4b) with (5b). Furthermore, the interpretation of the present perfect in (1) and in (4) is not the same. In (4) the events denoted by the predicates *vivir sola* and *estar preocupado* have started and concluded in the past with regard to the moment of speech, whereas this is not the case in (1).

Continuing with the morphological coincidence between Imperfect and continuative we introduced at the beginning of this section, we now wish to point out that the progressive form, that characteristically expresses the Imperfect progressive variety, can also be employed to express continuative:

⁴. Some speakers consider that, in addition to having the same interpretation as the examples (3), the examples (1) allow the interpretation that the events denoted by the predicates *ha vivido sola* and *ha estado preocupado* are concluded before the moment of speech. We will not consider this interpretation, which is that of an Aorist or an experiential Perfect.

- (6) a. Está escribiendo desde las seis.
'S/he has been writing since six'
b. Está jugando al fútbol desde que ha llegado.
'S/he has been playing football since s/he came'
- (7) a. Está escribiendo la carta desde que ha terminado de comer.
'S/he has been writing the letter since s/he finished eating'
b. Está haciendo la maleta desde las tres.
'S/he has been packing her/his case since three'

We have established that forms characteristic of the Imperfect aspect may, in determined constructions, express the same aspectual meaning of continuative as the present perfect. We will now compare the continuative with the varieties of Imperfect termed "progressive" and "habitual" in order to gain a better understanding of the similarities between them⁵.

Bertinetto (1986: 120-181) holds that the characteristic of the Imperfect is its basic property of not stating the conclusion of the event denoted by the predicate in question. We will illustrate the two varieties we are discussing and demonstrate how both cases fit Bertinetto's characterization:

- (8) a. María estaba preparando la cena. (PROGRESSIVE)
'Mary was-IMP preparing supper'
b. Roberto solía ir al gimnasio todas las semanas. (HABITUAL)
'Robert used to go to the gym every week'

In the two sentences (8) we see that, in the first case, it is not stated that Mary has finished preparing supper and that in the second one it is not stated that Robert does no longer go to the gym every week. If we now give an example with the continuative periphrasis <llevar + gerund>⁶, we realize that the end of the situation is also not stated, in this case, that Peter did no longer live with his aunt and uncle:

⁵. We are not going to discuss the Imperfect continuous variety now; we will deal with it in §4 of this paper, where its relationship with the continuative will be studied.

⁶. As we will see in § 2.3, this periphrasis is one of the possible morphological expressions of continuative. See Gómez Torrego (1988: 152-156), Lorenzo (1966 [1994]: 255-260), Morera (1991: 225-229), Squartini (1998: 297-298 and 332-333) and Yllera (1999: 3419-3420) about it.

- (9) Pedro llevaba viviendo con sus tíos dos años. (CONTINUATIVE)
'Peter had been living with his aunt and uncle for two years'

Starting from the two observations we have made, that is, that the continuative does not state the ends of the situations and that, in certain constructions, it can be expressed through forms associated with the Imperfect aspect, we conclude, in accordance with García Fernández (2000a), that the continuative has to be studied as an aspectual variety different from the Perfect⁷, sharing with the Imperfect the characteristic of not stating the conclusion of the event.

Thus, we define the Continuative as a grammatical aspect variety that does not focalise the end of the situations it contains, but does focalise their beginning.

2.3. *The Morphological Expression of the Continuative*

One of the reasons why the Continuative has been paid less attention might be the variety of its possible morphological realizations. In the aspectual field the biunivocal relationship between semantic content and morphological realization is the exception and not the rule. In fact, Bertinetto (1986: 85) points out in this respect:

"L'Aspetto non è quasi mai una categoria rigorosamente manifestata sul piano morfologico. In molti casi, la valenza aspettuale deve essere individuata per inferenza, piuttosto che per diretta commutazione tra i Tempi".

In reference to the Continuative, we will now go on to enumerate the forms that can express it, in order to study in detail in the following sections the restrictions the different *Aktionsarten* impose upon each of them. Nonetheless, we should first point out that each one of the possible forms of expressing the Continuative has several *Aktionsarten* restrictions, which will be the subject of § 3. Summarizing the content of this section, we can anticipate that the Continuative can be expressed by an exclusively continuative verbal periphrasis, <llevar + gerund>, which is also defective and has only present and imperfect forms. Together with this, there are also the simple forms that express Imperfect aspect, that is to say, the present simple and imperfect and their respective compound forms and the corresponding forms of the progressive periphrasis.

⁷. For this reason, we will write *Continuative* with a capital C.

Therefore, the Continuative is clearly associated with the morphological forms of present and imperfect, since these forms appear in all the expressions of this aspectual variety.

In the first place, the periphrasis <*llevar* + gerund> characteristically expresses the continuative value:

- (10) a. *Lleva una hora bailando en el escenario.*
 'S/he has been dancing on the stage for an hour'
 b. *Llevábamos veinte minutos esperando a Nuria.*
 'We had been waiting for Nuria for twenty minutes'

The examples (10) adjust perfectly to the definition of Continuative we have given; indeed, the quantified complements *una hora* and *veinte minutos* indicate, respectively, how long the dancing and the waiting last, so that the inception of the event is clearly being specified. If we take (10a) into consideration, for instance, the adverbial complement *una hora* points out that the dance started an hour before the speech time. On the other hand, it is evident that neither the dance is finished in (10a) nor the wait is finished in (10b), so that the event is open and continues taking place, exactly as established in the definition of the Continuative.

Secondly, we have already seen that some predicates can express the Continuative with the present perfect and the pluperfect:

- (11) a. *Ha estado preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.*
 'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'
 b. *Siempre había tenido dinero.*
 'S/he had always had money'

Thirdly, the present and imperfect simple forms can express Continuative, in the circumstances we will determine in section 3:

- (12) a. *Está preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.*
 'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'
 b. *Estaba preocupado desde que se había enterado del accidente.*
 'He had been worried since he had learned about the accident'

As we have already said in § 2.2 when discussing the relationship to the Imperfect, in addition, in certain contexts, for instance, with complements introduced by the preposition *desde*, the progressive periphrasis in present or in imperfect can also express Continuative. This fourth possibility is illustrated by the following examples:

- (13) a. Está ayudando a su padre desde hace una hora.
'S/he has been helping her/his father for an hour'
b. Estaba estudiando desde hacía una hora.
'S/he had been studying for an hour'

Note that in the examples (13) we have two cases of Continuative and not Imperfect progressive. If we observe the definition of the progressive established by Bertinetto (1986: 120-131), we realize that it is not just a single instant that is being focalised, which would in fact be incompatible with the meaning of the preposition *desde*. We can prove this fact with a paraphrase of the periphrasis <llevar + gerund>. Note that the sentences (14) are adequate paraphrases of those of (13):

- (14) a. Lleva ayudando a su padre una hora.
'S/he has been helping her/his father for an hour'
b. Llevaba estudiando una hora.
'S/he had been studying for an hour'

In the cases where the progressive periphrasis cannot be interpreted as Continuative this paraphrase is not possible, as shown by the (15a) to (15b) comparison. Setting aside the obligatory inclusion of the durative complement in (15b) to avoid the ungrammaticality of the sequence, it is evident that in (15a) we face a case where only a single instant is being focalised, as Bertinetto points out, whereas this does not occur in (15b):

- (15) a. Cuando llegamos, estaba estudiando.
'S/he was-IMP studying when we arrived'
b. #Cuando llegamos, llevaba estudiando *(una hora).
'When we arrived, s/he had been studying (for an hour)'

A noteworthy fact pointed out by several scholars is that the progressive periphrasis has perfective forms in Spanish. This fact contrasts, on the one hand, with what occurs

in Italian, examples (16), where the progressive periphrasis cannot take any perfective form, and with what occurs with the periphrasis of habitual, examples (17), and with the Continuative, examples (18), which cannot take them in Spanish either:

- (16) a. *{Sono / ero / fui / sarò} stato scrivendo tutto il giorno.
 b. *Stetti leggendo tutto il giorno.

The examples (16) belong to Bertinetto (1986: 233 and 234).

- (17) a. *Ha solido ir al gimnasio todas las semanas.
 'S/he has used to go to the gym every week'
 b. *Solió ir al gimnasio todas las semanas.
 'S/he used to go to the gym every week'

- (18) a. *He llevado aquí viviendo dos años.
 'I have been living here for two years'
 b. *Llevé viviendo aquí dos años.
 'I had been living here for two years'

The ungrammaticality of the examples (16), (17) and (18) is explained by the incompatibility between the aspectual meaning of Imperfect of the periphrases in question and the perfective meaning of the forms in which they appear conjugated.

English also possesses perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis. These forms express precisely the aspectual value of the Continuative, and not, as could be expected, Imperfect progressive:⁸

- (19) a. I've been working in the garden all day.
 b. I've been trying to phone you all day.
 c. I've been thinking about it ever since.

The examples (19) are quoted from Fenn (1987: 6-7).

In the examples (19), we have the aspectual meaning we have termed Continuative: the events in question have begun in the past but have not finished by the speech time.

⁸. McCoard (1978) and Fenn (1987) term this value "up to now".

Well, in Spanish, the progressive periphrasis in the perfective forms with the auxiliary *haber* also expresses Continuative, as happens in English. Let us consider some examples of this possibility:

- (20) a. Ha estado comiendo desde que vino a casa.
'S/he has been eating since s/he came home'
b. Había estado trabajando desde las seis.
'S/he had been working since six'

Note that, in both instances, as is characteristic in the Continuative, the events have begun in the past and have not finished with regard to a reference point, situated in the present in (20a) and in the past in (20b).

This explanation, however, does not account for the meaning of the simple past of the progressive periphrasis, which never has the continuative meaning. Based on Rohrer's (1977: 123-128) observations taken from Squartini (1998: 44), we hold that the perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis are characterized by their detelicizing effect, that is, the *telos* some predicates possess is suspended by these periphrastic forms, so that accomplishments are transformed into activities. This characterization can be extended to all the perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis, that is, to compound forms with *haber* and to the progressive simple past.

Therefore, the basic value of all the perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis (those formed with the compound forms of *estar* and the one formed with the simple past of the auxiliary) is that of detelicizing the predicate in question. We illustrate this value through the contrast between the two examples (21); in (21a) the *telos* is stated, so the television set is repaired; of (21b), on the contrary, it cannot be concluded that it was:

- (21) a. Juan arregló el televisor.
'John repaired the television set'
b. Juan estuvo arreglando el televisor.
'John was repairing the television set'

In the compound forms of the periphrasis, the value of expressing Continuative is added to this. Note that this possibility is parallel to what happens with states, with which the compound forms with *haber* express Continuative, which means that it is a characteristic of the combination of *he* and *había* with the participle.

In this section we have introduced the aspectual variety of Continuative which focalises an event from its beginning until an internal point of its development without focalising its end, and we have seen its possible morphological expressions. In the following sections, we will see how the Continuative expresses itself in each of the *Aktionsarten*. We will now summarize in TABLE III what we have said about the different morphological expressions of the Continuative:

TABLE III

Expression of the Continuative	
<llevar + gerund>	Lleva corriendo veinte minutos. Llevaba estudiando dos horas.
present perfect pluperfect	Siempre ha vivido solo. Había estado enfermo desde el final de la guerra.
present imperfect	Está enfermo desde el año pasado. Estaba divorciado desde hacía un año.
present progressive imperfect progressive	Está limpiando desde esta mañana. Estaba jugando desde que había llegado.
present perfect progressive pluperfect progressive	He estado leyendo desde que he llegado. Había estado trabajando desde las tres.

3. Restrictions of *Aktionsarten* in the Expression of the Continuative

It is accepted that the line of research termed Aristotelic-Vendlerian has been one of the most fruitful in modern semantics. Vendler (1957) establishes that there are natural classes of predicates from the semantic and syntactic point of view. This author distinguishes four types of *Aktionsarten*:

- (22) a. states: *Sabe ruso (S/he knows Russian).*
 b. activities: *Estudia en su habitación (S/he studies in her/his room).*
 c. accomplishments: *Arregló el frigorífico (S/he repaired the refrigerator).*
 d. achievements: *Murió a las once de la noche (S/he died at eleven p.m.).*

- e. semelfactives: *Llaman a la puerta (They are knocking at the door).*⁹

The restrictions exerted by the different *Aktionsarten* on the aspectual varieties we have studied in § 1 are very significant. To give just one example, a stative predicate which denotes an intrinsic property of an individual which is invariable, such as *proceder de familia humilde (to come from a humble family)*, can only appear in Imperfect, as in (23a), but not in Aorist, example (23b), nor in Perfect, example (23c), since these aspectual varieties imply the end of the event denoted by the predicate, which is incompatible with the type of predicates represented by *proceder de familia humilde*:

- (23) a. Juan procedía de familia humilde.
'John came-IMP from a humble family'
b. *Juan procedió de familia humilde.
'John came from a humble family'
c. *Juan ya (ha/había) procedido de familia humilde.
'John (has/had) already come from a humble family'

As was foreseeable, the same occurs in the case of the Continuative. In the following sections we will study in detail the restrictions which each *Aktionsart* establishes in the expression of the Continuative.

3.1. States

States are a type of predicates, that, from the point of view of *Aktionsart*, expresses states of things or characteristics of a subject that remain unchanged for the length of time they form the predicate. *To know the truth, to exist or to remain* are just some examples of stative predicates.

As we have just said in the definition, these predicates imply the absence of change or progress in time, because they are not used to express an ongoing process, but a state of things. This is the reason why adverbial complements like *sin cesar (incessantly)* or *sin parar (non-stop)* are unacceptable, as shown in (24):

⁹ This fifth group, as will be explained in § 3.4, did not appear in Vendler's classification (1957). It has been other scholars, among them Bertinetto (1986) and Smith (1991), who have distinguished them as a group.

- (24) a. *Pedro permanece junto a su mujer sin cesar.
'Peter stays with his wife incessantly'
b. *Sabemos su nombre sin parar.
'We know his name non-stop'

Further on we shall see to what extent these adverbial complements contribute to the interpretation of Continuative in the other varieties of *Aktionsart*.

Combined with complements or adverbial clauses introduced by *desde*, states can express Continuative aspect both in the present perfect and in the pluperfect, as we show in the following examples:

- (25) a. Ha vivido solo desde que se divorció.
'He has lived alone since he divorced'
b. Había estado enfermo desde la muerte de su padre.
'He had been ill since his father's death'

These predicates can also express this aspectual value using the simple forms of present and imperfect, as can be observed in the sentences (26):

- (26) a. Vive solo desde que se divorció.
'He has lived alone since he divorced'
b. Estaba enfermo desde la muerte de su padre.
'He had been ill since his father's death'

As we already saw in § 2.2, both in (25a), with the predicate in present perfect, and in (26a), in present, we are dealing with an event that began in the past and continues at the time of speech. In both sentences, the event denoted by the predicate *vivir solo* has two time points available for referential purposes: one in the past, when he divorced, and another at the time of speech. The same happens in sentences (25b) and (26b). In both cases, the subject's state of illness starts at a point in the past, his father's death, and goes on until a reference point situated in the past.

The possibility of the states in present and imperfect of expressing Continuative has to be related to the fact that they cannot appear either in the progressive periphrasis or in the continuative one <*llevar* + gerund>, as we will now illustrate. We will later see that the possibility of present and imperfect expressing Continuative in other *Aktionsarten* does not exist or is severely limited.

We will now give examples of the incompatibility between stative predicates with the continuative periphrasis <*llevar* + gerund>, to which we have referred in the preceding paragraph:

- (27) a. *Lleva permaneciendo con ella dos meses.
'S/he has been remaining with her for two months'
b. *Llevaba estando en casa dos horas¹⁰.
'S/he had been being at home for two hours'

States are incompatible with the progressive periphrasis <*estar* + gerund> which, as we saw in § 2.3, can also express Continuative¹¹. Thus, the possibility of expressing the said aspectual variety in this way is excluded in the case of states. We will show in the following sentences the incompatibility of these predicates with the imperfective forms of the periphrasis, examples (28), and with the perfective forms, examples (29):

- (28) a. *Estoy teniendo tres hijos.
'I am having three children'
b. *Estaba sabiendo la verdad.
'S/he was-IMP knowing the truth'

- (29) a. *He estado estando enfermo.
'I have been being ill'

¹⁰. It is the presence of *estar* what produces the ungrammaticality of the sequence, as *llevar* accepts stative predicates in non periphrastic constructions: *Lleva de pie dos horas*.

¹¹. Unless they are relexicalized as in the following examples:

- (i) a. Está siendo tonto.
'He is being silly'
b. Está siendo inteligente.
'He is being clever'

Note that in the preceding sentences the two stative predicates are dynamically reinterpreted with the meaning "behaving in a certain way".

- b. *Había estado permaneciendo con ella.
'S/he/I had been remaining with her'.¹²

3.2. *Activities*

Activities are durative predicates that express processes lacking *telos* or intrinsic ends, and this is the main difference with regard to accomplishments, which will be studied in § 3.3. Unlike states, these predicates do express progression in time, but this progression does not conclude, as happens in accomplishments, as it is not oriented towards a determined goal, but it ceases instead. Some examples of this *Aktionsart* are: *to write, to swim, to walk, etc.*

¹². We have to point out, before concluding this section, that not all the predicates generally classified as stative are incompatible with the periphrasis <estar + gerund> and <llevar + gerund>. See the following examples:

- (i) a. Están viviendo en Madrid desde que se conocieron.
'They have been living in Madrid since they met'
- b. Llevan viviendo en Madrid dos años.
'They have been living in Madrid for two years'
- (ii) a. ??Está habitando en Madrid.
'S/he has been inhabiting in Madrid'
- b. ??Lleva habitando en Madrid dos meses.
'S/he has been inhabiting in Madrid for two months'

Whereas the examples (i) with *vivir* are perfectly acceptable, those of (ii), where *habitar* appears, are not. The example (25a), where we have the present perfect of *vivir* with continuative meaning, shows that we are facing a stative predicate, as the other types of predicates, as we shall see, do not allow this possibility. It is, nevertheless, true, that it could be argued that inasmuch as it designates a series of events -working, having familiar and social relationships, etc.- there is in *vivir* a certain dynamism. Several authors have made reference to the fact that syntactic tests that distinguish predicate classes from the *Aktionsart* viewpoint are not always reliable. It is easy to find, as shown in these examples, sentences that cast a doubt upon the determinant character of such tests. See De Miguel (1999: 3018 and 3044) and Morimoto (1998: 22) in this respect.

These predicates, in contrast to what occurs with states, cannot express Continuative either with present perfect or pluperfect, as we show in the following sentences:

- (30) a. ??Ha escrito desde las seis.
'S/he has written since six'
b. ??Jugaba al fútbol desde que había llegado.
'S/he had played football since s/he had come'

In these cases, however, as Squartini (1998: 54-55) points out, it is possible to attain the continuative reading if there is an adverbial complement imposing the continuity of the predicate. Observe the contrast between the examples (30) and (31):

- (31) a. Ha escrito {sin descanso / sin interrupción} desde las seis.
'S/he has been writing {ceaselessly / uninterruptedly} since six'
b. Había jugado al fútbol {sin parar / sin cesar} desde que había llegado.
'S/he had been playing football {non-stop / uninterruptedly} since s/he had come'

Activities cannot express Continuative in the present or imperfect forms either, as we prove in the following sentences:

- (32) a. ??Escribe desde las seis.
'S/he has written since six'
b. ??Jugaba al fútbol desde que había llegado
'S/he has played football since s/he had come'

This restriction does not extend to actitudinals. Bertinetto (1994) has proved that actitudinals are stative predicates and we have seen in the last section that states can indeed express Continuative with the simple forms of present and imperfect:

- (33) a. Escribe desde joven.
'S/he has written since s/he was young'
b. Jugaba al fútbol desde pequeño.
'He had played football since he was young'

Observe that the main difference between the examples (32) and (33) is that in (32) the type of complement of the preposition *desde* blocks the actitudinal interpretation and imposes a "present" interpretation of the predicate.

It is, nonetheless, possible to attain the continuative reading with the simple forms of present or imperfect if there is an adverbial complement that imposes the continuity of the predicate, as we saw with reference to compound forms. Note the contrast between the examples (32) and (34):

- (34) a. Escribe {sin descanso / sin interrupción} desde las seis.
'S/he has written {without stopping /uninterruptedly} since six'
b. Jugaba al fútbol {sin parar / sin cesar} desde que había llegado
'S/he had played football {non-stop / ceaselessly} since s/he had come'

Unlike stative predicates, activities are compatible with the continuative periphrasis <llevar + gerund>, as we see in these examples:

- (35) a. Pepe lleva corriendo veinte minutos.
'Joe has been running for twenty minutes'
b. Juan llevaba estudiando en su habitación dos horas.
'John had been studying in his room for two hours'

Lastly, this class of predicates, unlike the states, is compatible with the progressive periphrasis <estar + gerund>. Thus, the activities can express Continuative, without restriction, with the present and imperfect progressive and the present perfect and pluperfect progressive. We see this, respectively, in sentences (36) and (37):

- (36) a. Está escribiendo desde las seis.
'S/he has been writing since six'
b. Estaba jugando al fútbol desde hacía un rato.
'S/he had been playing football for a while'
- (37) a. Ha estado escribiendo desde las seis.
'S/he has been writing since six'
b. Había estado jugando al fútbol desde que había llegado.
'S/he had been playing football since s/he had come'

We have seen that the perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis have detelicizing value. Of course if the predicate is atelic, as in activities, the value cannot be detelicizing. In the case of activities in the forms with the periphrasis with *haber* the meaning is, then, only the Continuative one.

3.3. *Accomplishments*

Accomplishments are also durative predicates, as are activities and states, but they are oriented towards a determined aim or *telos*: *write the letter*, *run two kilometers* or *walk to the park* are some examples of this class of predicates.

As happened with activities, with which accomplishments share the characteristic of dynamism, the present perfect and the present cannot express Continuative, as we show in the sentences (38) and (39) respectively:

(38) a. ??He hecho las maletas desde que he llegado.

'I have packed my cases since I have come'

b. ??Ha planchado las camisas desde las tres.

'S/he has ironed the shirts since three'

(39) a. ??Hago las maletas desde que he llegado.

'I have packed the cases since I have come'

b. ??Plancha las camisas desde las tres.

'S/he has ironed the shirts since three'

On the other hand, accomplishments and activities differ in their behaviour with adverbial complements of the type of *sin cesar* (*ceaselessly, uninterruptedly*). Let us consider the following examples:

(40) a. He hecho las maletas sin cesar.¹³

'I have packed the cases ceaselessly'

b. He hecho las maletas sin cesar desde que he llegado.

'I have packed the cases ceaselessly since I have come'

¹³. We have avoided the adverbial complement *sin parar*, which can be interpreted as 'sin descansar'.

- (41) a. Hace las maletas sin cesar.
'S/he packs the cases ceaselessly'
b. Hace las maletas sin cesar desde las seis.
'S/he has been packing the cases ceaselessly since six'

Conversely to what happened with activities, in the examples (40) and (41) it is impossible that we are dealing with one single event *hacer las maletas* which is prolonging; this is due to the fact that accomplishments are not prolongable events, precisely because they are directed towards a goal. They are, on the other hand, repeatable, and for this reason the adverbial complement applies to cycles, that, repeating themselves indefinitely, convert the predicate into an activity.

Accomplishments, as activities, are compatible with the continuative periphrasis <llevar + gerund>:

- (42) a. Lleva haciendo las maletas dos horas.
'S/he has been packing the cases for two hours'
b. Llevaba corrigiendo el examen una hora.
'S/he had been correcting the exam for an hour'

These predicates can also appear in the progressive periphrasis <estar + gerund>, both to express progressive, as shown in the examples (43), and to express Continuative, as appears in (44):

- (43) a. Está haciendo las maletas.
'S/he is packing the cases'
b. Estaba corrigiendo el examen de sus alumnos.
'S/he was-IMP correcting her/his pupils' exam'
- (44) a. Está haciendo las maletas desde las seis.
'S/he has been packing the cases since six'
b. Estaba corrigiendo el examen de sus alumnos desde hacía dos horas.
'S/he had been correcting her/his pupils' exam for two hours'

In these three cases, as these aspectual varieties do not affirm the end of the situations, the *telos* is not reached. That is to say, neither in (42a), nor in (43a), nor in (44a) is it stated that the cases were packed. In parallel, in the (b) examples in (42), (43) and (44) it

is not stated that the exam was corrected.

Lastly, we will deal with the progressive periphrasis in its perfective forms. In this case, as happened with activities, the results achieved are grammatical:

- (45) a. He estado haciendo las maletas desde que he llegado.
'I have been packing the cases since I have come'
b. Había estado limpiando el coche desde las seis.
'S/he/I had been cleaning the car since six'

We have to remember here that Rohrer (1977: 123-128) described perfective forms of the progressive periphrasis as detelicizing. For this reason, in (45), in spite of having two perfective forms, the *telos* of the accomplishments *hacer las maletas* and *limpiar el coche* is not reached, as the accomplishments in question are interpreted as activities. In the examples (45), the value of the periphrasis is detelicizing and continuative; on the other hand, in examples such as (21b), *Juan estuvo arreglando el televisor*, it is only detelicizing, as the continuative value is associated to the compound forms with *haber*.

3.4. *The semelfactives*

In this section we are going to deal with predicates such as *to cough*, *to sneeze*, *to knock on the door...*, which are events without duration, similar in this to achievements, but that differ from them in lacking *telos*, or intrinsic goals.

This class of predicates was termed "punctual" by Bertinetto (1986: 90), and "semelfactive" by Smith (1991: 55-58). Vendler (1957), as we pointed out in note 9, did not distinguish them as a group and in his classification punctual predicates were always telic.

These predicates, because of their own meaning, often present an iterative reading, of several repeating events. In these cases, their meaning and their syntactic behaviour is similar to those of activities: they behave like durative predicates that lack an intrinsic goal. Semelfactives, with regard to the expression of the Continuative, present a behaviour similar to that of activities. In the strictly punctual interpretation, they cannot take the Continuative precisely because of their non-durative character. From now on, we will study the expression of the variety of Continuative in the iterative reading of these predicates.

In the same fashion as activities, semelfactives cannot express the Continuative with the present perfect or the pluperfect, as we see in the following examples:

- (46) a. ??Ha tosido desde las tres.
'S/he has coughed since three'
b. ??Habían llamado a la puerta desde las seis.
'They had knocked on the door since six'

It is, however, possible to achieve the continuative reading with these verbal forms if there is an adverbial complement imposing the continuity of the predicate. Note the contrast between the examples (46) and (47):

- (47) a. Ha tosido {sin descanso / sin interrupción} desde las tres.
'S/he has coughed {without pause / uninterruptedly} since three'
b. Habían llamado a la puerta {sin parar / sin cesar} desde las seis
'They had knocked on the door {non-stop / ceaselessly} since six'

Like activities, they also cannot express Continuative with the present or imperfect:

- (48) a. ??Tose desde las tres.
'S/he has coughed since three'
b. ??Llamaban a la puerta desde las seis.
'They had knocked on the door since six'

Once again, the presence here of an adverbial complement that imposes the continuity of the predicate allows the continuative interpretation:

- (49) a. Tose {sin descanso / sin interrupción} desde las tres.
'S/he has coughed {without pause / uninterruptedly} since three'
b. Llamaban a la puerta {sin parar / sin cesar} desde las seis.
'They had knocked on the door {non-stop / ceaselessly} since six'

The <llevar + gerund> periphrasis is, however, compatible with this class of predicates, as we see in these examples:

- (50) a. Pedro lleva tosiendo media hora.
'Peter has been coughing for half an hour'
b. Llevaban llamando a la puerta desde las seis.
'They had been knocking on the door since six'

Lastly, a syntactic characteristic of this class of predicates is their compatibility with the progressive periphrasis <*estar* + gerund>. Because of this, semelfactives can express Continuative, without restriction, in present and imperfect progressive and in present perfect and pluperfect progressive, as shown, respectively, in sentences (51) and (52):

- (51) a. Está tosiendo desde las tres.
'S/he has been coughing since three'
b. Estaban llamando a la puerta desde las seis.
'They had been knocking on the door since six'
- (52) a. Ha estado tosiendo desde las tres.
'S/he has been coughing since three'
b. Habían estado llamando a la puerta desde las seis
'They had been knocking on the door since six'

3.5. *Achievements*

Achievements, like accomplishments, are telic predicates, but lacking duration. They do not consist of a process culminating in a *telos*, but only of the *telos* itself. They express a change of state. Examples of these are *to enter*, *to exit*, *to die*, etc. Achievements are, in general, incompatible with the Imperfect. This is due to the fact that the Imperfect focalises an intermediate phase of the situations and achievements are punctual predicates. Some achievements can, however, be preceded by an optional previous preparatory phase and in these cases can take the progressive periphrasis:

- (53) a. El niño se está durmiendo.
'The boy is falling asleep'
b. El tren está llegando.
'The train is arriving'

Achievements, due to their non durative character, do not admit the Continuative, just as we saw when studying the semelfactives. They can only express this aspectual variety when they present an iterative reading. We are going to test the first of our statements with the following group of sentences:

- (54) a. *Ha llegado desde las tres.
'S/he has come since three'
b. *Llega desde las tres.
'S/he has come since three'
c. *Lleva llegando cinco minutos.
'S/he has been coming five minutes'
d. *Está llegando desde hace cinco minutos.
'S/he has been coming for five minutes'
e. *Ha estado llegando desde las tres.
'S/he has been coming since three'

In the cases where they present an iterative reading, given that the event becomes durative, the expression of the Continuative is indeed possible. The behaviour of achievements is in such instances similar to that of semelfactives we have seen in § 3.4, and, thus, similar to that of activities too. We will test this with the following sentences:

- (55) a. Ha llegado gente sin parar desde las tres.
'People have been arriving non-stop since three'
b. Llega gente sin cesar desde las seis.
'People have been arriving ceaselessly since six'
c. Llevan llegando invitados desde las ocho de la tarde.
'Guests have been arriving since 8 p.m.'
d. Está llegando gente desde que se ha publicado el anuncio.
'People have been arriving since the advertisement was published'
e. Ha estado llegando gente desde las siete de la mañana.
'People have been arriving since 7 a.m.'

We confirm, thus, in (55) that achievements, if they appear iterated, can express Continuative with the present perfect (55a) and the present (55b) if there is an adverbial complement like *sin parar* or *sin cesar* imposing the continuity of the predicate. It is also possible to express this aspectual variety with the periphrasis <llevar + gerund>

(55c) and with the progressive periphrasis both in the imperfective (55d) and perfective (55e) forms. Its behaviour, as we see, is identical to that of semelfactives in their iterative reading and activities.

Lastly, we have to point out that, in parallel to what we saw in regard to stative predicates in note 11, achievements can be relexicalized as activities and, in these cases, the expression of the Continuative aspect is indeed possible. We will test this in the following example:

- (56) El abuelo lleva una semana muriéndose.
'The grandfather has been dying for a week'

The grammaticality of this sentence is not due to the iteration of the event, as we have seen in (55), but to the fact that the interpretation of the predicate *morirse* does not correspond to that of an achievement, that is, to a punctual telic predicate, but to an activity.

To conclude this third section, we summarize in TABLE IV the compatibility and incompatibility of the five classes of predicates with the different expressions of Continuative aspect.

TABLE IV

	present perfect pluperfect	present imperfect	llevar+gerund	present progres. imperfect progr.	present perfect. progr. pluperfect prog.
States	-Ha vivido solo desde que se divorció. -Había estado enfermo desde la muerte de su padre.	-Tiene miedo desde que ocurrió el incendio. -Estaba nervioso desde aquel encuentro.	No	No	No
Activities	Only with actitudinal predicates or with certain adverbial complements.	Only with actitudinal predicates or with certain adverbial complements.	-Pepe lleva corriendo veinte minutos. -Juan llevaba estudiando en su habitación dos horas.	-Pedro está cocinando desde las tres. -Los jugadores de fútbol estaban entrenando desde las nueve de la mañana.	-Ha estado escribiendo desde las seis. -Había estado jugando al fútbol desde que había llegado.
Accomplishments	Only with certain adverbial complements.	Only with certain adverbial complements	-Lleva haciendo las maletas dos horas. -Llevaba haciendo el examen una hora.	-Está haciendo las maletas desde las seis. -Estaba corrigiendo el examen de sus alumnos desde hacía dos horas.	-He estado haciendo las maletas desde que he llegado. -Había estado limpiando el coche desde las seis.
Semelfactives	Only interpreted as activities. -Ha tocido {sin descanso / sin interrupción} desde las tres.	Only interpreted as activities. -Tose {sin des-canso / sin interrupción} desde las tres.	Only interpreted as activities. -Pedro lleva tosiendo media hora.	Only interpreted as activities. -Pedro está tosiendo desde las tres.	Only interpreted as activities. -Ha estado tosiendo desde las tres.
Achievements	Only in the iterative reading of the event. - Ha llegado gente sin parar desde las tres.	Only in the iterative reading of the event. - Llega gente sin cesar desde las seis.	Only in the iterative reading of the event. - Llevan llegando invitados desde las ocho de la tarde.	Only in the iterative reading of the event. - Está llegando gente desde que se ha publicado el anuncio.	Only in the iterative reading of the event. - Ha estado llegando gente desde las siete de la mañana.

4. The Continuative and the Imperfect continuous

We will devote this fourth section of our paper to the aspectual variety termed "continuous". In the first place we will define it in relation to the other varieties of Imperfect we have made reference to at the beginning of this paper; secondly, we will discuss the similarities and differences between the Imperfect continuous and the Continuative.

We have already pointed out that Bertinetto (1986: 162-181) characterizes the Imperfect by its basic property of not stating the conclusion of the predicate in question. We will illustrate the three varieties we are dealing with and realize how the three cases adjust to Bertinetto's characterization. We repeat here the sentences (8) that illustrated the progressive and habitual Imperfect varieties:

- (57) a. María estaba preparando la cena. (PROGRESSIVE)
'Mary was-IMP preparing supper'
- b. Roberto solía ir al gimnasio todas las semanas. (HABITUAL)
'Robert used to go to the gym every week'
- c. Durante la conferencia les iba pidiendo a todos que firmasen.
(CONTINUOUS)
'I went-IMP round asking everyone to sign during the conference'

According to Bertinetto (1986: 171), the continuous is distinguished from the progressive in that the former does not entail the individualization of one single focal instant, whereas the latter does. In the case of the habitual, this is distinguished from the continuous (and the progressive) in that it entails a multiple situational environment, that is, the repetition of the event in several instances. In the continuous the event can be repeated, but the situational environment is always the same¹⁴.

¹⁴. We employ Bertinetto's classification here (1986: 119), according to which, the continuous is, together with the habitual and the progressive, one of the three varieties of the Imperfect aspect. Comrie (1976: 25) employs the term "continuous" to refer to a subdivision of the Imperfect aspect opposed to the habitual and encompassing the progressive and the non progressive. For Comrie (1976: 12) the progressive is associated to the non stative predicates, whereas the "non progressive continuous" is associated to the stative predicates. Bertinetto (1986: 182-190) acknowledges the strong relationship between the stative predicates and the continuous aspect, but contemplates the possibility of the states appearing in the progressive variety.

Among other morphological forms we will presently discuss, the following periphrases intervene in the expression of the Imperfect continuous: <*ir* + gerund>, <*andar* + gerund> and <*continuar* + gerund>.¹⁵ We illustrate them in (58):

- (58) a. Pedro va contando a todos lo que le ocurrió a su hermano.
'Peter goes around telling everyone what happened to his brother'
- b. Creo que la policía anda vigilando a Pedro.
'I think the police is watching Peter'
- c. El director continúa pidiendo a los alumnos su colaboración.
'The principal continues requesting the pupils' collaboration'

The Imperfect continuous can also be expressed by the present and the imperfect, as shown in the examples (59), and by the present and imperfect progressive, as exemplified in the sentences (60):

- (59) a. La niña llora sin cesar.
'The girl cries ceaselessly'
- b. Durante la reunión me miraba con insistencia.
'S/he looked-IMP at me insistently during the meeting'
- (60) a. La niña está llorando sin parar.
'The girl is crying non-stop'
- b. Me estaban observando sin interrupción.
'They were-IMP observing me uninterruptedly'

This fact brings the Imperfect continuous closer to the Continuative. We have indeed seen how, under certain circumstances, the forms we have just enumerated can express Continuative aspect. On the other hand, the perfective forms associated with the expression of the Continuative cannot express continuous. This is due to the obligatory use of the adverbial complement for the expression of the Continuative, a fact noted by Iatridu *et al.* (2000: 196-205)¹⁶. If we return to the examples (1) and compare them

¹⁵. See Bertinetto (1986: 163-164) and Squartini (1998: 249-275).

¹⁶. See, for the same remark in regard to the continuative interpretation of the compound forms of the Italian verb, Bertinetto (1991: 61).

again with those in (4), we can realize that, in the absence of an adverbial complement, *ha vivido sola* y *ha estado preocupado* have perfective meaning and, in the presence of the adverbial complement, continuative meaning, so that these forms cannot in any case express Imperfect continuous:

- (1) a. Ha vivido sola desde que llegó a España.
'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'
b. Ha estado preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.
'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'
- (4) a. Ha vivido sola.
'She has lived alone'
b. Ha estado preocupado.
'He has been worried'

Another interesting difference between the Continuative and the Imperfect continuous refers to the iterativity or non iterativity of the event. Characteristically, in the Continuative we are talking about the development of a single event that extends from a point in the past up to the time of speech¹⁷. In the Imperfect continuous,

¹⁷. The semelfactive group does not contradict our statements. As we saw in § 3.4, dedicated to their study, they express Continuative when the iteration of the semelfactive *toser* or *estornudar* is interpreted as an activity. Neither do accomplishments contradict them: in the case of the examples (40) and (41), as we already said in § 3.3, the event *hacer las maletas*, combined with the adverbial complement *sin cesar* offers an iterative reading, so that this complement applies to every cycle. Nevertheless, as happens in the case of semelfactives, the indefinite repetition of the event *hacer las maletas* turns the predicate into an activity.

One of the syntactic traits that characterizes activities is their compatibility with the adverbial complements introduced by the preposition *durante*, as opposed to the incompatibility with those introduced by *en*, due to the *non-telic* character of these predicates. As both of the predicate groups mentioned in the preceding paragraph are interpreted as activities, their syntactic behaviour has to be the same as that of such predicates. We will prove that it is indeed so in the following examples:

- (i) El niño ha estado tosiendo {durante / *en} una hora.
'The boy has been coughing {for / in} an hour'

however, the iteration of an event denoted by a predicate can be expressed. This is what Bertinetto (1986: 169-172) refers to when talking about "indeterminate iterativity" in this aspectual variety. As the author explains, it is indeterminate in regard to the number of repetitions of the event, but within a single situational environment, as we have established. The following examples illustrate this difference between both aspectual varieties:

- (61) a. Pedro {dice / va diciendo} por ahí que no tiene dinero. (CONTINUOUS)
 'Peter {says / goes around saying} that he has no money'
 b. Pedro vive solo desde hace dos años. (CONTINUATIVE)
 'Peter has been living alone for two years'

The sentence (61a) expresses the iteration of the event denoted by the predicate *decir*. On the contrary, (61b) expresses the development of a single event (*vivir*) during two years.

5. The Obligatory Use of the Adverbial Complement

We have recently pointed out that Iatridu *et al.* (2000: 196-205) have proved that the presence of an adverbial complement is necessary in order to obtain the aspectual variety of "universal Perfect"¹⁸, the name with which they designate what we term Continuative. We have been able to establish, through the examples of Continuative we have set, that the presence of an adverbial complement is indeed necessary in order to obtain this aspectual variety. In this last section, our aim is to explain the reason why the presence of a complement is necessary.

-
- (ii) a. Ha hecho las maletas sin cesar {durante / *en } dos horas.
 'S/he has packed the cases ceaselessly {for / in } two hours'
 b. Hace las maletas sin cesar {durante / *en } dos horas.
 'S/he has packed the cases ceaselessly {for / in } two hours'

¹⁸. The denomination "universal" is due to the universal type of quantification the Continuative introduces, according to these authors, as opposed to the existential quantification of the experiential Perfect.

In the Continuative aspectual variety we have studied, there are two different time points of the event available for referential purposes. In the case of the examples (1) and (3) in the first section, one in the past and the other in the present. Let us repeat both pairs of examples again:

- (1) a. Ha vivido sola desde que llegó a España.
'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'
b. Ha estado preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.
'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'
- (3) a. Vive sola desde que llegó a España.
'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'
b. Está preocupado desde que se enteró del accidente.
'He has been worried since he learned about the accident'

When stating that the event has to be available for referential purposes at two different time points, we are saying that in a representation of the Temporal Structure of a verbal form inspired in Reichenbach's theory (1947), the point of the event has to be present twice. We will represent, in the first place, in (62) the temporal structures of the present when it has Present time value and of the present perfect when it has Antepresent value and compare them in (63) with the structure they would receive when aspectually interpreted as Continuatives:¹⁹

- (62) Present (Vivo / I live) S,R,E
Antepresent (He vivido / I have lived) E - S,R

¹⁹. Remember that, in Reichenbach's formulae, E stands for point of the event, R for reference point, and S for moment of speech. The dash represents the anteriority relationship and the comma that of simultaneity, so that the formulae (62) could be translated as follows:

- (i) Present (Amo) **moment of speech simultaneous to reference point simultaneous to point of the event.**
- (ii) Antepresent (He amado) **point of the event previous to reference point simultaneous to moment of speech.**

(63) Present Continulative ({Vivo / He vivido} desde) E - S,R,E²⁰

The representation (63), where the point of the event appears simultaneously in the past, at the left of the moment of speech, and in the present, at the same time as the moment of speech, explains why sentences with a present or a present perfect without an adverbial complement and the same forms with an adverbial complement introduced by *desde* make statements about different moments of the time line. We are going to return to some examples that appeared in the first sections:

(64) a. Vive sola.
'She lives alone'
b. Vive sola desde que llegó a España.
'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'

(65) a. Ha vivido sola.
'She has lived alone'
b. Ha vivido sola desde que llegó a España.
'She has lived alone since she arrived in Spain'

In (64a) a statement about the present is made, whereas in (64b) the statement concerns both the present and the past at the same time. In parallel, in (65a) a statement about the past is made, whereas in (65b) the statement concerns both the past and the present. The obligatory use of the adverbial complement is, thus, due to the fact that no form of the conjugation makes statements about two time points.

Thus, the aspectual content of the Continulative demands the presence of an adverbial complement as no form of the conjugation makes statements about two different moments of the time line. The role of the adverbial complement is that of modifying the time structure reduplicating the point of the event, so that a statement about two different moments of the time line can be made. We can say that the Continulative grammatical aspect is unique for four reasons: the first reason, descriptive, is that it implies imperfective interpretations of the compound forms; the second reason, also

²⁰. The Temporal Structure of the imperfect and the pluperfect in the interpretation of Continulative in examples such as (10b) and (11b) would be the following:

descriptive, is that it brings together semantically the simple forms of present and imperfect with their respective compound forms; the third reason, theoretic, is that it is the only aspectual variety that forces a modification of the original time structure of the form that expresses it and the fourth reason, derived from the preceding one, is that this modification is obligatorily linked to the presence of an adverbial complement.

To ensure that the two points of the event of the representation (63) do indeed belong to the same event, we can employ the idea of the existence of a subeventive²¹ structure, which would give it the following representation:

(66) Present Continuative $E_1 - S, R, E_{n-1}$

In the representation (66) the subscript 1 signals the initial segment of the event, and the subscript n-1 signals that the segment is different from the final one, thus, a central segment of the event in question. Note that the meaning of an adverbial complement like *desde hace dos años* is exactly that of specifying the time interval between E_1 and E_{n-1} .

On the other hand, we wish to point out that our proposal that the event be available for referential purposes does not affect the analysis of sentences such as the following:

- (67) a. Estuvieron unidos desde 1900 hasta 1930.
 'They were together from 1900 to 1930'
 b. Paseé por el parque de cuatro a cinco.
 'I strolled in the park from four to five'

Note that, in these cases, the verbal form, a simple past that aspectually expresses Aorist, provides the initial and final limit for the events denoted by the predicates, respectively, by *estuvieron* and *paseé*. Bear in mind that in § 1 we have defined the Aorist as that grammatical aspect variety with which the whole situation is focalised, from its beginning until its conclusion. The delimitative adverbial complements *desde 1900 hasta 1930* and *de cuatro a cinco* are limited to specifying such limits. It is not that the event is available in two different places for referential purposes, only that its

²¹. We owe this suggestion to Brenda Laca (p.c.). See Pustejovsky (1991) and Giorgi and Pianesi (1995), among others; this idea has been applied to Spanish by Fernández Lagunilla and De Miguel (1999) and by De Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla (2000).

beginning and end are defined. Thus, the formula corresponding to simple past in a Reichenbachian model would be the following:

(68) Simple past_{E,R} - S

What occurs with the Continuative is that the aspectual structure imposes an alteration on the time structure of the verbal form, which is modified by the adverbial complement. Thus, no form of the conjugation can express Continuative on its own.

The idea that the point of the event is available for referential purposes at two different moments accounts for some facts of *consecutio temporum* that affect time clauses introduced by the preposition *desde*. García Fernández (2000b: chapter 13) notes that subordinate adverbial time clauses obey the *consecutio temporum* rule according to which the verb of the main clause and that of the subordinate one have to share part of the temporal information. An empiric consequence of the rule is that no verbal form in the present can be modified by a subordinate adverbial time clause with a verbal form in the past, unless the clause is introduced by *desde*. We can test the validity of this statement in the following examples, taken from the same author (p. 342):

(69) a. *Juan canta cuando llegó.
'John sings when he arrived'
b. *Lee mientras estaba en el bar.
'S/he reads while s/he was-IMP in the bar'

(70) a. *Juan canta antes de que Carlos llegara.
'John sings before Charles came'
b. *María barre después de que Carlos entrara.
'Mary sweeps after Charles entered'

(71) a. Tu hermano está triste desde que Andrés se fue.
'Your brother has been sad since Andrew went away'
b. *Ana estudia hasta que amaneció.
'Ana studies until it dawned'

As can be observed, with the time simultaneity connectors *cuando* and *mientras*, with the anteriority connectors *antes* and *después* and with the delimitative connector *hasta* we obtain ungrammatical sequences; only the sequence with the connector *desde* is

grammatical.

The analysis we have put forward perfectly explains the behaviour of *desde* in examples such as the one in (71a)²². We will see how. Let us suppose a Rule for Time Connectors²³ accounts for the ungrammaticality of the examples (69), (70) and (71b) establishing that a Present cannot be modified by a time clause containing a Simple past, that is to say, establishing that the following structure is ungrammatical:

(72) ***Present** S,R,E *temporal connector* **Simple past** E,R - S

The sentence (71a) is apparently an exception to the Rule for Time Connectors simply because the Time Structure corresponding to *está* is not that of a Present, but that of a Present Continuitive (E - S,R,E), so that we do not have a Present modified by a Simple past, but a Present Continuitive, with a Time Structure different from that of a Present, modified by a Simple past. Note that in the Present Continuitive there is a part of the event situated before the moment of speech, in the same way as in the Simple past. This shared temporal information, which we represent in (73), accounts for the grammaticality of (71a):

(73) **Present Continuitive** E₁ - S,R,E_{n-1} *temporal connector* **Simple past** E,R - S

²². We deem it interesting to point out here that Hornstein (1977: 544) finds himself in trouble when analyzing such sentences as *Sally has respected Sam since he won the marathon*, because the employment of his Rule for Temporal Connectors incorrectly provides for an ungrammatical structure.

In Hornstein (1990: 205, note 13) the problem is avoided by simply attributing causal interpretation to the sentences in question. Note that the hypothesis that aspect is here the determinant factor in the grammaticality of Hornstein's sentence works properly, as we are clearly facing an example of Continuitive Perfect.

We also wish to point out that Ritchie (1979: 114) avoids dealing with *since* because of the problems it raises.

²³. See García Fernández (2000b: chapter 13) for some theoretical aspects of the formulation of the Rule for Temporal Connectors.

6. Conclusion

After covering the different morphological expressions of the Continuative and establishing the restrictions imposed by the different *Aktionsarten*, we have put forward a theoretical explanation for the fact that the presence of an adverbial complement is obligatory in order to obtain this aspectual variety. This explanation consists of affirming that the event has to be available for referential purposes at two different moments. With this proposal, account can be given, in an independent way, of the fact that the sentences introduced by *desde* do not follow the behaviour of the other temporal connectors in respect to the *consecutio temporum*.

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On Modifiers preceded by the Article in Albanian DPs *

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0. Introduction

The main topic of this article will be the analysis of Albanian DPs modified by adjectives, possessives and genitives. These constructions, in fact, have a crucial property in common: they are introduced by the same article-like element, as illustrated by the examples in (1).

- (1) a. libri i tij
 'book-the the his'
 His book
- b. libri i studentit
 'book-the the student-GEN'
 The student's book
- c. libri i kuq
 'book-the the red'
 The red book

With respect to (1a) and (1b), I will argue for an analysis which unifies possessive pronouns and genitival phrases. In particular, I will present an analysis of these constructions which is based on the DP structure proposed by Manzini & Savoia (1998,

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1999), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) to account for the rich variety of clitic and possessive patterns displayed by various Italian dialects. Their analysis presupposes the existence, within the DP, of different positions which host different kind of features. Specifically, the authors propose a universal hierarchy of positions like the one sketched in (2):

(2) D_{op} D R Q P Loc N

D_{op} is the position associated with modal properties. In particular, this category is the counterpart to the modal properties of the verb, represented by the complementizer system. D_{op} can be lexicalised by prepositional elements like the element *di* ‘of’ introducing partitive NP. D is the category denoting definiteness. This position can be lexicalised by the definite article. R (from Referential) is associated with specificity properties. Q is the position hosting indefinite quantifiers. P (from Person) identifies the elements of first and second person. This category denotes the reference to the speaker and to the hearer. Loc (from Locative) represents spatial reference. This position can be lexicalised by demonstratives, in virtue of their spatial interpretation. Finally, N is the position corresponding to the head of the Noun Phrase.

According to Manzini & Savoia (1998, 1999), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) the positions illustrated in (2) are universally represented in DP structure and in the structure of the sentence. Furthermore, on the basis of the empirical evidence coming from Italian dialects and Albanian dialects spoken in Southern Italy, Manzini & Savoia (1998, 1999), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) assume that the hierarchical string of positions illustrated in (2) can repeat itself in the temporal domain immediately above I and above C:

(3) $[_C D_{op} D R Q P Loc N [_I D_{op} D R Q P Loc N [_V D_{op} D R Q P Loc N]]]$

In this paper, I will argue that Albanian possessive constructions can be assigned the structure in (3), adopted by Manzini & Savoia (1998, 1999), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) for Italian possessive constructions. In particular, I will assume that possessives are inflectional elements which lexicalize the inflectional head positions P and Q within the extended projection of the noun. So, the Albanian possessive construction illustrated in (1a) has the following structural representation:

(4)	.....	D _{OP}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	libri		i		tij			libr ¹

With respect to (1b), I will show that the genitival construction can be given the same analysis as the possessive construction, with the exception that the genitive in (1b) realizes the specifier position of R, inside the possessive string:

(5)	....	D _{OP}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	libri		i	[Maries]				libr

This analysis seems to be superior to previous approaches since it permits to derive the genitival constructions without the assumption of complex derivations involving fronting of the genitive phrase to SpecDP (Kayne 1994), Den Dikken (1997, 1998). Besides, it offers a way to capture a range of properties associated with Albanian possessives which none of the standard analyses capture correctly. Finally, the analysis adopted in this paper permits unification of possessive and genitive constructions.

With respect to (1c), I will argue for a structural analysis which treats the article preceding the adjective as a D° element which realizes part of the extended projection of the adjectival phrase:

(6)	.....	D _{OP}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	AGG	N
	libri							[i kuq]	libr

Before I move on to the analysis of the constructions illustrated in (1), I will outline the structure I adopt for Albanian DPs in section 1. In section 2, I present an analysis for Albanian possessive constructions. The analysis of Albanian DPs modified by genitival phrases is presented in section 3. In section 4, I discuss the syntax of adjectival modifiers and their position with respect to the noun.

¹. The head noun *libr* moves from N to a higher position in order to incorporate the definite article; see below sections 1.1 and 2.3.

1. The structure of Albanian DP

1.1. Albanian determiners

An interesting peculiarity of Albanian nominals is the postposition of the definite article to the noun (Giusti 1993, Giusti 1997, Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti 1998, Turano & Rrokaj 2000, Turano 2001):

- (7) a. qen
dog
b. qeni
'dog-the'
The dog

As the example in (7b) shows, in Albanian the definite article is realized as a suffix on the noun. This suffix also represents the morphological expression of gender and number. In fact, Albanian nouns ending in **-i** or in **-u** are interpreted as definite singular masculine nouns; nouns ending in **-a** are interpreted as definite singular feminine; nouns in **-t** are interpreted as definite plurals². Compare the four different forms in (8):

- (8) a. burri
'man-theMASC SG'
The man
b. shoku
'comrade-theMASC SG'
The comrade

². Albanian dialects spoken in southern Italy also have a definite article **t/të** for neuter nouns:

- (i) burri
'man-theMASC'
(ii) shoku
'comrade-theMASC'
(iii) vajza
'girl-theFEM'
(iv) ujt
'water-theNEUTER'

- c. **vajza**
 'girl-theFEM SG'
The girl
- d. **burrat/shokët/vajzat**
 'men-the/comrades-the/girls-thePL'
The men/comrades/girls

With respect to the definite nouns in (8), I assume that the bound morpheme on the noun which lexicalises the definiteness is realized in a position independent from the position where the noun is generated.

In Abney (1987) it is suggested that the noun phrase is a DP projection: D is taken to be the functional head where determiners are realized. The noun is generated inside an NP projection, which is a complement of the head D. Thus, D is the position where Albanian suffixes **-i**, **-u**, **-a**, and **-t**, which realize the definiteness, are lexicalised. The definite nouns illustrated in (8) are derived by moving the noun to the SpecCP of the nominal constituent, and by attaching it to the definite article in D, as is shown in (9):

(9)	C	D _{op}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	[burr-]		-i					burrë
	[shok-]		-u					shok
	[vajz-]		-a					vajzë

I exclude that N is left-adjoined to D° or that it raises to C°. I will claim that movement of the noun is not an instance of head movement, but rather it is a case of NP-preposing. This assumption is based on the fact that in structures with more heads, a head movement approach of the noun would cause a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984)³. Evidence for NP movement within the DP comes from Greek, where a basic structure like (10) allows different possible combinations of NP and APs:

- (10) a. to megalo to kokino to vivlio
 the big the red the book
 b. to megalo to vivlio to kokino
 c. to vivlio to megalo to kokino

³. See section 2.3.

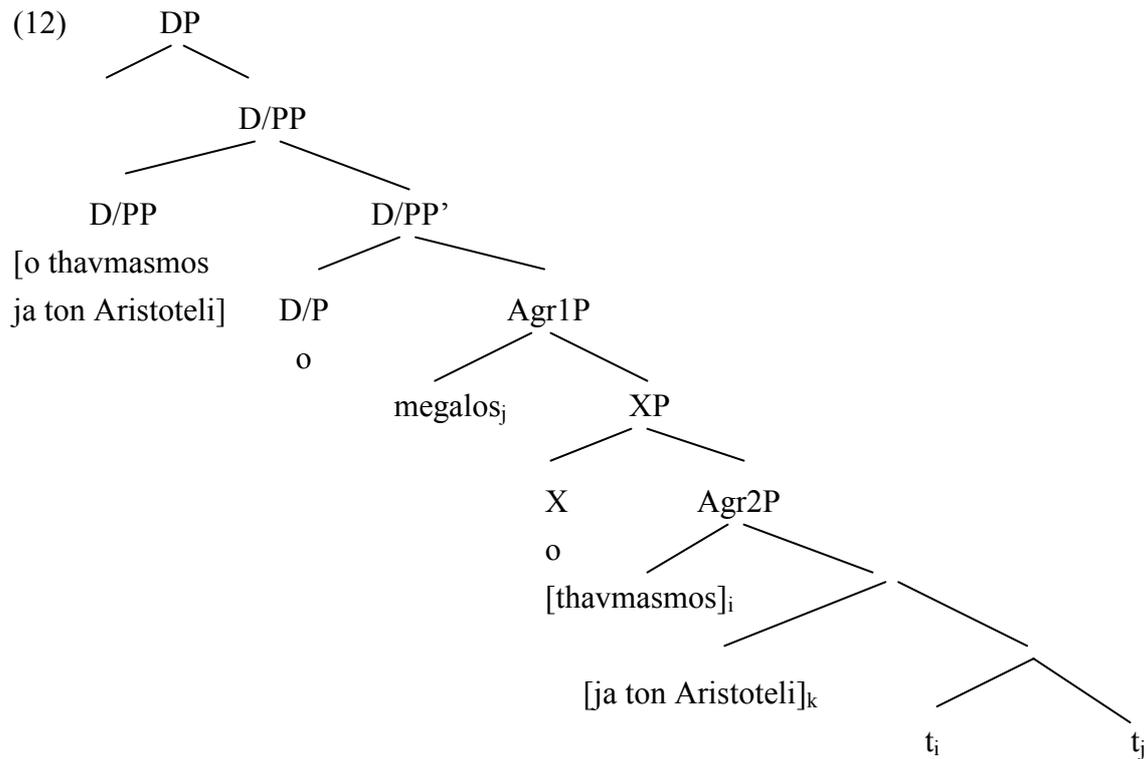
- d. to kokino to vivlio to megalo
- e. to vivlio to kokino to megalo

Androutsopoulou (1994, 2001) assumes that the different word orders in (10) cannot be derived by the single N-raising of the noun *vivlio*. Rather, Greek data can be captured only by assuming that a bigger constituent moves to the specifier of a higher head. So, for instance, in (10b) the noun *vivlio* moves together with the determiner *to* to the specifier of an intermediate projection. In (10c) *vivlio* raises to the specifier of the highest projection. In (10d) the constituent containing *kokino vivlio* moves to the specifier of the highest projection. Finally, (10e) is the result of a two-step movement. First, the noun *vivlio* moves to a position dominating the AP occupied by the adjective *kokino*. Then, the constituent containing *vivlio* and *kokino* moves to the specifier of the highest projection.

Another type of sentence Androutsopoulou (2001) uses as evidence for NP-preposing is illustrated by the following example:

- (11) o thavmasmos ja ton Aristoteli o megalos
 the admiration for the Aristotle the great
The great admiration for Aristotle

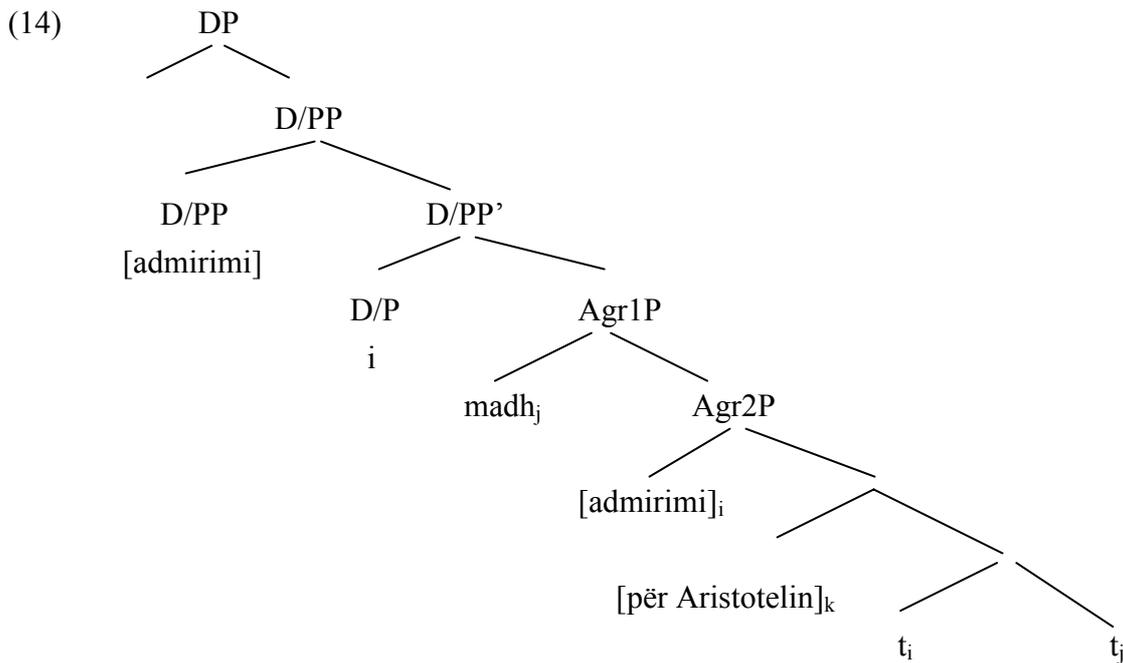
According to Androutsopoulou (2001) the derivation of (11) involves two movement operations. First, the PP *ton Aristoteli* moves from its thematic position to a position which is lower than the position containing *thavmasmos*. In such position, the PP forms a constituent with the DP *thavmasmos*. Then, the new constituent containing the PP and the DP moves to SpecD/PP:



Androutsopoulou (2001) extends this structure to the Albanian counterpart of the Greek example illustrated in (11):

- (13) admirimi i madh për Aristotelin
 admiration-the the great for Aristotle-the
The great admiration for Aristotle

The derivation of (13) involves NP-movement of *admirimi* from its base position to Agr2P and from Agr2P to SpecD/PP.



Coming back to Albanian, I exclude that NP moves to SpecDP under Koopman's (1996) generalization that for any given projection overt elements may appear either in the head or in the Spec, but not in both position⁴. Since the DP projection has the definite article in the head position, thus the specifier position of this projection must be empty.

The overt movement of NP to SpecCP is motivated by the morphological enclitic nature of the article.

Let us now consider Albanian indefinite article, illustrated in (15):

- (15) a. një djalë i bukur iku
 a/one boy nice left
 b. *një djali i bukur iku
 a/one boy-the nice left

⁴ The same conclusion is reached in Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) for independent reasons. With respect to the realization of the D-feature, for instance, Manzini & Savoia argue that it can be realized either in the head position of a nominal inflection, by inserting a subject clitic or it can be realized in the Spec position by inserting or moving a lexical subject. The former strategy is found in Northern Italian dialects, the latter strategy is found in English. According to their analysis either the head or the specifier may be lexicalized, but not both.

- c. ca burra të bukur
'some men nice'
Some nice men
- d. ca vajza të bukura
'some girls nice'
Some nice girls

I assume they are in Q, as is *një* in (16). The representations of (19) are illustrated in (20):

- (20) a. D_{op} D R Q P Loc I AGG N
 çdo [burrë/vajzë] [i/e bukur] burrë/vajzë
- b. D_{op} D R Q P Loc I AGG N
 ca [burra/vajza] [të bukur] burrë/vajzë

In Albanian, definite article, demonstratives and quantifiers are in complementary distribution:

- (21) a. *ky burri doli
 'this man-the came out'
- b. *një burri doli
 'a man-the came out'
- c. *ky një burrë doli
 'this a man came out'
- d. *çdo ky burrë doli
 'every this man came out'

An apparent counterexample to the structures given in (21) is represented by a construction involving the co-occurrence of the definite article and the demonstrative. This structure will be discussed in the next subsection.

1.2. Structures containing a demonstrative and a definite noun

There exist in Albanian structures in which a demonstrative combines with a definite noun, namely a noun displaying the definite article *-i*, *-u*, or *-a*. As we said, the co-

occurrence of these elements is not a real counterexample to (21). Note, in fact, that while the sentence in (22) is grammatical, the sentence in (23a) is bad (cf. also (21a)):

(22) Ishte një mbret. Ai mbreti kishte një pele
 'Was-3sg a king that king-the had a donkey'
There was a king. That king had a donkey

(23) a. *Ai mbreti kishte një pele
 'that king-the had a donkey'
That king had a donkey
 b. Ai mbret kishte një pele
 'that king had a donkey'
That king had a donkey

The contrast between (22) and (23a) seems to suggest that the co-occurrence of a demonstrative with a definite noun is just permitted in topic-comment sentences representing a situation where given a topic (*një mbret* 'a king'), the speaker makes a comment about it (*kishte një pele* 'had a donkey'). In particular, the demonstrative *ai* in (22) gives prominence to the constituent selected for the comment.

A characteristic of a sentence like (22) is that between the demonstrative and the definite noun there is no relation of dependence: omission of one of the two constituents does not produce ungrammaticality:

(24) a. Ishte një mbret. Ai kishte një pele
 'Was-3sg a king that had a donkey'
There was a king. This had a donkey
 b. Ishte një mbret. Mbreti kishte një pele
 'Was-3sg a king king-the had a donkey'
There was a king. The king had a donkey

Instances of co-occurrence of a demonstrative with a definite noun can also be found in Modern Greek (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987; Giusti 1993, 1995, 1997) and Spanish (Brugè 1994, 1996). In Modern Greek, for example, the demonstrative can be found in different positions, as the examples in (25) show:

2. Albanian Possessive System

In this section, I will present an analysis of Albanian possessive constructions which have never been investigated before in the generative syntactic framework.

Albanian possessive system has the following characteristics. First, Albanian possessives cannot occur in the absence of the definite article on the noun. Secondly, they display a split in the singular paradigm between first and second person possessives on one hand and third person possessives on the other; third person possessives are characterised by the presence of an article which is the same article that we find in pre-articulated adjectives and in genitive constructions. In the plural paradigm, the article also precedes first and second person possessives. Finally, possessives with kinship nouns behave differently from possessives with common nouns or proper names. Before discussing these characteristics, I will briefly illustrate the position of the possessives with respect to the noun and the agreement relation between the possessive and the head noun.

2.1. *The position of Albanian possessives*

In Albanian, possessives only occur in post-nominal position with either common nouns or proper names. A pre-nominal occurrence of the possessive is ungrammatical independently of the definiteness of N:

- (28) a. libri im
'book-the my'
My book
b. *im libri
'my book-the'
c. *im libër
'my book'

- (29) a. Gjoni im
'John-the my'
My John
b. *im Gjoni
c. *im Gjon
'my John'

(31a-b) show that the use of the definite article on the noun is obligatory. It is impossible, then, to combine a possessive with a demonstrative or a quantifier if there is no definite article. Consider the contrast between (32) and (33):

- (32) a. *ky libër im nuk më shërben më
 'this book my not me serves anymore'
This book of mine doesn't serve to me anymore
- b. *ky im libër nuk më shërben më
 'this my book not me serves anymore'
- c. *një mik im u nis dje
 a/one friend my left yesterday
A friend of mine left yesterday
- d. *një im mik u nis dje
 'a/one my friend left yesterday'

- (33) a. ky libri im nuk më shërben më
 'this book-the my not me serves anymore'
This book of mine doesn't serve to me anymore
- b. një miku im u nis dje
 'a friend-the my left yesterday'
A friend of mine left yesterday

In (33) the articles on the nouns *libri* and *miku* depend on the presence of the possessive⁵. And, in fact, if we delete the possessive, the structures in (33) become ungrammatical:

- (34) a. *ky libri nuk më shërben më
 'this book-the not me serves anymore'
This book doesn't serve to me anymore
- b. *një miku u nis dje
 'a friend-the left yesterday'
A friend left yesterday

⁵. I will present the internal structure of these constructions in (49).

Thus, the occurrence of the possessive forces the presence of the definite article, for reasons that are unclear.

2.3. Distribution of Albanian possessives

Let us consider now, in detail, the distributional properties of Albanian possessives. Consider the following paradigms, which contain singular and plural possessive forms respectively:

- (35) a. libri im i ri
 'book-the my the new'
My new book
- b. libri yt i ri
 'book-the your the new'
Your new book
- c. libri i tij / i saj i ri
 'book-the the his / the he the new'
His/her new book
- d. libri ynë i ri
 'book-the our the new'
Our new book
- e. libri juaj i ri
 'book-the your the new'
Your new book
- f. libri i tyre i ri
 'book-the the their the new'
Their new book
- (36) a. librat e mi të ri
 'books-the the my-PL the-PL new'
My new books
- b. librat e tu të ri
 'books-the the your-PL the-PL new'
Your new books
- c. librat e tij / e saj të ri
 'books-the the his-PL / the her-PL the-PL new'
His/her new books

- d. librat tanë tē ri
 'books-the our-PL the-PL new'
Our new books
- e. librat tuaj tē ri
 'books-the your-PL the-PL new'
Your new books
- f. librat e tyre tē ri
 'books-the the their-PL the-PL new'
Their new books

As we can see by comparing the different forms of (35) and (36), third person singular possessives (35c,f) and most of plural possessives (36a, b, c, f) are characterised by the presence of an article. The presence of this element forces a distinction between 1/2person singular and 3 person singular possessives on the one hand, and between singular possessives and plural possessives, on the other. Notice that a split between first/second person, from one hand, and third person, from the other, can also be found, for example, in languages having an ergative Case system, like Georgian (Nash 1995). Moreover, Poletto (1997), Manzini & Savoia (1998), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) give examples of this split from northern Italian dialects, which have subject clitics. In these dialects, 1/2person subjects and 3 person subjects appear in two different positions with respect to the negation. 1/2person subjects follow the negation, whereas 3 person subjects precede it. These data led Manzini & Savoia (1998), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) to postulate two different structural subject positions. Further evidence for such a split comes from some central and southern Italian dialects where the choice of auxiliary verb, in compound tenses, seems to be sensitive to the same split. In fact, these dialects select the auxiliary *be* with 1/2person subjects and *have* with 3 person subjects (Kayne 1993). On the basis of these data Manzini & Savoia (1998), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) argue that, first and second person subjects occupy a P position, whereas third person subjects occupy a Q position.

To capture correctly the full range of the distribution of Albanian possessives, I will assume the analysis proposed by Manzini & Savoia (1998, 1999), Manzini & Savoia (forthcoming) that possessives are inflectional elements realizing the head inflectional positions of the string illustrated in (2) and repeated here as (37):

- (37) D_{OP} D R Q P Loc N

With this structure in mind, let us consider possessives without article, i.e. first and second person possessives, illustrated in (35a,b,d,e) and (36d, e) and repeated here as (38):

- (38) a. libri im i ri
 'book-the my the new'
My new book
- b. libri yt i ri
 'book-the your the new'
Your new book
- c. libri ynë i ri
 'book-the our the new'
Our new book
- d. libri juaj i ri
 'book-the your the new'
Your new book
- e. librat tanë të ri
 'books-the our-PL the-PL new'
Our new books
- f. librat tuaj të ri
 'books-the your-PL the-PL new'
Your new books

These first and second person possessives will be analyzed as elements lexicalising the P position of (37), whereas the noun moves to SpecCP in order to attach it to the definite article in D⁶. The movement of the noun to SpecCP leaves the possessive element behind and this explains the post-nominal position of Albanian possessives. Then, the possessives without article have the structure in (39) which is the representation for all the structures containing possessive elements without article:

(39)	C	D	R	Q	P	Loc	AGG	N
	[libr-]	i			im/yt/ynë/juaj/tanë/tuaj		[i ri]	libr
	book	the			my/your/our/your/our/your		new	book

⁶. Under a N-raising analysis of the noun, the possessive element in P should block this movement as a HMC violation.

The agreement relation in gender, number and case between the possessive and the head noun will be analyzed as a reflex of the movement of NP which passes through the specifier of the P head determining the agreement on the possessive element.

As for the possessives of third person, illustrated in (35c, f) and (36c, f), we saw that they display the characteristic of being preceded by the article. This article agrees in gender and number with the possessed noun. So, when the possessed noun is masculine singular the article surfaces as *i*; when the possessed noun is feminine the article surfaces as *e*; when the possessed noun is plural the article surfaces as *e*:

- (40) a. libri i tij/ i saj i ri
 'book-theMASC. theMASC his/ theMASC her the new'
 His/her new book
- b. pena e tij/ e saj
 'pen-theFEM theFEM his/ theFEM her'
 His/her pen
- c. librat/penat e tija/ e saja
 'books-the/pens-thePL thePL his/ thePL her'
 His/her books/pens

What is the exact status of the particles which precede possessive pronouns? The examples given in (40) show that the article preceding the possessive element carries gender and number features, namely it conveys agreement information and, in fact, it cannot be deleted, as the ungrammaticality of (41) shows:

- (41) a. *libri/pena tij /saj
 'book/pen-the his/her'
- b. *librat/penat tija/saja
 'books-the/pens-the his/her'

It is thus quite plausible to assume that the article which precedes the third person possessive is part of the possessive itself.

With respect to its position, I will assume that it lexicalizes a functional head position D inside the extended projection of the noun, whereas elements such as *tij/saj/tyre* are hosted in the Q position. The insertion of the possessive article in D implies a more complex structure of 3 person possessive constructions. In fact, besides the D position occupied by the possessive article, another D position is necessary for the realization of

the definite article which realizes the definiteness of the head noun. For constructions like (40), I will assume a DP structure containing more than one string of positions. In particular, I will assume that the possessive element and its article are realized in a lower string, whereas the noun raises to the SpecCP position of a higher string:

- (42) C D D R Q P Loc AGG N
 [libr-] i i tij/saj [i ri] ~~libër~~

The agreement relation between the article and the head noun will be analyzed as a reflex of the movement of the noun *libër* which passes through the lower SpecDP head occupied by the possessive article determining the agreement on the article.

I also extend this structure to plural possessives of first and second person which are preceded by the article. The examples in (36a, b) are repeated here as (43):

- (43) a. librat e mi të ri
 'books-the the my-PL the-PL new'
 My new books
 b. librat e tu të ri
 'books-the the your-PL the-PL new'
 Your new books

They have the structure in (44):

- (44) C D D R Q P Loc AGG N
 [libr-] at e mi/tu [të ri] ~~libër~~

The question now arises is: Why third person possessives (cf. (40)) and first and second plural possessives (cf. (43)) require the article, whereas first and second person singular (cf. (38)) do not allow it? I would suggest that the obligatory presence of the possessive article in D is due to the indefiniteness of the possessive forms displaying the article itself. That is, the first and second possessive elements, which are characterised by the Person feature and which appear without article, are definite elements, whereas Q possessives only are inflectional elements which lack the Definiteness feature. This feature must be therefore lexicalised by a D° element in the possessive string. Then, 3 person possessives and 1 and 2 plural possessives lexicalise D through the insertion of the article. The idea that P possessives are definite elements is supported by the fact that

in structures containing kinship nouns, P possessives can lexicalise the position D° , whereas Q possessives never do that. Compare the behaviour of 1/2 person possessives with that of 3 person possessives in kinship nouns:

- (45) a. im vëlla
 'my brother'
 b. yt vëlla
 'your brother'
 c. *i tij vëlla
 'his brother'

Only first and second person possessives can precede the kinship noun, which appear in an indefinite form. The pre-nominal position of first and second person possessives in (45) suggests these possessives have moved to D, whereas the kinship noun is lexicalised in N:

- (46) D_{OP} D R Q P Loc N
 im/yt ~~im/yt~~ vëlla

This possibility of lexicalising first and second person possessives in D° means that P possessives are definite elements. Under this analysis we expect all P possessives without the article to be able to lexicalise D° . But this does not happen. Only 1/2 singular person possessives can raise to D (see (45)). 1/2 plural possessive forms cannot appear in D° , even if they do not have the article:

- (47) a. *yne vëlla
 'our brother'
 b. *juaj vëlla
 'your brother'
 c. *tanë vëllezër
 'our-PL brothers-PL'
 d. *tuaj vëllezër
 'your-PL brothers-PL'

How can we explain the contrast between (45) and (47)? I assume it can still be accounted for in terms of definiteness. As we know, in the domain of the discourse, the

first person singular corresponds to the speaker, whereas the second singular corresponds to the addressee. When first/second singular possessives combine with a kinship noun, they have the property of determining the reference of the kinship noun, namely the connection of first/second person possessive with a kinship noun denotes an individual rather than an open argument which needs to be saturated by a D element. And in fact, in (45) the presence of the P possessive of first/second person in D is sufficient to license a referential interpretation, preventing the insertion of the definite article on the noun. This can be taken to indicate that first/second singular possessives can play a definite determiner function. First and second person plural, instead, include in their reference individuals other than the speaker and the addressee; thus they cannot raise to D, since they are not able to license a definite interpretation. Then I take the elements in (47) to have the similar characteristics of pre-articulated possessives, namely they are indefinite elements, despite the absence of the article.

Let us now turn to the structure illustrated in (33), involving a demonstrative or a quantifier, a definite noun and a possessive element. (33) is repeated here as (48):

- (48) a. *ky libri im nuk më shërben më*
 'this book-the my not me serves anymore'
This book of mine doesn't serve to me anymore
- b. *një mikun im u nis dje*
 'a friend-the my left yesterday'
A friend of mine left yesterday

These structures may be given the same analysis assumed for structures containing a demonstrative and a definite noun (cf. (27)). Then, we can analyze the demonstrative *ky* or the quantifier *një* of (48) as elements lexicalizing a Loc or a Q position of a higher string, whereas the definite noun is realized in SpecCP. The possessive element is, instead, realized in P:

- (49) a. Loc ... C D R Q P Loc N
 ky [libr-] i im ~~libr~~
- b. Q ... C D R Q P Loc N
 një [mik-] u im ~~mik~~

As we have seen, assuming (37) to be the representation of Albanian possessive structures, we can derive the particular properties of Albanian.

2.4. Possessives and kinship nouns

I will examine now the behaviour of possessives when they appear with definite kinship nouns. In structures containing definite kinship nouns the possessive pronouns are post-nominal, as is shown in the paradigm in (50):

- (50) a. vëllai im
'brother-the my'
my brother
- b. vëllai yt
'brother-the your'
your brother
- c. vëllai i tij/ i saj
'brother-the the his/ the her'
his/her brother
- d. vëllai ynë
'brother-the our'
our brother
- e. vëllai juaj
'brother-the your'
your brother
- f. vëllai i tyre
'brother-the the their'
their brother

The pre-nominal position of the possessive causes ungrammaticality:

- (51) *im/yt/i tij/i saj/ynë/juaj/i tyre vëllai
'my/your/his/her/our/your/their brother-the'

Also with kinship nouns, possessive pronouns require the suffixed definite article on the noun. Compare (50) with (52):

- (52) a. *vëlla im
'brother my'
my brother
- b. *vëlla yt
'brother your'
- c. *vëlla i tij/ i saj
'brother the his/ the her'
his/her brother
- d. *vëlla ynë
'brother our'
- e. *vëlla juaj
'brother your'
your brother
- f. *vëlla i tyre
'brother the their'
their brother

The possessive examples in (50) can be given the same analysis as the possessive constructions with common nouns. I, thus, assume that kinship nouns with possessives illustrated in (50) have the structure in (53):

- (53) a. C D R Q P Loc N
[vëlla-] i *im/yt/ynë/juaj* vëlla
- b. C D D R Q P Loc N
[vëlla-] i i *tij/saj/tyre* vëlla

But as we saw in (45), kinship nouns allow the possibility of first and second person singular possessives to occur in pre-nominal position. In this case the definite article on the noun is not allowed:

- (54) a. im vëlla
'my brother'
- b. yt vëlla
'your brother'

- c. *im/yt vëllai
'my/your brother-the'

As we can see in comparing (50) and (54), in Albanian there is no difference in form between pre-nominal and post-nominal possessives. For the pre-nominal occurrence of the possessives illustrated in (45) and repeated in (54), I assume that the possessive element raises to D, namely it moves to the position normally occupied by the definite article. The configuration is given in (55):

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|---|-------------------------|-----|--------------|
| (55) | D | R | Q | P | Loc | N |
| | <i>im/yt</i> | | | <i>im/yt</i> | | <i>vëlla</i> |

By moving to D, the possessive results in the pre-nominal position. As for the reason of such a movement, we have already shown that when P possessives of first and second person singular combine with a kinship noun, they act as definite determiners. The possessives in D lexicalise the definiteness and this is the reason why the possessive in D never co-occurs with the definite article. The occurrence of P in D prevents, in fact, the realisation of the definite article, as is shown in (54c).

Summing up so far, first and second person singular possessives can appear in two different positions. They can be post-nominal and this requires the presence of the definite article on the noun (50) or they can be pre-nominal; in this case the noun appears in its indefinite form (54).

Now consider again third person possessives. As we saw in (50) they appear in post-nominal position. Their occurrence in pre-nominal position is not allowed, either with definite or indefinite nouns:

- (56) a. *i tij vëllai
'the his brother-the'
his brother
- b. *i tij vëlla
'the his brother'

Interestingly, Albanian also has a different strategy to realise third possessive elements, that of preposing only the article. This strategy is only limited to kinship nouns (57) and it requires the definite article on the noun (58):

which could be difficult to capture under the current approaches which analyze possessives as adjectives which are base-generated in SpecNP and subsequently move to SpecAgrP or to SpecDP when they combine with kinship nouns. Such an analysis, which is proposed for example, by Cinque (1990), Crisma (1990), Giorgi & Longobardi (1991), Giusti (1993), Longobardi (1992, 1996) for Italian possessives, seems to be inadequate for Albanian since it cannot derive the particular properties of Albanian possessives.

In the next section, I will extend the analysis proposed for possessives to the Albanian genitive structures, another construction type which, like the possessive, is characterised by the presence of the same article we will also find in pre-articulated adjectives. No generative study has ever been dedicated to this construction up to now.

3. Genitive constructions

As I said, there is another construction in Albanian which involves the same kind of article we found in some possessives. It is the genitive construction:

- (61) libri i studentit
 'book-theNOM the student-theGEN'
 The student's book

Albanian genitives are always marked with genitive Case, which is morphologically realized on the definite article incorporated to the noun. So, the suffix *-it* in *studentit* in (61) is the genitive form for definite masculine singular nouns. Like in possessive constructions, also in genitive structures the article which precedes the genitival phrase agrees in gender and number with the head noun. So, for example, in (62a) the article *i* agrees with the masculine head noun *libri*, whereas in (62b) the article *e* agrees with the feminine head noun *çanta*.

- (62) a. libri i studentit
 'book-theMASC theMASC student-theMASC'
 The student's book
 b. çanta e studentit
 'bag-theFEM theFEM student-theMASC'
 The student's bag

The presence of the article is obligatory, as the ungrammaticality of (63) shows:

- (63) *libri studentit
 'book-theNOM student-theGEN'

Thus, also the genitive construction in Albanian exhibits the article. So, possessives, genitives and adjectival phrases share two surface similarities: the fact that they are preceded by an article and the fact that they all appear in post-nominal position. Two questions arise: (i) How can we analyze the article in genitive constructions? (ii) It is possible to extend to genitive constructions the analysis assumed for possessives?

With respect to the possessive constructions, a number of proposals have been made in the literature to identify the structural position of the arguments (possessor and head noun) of a possessive clause. Kayne (1994), for example, for the English structure *Two pictures of John's* adopts a raising analysis of the possessed noun to SpecDP with the subsequent insertion of the preposition *of* in D°. Thus, (64b) is derived from (64a):

- (64) a. D° [John ['s [two pictures]]]
 b. [two pictures]_i [D° of] [John ['s] [e]_i]]

Kayne uses the same approach also for the French possessive construction in (65a), which is syntactically derived, as is shown in (65b):

- (65) a. la voiture de Jean
 b. [D/PP voiture]_j [de [IP Jean [I° [e]_j...]]]

According to Kayne (1994) the element *de* is inserted in order to Case-license *Jean*. Finally, Kayne extends this analysis to the structures involving a predication interpretation. Then, a sentence like *that idiot of a doctor* is derived by fronting of the predicate NP *idiot*. The derivation is given in (66):

- (66) that [D/PP [NP idiot]_j [of [IP a doctor [I° [e]_j...]]]

Two questions are unclear in Kayne's analysis: What is the exact status of the English element *of* or the French element *de*? Kayne calls them prepositional complementizers or prepositional determiners and labels them as D/PP, but the author never specifies the properties of these heads. Also unclear are the reasons which force the movement of the

possessed noun to the specifier of D/PP. In the last version of minimalism (Chomsky 1995), movement of any element into any position is allowed only if it is required. Overt movement is triggered by reasons of feature checking. In genitive constructions, like (64) or (65), no visibly configuration of feature checking is present to justify the movement of the possessed noun to SpecDP. Also unclear are the reasons which force fronting of the predicate NP in (66).

A raising analysis for genitive constructions is also assumed by Den Dikken (1997, 1998). First of all, Den Dikken adopts a raising analysis for predicative structures such as (67).

(67) that idiot of a doctor

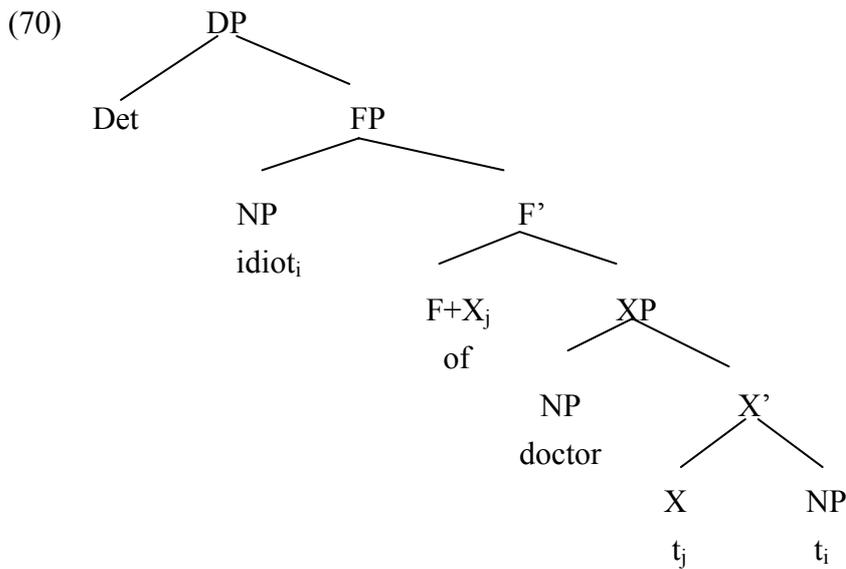
According to Den Dikken the structure of (67) is represented by a small clause (XP) containing the subject *a doctor* and the predicate *that idiot*:

(68) [DP that [XP doctor [Pred idiot]]]

A raising operation, which the author calls Predicate Inversion, moves the predicate of the Small Clause to the subject position FP:

(69) [DP that [FP idiot_i of [XP doctor t_i]]]

Den Dikken also assumes that the head X° of the Small Clause raises to F° in order to render equidistant the position of the subject and the SpecFP. In this way the predicate can skip the subject without violating Chomsky's (1995) Minimal Link Condition:



The movement of X° to F° causes F° to be realized as *of*. In Den Dikken's analysis *of* is considered as the counterpart of the copula in predicative structures. So, he analyses *of* as a copular element, rather than a complementizer, a preposition, or a determiner.

Den Dikken extends then this analysis to English possessive constructions. According to the author, Predicate Inversion also applies in English Saxon genitive constructions. Then, for sentences like *John's book*, Den Dikken assumes that *John* generates as the complement of a dative preposition which heads a small clause. The subject of this small clause is represented by the projection of the possessed noun:

(71) [DP [D' D [FP [F' F [XP book [X' X [PP P John]]]]]]]

In the course of the derivation the prepositional possessor raises to FP, whereas X° and P° raise to F° . The complex $F+X+P$ is spelled-out as the Saxon genitive 's. The resulting structure is in (72):

(72) [FP John_i [F+X_j+P_k 's [XP book [X' t_j [PP t_k t_i]]]]]]

The same approach is taken by Den Dikken for post-nominal possessives of the type in (73):

(73) *a picture of a slender woman*

Since this structure has the same linear order we find in Predicate Inverted structures of the type in (67), Den Dikken hypothesizes that also in post-nominal constructions like (73) *of* is a copular element. But, since the insertion of *of* signals inversion, Den Dikken is forced to assume that inversion also applies in post-nominal structures like (73). To derive (73), Den Dikken assumes that first the possessor moves to SpecFP, like in Saxon genitive constructions, whereas P° and X° incorporate into F° :

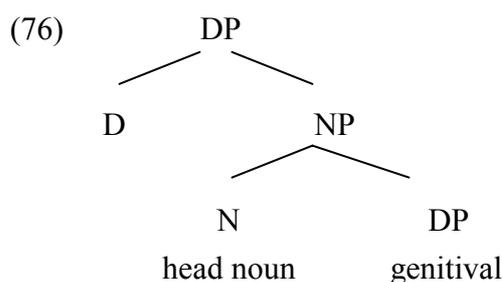
(74) [FP [PP t_k possessor]_i [F' F+X_j+P_k [XP possessum [X' t_j t_i]]]]

then the small clause raises to SpecDP, whereas the complex F+X+P raises to D° and is realized as *of*:

(75) [DP [XP possessum [X' t_j t_i]] [D' [F F+X_j+P_k (=of)] [FP [PP t_k possessor]_i [F' t_F t_{XP}]]]]

The problem with this analysis is that it requires repeated applications of the raising operation. But, once again, no one of these operations is motivated. So the movement operation assumed by Kayne (1994) and Den Dikken (1998) seems entirely unmotivated, then incompatible with Chomsky's Last Resort.

A different line of analysis has been developed in Delsing (1998), Dobrovie-Sorin (1999). Delsing (1998) opts for a theory in which genitives are DP arguments of the head noun. They are base generated post-nominally, as complements of N:



This analysis can account for the word order in sentences like *two pictures of John's* without resorting to movement, but it cannot explain how the possessor can be considered a complement of the possessum. Then, Delsing's (1998) approach poses the problem of the selection.

With regard to Romanian pre-articulated genitives, like (77), Dobrovie-Sorin (1999) proposes two options: they can be generated as a complement to N, an analysis which is

which, raising to SpecCP, passes through the intermediate SpecDP triggering agreement on the article. This analysis then provides an explanation for the properties of genitive constructions without resorting to movement operations. In fact, the only element which undergoes movement is the noun phrase *libër* which raises to SpecCP in order to attach to the enclitic article in D. In brief, with this analysis nothing special needs to be involved.

4. Albanian adjectives

In this section, I will analyse the position and the internal structure of Albanian adjective phrases. In particular, I will concentrate on Albanian constructions like (1c), involving adjectives characterized by the realization of a definite article on the adjective. This article, as we will see, is the same article we found in possessive and genitive constructions.

4.1. Internal structure of Albanian adjective phrases

Albanian has two distinct classes of adjectives: pre-articulated adjectives, like *i bukur* 'nice' (81a) and adjectives which occur without article, like *përtac* 'lazy' (81b):

- (81) a. *djali i bukur*
 'boy-the the nice'
 The nice boy
- b. *djali përtac*
 'boy-the lazy'
 The lazy boy

In pre-articulated adjectives, the prepositive definite article is an integral part of them; it expresses the agreement of the adjective with the head noun in gender and number. In fact, the article surfaces as *i* when the adjective modifies a masculine noun (82a), it surfaces as *e* when the adjective modifies a feminine noun (82b) and it surfaces as *të* when the modified noun is plural (82c,d)⁷.

⁷. In Arbëresh dialects the article surfaces as *të* when it modifies neuter nouns:

- (i) *ujt të mire*
 'water-theNEUTER the good'
 The good water

- (82) a. djali i bukur
 'boy-the theMASC nice'
The nice boy
- b. vajza e bukur
 'girl-the theFEM nice'
The nice girl
- c. djemtë të bukur
 'boys-the thePL nice'
The nice boys
- d. vajzat të bukura
 'girls-the thePL niceFEM'
The nice girls

The prepositive article must be immediately adjacent to the adjective: no element may appear between them:

- (83) a. *një djalë i shumë bukur
 'a boy the very nice'
A very nice boy
- b. një djalë shumë i bukur
- (84) a. *një djalë i më bukur se ti
 'a boy the more nice that you'
A boy nicer than you
- b. një djalë më i bukur se ti

The prepositive definite article is obligatory, whereby it cannot be deleted:

- (85) *djali bukur
 'boy-the nice'

Article-less adjectives also agree both in gender and number with the head noun, but the agreement morphology only surfaces on the adjective:

- (86) a. djali përtac
 'boy-the lazyMASC'
The lazy boy
- b. vajza përtace
 'girl-the lazyFEM'
The lazy girl
- c. djemtë përtacë
 'boys-the lazyPL'
The lazy boys
- d. vajzat përtace
 'girls-the lazyPL'
The lazy girls

Article-less adjectives cannot be combined with the prepositive article:

- (87) *djali i përtac

Pre-articulated adjectives can also be found in Greek (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987; Androutsopoulou 1994, 1995, 2001; Giusti 1997; Alexiadou & Wilder 1998). (88) is a Greek example drawn from Alexiadou & Wilder (1998):

- (88) to megalo to kokkino to vivlio
 'the big the red the book'

Relying on Androutsopoulou (1995), Alexiadou & Wilder (1998) call this multiple occurrence of the same article in the same NP *Determiner Spreading*. It is important to notice, however that the article of Modern Greek adjectives is crucially different from that of Albanian in various respects. First, in Modern Greek the pre-adjective article is optional for pre-nominal adjectives (89), whereas it is obligatory for post-nominal adjectives (90)⁸:

- (89) a. to megalo to kokkino to vivlio
 'the big the red the book'
- b. to megalo kokkino vivlio

⁸. All the Greek examples quoted in this section are taken from Alexiadou & Wilder (1998).

- (90) a. to vivlio to megalo to kokkino
 'the book the big the red'
 b. *to vivlio kokkino megalo

This does not hold for Albanian, where the article is always realized with pre-articulated adjectives, independently of the position of the adjective. (91) and (92) show that the article must be realized both in post-nominal adjectives and in focussed pre-nominal adjectives:

- (91) a. libri i kuq
 'book-the the red'
 The red book
 b. *libri kuq

- (92) a. i kuqi libër
 'the red book'
 b. *kuqi libër

Albanian and Modern Greek also differ in the following way: in Modern Greek, *Determiner Spreading* is only found with adjectives which can be used predicatively (93); in Albanian the occurrence of the article is also possible with adjectives which do not have a predicative use (94).

- (93) o ipotithemenos (*o) dolofonos
 'the alleged (*the) murderer'

- (94) vrasësi i supozuar
 'murderer-the the alleged'
 The alleged murderer

Another difference between Modern Greek and Albanian concerns the fact that in Modern Greek the presence versus the absence of the article correlates with a difference in word order. The structures in (95) show the six possible combinations of NP and APs, which show up in the presence of the articles. The structure in (96), instead, illustrates the only unmarked word order possible when articles are not realized.

- (95) a. to vivlio to kokkino to megalo
 b. to vivlio to megalo to kokkino
 c. to kokkino to vivlio to megalo
 d. to megalo to kokkino to vivlio
 e. to megalo to vivlio to kokkino
 f. to kokkino to megalo to vivlio

(96) to megalo kokkino vivlio

In Albanian, except for focussed adjectives which precede the noun, adjectives always appear in post-nominal position. Thus, Albanian does not present any construction of the type illustrated in (95c, d, e, f) and (96).

- (97) a. libri i madh i kuq
 'book-the the big the red'
 b. libri i kuq i madh
 c. *i kuq libri i madh
 d. *i kuq i madh libri
 e. *i madh i kuq libri
 f. *i madh libri i kuq

Finally, in Modern Greek, but not in Albanian, the articles only appear in definite DPs. Compare the Greek example in (98), which shows that in the presence of an indefinite DP pre-adjectival articles are not realized, with the Albanian examples in (99) which show that, in indefinite DPs, pre-adjectival articles cannot be deleted:

(98) ena megalo kokkino vivlio
 'a big red book'

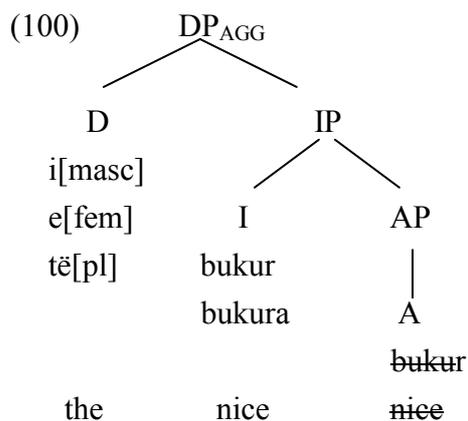
- (99) a. një libër i madh i kuq
 'a book the big the red'
 b. *një libër madh kuq

Greek data seem to indicate that, in this language, adjectives are pre-articulated only when used predicatively and only in particular syntactic circumstances, namely when they appear in post-nominal position and when they modify definite nouns. In Albanian,

instead, the pre-adjectival article is always realized. It is thus reasonable to assume that the Albanian article on the adjective is an integral part of the adjective, so when a pre-articulated adjective is selected on the Lexicon, its article must always be inserted in the syntactic structure of the DP.

What is the status of the article in pre-articulated adjectives? Androusoypoulou (1994) treats the article preceding Greek adjectives as an extra determiner which realizes a [+def] feature in the extended projection of the noun. This determiner heads a Definite Phrase. Following Kayne (1994), Alexiadou & Wilder (1998) analyze the adjectives as full clause CP which are complements of an external determiner, namely the article represents the head of a DP which stands in a clausal configuration with the AP. So, according to this analysis, the article which precedes the adjective is not a projection of AP, but just an external determiner. Androusoypoulou (2001) considers the adjectival determiner which precedes Albanian and Greek adjectives as a head in the main structure of a DP modified by an adjective. In her analysis the adjective determiner is parallel to the D/P head in Kayne's (1994) proposal for the analysis of relative clauses.

Albanian article seems difficult to analyze as an external determiner with respect to the adjective since, unlike Modern Greek, the Albanian article necessarily accompanies the adjective, as we saw in the examples above. If we take it to be an external determiner we would expect it to be absent on a par with the Modern Greek article in the same environments. But, the ungrammaticality of (91b) and (99b) show that in Albanian the article cannot be deleted. Besides that, as we saw in (83) and (84) no element can separate the article from the adjective. This strict adjacency requirement may be taken to indicate that the article belongs to the adjective, namely it is a kind of adjectival element. These data seem to indicate quite clearly that Albanian cannot be assigned the analysis proposed by Alexiadou & Wilder (1998) and Androusoypoulou (1994, 2001) for Modern Greek. Instead, for Albanian, it is reasonable to analyze that article as a D° element which realizes part of the projection of the adjective phrase. In particular, D is the position where gender and number information features realize. According to this analysis, Albanian APs are full DPs, displaying a full extended projection incorporating a functional head D and a functional head I, where adjectival inflection is realized. This yields the following articulated structure:



4.2. The position of Albanian adjectives

In Albanian, adjectives normally appear in post-nominal position. Compare the grammatical sentences in (101a,c) and (102a,c) with the ungrammatical ones in (101b,d) and (102b,d):

- (101) a. djali i bukur
 'boy-the the nice'
The nice boy
- b. *i bukur djali
- c. një djalë i bukur
 'a boy the nice'
A nice boy
- d. *një i bukur djalë

- (102) a. djali përtac
 'boy-the lazy'
The lazy boy
- b. *përtac djali
- c. një djalë përtac
 'a boy lazy'
A lazy boy
- d. *një përtac djalë

In structures containing DPs modified by two adjectives, we only find the order Noun – adjectives, both in definite or in indefinite structures:

- (103) a. mëkati i madh i pafalshëm
 'sin-the the big the unforgivable'
The big unforgivable sin
 b. mëkati i pafalshëm i madh
 c. *i madh mëkati i pafalshëm
 d. *i pafalshëm mëkati i madh
 e. *i madh i pafalshëm mëkati
 f. *i pafalshëm i madh mëkati

- (104) a. një vazo e bukur kineze
 'a pot the nice Chinese'
A nice Chinese pot
 b. një vazo kineze e bukur
 c. *një kineze vazo e bukur
 d. *një e bukur vazo kineze
 e. *një e bukur kineze vazo
 f. *një kineze e bukur vazo

However, when Albanian adjectives are emphasized, they appear in pre-nominal position. In this case the definite article, which usually is attached to the noun and realizes definiteness, appears instead on the adjective, whereas the noun appears in its indefinite form:

- (105) a. i bukuri djalë
 'theMASC nice-the boy '
The NICE boy
 b. *i bukur djalë

- (106) a. përtaci djalë
 'lazy-the boy'
The LAZY boy
 b. *përtac djalë

In structures containing two adjectives, only one of the adjectives can appear in pre-nominal position:

- (107) a. i pafalshëmi mëkatë i madh
 'the unforgivable-the sin the big'
The UNFORGIVABLE big sin
- b. i madhi mëkatë i pafalshëm
 'the big-the sin the unforgivable'
The BIG unforgivable sin
- c. *i pafalshëmi i madh mëkatë
- d. *i pafalshëmi i madhi mëkatë
- e. *i pafalshëm i madhi mëkatë
- f. *i pafalshëm i madh mëkatë

With respect to the position of the adjective inside the noun phrase, I follow ideas by Cinque (1995) that adjectives are specifiers of functional or aspectual heads dominating NP. So, there is at least another projection within the extended projection of the noun, whose specifier hosts the adjective. I will call this projection D_{AGG} and I will assume that in Albanian D_{AGG} immediately dominates NP. The reason for this assumption comes from the fact that in Albanian adjectives always follow first and second person possessives:

- (108) a. libri im/yt i ri
 'book-the my/your the new'
My/your new book
- b. *libri i ri im/yt

In section 2.3. I assumed that first and second person possessives realize the P position, thus for the derivation of (108) we are led to assume that the adjective is generated below P and above N:

- (109) C D R Q P Loc A_{GG} N
 [libr-] i im [i ri] ~~libr~~

The N-adjective order is derived by movement of the constituent containing the noun to SpecCP in order to incorporate the definite article.

As for (105), (106) and (107), I will assume that the emphasized adjective, generated in the specifier of AP, moves to the nominal C domain, presumably in a Focus projection, in order to check a strong [focus] feature:

(110)	C	D _{OP}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	A _{GG}	N
	[i bukur]		i					[i bukur]	djalë
	[përtac]		i					[përtac]	

In this case the definite article in D is attached to the adjective, whereby the overt movement of NP to SpecCP is not required, hence blocked by Procrastinate⁹.

Consider now the position of the adjective in genitive structures:

- (111) a. libri i ri i studentit
 'book-the the new the student'
The student's new book
 b. *libri i studentit i ri
 c. *i ri libri i studentit

As the examples in (111) show, in genitive structures the adjective modifying the possessed noun must follow it and precede the possessor. This is not surprising, since as saw in (101) and (102) in Albanian adjectives appear in post-nominal position.

Under the analysis sketched in this paper, the structure for genitive constructions is the one illustrated in (80) and repeated here as (112):

(112)	C	... D	.... D _{OP}	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	[libr-]	i		i	[studentit]				libër

I assumed that the genitive phrase lexicalizes the SpecQP position, whereas the possessed noun *libër* moves to SpecCP in order to incorporate the definite article in D.

⁹. This analysis is similar to the one proposed by Giusti (1996) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), although in Giusti (1996) it is assumed that the enclitic article which appears on the adjective is realized in Foc°, whereas the adjective is in SpecFocP. In Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), instead, it is assumed that the enclitic article is directly generated on the adjective which occupies the SpecFocP. Their proposal is different from the one I follow here since I'm assuming that the definite article is always realized in D°.

Under a derivation along these lines, the insertion of an adjective in a genitive structure seems to pose a problem:

- (113) C ... D D_{OP} D R Q P Loc AGG N
 [libr-] i i [studentit] [i ri] libër

NP-preposing of the constituent containing *libër* yields a sentence in which the adjective linearly follows the possessor. But, this structure, as (111b) shows is totally ungrammatical.

To account for the linear order in (111a), I will assume that in this structure the adjective moves along with the noun *libër*. This is NP-raising assumed by Androutsoupoulou (1994, 2001) for pronominal adjectives in Greek (see section 1.1). A structure like (111a) is then derived by the movement operations illustrated in (114):

- (114) a. C ... D I ... D R P I AGG N
 i i [studentit] [libër] [i ri] libër
 ↑
- b. C ... D I D R P I AGG N
 i [libr- i ri] i [studentit] libër [i ri] libër
 ↑
- c. C ... D I D R P I AGG N
 [libr] i [libr- i ri] i [studentit] libër [i ri] libër
 ↑

First, the noun *libër* moves to the IP projection which immediately dominates AP (113a). Then, the constituent containing *libër i ri* moves to the higher IP projection (113b). Finally, the NP containing the noun *libër* moves to SpecCP in order to incorporate the definite article in D (113c). This yields the final structure with the adjective between the two noun phrases.

Conclusion

To sum up, the purpose of this paper was to give a unified explanation of Albanian adjective, possessive and genitive structures, three construction types which display surface similarities in some respects. In fact, all the constructions under discussion contain an article which agrees with the head noun and in all these structures, adjectives, possessives and genitive phrases appear in post-nominal position. These facts suggest that the same type of derivation underlies the constructions under discussion. I have accounted for the peculiarities of Albanian pre-articulated adjectives, pre-articulated possessives and pre-articulated genitives in terms of a Determiner complementation, whereas I have accounted for the main distributional characteristics of possessives by analysing them as elements realizing the inflectional positions Q and P within the extended projection of the noun.

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