4

Is the Speaker There? An Analysis of Some Anomalous Contexts

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I am going to analyse two cases in Italian in which the embedded verbal form does not give rise to the Double Access Reading, even if it is not a subjunctive: the imperfect of the indicative and the future-in-the-past.

The issue is relevant with respect to the syntax of the Complementizer, because in both cases—with a special *proviso* for the future-in-the-past—the Complementizer is the same, appearing in the usual indicative contexts and therefore providing the speaker's coordinates. As a consequence, a DAR interpretation is in principle expected, contrary to the facts. These cases therefore constitute a *prima facie* problem for the thesis discussed in this book: if the interface between the sentence and the context is provided by the presence of a certain projection in the C-layer, a uniform behaviour is predicted, but this prediction is apparently not borne out.

I will show that in both cases the theoretical proposal argued for in this book can be maintained and, more interestingly, it contributes to clarifying some facts with respect to these verbal forms, which would remain otherwise unexplained.

In particular, the imperfect will be characterized as an *anti-speaker* form, formally marked as [−speaker]. This specification will be shown to account not only for its lack of DAR, but also for a set of other properties, such as the obligatoriness of a temporal topic—the so-called *anaphoricity* of the imperfect—its availability in fictional contexts, and its (substandard) acceptability in subjunctive

environments. In this light, I will also consider the properties of the English past, given that in many cases, in particular in modal and fictional contexts, it plays the same role as the Italian imperfect of the indicative.

I will also consider the future-in-the-past in Italian, comparing it with the English one. I will show that it is compatible both with the Complementizer endowed with the speaker's coordinates and with the subjunctive Complementizer. Temporally, it expresses a present tense value, combined with a resultant state—similarly to the English present perfect. Its peculiar interpretive properties, as a future-in-the-past, are obtained by means of an empty modal expressing futurity. Its apparent lack of DAR in indicative contexts is actually due to the fact that the item which is located with respect to the subject's and speaker's coordinates is the (empty) modal expressing futurity.

4.2 The imperfect

4.2.1 *The issue*

The analysis of the imperfect I provide here is exclusively focused on the topic of this book, i.e., the presence of the speaker's coordinates in the C-layer. Therefore, I will not consider its properties exhaustively, given that such a discussion would not be pertinent to the issue addressed here.[1]

The imperfect verbal form is usually considered a form of the indicative, often characterized as an *anaphoric* past form. This characterization stems from the fact that its usage is infelicitous in out-of-the-blue sentences—i.e., those sentences that are not connected to the previous discourse. It requires a temporal topic locating it in the past:[2]

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[1] See, among others, Delfitto (2004), Delfitto and Bertinetto (2000), Bertinetto and Delfitto (2000), Ippolito (2001, 2004). For a general view concerning the very complex relationships between verb classes and aspect, see among others, Ramchand (1997).

[2] In example (3) the star is in brackets. In some cases, the imperfect is compatible with a future temporal expression, as I will discuss in a while.

(1)   #Gianni mangiava un panino
   Gianni was eating a sandwich

(2)   Ieri alle tre Gianni mangiava un panino
Yesterday at three Gianni was eating a sandwich

(3)   (*)Domani alle tre Gianni mangiava un panino
   Tomorrow at three Gianni was eating a sandwich

Sentence (1) is acceptable only if the context provides a suitable temporal topic. Example (2) is acceptable even without a preceding context and contrasts with example (3), where the temporal reference is not past but future. On the compatibility of the imperfect with the future, there is however more to be said and I will return to this topic below. For the time being, if suffices to note that in absence of any further specification the 'natural' usage of the imperfect is as in given in example (2).

It also important to point out that the imperfect encodes a peculiar aspectual value. Note for instance that the English glosses of (1)–(3) are given by means of the English progressive. Even if in Italian there is a *real* progressive form, the translation in English of a sentence such as (2) is best given as a past progressive. The Italian progressive periphrasis is given in example (4):

(4)   Ieri alle tre Gianni **stava mangiando** una mela
Yesterday at three Gianni was eating a sandwich

The progressive periphrasis is constituted by the auxiliary *stare* (stay) plus the gerund of the verb.

Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b and 2004a) pointed out that the English progressive is actually closer to the Italian progressive periphrasis than to the imperfect. In many contexts, however, the two are functionally equivalent. The aspectual value of the imperfect has been described as opposed to the perfective one—see for instance Delfitto (2004). The imperfect allows a perspective on the event *from the inside*, cf. Bertinetto (1986, 1997), permitting overlap between different events, as in the following case:

(5)   Mentre Gianni suonava il piano, Maria lavava i piatti
While Gianni was playing(IMPF) the piano, Maria was washing(IMPF) the dishes

In a sentence such as (5) the two events are seen as simultaneous. The playing of the piano provides the temporal reference for the washing of the dishes and vice versa. Although the aspectual considerations play an important role in the analysis of the imperfect, in this work I will try to abstract away from them. The focus of this work lies in the relationships between the various verbal forms and the C-layer and not in the perspective they allow on the events. I will only occasionally mention the aspectual properties of the imperfect when necessary; for a more thorough discussion, I refer the reader to the cited references.[3]

4.2.2 *The imperfect as an indicative verbal form*

There are several arguments that assimilate the imperfect to the indicative forms. For instance, it can appear in main clauses and give rise to an assertion like an ordinary indicative and as opposed to a subjunctive verbal form:

(6)   Ieri alle tre Gianni ha mangiato un panino
       Yesterday at three Gianni ate (PAST) a sandwich

(7)   *Ieri alle tre Gianni mangiasse un panino
        Yesterday at three Gianni ate (PAST SUBJ) a sandwich

(8)   Ieri alle tre Gianni mangiava un panino
       Yesterday at three Gianni ate (IMPF) a sandwich

Example (7) is not an assertion, contrasting with the sentence containing an indicative past verb in example (6). The imperfect in (8) patterns with the indicative and not with the subjunctive.

   The other important property the imperfect shares with the indicative concerns the embedded contexts in which it is allowed. Again it patterns with the indicative forms and not with the subjunctive, as in the following cases:

 (9)   Gianni ha detto che Maria è partita
        Gianni said that Maria left (lit: has(PRES IND) left)

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[3] See among others Smith (1997) for an analysis of the imperfect as a form that does not identify event boundaries. A discussion of this issue is however outside the scope of the present work.

(10)   Gianni ha detto che Maria era partita
       Gianni said that Maria had(IMPF) left

(11)   Gianni desiderava che Maria partisse
       Gianni wished that Maria left(PAST SUBJ)

(12)   *Gianni desiderava che Maria è partita
        Gianni wished that Maria left (lit: has (PRES IND) left)

(13)   *Gianni desiderava che Maria partiva
        Gianni wished that Maria left(IMPF)

The imperfect is compatible only with those environments allowing the indicative, whereas it is not compatible as a subordinate form under a verb like *desiderare* (wish), which in Italian strongly requires a subjunctive—cf. examples (12) and (13).

Etymologically, the modern Italian imperfect is derived from the Latin imperfect. The morphological derivation is rather transparent; for instance, in *laud-a-ba-nt* (they praised) the morphemes are ordered as follows: verbal root (praise) + thematic vowel + temporal morpheme + inflection. The Italian *lod-a-va-no* has exactly the same sequence, with only minor phonological changes: verbal root + thematic vowel + temporal morpheme + inflection. The Latin form had the temporal value of a past, in a very similar way to the Italian. Giorgi and Pianesi (1991) remarked that even if the Latin indicative temporal system is different from the Italian one, the relation of the imperfect form *laudabam* (I praised-IMPF) with the perfect *laudavi* (I praised-PERF) closely resembles the opposition between the contemporary Italian present perfect *ho lodato* (I have praised) and the imperfect *lodavo*. The imperfect is fully inflected for person and number, with no syncretism, and the inflectional endings are exactly the ones used in the present tense:[4]

(14)   Io lodav**o** (I praised)
       Tu lodav**i** (you praised)
       Egli lodav**a** (etc.)

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[4] Notice also that it is fully regular, as opposed to the present tense and the simple past. Namely, when the verb exhibits suppletive forms in the present or in the simple past, the imperfect never does, being derived fully regularly from the stem of the infinitive. *Io vado* (I go) vs *io andavo* (I went-IMPF) and *io vidi* (I saw-SIMPLE PAST) vs *io vedevo* (I saw-IMPF).

Noi lodava**mo**
Voi lodava**te**
Essi lodava**no**

(15)   Io lod**o** (I praise)
Tu lod**i** (You praise)
Egli lod**a** (etc.)
Noi lodia**mo**
Voi loda**te**
Essi loda**no**

Assuming that the function of the inflectional morpheme is self-evident, one might ask what is the role of the intermediate morpheme *-va-* that characterizes the imperfect, as opposed to the present. The first answer one can think of is that somehow it expresses a *past* value, and as a matter of fact sentences such as (3) above are deviant. Apparently, the reason is that in sentence (3) there is a future time reference, contrasting with the verbal morphology. There is however an important consideration: it is not always the case that the future time reference with the imperfect gives rise to a deviant result. With a suitable background, it is possible to combine a future reference with an imperfect verbal form, whereas this is never possible with other past forms, such as a simple past or a present perfect. Consider the following discourse:

(16)   A: Verrà anche Gianni alla festa di domani?
A: Will Gianni come as well to tomorrow's party?

(17)   B: Non so. Domani usciva con Maria
B: I do not know. Tomorrow he *went*(IMPF) out with Maria

The answer given by speaker B is perfectly appropriate. It has a *modal* flavor, meaning something like *he is supposed to leave with Maria.*
    Compare example (17) with the following ones:

(18)   B: Non so. Domani esce con Maria
B: I do not know. Tomorrow he goes(PRES) out with Maria

(19)   B: Non so. Domani uscirà con Maria
B: I do not know. Tomorrow he will go(FUT) out with Maria

What is the difference between the imperfect and the other two forms? I will not extensively discuss here the value of the present *pro*

future in (18) with respect to the future. Simplifying, the usage of the present tense with future time reference is appropriate when at utterance time the conditions already hold for a future event. In this sense, the Italian present pro future resembles the English one, with the only difference that in English this effect is even stronger and actually requires the existence of a real *agenda*, or schedule, to be appropriate. Consider for instance the following sentence:

(20)   John leaves tomorrow at three

This sentence is acceptable only in the context in according to which the person speaking is talking about the *already scheduled* activities by John.

Conversely, a past form other than the imperfect is never compatible with future time reference:

(21)   B: *Non so. Domani è uscito con Maria
        B: I do not know. Tomorrow he went(PRES PERF) out with Maria

(22)   B: *Non so. Domani uscì con Maria
        B: I do not know. Tomorrow he went(SIMPLE PAST) out with Maria

Therefore, though behaving as an indicative, the imperfect does not share the distributional properties of the other past forms.

Coherently with its characterization as an indicative, it disallows Complementizer Deletion:

(23)   Gianni ha detto *(che) era partita
        Gianni said (that) she had(IMPF) left

As was illustrated in the preceding chapter, this is different from the subjunctive verbal forms:

(24)   Gianni credeva (che) fosse partita
        Gianni believed that she had(SUBJ) left

Unlike the indicative, however, the imperfect does not give rise to any Double Access Reading effect. In the previous chapter, I characterized the DAR as a double interpretation of the tense, once with respect to the subject's coordinate, and once with respect to the speaker's coordinate. Therefore, in the case of a past under past, the embedded verbal form is interpreted as past both with respect to

the temporal location of the superordinate subject and with respect to the temporal location of the utterer, both in Italian and English:

(25) Gianni ha detto che Maria ha mangiato/mangiò un panino
Gianni said that Maria ate(PRES PERF/SIMPLE PAST) a sandwich

In this case, the only available interpretation is that the eating precedes both the saying and *now*.

In Italian, however, if the present perfect/simple past is substituted by an imperfect, the interpretation is not the same any more:

(26) Gianni ha detto che Maria mangiava un panino
Gianni said that Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich
'Gianni said that Maria was eating a sandwich'

In this case, the interpretation is that the eating is simultaneous to the superordinate event—namely, the eating takes place during the saying. Since the saying precedes the utterance time, the embedded event is taken to precede it as well.

The imperfect by itself however does not need to be interpreted as past with respect to *now*. Consider for instance the following example:

(27) Sono sicura che domani Gianni e Maria litigheranno. Ma fra due giorni Gianni dirà che Maria aveva ragione
I'm certain that tomorrow Gianni and Maria will quarrel. But in two days Gianni will say that Maria was(IMPF) right

In example (27) the scene is explicitly set in the future by means of the first sentence. In the second sentence there is an embedded imperfect, clearly referring to a state following the utterance time. The dependencies from the future verbal forms will be analysed in Chapter 5, but for the time being it might be relevant to consider how the imperfect does not necessarily refers to events or states located in the speaker's past. Notice also that in example (27) there is no *modal* flavor at all associated with the embedded imperfect, contrary to what was argued with respect to sentence (17) above.

Consider finally the following sentence:

(28) Gianni ha detto che Maria partiva ieri/oggi/domani
Gianni said that Maria left(IMPF) yesterday/today/tomorrow

The imperfect in the embedded clause in this case is totally undetermined with respect to the utterance time, to the effect that any indexical time reference whatsoever is compatible with it.[5]

To conclude, the imperfect is not a *past* verbal form. For one thing, it is not necessarily interpreted as a past with respect to *now*, and secondly, it is not always interpreted as a past with respect to a main verbal form.

Consider finally another important property of the imperfect. As discussed by Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b), it appears in many languages in the contexts created by fictional predicates, as for instance *dream*:

(29)   Gianni ha sognato che Maria partiva
        Gianni dreamed that Maria left(IMPF)

In this case, the imperfect is totally atemporal. It is not a *past*, either with respect to the utterance time or with respect to the main predicate. It simply contributes to expressing the *content* of the dream. Consider also that in these contexts, the subjunctive is not acceptable:

(30)   *Gianni ha sognato che Maria partisse
        Gianni dreamed that Maria left(PAST SUBJ)

This observation shows again that the imperfect does not pattern with the subjunctive.

4.2.3 *The interpretation of the imperfect* -va- *morpheme*

What is the interpretive value that has to be assigned to the imperfect morphology? Summarizing the results of the previous section: the imperfect is an indicative verbal form; it appears in main assertions; it is *not* a past—though it is *compatible* with a past interpretation, which is very frequently assigned to it. My proposal in this book is that the morpheme -*va*- is the lexicalization of the feature [−*speaker*].[6]

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[5] The dependencies from a main future will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[6] Following a remark by a reviewer, let me point out that the feature [± speaker] exclusively concerns verbal morphology, and is not associated with DP, even with first or second person pronouns. The fact that there might be verbal properties as opposed to nominal

Iatridou (2000), von Fintel and Iatridou (2006), and Iatridou and von Fintel (2007) account for the fact that in many languages the past morphology can be used with a *modal* meaning—i.e., a meaning not involving a past *temporal* value—suggesting that such a morphology can realize an *exclusion* feature. In the temporal domain such a feature implies that the topic time excludes the utterance time—hence, as a (necessary) default it gives rise to a past temporal interpretation. In the modal domain, their proposal amounts to saying—simplifying somehow—that the topic worlds exclude the actual world, whence the *modal* meaning.

The hypothesis I argue for in this chapter is much in the same vein, with the difference that according to my suggestion the feature specification of the imperfect is not only relevant at the interface, but is part of the syntactic process itself.

Iatridou (2000), von Fintel and Iatridou (2006), and Iatridou and van Fintel (2007)'s proposal would in fact be too general for Italian. The main empirical problem with it is that only the imperfect morphology seems to have this ambivalent status (i.e., modal and temporal) whereas the (other) past tenses (both the present perfect and the simple past) and the future do not exhibit this bivalent behaviour. Moreover, the important property I try to account for is that the imperfect, when temporally interpreted, obligatorily requires a temporal topic. I am going to propose that by means of the feature [−speaker], it is possible on one hand immediately to connect the imperfect to the characteristics of the C-layer I am discussing here—without postponing the outcome to an interpretive level—and on the other, to account for its temporal/modal value alternation.

This proposal shares some preliminary considerations with the one discussed in Giorgi and Pianesi (2004b).[7] Giorgi and Pianesi argued that the imperfect is not a relational, two-place predicate verbal form, such as the 'normal' past and future tenses of the

property is a not an *ad hoc* hypothesis, given that this is the case with many inflectional morphemes, which may occur with nouns, but not with verbs and vice versa.

[7] On the semantic value of the Italian imperfect in *if* clauses, see also Ippolito (2004).

indicative, but is a one-place predicate, hence, not *a priori* specified as a tense. They claimed that its peculiar behaviour and distribution were due to its additional feature specifications, to the effect of requiring it to be a *present in the past* of some sort.

In this chapter I am crucially *not* assuming that the imperfect is a present in the past, but I will assume that it is a non-relational verbal form—i.e., not in the form of a two-place predicate, but with a single position—obligatorily anchored like all other verbal forms, and specified as being an anti-speaker—i.e., [-speaker]—tense.

4.2.3.1 *The temporal value of the imperfect in main clauses* Let's consider as a first case the interpretation of the imperfect as a main clause past. As illustrated in examples (1)–(3) it obligatorily requires a temporal topic, either in the previous discourse or in the sentence. Consider examples (1) and (2) again:

(31)   #Gianni mangiava un panino
         Gianni was eating a sandwich

(32)   Ieri alle tre Gianni mangiava un panino
         Yesterday at three Gianni was eating a sandwich

Once Tense is merged with vP, the feature on the phase edge accessible to the probe-goal relation is the uninterpretable feature [−speaker], corresponding to the imperfect morphology. Recall also that events are obligatorily anchored, as discussed in Chapter 2. The anchoring is provided through the interpretable feature τ in C-speaker, i.e., the speaker's coordinate. But the probe in C cannot value the uninterpretable feature of v^*, which therefore cannot be deleted. Hence, the derivation crashes.

The temporal topic *ieri alle tre* (yesterday at three), by contrast, bears the interpretable feature [−speaker], given that its contribution to the meaning is to locate the event somewhere *else*—and precisely *yesterday at three*—with respect to the speaker's temporal location. It probes the goal and deletes the feature carried by the imperfect. The event of eating, located *yesterday at three*, is then anchored to C-speaker. The final interpretation is therefore that there is an event of eating taking place *not* at the speaker's temporal location, but in her past, and precisely *yesterday at three*.

The derivation of a sentence with a future temporal topic is identical. Consider for instance the following example (see also example (17) above):

(33)   Domani Gianni usciva con Maria
        Tomorrow Gianni went(IMPF) out with Maria

The only difference is that the leaving event in this case is located in the future of the speaker, by means of *tomorrow*, and not in her past.

If this is the case, where does the modal flavour of (33) come from? My proposal is that this kind of interpretation is nothing else than a specialization of the imperfect with respect to the other types of futures—i.e., the present-*pro*-future and the future. The other types of future require an explicit location of the event with respect to the speaker's coordinate. As illustrated in Chapters 2 and 3, present, past, and future verbal forms are directly connect to the C-layer, which triggers the interpretation of the verbal form as past, present, or future with respect to the speaker's temporal coordinate. The idea I want to develop in this chapter is that the imperfect is *not* anchored to the speaker and therefore cannot assert the existence of a future event, but only of a *simultaneous* one, demoted in the future by means of temporal specification, such as for instance *domani* (tomorrow). In a way, therefore, the final result is a present-time *expectation* of an event projected in the future.[8]

The event, in other words, when appearing with imperfect morphology, must be interpreted as simultaneous with the temporal specification, which is obligatorily realized—at least in main clauses. Therefore, when the temporal specification is in the future, it does not have the flavour of a *prediction*, as in *Gianni partirà domani*, but of a sort of assertion concerning a future time.[9]

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[8] I thank a reviewer for this observation.

[9] Some scholars—cf. among others Ippolito (2004)—point out that when in the future, the imperfect loses its aspectual properties and cannot be interpreted as a real imperfective. I would rather adopt Giorgi and Pianesi's (2004a) characterization of the imperfect as a *continuous* verbal form, rather than as an *imperfective* one. I agree that in a sentence such as (33) the verb *usciva* (went out-IMPF) cannot be interpreted as a continuous form. On the other hand, I do not agree with the conclusion usually drawn

The imperfect has a specialized meaning even in the past interpretation. The peculiarity of the imperfect with respect to the other past forms resides in its aspectual properties. Giorgi and Pianesi (2004b) argue that both the simple past and the present perfect are perfective, whereas the imperfect is aspectually neutral, permitting an imperfective interpretation with predicates admitting it.[10] In the future cases, the perfective/imperfective interpretation disappears—given that future events tend to be regarded in general as potentially perfective, hence the modal flavour. In other words: I consider the modal-like interpretation of the future imperfect as an epiphenomenon and not as a substantial property.

In the following discussion this point will emerge more clearly. For the time being let me only point out that the following sentence might constitute additional evidence in favour of this view:

(34)   Domani Gianni doveva partire
        Tomorrow Gianni was supposed(IMPF) to leave

by the authors—i.e., that this is a typical effect of *modality*. It seems to me that this is part of a more general phenomenon connecting future interpretations with perfectivity. In languages such as Russian, overtly marking perfectivity on the verb, a present perfective must be interpreted as a future. The discussion of aspectual properties however lies beyond the scope of this monograph and I leave the question open for further research.

[10]   The main argument provided by Giorgi and Pianesi (2004b) is constituted by the discussion of achievement predicates, such as *raggiungere la vetta* (reach the top). These predicates, which are always telic, are still compatible with the imperfective morphology. Contrary to what happens with the progressive periphrasis, the reaching of the *telos* is not blocked, but the whole event is seen as a perfective continuous one. Consider for instance the following contrast:

i.   Mentre Gianni raggiungeva la vetta, sua madre pregava
      While Gianni reached (IMPF) the top, his mother was praying

ii.   #Mentre Gianni raggiungeva la vetta, un fulmine lo colpì e lui non arrivò mai in cima
      While Gianni reached(IMPF) the top, he was struck by lightning and he never got on top

iii. Mentre Gianni stava raggiungendo la vetta, un fulmine lo colpì, e lui non arrivò mai in cima
      While Gianni was reaching(PROGR) the top, he was struck by lightning and he never got on top

Again, it is impossible to discuss the aspectual properties in this work, and I refer the reader to the quoted references.

In this case the modal meaning is rendered explicit by the presence of the modal *doveva*. The imperfect morphology is however still there and the result in this case is an epistemic interpretation. The sentence in (34) contrasts with the following examples:

(35)   Domani Gianni dovrà partire
Tomorrow Gianni must(FUT) leave
'Tomorrow Gianni will have to leave'

(36)   Ieri Gianni è dovuto/dovette partire
Yesterday Gianni must(PRES PERF/SIMPLE PAST) leave
'Yesterday Gianni had to leave'

In these cases the modal is interpreted as a root modal, and cannot be an epistemic.[11]

Apparently, the only difference between (34) on one side, and (35)–(36), on the other, is that in the former an imperfect—hence, non-relational—verbal form appears, whereas in the other cases a normal relational tense is realized on the modal.

My proposal provides a simple explanation for this fact. In example (34) the presence of the imperfect prevents the modal from being valued with respect to the speaker's temporal location, thus inhibiting the root reading. The only available reading is the epistemic one, in which the modal does not occupy the verbal head, but a higher epistemic position.[12]

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[11] On various perspectives concerning the relation between tense and modality see Guéron and Lecarme (2008). In particular for an analysis of the interactions between tense and epistemic/root modals, see Demirdache and Uribe-Extebarria (2006), Guéron (2007), Zagona (2008). See also Zagona (2007).

[12] See Cinque (1999). A reviewer questions this point on the basis that the epistemic reading is a function of the speaker, whereas the temporal root interpretation of the modal is not. This point is certainly correct, and my discussion will not be exhaustive. Let me point out, however, that here I am talking about a syntactic formal relation between the verbal morpheme and the C-layer. This relation is in terms of feature valuing, i.e., of formal anchoring of the predicate/morpheme. This anchoring, as pointed out in general in the literature on the topic, and in particular in Chapter 2 above, is *obligatory*. The epistemic interpretation, being modal, undergoes different requirements, and can be exempted from a formal T-to-C relation. But, if the modal is combined with a regular tense, this is not possible any more, hence, the modal reading is inhibited. The epistemic value comes not from a syntactic anchoring, but as an interpretation assigned to the particular *head* in which the modal is inserted.

Concluding this brief analysis, the presence of the imperfect turns the root modal into an epistemic modal, given that it makes the anchoring of the event to the speaker impossible. When the imperfect co-occurs with a future temporal reference, again the event cannot be (directly) anchored to the utterance event, but it can do so only through the intervention of the temporal specification. Given that a future-located event must be perfective, the particular flavour associated with an imperfect future emphasizes not its aspectual properties but the non-relational nature of the verbal form, which distinguishes it from the normal future. Further arguments in favour of this conclusion will come from the analysis of embedded contexts.

4.2.3.2 *The imperfect in embedded clauses*   Let's consider now the interpretation of the imperfect in embedded contexts:

(37)   Gianni ha detto che Maria mangiava un panino
        Gianni said that Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich
        'Gianni said that Maria was eating a sandwich'

(38)   Gianni ha detto che Maria era felice
        Gianni said that Maria was happy

The embedded verbal forms—an eventive predicate in (37) and a stative one in (38)—are interpreted as simultaneous with the main predicate—i.e., the *saying*. Both the [−speaker] constraint of the imperfect and the anchoring requirement are therefore met, since the uninterpretable feature of the imperfect is valued by the main past verbal form, which also anchors it. Crucially, the temporal topic can be missing in these cases, precisely because the main verb is a present tense. Consider in this light the following example:[13]

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[13] A reviewer points out that the judgement in (39) only holds if the eventuality is not a generic one, as for instance, in:

i.   Gianni dice che Maria correva la maratona
      Gianni says that Maria run (IMPF) marathons

I adopt here the analysis provided for these contexts in Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b). They hypothesize, following Chierchia (1995), the presence of a generic operator assigning generic reference to the embedded predicate. Under this assumption, the generic cases should be considered separately, and their properties would not bear on the argument developed here.

(39) #Gianni dice che Maria mangiava un panino
       Gianni says that Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich
       'Gianni says that Maria was eating a sandwich'

In this case the main verb is a present tense. The embedded imperfect requires a temporal topic, which must either be provided by the discourse or by the sentence:

(40) Gianni dice che ieri alle tre Maria mangiava un panino
       Gianni says that yesterday at three Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich
       'Gianni says that yesterday at three Maria was eating a sandwich'

In this respect, an embedded imperfect contrasts with an embedded past, which has no need of an explicit or implicit temporal topic:

(41) Gianni dice che Maria ha mangiato un panino
       Gianni says that Maria ate(PRES PERF) a sandwich

The hypothesis I just discussed explains this contrast: the uninterpretable feature of the imperfect cannot be valued by a main present, given that a present does refer to, or at least includes, the utterance time. A non-present temporal topic is therefore needed. No such requirement exists for an embedded relational verbal form like a present perfect/past.

(42) Gianni ha detto che ieri Maria mangiava un panino
       Gianni said that yesterday Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich

(43) Gianni ha detto che domani Maria mangiava un panino
       Gianni said that tomorrow Maria ate(IMPF) a sandwich

4.3 The imperfect and the subjunctive

It has been often observed that the subjunctive belongs to a higher register and that in normal speech it is often substituted by the indicative. These considerations might deserve a quantitative analysis, both with respect to written and spoken language, but such research would lie outside the domain of this book. On the other hand, however, there are a few observations that might follow from the analysis provided so far with respect to this point.

When asked, Italian speakers usually reject the possibility of substituting an indicative for a subjunctive with verbs belonging to the *wish* class:

(44)   Gianni desiderava che Maria vincesse la gara
       Gianni wished that Maria win(PAST SUBJ) the race

(45)   *Gianni desiderava che Maria ha vinto/vinse la gara
       Gianni wished that Maria has won/won (PRES PERF/SIMPLE PAST) the race

(46)   *?Gianni desiderava che Maria vinceva la gara
       Gianni wished that Maria won(IMPF IND) the race

Between the two ungrammatical options, however, Italian speakers point to (46) as the best one. With *believe* predicates the judgements are, on average, the following:[14]

(47)   Gianni credeva che Maria abitasse a Parigi
       Gianni believed that Maria lived(PAST SUBJ) in Paris

(48)   ?*Gianni credeva che Maria ha abitato/abitò a Parigi
       Gianni believed that Maria lived (PRES PERF/SIMPLE PAST) in Paris

(49)   ?(?)Gianni credeva che Maria abitava a Parigi
       Gianni believed that Maria lived (IMPF) in Paris

Notice that *believe* predicates are the ones that among Romance languages often require the indicative and not the subjunctive, with the exception of Italian and Portuguese.

Here I will not discuss linguistic variation among languages, but will try to explain why the imperfect ranks second after the subjunctive in these contexts.
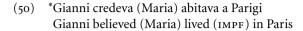
According to the theory I am proposing here, the subjunctive and the imperfect share certain properties. The subjunctive *does not require* anchoring to the speaker's temporal coordinate and the imperfect *cannot* be anchored to the speaker's temporal coordinate. Recall also, as I discussed above, that the Complementizer preceding the imperfect verbal form cannot be deleted, so that the following sentence is ungrammatical:[15]

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[14] Notice that in example (48) the interpretation of the embedded past is as a *real* past—i.e., past with respect to the believing—whereas the interpretation given in (47) is a simultaneous one.

[15] Recall also that for some speakers the preverbal subject is incompatible with CD. For this reason, I put the subject *Maria* in brackets.

(50)   *Gianni credeva (Maria) abitava a Parigi
         Gianni believed (Maria) lived (IMPF) in Paris

It can be concluded from this evidence that the predicates selecting
the subjunctive do so to avoid anchoring the verb in the embedded
clause to the speaker's temporal coordinate. Both the subjunctive
and the imperfect serve this purpose and therefore some speakers
can substitute the one for the other. This possibility follows immedi-
ately from the consideration that the imperfect, like the subjunctive,
does not give rise to the DAR, so that the interpretative requirements
of the main verb are met.[16]

4.4 Is there an imperfect in English?

In the discussion of the DAR in Chapter 2, I pointed out that in
non-DAR languages an embedded present tense form would be
interpreted like an Italian imperfect, or like an English past tense
with stative predicates. Consider the following sentences:

(51)   Gianni ha detto che Maria era malata
         Gianni said that Maria was(IMPF) sick

(52)   John said that Mary was sick

As discussed in Chapter 2, sentence (51) does not exhibit any DAR
effect. According to the hypothesis just developed, the imperfect is
not a relational form, so the presence of the speaker's temporal coor-
dinate in C does not give rise to an interpretation in which the
embedded event is evaluated with respect to it. The interpretation of
example (51) is that the embedded eventuality holds at the time
Gianni said it. The state might persist up to the present moment—
i.e., might still hold at utterance time, as discussed in Chapter 2,
section 2.2.2—but it *does not have to*. The English sentence has the
same meaning, with the interesting addition that, at least for some
speakers, it is possible to interpret the temporal location of the

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[16] Recall, again, that in English there is no detectable difference between the proper-
ties of the Complementizer under *say* and under *believe*, given that it can be omitted in
both cases.

embedded state as *preceding* the main event of saying. As I have just discussed, this is not possible in Italian, unless a temporal topic is provided—or *understood*, thanks to the previous contexts—in the embedded clause.

The main difference between Italian and English, however, concerns the behaviour of eventive predicates. In Italian they can appear with imperfect morphology and be interpreted in the same way as a stative predicate. Consider for instance the following examples:

(53)   Gianni ha detto che Maria mangiava un panino
        Gianni said that Maria eat(IMP) a sandwich
        'Gianni said that Maria *was eating* a sandwich'

Here the embedded imperfect is interpreted as a continuous event, simultaneous with the main one. But this meaning cannot be expressed by the English simple past and the embedded verbal form must be translated with a progressive, as shown by the glosses above. If a past tense is used, the reading of the sentence is that the eating event *precedes* the saying event—namely, it is located in the past with respect to it, as in the following example:

(54)   Gianni said that Maria ate a sandwich

Notice also that the equivalent in English of sentence (53)—i.e., the one with the progressive form *was eating*—is actually ambiguous, contrary to the Italian cases with an imperfect, in that many speakers can also interpret it analogously to sentence (54), namely, as a past also with respect to the main verb. In this case, the eventuality is taken to hold at a time preceding the saying. Importantly, this interpretation is not available for the Italian sentence (53), unless a suitable temporal topic is provided. In other words, even in this case it is possible to observe the ambiguity found in the interpretation of sentence (52).

The issue at this point is to verify the nature of the past tense when combined with stative predicates in English and to check whether my proposal can make coherent predictions in this case as well.

Let me now summarize some aspects of the discussion in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2001a) about the role of aspect in the anchoring process. They discussed the aspectual properties of the English and Italian verbal forms and proposed that English eventive verbs are

always bounded—i.e., they must be represented as closed sequences of sub-events, hence they always are aspectually *perfective*. Statives, by contrast, are unbounded. Due to the *punctuality constraint*, a bounded sequence cannot coincide with the utterance time, whereas an unbounded one can. The past tense morpheme does not contribute anything in terms of aspectuality—the aspectual value of the English verb being already encoded in the verbal root, contrary to Italian—but only in terms of temporal specifications. It follows, therefore, that an eventive past form is always perfective, hence bounded, whereas a stative verbal form starts as unbounded and will continue to be so, even when combined with a past tense morpheme.

In other words, the basic difference between the Italian past—for instance, Italian *mangiai* (I ate) and English past *I ate*—is that the past morpheme in Italian crucially contributes an aspectual value, i.e., perfectivity, whereas the English past morphology does not, even if in both cases the resulting past form is perfective.[17] In one case—Italian—this is due to past morphology; in the other case—English—it is due to the intrinsic nature of the verbal root itself. The fact that both *mangiai* and *I ate* turn out as perfective is due to the fact that in English an eventive verb is *always* perfective and does not need a special morphology to be interpreted that way.[18]

[17] Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2001b) consider various phenomena as arguments to this end. An important one is the interpretation of bare VPs in perception contexts. For instance, in English there is a contrast between the following two cases:

i. I saw John play two games

ii. I saw John playing two games

In the first case the meaning of the sentence is that I saw John play the games in a sequence. In the second case, the sentence means that I saw him playing them simultaneously. In the first sentence, the verbal form identifies a closed—bounded, hence perfective—sequence. In the second one it is an open—i.e., unbounded, imperfective—sequence. Given that the only difference between the two cases lies in the verbal morphology, this must be the source of the different interpretation. In particular, since the predicate in (i) is taken to be a bare VP, then it must be concluded that a bare V is perfective in English, contrasting in this respect with other languages, such as for instance Italian. The-*ing* morpheme in (ii) modifies the perfective status of the verb, rendering it an imperfective one.

[18] Recall that in many Italian variants the simple past *mangiai* (I ate) would be substituted with the present perfect *ho mangiato* (lit: I have eaten). The Italian present perfect in these varieties does not have the same value as the English one.

This idea provides an answer to the issue concerning the possibility for an English stative past form to be interpreted as simultaneous with a superordinate saying verb. Still, it does not explain the lack of the DAR in these cases. According to the hypothesis developed here, the embedded verbal form should be evaluated with respect to the matrix predicate *and* with respect to the speaker's temporal coordinate. Therefore, it should be interpreted basically as a present tense, analogously to a sentence such as *John said that Mary is sick*.

Let's pursue the hypothesis discussed above for the Italian imperfect. I will hypothesize here that the English past form is basically ambiguous between a relational form and a non-relational one.

The relational form is *e precedes e'*, where *e'* must be identified both with the utterance event—i.e., the speaker's coordinate—and with the superordinate event. If this is the case, the interpretation of (54) is the usual one—namely, Gianni said that in his past (and in the speaker's past, *a fortiori*) there is an event of Maria eating a sandwich. The interpretation of (52) is the one according to which the state of sickness is taken to precede the event of saying—i.e., to have been originated prior to it.

If the past morpheme is not relational, then one might take into account the possibility that its past flavour is due to the presence of a feature *past*. Even in this case, an embedded verbal form must be anchored to the superordinate one, because anchoring is obligatory. In the absence of any predicate specifying an ordering between events—as for instance, *precede* in the case of a past—the embedded event must be anchored with the *default* interpretation, that is, simultaneity with respect to the anchoring event.

As I discussed above, however, in the case of eventive predicates such an interpretation cannot be provided, since the sequence is bounded and the punctuality constraint prevents the anchoring of a closed sequence with the utterance event.

If the predicate is a stative one, such an anchoring is possible and the interpretation is, coherently, simultaneity. Analogously to the Italian imperfect, when T agrees with C nothing happens, given that it is not a relational tense and the only requirement to be satisfied is the obligatory anchoring to the superordinate attitude predicate.

To conclude, the idea I propose here is that the past form in English is ambiguous between a *real* past and an imperfect-like, in the sense of non-relational, past. This ambiguity shows up only in the case of stative predicates, because, due to aspectual properties, eventive predicates cannot be anchored in the same way as statives, unless they appear in the progressive form.[19]

One might ask at this point if there is any context that selects for one form or the other. In what follows I provide an example of the distribution of past forms in British English in the context created by *believe*. Consider the following paradigm (BE stands for British English, AE for American English):[20]

(55)   John believed Mary is pregnant (*BE; AE)

(56)   John believed Mary was pregnant (BE; AE)

(57)   John believed Mary has been sick (*BE; AE)

(58)   John believed Mary had been sick (BE; AE)

(59)   John believed Mary will be sick (*BE; AE)

(60)   John believed Mary would be sick (BE; AE)

From these examples a pattern emerges showing that British and American English allow a different distribution of the past tense in this context. Note that all the embedded predicates are stative ones, so the differences cannot be traced back to aspectual properties.

However, putting together these observations with the ones above concerning the double specification of the past tense in English, it is possible to account for these differences.

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[19] See Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2004a) for a comparison between the Italian progressive periphrasis and the English progressive form. See also Higginbotham (2004) for a discussion of the properties of the progressive in English. Also Zucchi (1999).

[20] These data are also discussed in a somewhat different perspective in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997). Let me point out that Giorgi and Pianesi first observed it by discussing Abusch's (1997) paper with a British native speaker of English. Then they systematically investigated the pattern and found, as remarked in their work (1997, ch. 4), that British speakers and many American English native speakers do not share the judgement discussed in Abusch (1997). Interestingly, sentence (59) is ungrammatical even for some AE speakers.

Let's hypothesize that for British English speakers—and for some American English speakers as well—*believe* selects for the imperfect-like verbal forms, i.e., for a non-relational verbal form characterized by the feature *past*. Or, as a mirror image of the morphological properties, one might propose that *believe* has an interpretive condition disfavouring the DAR.

This condition would resemble the Italian distribution of indicative and subjunctive: the indicative is selected by communication predicates, whereas *believe* predicates require the subjunctive. That is, in Italian communication predicates such as *dire* require the embedded eventuality to be evaluated also with respect to the speaker's coordinate, hence the DAR. *Credere* (believe) does not have this requirement, in that, being a verb expressing a cognitive state of the subject with respect to a certain content, it does not require the speaker to 'share' responsibility with respect to that content.

The difference between English and Italian is twofold, however: on the one hand, in Italian there are (at least) two possible options with respect to the morphosyntactic structure of the C-layer, in that the high Complementizer C can either be selected or not. In English there is only one possible projection, which I take to correspond to the Italian high C. On the other hand, the form of the verb varies accordingly, indicative vs. subjunctive, whereas this is not the case in English.[21]

This is also exemplified, as pointed out above, by the fact that in some Italian varieties it is possible to have a substandard complement clause, featuring the imperfect instead of the subjunctive, as illustrated above in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1.

Going back to the paradigm (55)–(60), it is possible to see that AE requires the DAR in this context. This is not the case for British English. Let's consider the examples in turn. In example (55) an embedded present tense appears. According to the discussion so far, therefore, the embedded eventuality must be interpreted as overlapping both the superordinate one *and* the speaker's temporal

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[21] I put aside here the so-called subjunctive in English. For a discussion, see Portner (1997).

coordinate—i.e., the utterance event. The sentence is grammatical in AE, but is ungrammatical in BE. Under the hypothesis that in (British and American) English the high (indicative-like) Complementizer appears, it must be concluded that what differs in this case between the two varieties of English is the nature of the embedded verb.

In British English, *believe* can only appear followed by a non-relational verbal form, so the verbal form *was* must be selected. Its interpretation will be *simultaneity*—i.e., overlapping—with respect to the main event. The present tense cannot appear in this context in BE, given its relational nature. The present tense, when moved in C, would necessarily be interpreted with respect to the utterance time as well, giving rise to the DAR.

In the pair (57)–(58), again in BE the tense morpheme attached to the verb—in this case an auxiliary—must be a non-relational one. Therefore the present perfect is ruled out and the past perfect must be used, since the past form in English has the option of realizing the non-relational *past*. The past interpretation, like in the Italian compound subjunctive, is obtained by means of the past participle.

In the third pair—examples (59)–(60)—the embedded eventuality must be interpreted as a future with respect to the main one. In BE the *will* future is ruled out, since it gives rise to the DAR, and the *would* future is selected.

In the next section, I will provide a brief discussion of the future-in-the-past. For the time being, let me only point out that, according to the reasoning developed so far, the past tense morpheme on the modal must be taken to be the non-relational one. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that the complex modal+past is interpreted as simultaneous with the main eventuality. Since the modal expresses futurity, then the interpretation is the one corresponding to a future with respect to the *believing*.

Let me summarize this brief discussion. In English there is a form functionally equivalent to the Italian imperfect, which is a non-relational past form. In the examples given above, it turns out that this form is compatible only with stative predicates. I explained this property following the analysis provided in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2001a), who argue that it is due to the peculiar aspectual properties

of the English verb. As I briefly discussed above, in English an eventive verb is always perfective, unless explicitly marked as a progressive. Therefore, in a context where aspectuality is relevant—in that the embedded form cannot be perfective—this phenomenon can only be observed with stative predicates and not with eventive ones. To illustrate, consider the following example:

(61)   John believed Mary ate a sandwich

Sentence (61) cannot be interpreted as if the event of eating were simultaneous to the believing, but only as a past-under-past, where the eating is in the past with respect to the believing.
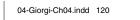
In the next section I will consider some cases concerning the non-relational interpretation of eventive predicates.

4.5 Inside a dream

In this section I analyse fictional predicates and in particular the anchoring conditions under a verb such as *sognare* in Italian and *dream* in English. This discussion is not directly relevant with respect to the main hypothesis advanced in this book—i.e., the presence of the speaker's coordinate in C—but only indirectly so, providing strong evidence in favour of the analysis of the imperfect in Italian and of the past tense in English as given above.
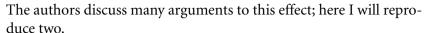
Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b) discussed the properties of fictional predicates such as *dream* with respect to Sequence of Tense. Here I will provide a discussion of these contexts in the light of the proposal I am arguing for here.[22]

Giorgi and Pianesi's proposal is that *dream* contexts, both in Italian and English, do not enforce temporal anchoring. The reason for this is that they are not attitude predicates—i.e., they do not entail an attitude by the subject with respect to their propositional content.

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[22] In this my analysis differs from the one provided by Ippolito (2001) who considers the distribution of the Italian imperfect under *sognare* (dream) as a simple case of *modal imperfect*.

The authors discuss many arguments to this effect; here I will reproduce two.

The first argument concerns the distribution of anaphoric temporal locutions in the context created by *sognare* (dream). These temporal locutions require an antecedent to be provided, either in the sentence or in the previous discourse. Consider for instance the following:

(62)   A: Cosa è accaduto ieri alle cinque?
          What happened yesterday at five?

       B: Non so. In quel momento dormivo
          I don't know. At that moment I was sleeping

In this case, the anaphoric temporal locution picks up its reference from the discourse and precisely from *yesterday at five*. The same is true of other locutions such as *il giorno prima* (the day before), *il giorno dopo* (the day after), etc.[23]

In the next chapter I will discuss in more detail how the temporal locution can relate the event with a certain temporal reference—cf. Chapter 5 below. For the time being let me simply propose that whenever the anchoring conditions are not enforced, as in *dream* contexts, reference to the anchor is not possible, hence the anaphoric temporal locution is infelicitous.

If we compare in fact a predicate such as *sognare* (dream) with others such as *dire* (say) and *credere* (believe), we can observe that *credere* and *dire* introduce a temporal referent, which can be picked up by any temporal locution embedded in the subordinate clause. Consider for instance the following examples:

(63)   Gianni credeva che in quel momento Maria dormisse
       Gianni believed that in that moment Maria sleep(PAST SUBJ)
       'Gianni believed that in that moment Maria was sleeping'

(64)   Gianni ha detto che in quel momento Maria dormiva
       Gianni said that in that moment Maria sleep(IMPF)
       'Gianni said that in that moment Maria was sleeping'

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[23] For an analysis of temporal locutions in this framework, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2003).

In these examples, the anaphoric temporal locution embedded in the subordinate clause picks up the main eventuality as its reference—namely, the *moment* in question is identified with the time of the saying and the time of the believing respectively. The result emphasizes the simultaneous interpretation, which is normally assigned to these clauses—cf. the discussion above. Importantly, both examples are well formed even in absence of any previous context, i.e., even when used out of the blue.

If the main verb is *sognare* (dream), judgements are different. Consider the following example:

(65)   #Gianni ha sognato che in quel momento Maria dormiva
      Gianni dreamed that in that moment Maria sleep(IMPF)
      'Gianni dreamed that in that moment Maria was sleeping'

This sentence, if uttered out of the blue, is infelicitous, in that it is not possible for the anaphoric temporal locution *in that moment* to refer to the matrix eventuality. The grammatical status of this sentence is similar, to some extent, to that of the following example, used in the absence of any previous context:

(66)   #In quel momento Maria dormiva
      In that moment Maria sleep(IMPF)
      'In that moment Maria was sleeping'

The same results would obtain with other anaphoric temporal locutions, such as *il giorno prima* (the day before):

(67)   #Gianni ha sognato che Maria partiva il giorno prima
      Gianni dreamed that Maria left(IMPF) the day before

It is not possible in this case to assign a correct interpretation to the temporal locution. The sentence in fact should, but cannot, mean that 'Gianni dreamed that Maria left the day before his dream'. In other words, reference to the dreaming event cannot obtain from within the dream itself.

The idea developed by Giorgi and Pianesi is that in these cases the dreamer is not an attitude bearer and therefore the dreaming event itself cannot be part of the embedded content. This reasoning is in line with the proposal put forward by Higginbotham (1995) in his

article on tensed thought, and in a way represents its mirror image. Higginbotham (1995) in fact proposed that the clause embedded under an attitude predicate—such as *think*, *fear*, and the like—must include reference to the attitude episode itself. Giorgi and Pianesi strengthened this view by claiming that if something is *not* an attitude predicate it *cannot* be represented in its complement clause, as part of its propositional content.[24]

In this way, a *fearer*, a *believer*, a *wisher*, etc., is conceived of as somebody having an attitude towards a certain content, such as desire, fear, etc. A *dreamer*, on the contrary, does not have any attitude towards the dreamed content, the dream being something that *happens*. A dreamer does not fear, wish, believe, etc., the content of her dream.[25]

The example I provided in (66) contrasts with the following one:

(68)   Ieri alle 5 Gianni ha vinto la gara. Stanotte Paolo ha sognato che in quel momento Mario partiva
Yesterday at 5 Gianni won the race. Last night Paolo dreamed that in that moment Mario leave(IMPF)
'Yesterday at 5 Gianni won the race. Last night Paolo dreamed that in that moment Mario was leaving'

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[24] For further discussion, see also Higginbotham (2003).

[25] One might fear, believe, wish the content of her dream *after* the dream itself, i.e., when the dream is remembered. This is not relevant to the present discussion. Also a reviewer points out that it might seem that in certain contexts there is actually an ordering between the dreaming event and the content of the event. Consider for instance the following example:

i.   Maria ha sognato che Gianni sposava Luisa
Maria dreamed that Gianni married Luisa

ii.   Maria ha sognato che Gianni aveva sposato Luisa
Maria dreamed that Gianni had married Luisa

It might seem at first sight that sentence (ii) actually means that Maria dreamed of an event past with respect to the dream. I do not think that this is the correct way of describing the meaning of this sentence. The example in (ii) does not mean that Gianni married and *then* Maria dreamed of his marriage. Coherently with what I said in the text, sentence (ii) means that Maria dreamed of an event that, with respect to herself located in certain temporal point *in her dream*, was past with respect *to it*. If we know that Gianni in the real world has married somebody else, this sentence might have a counterfactual flavour, which might perhaps account for the misleading judgement with respect to the temporal ordering.

In (68) *in quel momento* (in that moment) can refer to the event of winning the race. Such an event is provided *outside* the dream context. The ungrammaticality of (65), or of (67), therefore, is not due to the fact that, for some reason, the phrase *in quel momento* (in that moment) cannot find an antecedent when embedded under *dream*, but to a specific property of these contexts, namely, the fact that they are *not* attitude predicates.

According to the discussion above and to the proposal put forth in the preceding chapters, if the attitude bearer is not represented in the embedded clause—i.e., in T, as proposed above—then the embedded verbal form cannot be anchored.

The second argument comes from the observation than in Italian the verb *dream* does not select for a subjunctive, but for an indicative. Actually this is the case quite consistently across languages. Namely, in the languages exhibiting an indicative/subjunctive alternation, the mood appearing in *dream* contexts is always the indicative.

Consider for instance the following examples:

(69)   *Gianni ha sognato che Maria partisse
     Gianni dreamed that Maria leave(PAST SUBJ)

(70)   Gianni ha sognato che Maria partiva
     Gianni dreamed that Maria left(IMPF)

The example in (69) contrasts with the one in (70) precisely for this reason, because in (69) the subjunctive appears, whereas in (70) the verbal bears the imperfect indicative morphology.

The explanation is quite straightforward. The subjunctive *must* be anchored to the superordinate attitude, or otherwise have a modal interpretation, as discussed in the previous chapters. The reason is that the subjunctive must be selected, and selection is the mirror-image of anchoring, namely, a verbal form, if selected, is also necessarily anchored to the item selecting it.[26]

As briefly discussed above, the imperfect is usually anchored. However it is not *selected*, being an indicative, and can therefore

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[26] Anchoring is implicit in the notion of *selection*. Note that this hypothesis is at odds with Schlenker's (2005) proposal concerning the appearance of the subjunctive, which according to his view is a sort of *default* option.

yield grammatical results even in contexts that do not permit anchoring.

Crucially for the present discussion, the imperfect is also a non-relational verbal form, so it satisfies both requirements imposed by these contexts: there is no mood selection and no anchoring. A non-relational indicative form satisfies both conditions.

The Italian imperfect, as illustrated above, is the only verbal form in the Italian system that is endowed with these properties. In English, I argued above that the past forms are ambiguously specified as both relational and non-relational. In what follows, I discuss the distribution of the English past forms according to the hypotheses illustrated so far.

I proposed in the previous section of this chapter that in an embedded clause a stative predicate can appear without giving rise to the DAR. Consider again the following example:

(71)   John said that Mary was pregnant

In sentence (71) anchoring is enforced, but the possibility for a past tense in English to be non-relational permits anchoring to take place and yield a simultaneous interpretation, as discussed above. However, an eventive predicate is still ungrammatical in the same contexts, due to the *punctuality constraint* holding on temporal anchoring:

(72)   John said that Mary ate an apple

Sentence (72) can only mean that the eating took place *before* the saying, and cannot be simultaneous with it. Therefore, according to the hypothesis, the difference in the interpretation of (71) and (72) stems from the interplay between aspect, temporal morphemes, and anchoring.

As I discussed above, however, *dream* contexts do not require anchoring. Consequently, no contrast should be expected between stative and eventive verbs. Consider the following example:

(73)   John dreamed that Mary was sick

(74)   John dreamed that Mary ate an apple

Sentences (73) and (74) do not contrast, whereas (72) and (74) clearly do. In sentences (73) and (74) there is no *ordering* of the events,

namely, the embedded clause only describes the content of the dream. The embedded event is not temporally located in any way with respect to the matrix one. In other words, neither the state of sickness, nor the eating of the apple, are taken to follow, precede, or be simultaneous with the event of dreaming. For (72) to be true, for instance, it must be the case that when John said 'Mary ate an apple', the event had already taken place. By contrast, it is not the case that (74) conveys the meaning that John dreamed of an eating event that took place before his dream. The eating of the apple is simply a *description* of the content of the dream. The past tense therefore is not relational, and the fact that it is admissible even with eventive predicates shows that there is no anchoring at all.

As a further argument in favour of the idea that there is no representation of the dreamer in the embedded clause, consider the following piece of evidence:[27]

(75)   Gianni gli disse che Maria era là
        Gianni told him that Maria was there

(76)   Gianni credeva che Maria fosse là
        Gianni believed that Maria was there

(77)   #Gianni ha sognato che Maria era là
         Gianni dreamed that Maria was there

Indexical reference to the subject's, i.e., Gianni's, spatial location is possible with both *say* and *believe*, whereas it is not available with *dream*. These data parallel the pattern discussed so far with respect to the temporal location and support the idea that, whereas normal attitude contexts (including matrix assertions) incorporate (or provide access to) the coordinate of the attitude bearer, dreams do not. This property shows up both in temporal and in spatial locations.
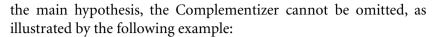
The remaining question concerns the status of the speaker's projection in these contexts. The proposal I develop here is that the high Complementizer C appears in clauses embedded under *dream*, as shown by the fact that the indicative is selected and that, according to

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[27] For further arguments and discussion, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b).

the main hypothesis, the Complementizer cannot be omitted, as illustrated by the following example:

(78)   Gianni ha sognato *(che) Maria partiva
       Gianni dreamed (that) Maria was leaving (IMPF)

However, given that the imperfect is a non-relational verbal form, the presence of the speaker's coordinate does not have any consequence in terms of DAR. The situation is different when a relational verbal form—i.e., a non-imperfect indicative—appears in the embedded clause. Consider the following cases:

(79)   Gianni ha sognato che c'**è stato** un terremoto
       Gianni dreamed that there has been (PAST IND) an earthquake

(80)   Gianni ha sognato che c'**era** un terremoto
       Gianni dreamed that there was (IMPF) an earthquake

In sentence (79) a non-imperfect indicative appears. The interpretation, contrasting with the one given in (80), is that the dream was in some sense a *prophetic* one, i.e., Gianni dreamed something, which was going to happen (or maybe had already happened). This is dubbed by Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b) *evidential dream*. This effect is absent in (80), where an imperfect appears. The explanation follows precisely from the fact that in (80) an attitude interpretation of the dream is required—namely, the dreamer in this case must have an attitude towards the dream content—and consequently, an ordinary anchoring procedure is needed, as with attitude predicates such as *believe* or *say*. This requirement can only be satisfied by a *real* relational verbal form such as a past form, which must be located with respect to the *dreamer's* coordinates and with respect to the speaker's, as in normal DAR sentences.

4.6 What about languages with no *tense*?

In this section I will briefly address an important issue concerning differences among languages. Besides languages like Italian, showing complex verbal morphology incorporating both temporal and aspectual distinctions, there are languages in which no tense morphemes

show up and the temporal interpretation seems to be totally deriva-tive from aspectual considerations. Languages that have been argued to exhibit this property are, for instance, Chinese (cf. Lin (2003, 2006), Smith (1997, 2007)), Navajo (cf. Smith (2007)), and Haitian Creole (cf. DeGraff (2005)).

The obvious question is therefore the following: how do these languages relate to the context? Are they radically different from languages showing morphologized temporal distinctions, or is the absence of temporal morphemes simply an accident with no conse-quences for the theory proposed here?

In this section I am going to show that the presence of a projection related to the speaker shows up in environments that are not imme-diately related to Sequence of Tense issues. Namely, the presence of the speaker's coordinate gives rise to effects which are detectable in domains other than the distribution of verbal forms, such as long distance binding. Here I will briefly discuss evidence from Chinese—cf. Giorgi (2007, 2006).

4.6.1 *The speaker's projection and long distance anaphors*

As I briefly said above, Italian and Chinese are very different from a morphological point of view. Italian is a language rich in verbal and nominal morphology and with a quite complex system of tenses and moods marked on the verb. Chinese, by contrast, is a language with almost no morphology and with no tense and mood distinctions detectable on the verb. One might think therefore that, since there would not be any use for it, the speaker's representation in embedded clauses is superfluous and presumably not there at all.

In this section I will show that the presence of a syntactic represen-tation of the speaker's coordinate is necessary in Chinese as well, and that in this way it is possible to account for (many of) the properties of the anaphor *ziji* (self), a long distance anaphor.

Long distance anaphors—henceforth LDAs—can be bound outside the minimal clause containing them and can cross an overt subject, which is what makes them *long distance* as opposed to *clause bound*. On the other hand, however, the domain in which they are

allowed to find an antecedent is not unlimited: it does not necessarily extend to include the whole sentence.

The anaphors that I will consider here are the Italian *proprio* (self's)—a third person singular and plural possessive anaphor—and chinese *ziji* (self)—an anaphor which is neither marked for person nor for number and which can even work as a possessive. These anaphoric items can either be clause bound or long distance bound. Here I will consider their occurrence as LDAs.[28]

The important point for the present investigation concerns the properties delimiting the binding domain for these anaphors in the two languages. Apparently, the conditions forcing the anaphor to find an antecedent inside a certain domain are very different in the two languages—as one might expect, given the great typological distance between them. The conditions delimiting the domain in Italian—and Italian-like languages—have been dubbed in the literature *verbal blocking effect*. The conditions delimiting the binding domain in Chinese—and Chinese-like languages—have been called *nominal blocking effect*. Let me consider first Italian and the verbal blocking effect.[29]

LDAs in Italian show sensitivity to the distinction subjunctive/infinitive vs. indicative. This property shows up in languages with long distance anaphors having a mood distinction, such as Italian and Icelandic. In these languages, the binding domain of an LDA is usually defined by an indicative mood, whereas a subjunctive/infinitive can be crossed over. Consider for instance the following examples:

(81)   Quel dittatore$_i$ spera che i notiziari televisivi parlino a lungo delle proprie$_i$ gesta
That dictator hopes that TV news programmes will talk (subj) for a long time about self's deeds

(82)   Quel dittatore$_i$ ha detto che il primo ministro$_j$ era convinto che i notiziari televisi avessero parlato a lungo delle proprie$_{j/*i}$ gesta
That dictator said that the prime minister was(IND) convinced that the TV news programme had(subj) talked a lot about self's deeds

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[28] For further details, I refer the reader to Giorgi (2006) and Huang and Liu (2001).

[29] See Giorgi (2007), and Cole, Hermon, and Huang (2001, and papers published there).

(83)   *Quel dittatore$_i$ ha detto che i notiziari televisivi hanno parlato a lungo delle proprie$_i$ gesta
That dictator said that the TV news programmes talked(IND) for a long time about self's deeds

(84)   *Quel dittatore$_i$ ha detto che i notiziari televisivi parleranno a lungo delle proprie$_i$ gesta
That dictator said that the TV news programmes will(IND) talk a lot about self's deeds

This paradigm shows that the main verb of the embedded clause must be a subjunctive. In particular, the ungrammaticality of (83) and (84) shows that an indicative prevents the anaphor from looking any further for an antecedent, whereas the grammaticality of (81) and (82) shows that a subjunctive is *transparent* to his purpose.[30]

Other languages, however, like Chinese, have LDAs without having any indicative/subjunctive distinction in their verbal system. However, even in these cases, the domain is limited by intervening items, which do not have a *verbal* nature but a *nominal* one, as mentioned above.

In Chinese intervening first or second person nominal items prevent the anaphor from being bound in a clause superordinate to the one containing the first or second person pronoun.

As pointed out by Huang and Liu (2001), however, in Chinese the blocking effect is asymmetrical and even non-potential binders may act as blockers. Consider the following example (Huang and Liu 2001, example 11a):[31]

(85)   Zhangsan$_i$ danxin wo/ni$_j$ hui piping ziji*$^{i/j}$
Zhangsan is worried that I/you might criticize myself/yourself/*him

This example illustrates that intervening first or second person pronouns prevent the anaphor *ziji* from referring to the higher third person Noun Phrase *Zhangsan*. Interestingly, they also show that an

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[30] The actual pattern is more complex than that, in ways that however are not relevant to the present discussion. See Giorgi (2006, 2007) and references cited there.

[31] For an analysis, see Huang (1984), Pollard and Xue (1998, 2001), and Huang and Liu (2001). See also the discussion of English and Chinese examples in Pollard and Sag (1992).

intervening third person Noun Phrase does not have the same effect (Huang and Liu 2001, example 11b):[32]

(86)   Wo$_i$ danxin Zhangsan$_j$ hui piping ziji$_{i/j}$
       I am worried that Zhangsan will criticize me/himself

The fact that an example such as (86) is grammatical shows that in order to act as a blocker, the intervening Noun Phrase must belong to a special class, in this case the class of first and second person pronouns. Huang and Liu (2001) show that this is true even if the blocking NP does not occur in a position where it may count as a potential antecedent. Consider now the following example (Huang and Liu 2001, example 8a):

(87)   Zhangsan$_i$ gaosu wo$_j$ Lisi$_k$ hen ziji$_{*i/*j/k}$
       Zhangsan told me that Lisi hated self

In this example *wo*—the first person pronoun—is not a potential antecedent, given that it does not appear in subject position, and as we know LDAs are subject-oriented. Even so, however, the binding domain of the LDA is limited to the embedded clause.

Notice moreover that in some cases a third person NP can act as a blocker, when it is deictically identified—for instance, by means of an ostensive gesture—as illustrated by the following example (Huang and Liu 2001, example 12):

(88)   Zhangsan$_i$ shuo DEICTIC-ta$_k$ qipian-le ziji$_{*i/k}$
       Zhangsan said that she/he cheated himself/herself

The word DEICTIC in this example stands for the pointing at a person present in the contextual setting. In this case, the superordinate

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[32] Huang and Liu (2001) notice that some sentences with an intervening third person antecedent might be controversial. Namely, some speakers might find it hard to pass over a third person intervening subject. Their own judgement, however, is that the sentences with an intervening third person are fully acceptable. Here, for consistency, I assume their range of data. Notice, however, that some of the problems with these judgements might be due to the complex effects arising in Chinese with plural antecedents (see Huang and Liu 2001, sect. 3.2.4), if plurals are used in the relevant contexts. Furthermore, if the third person is deictically identified it can also act as a blocker, as I discuss below. On the effects caused by an intervening third person, see also Tang (1989, fnn.11 and 15).

subject *Zhangsan* is not available as an antecedent, and the anaphor must necessarily find its antecedent inside the embedded domain. In this particular case, the antecedent is the indexically identified item.

Finally, explicit time expressions can be used to indicate the sequence of events—namely, the ordering of the events of the complement and superordinate clause with respect to each other. Recall that Chinese does not have temporal morphemes, but only aspectual ones.

As pointed out by Huang and Liu (2001: 181), these temporal expressions interact in an interesting way with LD binding. Consider the following examples (Huang and Liu 2001, examples 107 and 109):

(89)   ?Zhangsan$_i$ kuanjiang-guo houlai sha si ziji$_i$ de naxie ren$_j$
       Zhangsan has praised those persons who **later** killed him

(90)   *Zhangsan$_i$ shang xingqi zanmei-le jin zao piping ziji$_i$ de nei-ge ren
       Zhangsan praised last week the person who criticized self **this morning**

Later is an anaphoric temporal expression, given that it must refer back to a time already given in the sentence. The expression *this morning*, on the contrary, is an indexical expression, and as such its location depends solely on the temporal coordinate of the speaker. Interestingly, the indexical temporal expression seems to act as a blocker for the LDA, so that the superordinate subject *Zhangsan* in (90) is not available as an antecedent. By contrast, in (89) the anaphor can refer back to it.[33]

In the literature, the different patterns for LDA binding found in Italian and Chinese are often considered two different sets of phenomena. According to this perspective, on one side there are languages with tense and mood distinctions, and on the other there are languages in which such distinctions do not exist. In the two language groups the properties relevant to identify the binding domain for an LDA are different, so that a general theory for LD binding must incorporate all the various conditions.

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[33] Huang and Liu (2001) actually mark this example as '?'. The reason is not clear, but it nevertheless seems to me that the examples significantly contrast with each other.

However, my claim is that in light of the hypothesis discussed in this book, it is possible to propose a better account. The crucial question is the following: what do the verbal blocking effect on one side and the nominal blocking effect on the other have in common? What property do they share? The answer seems clear: the indicative—the mood with *blocking* properties—has an indexical component, as argued in the preceding chapters. Analogously, from the data given above it turns out that in Chinese all the nominal expressions exhibiting blocking effects are indexically related items: first and second person pronouns, deixis, and indexical temporal expressions.

On the basis of the theory proposed here, it is possible to conclude that in all the unacceptable cases of LD binding reported above, the utterance context—i.e., the speaker's coordinate—appears in the embedded clause, both in Italian and in Chinese, giving rise to a blocking effect.

The presence of the speaker's coordinate shows up in different ways, due to the fact that the two languages differ with respect to their morphosyntactic properties. The main difference between Italian and Chinese is that the latter lacks verbal morphology. Therefore in such a language, the speaker's coordinate does not correlate with the existence of DAR phenomena—as is the case in languages with rich verbal morphology such as Italian. However, the effects detectable on the binding domani of the LDA are exactly the same.

Following Giorgi (2006), it is possible to hypothesize that the principle for the interpretation of LDAs prescribes that the domain in which the antecedent has to be found cannot extend beyond the clause where the speaker's coordinate appears. The principle stated in Giorgi (2006) is the following:

(91)   **Blocking condition:** an event located with respect to the speaker's
       coordinate must be *fully saturated*

Fully saturated—as argued in Giorgi (2006, 2007)—means that a syntactic domain cannot contain LDAs. In other words, looking at the phenomena from a syntactic point of view, an LDA must have its antecedent in the domain defined by the position in the C-layer

projected by the speaker's coordinate.[34] Therefore, in Italian the domain is defined on the basis of the presence of an indicative, or in any case, in all the contexts which enforce the DAR. In Chinese even if there is no indicative/subjunctive distinction, the domain is identified by means of the speaker's coordinates, which are projected whenever an indexically related item appears. In both cases, the event has to be located with respect to the indexical context and cannot contain LDAs.[35]

As a final remark, notice that from the proposal sketched above, it follows that the verbal blocking effect is not uniquely connected to the presence of an indicative verbal form, since it is a consequence of the presence of the speaker's coordinate. In Chapter 2 I showed that the speaker's coordinate is also projected in some subjunctive contexts which give rise to the DAR, for instance the *ipotizzare* (hypothesize) cases. The prediction is therefore that in these cases long distance binding should be blocked, on a par with the indicative cases given above. Consider the following examples:

(92)   Quel dittatore$_i$ ha ipotizzato che il primo ministro venda illegalmente i propri$_{?,*i}$ tesori
       That dictator hypothesized that the prime minister illegally sells(PRES SUBJ) self's treasures

(93)   Quel dittatore$_i$ ha ipotizzato che il primo ministro vendesse illegalmente i propri$_i$ tesori
       That dictator hypothesized that the prime minister illegally sold(PAST SUBJ) self's treasures

The contrast between the examples in (92)–(93), though subtle, certainly goes in the same direction as the one in examples (81)–(84) discussed above.

In sentence (92) the DAR is enforced, so in order to reach *quel dittatore* (that dictator) the anaphor has to cross a projection endowed with the speaker's coordinate. This is not permitted, as proposed above. Therefore, the sentence is not acceptable. In the example (93),

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[34] Giorgi (2006, 2007, 2009) argues that such a domain is an *interpretive phase*, and for this reason long distance anaphors cannot look for an antecedent outside it.

[35] On the relation between *saturation* and *binding*, see Giorgi (2007).

on the contrary, no DAR is enforced, as is the case in the *normal* subjunctive dependencies analysed in Chapter 2. Consequently, the crossing is possible and the anaphor *propri* can take the superordinate subject as an antecedent.[36]

Therefore, it can be concluded that even if the embedded verbal form is a subjunctive in both cases, the condition on LD binding concerns the presence of the speaker's coordinate, thus strengthening the argument in favour of a general explanation, which might also account for the Chinese cases discussed above.

Finally, the imperfect is not transparent to long distance binding— i.e., it does not admit a long distance anaphor to be bound outside its domain. Consider the following cases:

(94)   Quel dittatore$_i$ ha detto che i libri di storia parlavano spesso delle proprie^{*i} gesta
That dictator said that the books of history often spoke (IMPF) about self's deeds

(95)   Quel dittatore$_i$ ha detto che i libri di storia hanno parlato spesso delle proprie^{*i} gesta
That dictator said that the books of history often spoke (PAST IND) about self's deeds

(96)   Quel dittatore$_i$ sperava che i libri di storia parlassero spesso delle proprie$_i$ gesta
That dictator hoped that the books of history often spoke (SUBJ) about self's deeds

In sentence (94) the LDA is embedded inside a clause containing an imperfect, whereas in (95) there is an indicative past. The two sentences have the same status, namely, they are both unacceptable with the LDA referring back to the matrix subject. In example (96), finally, the LDA is embedded inside a subjunctive clause and the matrix subject is accessible as an antecedent, as discussed in Chapter 2.

From all these arguments, it follows that the imperfect is actually a well-behaved indicative verbal form. As expected, in other

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[36] Irrelevantly, the intermediate subject, *il primo ministro* (the prime minister) is available as an antecedent in both cases.

words, even if it does not show DAR effects, the imperfect does encode reference to indexicality in the C-layer. The effect on the temporal interpretation is not detectable, but the effects on LD binding still are.

An important issue remains open here, namely, is the position where the speaker's coordinate is represented the same in Chinese and Italian? Tentatively, I would propose the strongest hypothesis compatible with the data so far, that is, that the position in question is the same in both languages, and lies at the left periphery of the C-layer. However, as far as Italian is concerned, I discussed some data to this extent, showing that the speaker's features are represented—and sometimes even lexicalized—in a high C position. I do not have equally strong arguments here for Chinese and the issue remains open for future research. Let me only consider an interesting piece of evidence—already analysed in Giorgi (2006)—showing that the evidence of Chinese and Italian are much more similar than previously thought. Consider the following examples:

(97)   Gianni$_i$ pensa che **tutti** siano innamorati della propria$_i$ moglie
Gianni believes that everybody is in love with self's wife

(98)   Gianni$_i$ crede che **Mario** sia innamorato della propria$_i$ moglie
Gianni believes that Mario is in love with self's wife

(99)   ?*Gianni$_i$ crede che **tu** sia innamorato della propria$_i$ moglie
Gianni believes that you are in love with self's wife

(100)   ?*Gianni$_i$ crede che **io** sia innamorato della propria$_i$ moglie
Gianni believes that I am in love with self's wife

The contrast between (97)–(98) on one side, and (99)–(100) on the other, looks very similar to the nominal blocking effect discussed for the Chinese cases above. The only difference between the grammatical pair and the ungrammatical one lies in the nature of the intervening subject: third person, either singular or plural, vs. first and second person. The ungrammaticality effect of (98) and (99) is, according to native speakers, milder than the effect due to the intervening indicative verbal form, as in examples (83)–(84) above, but is still systematic. The explanation, informally, can be in the same vein: though the canonical way in Italian for instantiating the (temporal)

speaker's coordinate in the syntax is by means of the verbal morphology, still, the presence of a strong indexical form, such as first and second person pronouns, has a blocking effect on the LDA. I will not discuss this issue here any further, and I refer the reader for more details on pattern to Giorgi (2006).[37]

4.7 The future-in-the-past

In the previous sections, I discussed the characteristics of the imperfect with respect to the DAR. I concluded that the speaker's coordinate is represented in the Complementizer in the C-layer, but that it does not have any detectable effect, due to the intrinsic nature of the imperfect. The imperfect is a non-relational verbal form, specified as [-speaker], and the speaker's temporal coordinate present in the C-layer is therefore inert. Its presence however, is still detectable when considering long distance binding.

The future-in-the-past exhibits very similar properties, in that it appears to be compatible both with well-behaved indicative contexts and with subjunctive ones and, analogously to the English *would* future, it does not imply that the event has to take place in the future with respect to the temporal location of the speaker, but only in the future with respect to the subject. In Italian it is expressed by means of the perfect conditional—i.e., of a past participle preceded by the conditional form of the auxiliary. In the next section I discuss the status of this verbal form with respect to the DAR.[38]

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[37] I thank a reviewer for having brought this issue up.

[38] On the future-in-the-past in a non-DAR language, see Coene, D'Hulst, and Avram (2004). The authors argue that in Romanian there is no morphological form expressing something similar to the Italian future-in-the-past. Note that this is actually expected, given that the future-in-the-past and the 'normal' future, when appearing in subordinate clauses, differ only with respect to the availability of the speaker's temporal coordinate. As argued above, in non-DAR languages the speaker's coordinate of the embedded clause is not relevant for the location of the embedded event. Moreover, again as expected, in Bulgarian as well—another non-DAR language—there is only the 'normal' future. I thank Vesselina Laskova for discussion on this point.

4.7.1 *The issue*

The issue concerning the future-in-the-past is very similar to the one discussed above for the imperfect. This form can in fact appear in contexts in which normally the DAR is found—i.e., contexts normally selecting for an indicative—without giving rise to it. Let me illustrate its distribution precisely in these contexts. Consider the following example:

(101)   Gianni ha detto che Maria sarebbe partita
         Gianni said that Maria would leave

The meaning of this sentence corresponds quite literally to the English glosses. As discussed in Chapter 2, the leaving of Maria must be located in the future with respect to the saying, and is not necessarily located in the future with respect to the utterance event, i.e., the speaker's coordinate. This observation emerges very clearly from the following examples, with overt temporal specifications:[39]

(102)   Oggi è il 26 dicembre. Il 22 dicembre Gianni ha detto che Maria
         sarebbe partita il 25/ieri
         Today is 26 December. On 22 December Gianni said that Maria would
         leave on the 25th/yesterday

(103)   Gianni ha detto che Maria sarebbe partita domani
         Gianni said that Maria would leave tomorrow

Again, even in these cases the Italian sentence and the English one have the same meaning: the embedded event can, but need not, lie in the future with respect to the speech event, as shown by the lack of contrast between the sentence with *ieri* (yesterday)—cf. (102)—and the one with *domani* (tomorrow)—cf. (103). Note however that the embedded event must be in the future with respect to the main one and cannot be past with respect to it:

(104)   #Il 22 dicembre Gianni ha detto che Maria sarebbe partita il 20/il giorno
         prima
         #On 22 December Gianni said that Maria would leave on the 20th/the
         day before

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[39] For a discussion of temporal locutions, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2003). For an analysis of the relations between future and conditional in Italian, see Squartini (2004). See also Squartini (2001a).

Both in Italian and English, the temporal locution in the embedded clause is inappropriate, given that it would locate the embedded event in the past with respect to the superordinate one, and not in its future.

As also discussed in Chapter 2, it can be concluded that this verbal form must be anchored to the superordinate one—as is *always* the case, cf. Giorgi and Pianesi (2001a)—but it is not temporally located with respect to the speaker's coordinate.

The interesting observation is that this form can also appear in subjunctive contexts—i.e., in the contexts that normally require the subjunctive:

(105)   Gianni credeva che Maria sarebbe partita il giorno dopo/domani
         Gianni believed that Maria would leave the next day/tomorrow

(106)   Gianni sperava che Maria sarebbe partita il giorno dopo/domani
         Gianni hoped that Maria would leave the next day/tomorrow

(107)   #Gianni credeva che Maria sarebbe partita il giorno prima
          Gianni believed that Maria would leave the day before

(108)   #Gianni sperava che Maria sarebbe partita il giorno prima
          Gianni hoped that Maria would leave the day before

The future-in-the-past is acceptable both in the context created by *credere* (believe) and in the context created by *sperare* (hope) and it locates the embedded event in the future with respect to it. Sentences (107) and (108) are deviant because the temporal locution does not comply with this requirement.

On the one hand, therefore, the future-in-the-past resembles the imperfect, in that it does not locate the event with respect to the speaker's coordinate. On the other, it cannot be considered its mirror image in the future, given that, contrary to the imperfect, it can even appear in subjunctive environments—with no 'substandard' flavour.

For the imperfect the proposal I argued for is that it is an indicative form, and that therefore the high Complementizer C endowed with the speaker's coordinate is always represented in the sentence in which it appears. This also makes it possible for the imperfect to appear in main clauses, yielding assertions, once the necessary temporal topic is provided. The same proposal could not apply to the future-in-the-past because it would rule out sentences (105) and (106), which depend on a verb selecting the subjunctive.

4.7.2 *Complementizer Deletion and long distance anaphors*

In this section I will consider the syntax of the Complementizer layer and the properties of the clauses containing a future-in-the-past with respect to the distribution of long distance anaphors. The omission of the Complementizer with the indicative contexts gives intermediate results. On the one hand, as discussed in Chapter 2, it can be omitted under *credere* (believe) and cannot be omitted under *dire* (say). On the other, its omission with the future-in-the-past gives rise to intermediate judgements:

(109)   Gianni ha detto *(che) è partita/partirà
         Gianni said that (she) left/will leave

(110)   Gianni crede (che) sia partita
         Gianni believes (she) left

(111)   ?(?)Gianni ha detto sarebbe partita
             Gianni said she would leave

For most speakers, Complementizer Deletion in sentence (111) is not as ungrammatical as in sentence (109), even if it is not perfect. As expected, when the future-in-the-past depends on *credere* (believe)— a verb that selects the subjunctive—CD is perfectly grammatical:

(112)   Gianni credeva (che) sarebbe partita
         Gianni believed (that) she would leave

There is evidence therefore to conclude that CD in (111) produces a (mild) violation. Let me propose the following explanation. In sentence (109)—i.e., in sentences with an indicative—the omission of the Complementizer violates on one side the selection properties of the superordinate verb *dire*, and on the other, the requirement of the embedded verbal form that must value its features in C. In other words, the clause embedded under *dire* (say) must be introduced by a non-deletable Complementizer *and* the embedded verbal form must be valued with respect to speaker's coordinate.

The intermediate status of (111) can therefore be explained by means of the hypothesis that in this case only the first requirement is violated—i.e., the one prescribing that the superordinate *dire* requires a non-omittable C. The embedded verbal form does not have to value

its feature in C, as shown by its compatibility with subjunctive environments, as in (112). Therefore, the violation in (111) turns out to be *milder* than the violation in (109). Consider now the distribution of long distance anaphors in these contexts:

(113) ?(?)Quel dittatore ha detto che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo di sé e delle proprie gesta
That dictator said that the book of history would talk for a long time about self and self's deeds

(114) Quel dittatore credeva che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo di sé e delle proprie gesta
That dictator believed that the book of history would talk for a long time about self and self's deeds

(115) *Quel dittatore ha detto che i libri di storia hanno parlato a lungo di sé e delle proprie gesta
That dictator said that the book of history talked for a long time about self and self's deeds

Sentence (113) again occupies an intermediate position between the grammatical (114) and the ungrammatical (115). This is so because the speaker's coordinate is there, and therefore intervenes in the interpretation—giving rise to a partial *blocking* effect. On the other hand, it does not formally require the embedded event to be located with respect to it. As discussed in Giorgi (2006, 2007) and summarized above, there is independent evidence to claim that in Italian what determines strong ungrammaticality is the fact that the event is located with respect to the speaker's coordinate, which in this case does not happen, hence the violation is *milder* in (113) than in (115).

The status of (113) in this respect is more or less the same as in the following example:

(116) ?(?)Quel dittatore credeva che nei tuoi libri *tu* avessi parlato a lungo di sé e delle proprie gesta
That dictator believed that in your books you talked for a long time about self and self's deeds.

In example (116) the intervention of a second person—i.e., of an indexically related item—seems to create an environment where a long distance anaphor cannot appear, similarly to the Chinese cases analysed above, but, interestingly, the violation is milder than the

one in (115), where an indicative appears. The reason for the milder status of the violation in (116) is similar to the one proposed above for (113). Consider that in subjunctive sentences the C-projection containing the speaker's coordinates is not required (with the exception of some cases, such as *ipotizzare* (hypothesize) examples). Hence, the embedded event is not temporally located with respect to the speaker's temporal coordinate.

In other words, the presence of the indexical item at the *interpretive* level creates an environment in which a long distance anaphor should be interpreted—i.e., the LD anaphor is blocked in the minimal domain containing the indexical item. But, as far the Italian *syntactic* requirements are concerned, the anaphor is still allowed to look for an antecedent beyond the embedded clause, given that no blocking C is projected and therefore the embedded event is not temporally evaluated with respect to the speaker's coordinate. In a certain sense, in this case there is a discrepancy between the requirements imposed by syntax—no blocking—and those imposed by the presence of an indexical—i.e., blocking. The result is a slightly ungrammatical sentence.

From this analysis it can therefore be concluded that, when the future-in-the-past depends on *dire* (say)—that is, from verbs selecting an embedded indicative—its clause is introduced by the high Complementizer C. When it depends on *credere* (believe)—that is, from verbs selecting the subjunctive—it is introduced by the subjunctive Complementizer MOOD. The formal requirements of this verbal form are met in both cases.

4.7.3 *A proposal*

In this section I will propose a morphosyntactic structure for the future-in-the-past that will also shed light on its properties with respect to the DAR. As a matter of fact, it is quite surprising that this temporal relation is expressed by means of this morphological form. Why the *perfect conditional*? What properties of this form make it the form of choice to express future-in-the-past? Let me consider first the properties of the conditional mood in Italian.

The conditional mood can appear as a main clause verbal form, provided that is *licensed* by something creating a modal environment— i.e., it must be associated with a modal meaning. Consider the following examples:

(117)   #Gianni telefonerebbe
        Gianni would call(PRES COND)

(118)   Gianni telefonerebbe, se arrivasse in tempo
        Gianni would call(PRES COND), if he arrived(PAST SUBJ) on time

(119)   Gianni vorrebbe/potrebbe/dovrebbe telefonare
        Gianni would/could/should(PRES COND) call

A sentence such as (117), uttered out of the blue, is not acceptable, much like the imperfect described above. In (118) the event of *calling*, appearing in the present conditional mood, is associated to an *if-clause*, where a past subjunctive appears. In (119) it is associated with an explicit modal verb. Both the *if*-clause and the explicit modal verb can license the conditional verbal form.

In these pages I will not consider the semantics of these clauses in detail, but will only highlight their temporal interpretation as far as the issues considered in this book are concerned. The temporal interpretation in both cases, either with the conditional or the modal, is a present one, in that in (118) the condition holds *now*, and analogously in (119) the modality is understood as holding *now*. Therefore, it can be concluded that the event associated with the conditional morphology has the same *temporal* properties as a present tense of the indicative, once the licensing requirements are met.

Let's now consider what happens when the present conditional appears in an embedded context, for instance under a verb of saying. Being temporally a present tense, the expectation is that, once licensed as a conditional mood, it exhibits the same properties as an indicative present tense:[40]

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[40] The *if*-clause can be omitted, but it must be retrievable from the context. Notice that the conditional licensed by a modal tends to have an adversative interpretation:

i.   Gianni avrebbe voluto partire, ma non lo ha fatto
     Lit: Gianni had(COND) wanted to leave, but he didn't do it
     'Gianni wanted to leave, but he didn't do it'

(120)   Mario ha detto che Gianni telefonerebbe, se arrivasse in tempo
Mario said that Gianni would call(PRES COND), if he arrived(PAST SUBJ)
on time

(121)   Mario ha detto che Gianni vorrebbe/potrebbe/dovrebbe telefonare
Mario said that Gianni would/could/should(PRES COND) call

In sentences (120) and (121) the embedded *if-then* conditional holds at utterance time and at the time of the saying, i.e., the DAR is enforced, as expected.

Analogously, sentence (121) means that the state of affairs expressed in the embedded clause held *then* and holds *now*, as happens in DAR sentences.[41]

Consider now the perfect conditional, formed by the auxiliary followed by the conditional morpheme (*-ebbe*), followed by the past participle: *avrebbe mangiato* (have-*ebbe* PP).[42]

Analogously to what I illustrated above, if appearing in main clauses this form must be licensed by an item creating a modal context, for instance an *if*-clause, or a modal verb:

(122)   #Gianni avrebbe telefonato
Gianni have-*ebbe* called
'Gianni would have called'

(123)   Gianni avrebbe telefonato, se fosse arrivato in tempo
Gianni have-*ebbe* called, if he had(PAST SUBJ) arrived on time
'Gianni would have called, if he had arrived on time'

(124)   Gianni avrebbe voluto/potuto/dovuto telefonare
Gianni have-*ebbe* want-PP/can-PP/must-PP call(INF)
'Gianni could (want/must) have called'

The conditional verbal form in sentence (122) is not licensed and consequently the sentence is infelicitous, analogously to what is

[41] The difference between the indicative and the subjunctive conditionals has been extensively investigated by many scholars, and I do not have anything to add to the discussion of this aspect. Therefore I will simply ignore this issue in this work. See, among many others, Iatridou (2000), Iatridou and von Fintel (2007).

[42] This is the whole paradigm for a present conditional: *io mangerei, tu mangeresti, egli mangerebbe, noi mangeremmo, voi mangereste, essi mangerebbero* (I would eat, you would eat, etc.). The part in bold is the morpheme expressing the conditional mood for the different persons. In the text I am using only the third person singular form, hence I am talking about the *-ebbe* morpheme as the present conditional one.

illustrated above by example (117). The licensing is possible exactly as in the case of the simple form, i.e., by means of an *if*-clause or a modal, as shown in examples (123) and (124). The difference between the simple and the perfect conditional is a temporal one, derived on the basis of the usual aspectual difference. In the simple form, as I said above, the temporal interpretation is simultaneity with the utterance time. In sentence (123), the whole conditional is taken to hold in the past, because the resultant state, expressed by the past participle, must hold *now*. Hence, derivatively, the event, or better to say the *if-then* construction, is understood as being past. The same holds with respect to (124): the obligation, the will, etc., is expressed as a present resultant state, hence derivatively interpreted as past. Note that the *calling* event is understood as future with respect to the modality expressed by *can*, *want*, *must*, etc., as part of the necessary meaning of these modals.

Let's consider now what happens if the clause containing the conditional is embedded:

(125)   Mario ha detto che Gianni avrebbe telefonato, se fosse arrivato in tempo
'Mario said that Gianni have-*ebbe* called, if he had(PAST SUBJ) on time'
Mario said that Gianni would have called, if he had arrived on time

The temporal interpretation of the embedded *if-then* clause is ambiguous. Under one interpretation, the *if-then* conditional can be taken to hold in the past with respect to the saying, and consequently in the past with respect to *now*. In other words, (125) can be the report of the following discourse:[43]

(126)   Mario ha detto: 'Se Gianni (ieri) fosse arrivato in tempo, avrebbe telefonato'
Mario said: 'If Gianni (yesterday) had arrived on time, he would have called (PERF COND)'

On the other hand, it could also express a future conditional, reporting the following discourse:

(127)   Mario ha detto: 'Se Gianni (domani) arrivasse in tempo, telefonerebbe'
Mario said: 'If John (tomorrow) arrived on time, he would call(PRES COND)'

[43] I will not consider here special cases under which the *if* part can precede the saying and the-*ebbe* part can follow it.

Recall also that the future-in-the-past can appear in whatever environment—i.e., it is *neutral* with respect to the kind of Complementizer introducing its clause, in that it can appear both in environments requiring the indicative and in environments requiring the subjunctive.

Consider the following examples:

(128)   Mario ha detto che Gianni avrebbe voluto/potuto/dovuto telefonare
Mario said that Gianni would/could/should have called

(129)   Mario ha detto che Gianni avrebbe telefonato
Mario said that Gianni would have called

My proposal is that in (128) the explicit modal—want, must, etc.—licenses the conditional and that in (129) the licenser is empty. The modal form intrinsically expresses futurity, as happens in the simple cases. For instance in *John wants to eat*, both in Italian and English, the eating must necessarily be located in a hypothetical future, and certainly not in the speaker's past.

Notice that sentence (125), containing an *if*-clause, clearly contrasts with sentence (129), where there is no *if*-clause. In (130), the perfect conditional can only be interpreted as a future with respect to the saying, and not as a past with respect to it.

With respect to this point, recall that the past participle should not be considered on a par with the past form, but as the expression of the *resultant state*—see among others Parsons (1990), Higginbotham (1995)—equivalent therefore to the past participle appearing in the absolute constructions:

(130)   Arrivata Maria, tutti lasciarono la stanza
Lit: arrived (past part) Maria, everybody left the room
'Maria having arrived, everybody left the room'

To conclude, my proposal for the future-in-the-past is the following: in Italian the future-in-the-past is expressed by means of a perfect conditional because in this way it is possible to express that there is a (modal) future time—future with respect to the saying—where a resultant state *X* is taken to hold.

In English the *would* future works in a very similar way. The modal in English is not empty, but is expressed as a free morpheme and is marked as past, resulting in the form *would*.

Finally, the future-in-the-past is a non-relational tense and therefore the presence of the speaker's temporal coordinate in C does not give rise to the DAR, as was the case with an embedded imperfect of the indicative.[44]

Concluding this section, it is possible to say that from the morphosyntactic point of view, the conditional mood, which is also used in the future-in-the-past, must be *licensed*. By 'licensed' I mean that something must create the right environment in which this particular modal form can appear. Usually, the licensing is operated by an *if*-clause. I illustrated above that if the conditional modal form is in the present tense, then the only way of licensing it is by means of an *if*-clause with a past subjunctive. In this case, if in dependence from a past tense, the whole *if-then* construction undergoes the DAR.

If the conditional verbal form is in the perfect form—i.e., auxiliary + past participle—and the licensing takes place through an *if*-clause, then the event expressed by the conditional can either be located in the past or in the future with respect to the main verbal form.

When no *if*-clause is around—as is the case with the future-in-the-past—I proposed that an empty modal is licensing the conditional mood.

4.8 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter I examined the properties of the imperfect, the conditional, and the perfect conditional with respect to the speaker's projection. The (non-perfect) conditional is not used in Italian to express a peculiar temporal relation, but a modal one, hence I considered it only marginally relevant to the issue in question.

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[44] In Spanish the future-in-the-past is constituted by the simple form of the conditional, contrasting with Italian, where the perfect form is used. This difference could be due to the fact that in Iberic languages, but not in Italian, the conditional verbal ending might still be (cognitively) interpretable as an incorporated auxiliary form. This way, Spanish can realize synthetically what must be realized analytically in Italian. This might be a reasonable hypothesis, given the residual existence in Portuguese of meso-cliticization phenomena. For an in-depth comparative discussion, however, further study would be needed.

The main idea I developed here is that there are relational and non-relational verbal forms, and that the prototypical cases are respectively represented by the indicative present, past, and future vs. the subjunctive forms. There are however some *intermediate* cases, which can appear both in indicative and subjunctive contexts, such as the imperfect—sub-standard in subjunctive contexts—and the future-in-the-past.

My proposal with respect to the imperfect is that it is endowed with a feature [−speaker] and that this can account both for its distribution with respect to the DAR, CD, and LDAs, and for its anaphoric-like properties. I also argued that the English past, in spite of appearances, has the option of appearing in the same contexts as the Italian imperfect, as shown by the similar distribution in *dream* contexts and in the lack of DAR with stative predicates. The remaining differences, primarily concerning the interpretation of the past with eventive predicates, are due to peculiar aspectual properties of the English verb, as is argued in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

The future-in-the-past is also a non-relational verbal form, as shown by the fact that it can also appear in subjunctive contexts. I propose here that the simple and perfect conditional must always be licensed by a modal item. Such a modal item can be an *if*-clause—and in this case the sentence is a hypothetical period—or a modal verb. In this way, therefore, the conditional mood appearing in *if*-clauses and the one expressing the future-in-the-past turn out to be the same verbal form, subject to exactly the same constraints—a result not achieved before. The different interpretation is due to the syntactic contexts and to the specific licenser. I propose that in the particular case of the future-in-the-past in Italian, the verbal form is licensed by an empty modal; the modal can also in some cases be explicitly expressed, as in sentences (124) and (128). In English the *would* future is exactly parallel to the Italian one, the only difference being that the modal is overt.

To conclude, the result achieved in this chapter is that certain verbal forms, whose behaviour has previously had to be considered *deviant*, or *special*, have been accounted for by means of exactly the same mechanisms adopted for the other cases. In particular, the idea

is that these verbal forms are non-relational like the subjunctive forms, but can also appear in contexts requiring the indicative, hence are endowed with the high speaker-related C-position. Note also that this intermediate case is expected under the present proposal, because there is no principled reason excluding it, once the basic requirement— i.e., anchoring—is satisfied.[45]

[45] A reviewer asks about the presence of the speaker's projection in impersonal sentences. I do not analyse these structures in this monograph. It seems to me however that the present proposal might easily be maintained on the assumption that what is anchored to the speaker's coordinate is the implicit modal present in the sentences. Consider for instance a sentence such as the following one:

i. Two plus two is four

The implicit gnomic modal is anchored and holds *now*. The universal and atemporal flavour of the sentence is due to exactly this process, in that the verbal form itself is not anchored.