

**The use of gerunds and infinitives in perceptive constructions:  
the effects of a threefold parametric variation in some Romance varieties\***

*Jan Casalicchio*

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## 1. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss a case study on a variation found within the Romance language family, analysing it in the light of the most recent approaches on parameters (see the debate in Picallo 2014, and in particular Rizzi's and Holmberg&Roberts' paper). I propose that a superficially single difference is caused by the interplay of various parameters; this interplay is revealed through a detailed analysis which takes into account the nuanced differences existing in different but genetically related varieties.

Since the initial stages of the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995), the debate about variation has experienced an important shift, abandoning the 'parameters within principles' view of the GB era. The current debate, in fact, concerns the very existence of parameters, and how – if they do exist – they be adapted to minimalist requirements. The approach that I pursue in this paper is based on the Chomsky-Borer conjecture, according to which the locus of parameters is the functional lexicon (cf. Borer 1984, Chomsky 2001). Regarding the content of parameters, I follow Rizzi's (2014) proposal that parameters can be reduced to this minimal format (see also the proposals put forward by the members of the ReCoS project of the University of Cambridge):

(1) H has F {yes, no} (Rizzi 2014: 22)

Where H is an item of the functional lexicon, and F is a morphosyntactic feature.

Moreover, Rizzi (2014) shows that the fact that parameters do not always have 'cascade effects', as had been expected in the GB-era, follows from the fact that more than one parameter can be at play in a single structure, thus conditioning its grammaticality. The *pro*-drop parameter, for example, was originally held to correlate straightforwardly with other syntactic properties (like the absence of *that*-trace effects or the possibility of having a VS order with intransitives), but recent research has shown that in a system with numerous parameters there may be other microparametric properties which affect the general pattern. Thus, each property is conditioned by a complex interplay of a number of parameters.

The case study analysed here is on the use of gerunds in perceptive constructions in Spanish and in the Rhaeto-romance variety of Gardenese; it reveals new elements in the debate about the causes and limits of variation, by permitting comparison between two genetically related varieties, which share the use of this verb form in perceptive constructions, as (2) shows:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For reasons that will become clear later in this paper, I use in the translations gerunds for the Spanish gerunds,

- (2) a. Veo a María cantando (Spanish)  
 b. Vëije Maria cantan (Gardenese)  
*I.see (to) Maria singing*  
 'I see Maria singing/sing.'

However, despite this apparent correspondence, a closer look at the use of gerunds reveals that there is unforeseen but systematic variation between the syntax of Spanish and Gardenese perceptive constructions. As a first example, consider (3)-(4):

- (3) a. \*Veo lloviendo (Spanish)  
 b. Vëije pluan (Gardenese)  
*I.see raining*  
 'I see it rain'
- (4) a. Se lo veo comiendo (Spanish)  
 b. \*Ti l vëije maian (Gardenese)  
*him.DAT it.ACC I.see eating*  
 'I see him eating it'

In this chapter I propose that the overall variation in the use of perceptive gerunds is the result of the interplay of three different Merge parameters (which affect the merging of syntactic and lexical items, Rizzi 2014). This means that Spanish and Gardenese do not instantiate the only two possible patterns: the interaction of these three parameters can have more numerous outcomes, as the comparison with other Romance languages will show in the last section. In addition, this discussion of new data about the perceptive constructions of a lesser-used language allows us to reconsider some of the claims that have been put forward for the main Romance languages in the literature to date.<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter I focus mainly on Spanish and Gardenese, with some references to other Romance and non-Romance languages. There is a large body of research on perceptive infinitives in Italian (Belletti 1990, Rizzi 1992, Guasti 1993, a.o.), and so I discuss several data from this language. I also refer to some Italo-romance dialects and French, when doing so helps to interpret the structure of the Spanish and Gardenese data.

The chapter is organised as follows: section 2 introduces the reader to the existence of two different perceptive constructions in Romance, the first of which describes the perception of an event as a whole, while the second focuses on the individual(s) involved in an event. Section 3 presents the Gardenese data. The subsequent sections discuss my proposal: analyses of biclausal ECM constructions (§ 4.), of the so-called *faire-par* construction (§ 5.) and of gerunds used as secondary predicates of perceptive constructions (§ 6.). Section 7 contains the conclusions and some cross-linguistic considerations.

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infinitives for the Gardenese gerunds.

<sup>2</sup> The Gardenese data come from my own fieldwork, carried out over the last few years, mostly among fifteen speakers from different age groups and villages in the Gardena valley (Casalicchio 2011). In order to clarify some residual questions, I had follow-up interviews with some informants: each Gardenese example cited here has therefore been judged by at least four informants (which all agreed on the judgements). The examples taken from Italian and Spanish rely on my own judgements (Northern Regional Italian) and those of other native speakers.

## 2. Romance perceptive constructions

Perception is a complex physical phenomenon, involving different senses and organs and focussing on different types of object, which we usually distinguish as individuals (*I see Peter*) or events (*I see it rain*). In many languages, including the Romance group, this distinction is reflected in the syntax: the two types of perception object are encoded in different syntactic structures, which I describe in detail in section 2.1 and 2.2.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1. The 'Event Perception Construction'

When the perception is of an event, most Romance languages, like Italian, Spanish and French, use an infinitival clause. Since the focus is on the event, its logical subject<sup>4</sup> need not be phonologically expressed. In fact, 'Event Perception Constructions' (EPCs) are also compatible with null subjects, which may be arbitrary (5)b or quasi-argumental (5)c:<sup>5</sup>

- (5) a. Sento i bambini urlare in giardino            (Italian)  
*I.hear the children cry in garden*  
'I hear the children cry in the garden'
- b. Sento *e* urlare in giardino  
*I.hear e cry in garden*  
'I hear someone cry in the garden'
- c. Sento *e* piovere  
*I.hear e rain*  
'I hear it rain'

Another important property of EPCs is the position of the logical subject of the infinitive: when the embedded verb is intransitive, the logical subject may precede or follow it.

- (6) a. Vedo Maria arrivare / Vedo arrivare Maria  
*I.see Maria arrive / I.see arrive Maria*  
'I see Maria arrive'
- b. Sento Luca telefonare / Sento telefonare Luca  
*I.hear Luca phone / I.hear phone Luca*  
'I hear Luca phone'

The examples in (6) show that both orders with intransitive verbs are possible. The unmarked order of the embedded constituents is VS for unaccusative verbs (6)a, SV for unergative verbs (6)b.

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<sup>3</sup> In this paper I do not consider the 'epistemic' *vedere* (i), since it displays no variation in Romance:  
(i) I saw that John had left

<sup>4</sup> I use the term 'logical subject' for expository reasons, to refer to the element that is semantically the subject of the non-finite verb, independently of its syntactic role (which I will discuss later, see § 4.-6.).

<sup>5</sup> In this section I focus on Italian data since from a descriptive point of view they allow us to distinguish more clearly between the three different EPC constructions, and because they are more readily comparable with the Gardenese data (e.g., both Italian and Gardenese lack the Direct Object Marking, and both have no restrictions on the use of the *Faire-par* construction).

Finally, the term 'EPC' is not associated with a single syntactic structure; rather, it is an umbrella term which encompasses three different structures, all of which share the property of 'event perception'. The first construction is biclausal, i.e. the perception verb and the embedded verb are located in different clauses. Evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that they both have their own case-marking domain:

- (7) a. Vedo Marco mangiare la torta (Biclausal EPC)  
*I.see Marco eat the cake*  
 'I see Marco eat the cake'  
 b. Lo vedo mangiarla  
*him.ACC I.see eat-her.ACC*  
 'I see him eat it'

In (7) there are two direct objects, as the presence of two accusative clitics in (7)b reveals: the logical subject of the EPC ('Marco' in (7)a), which checks accusative case with the perception verb via Exceptional Case Marking, and the object of the embedded verb ('la torta'). I will refer to this construction as 'ECM'.<sup>6</sup>

The two remaining constructions are traditionally analysed as monoclausal, and they correspond almost completely to the causative constructions (see Cinque 2006 for slight differences between causative and perceptive functional verbs). In these cases, the perception verb is held to form a single complex predicate with the embedded verb, as the absence of clausal boundaries between the two verbs shows.

The first construction is usually referred to by the term *faire-inf* ('FI'), following the definition used by Kayne (1975) for the corresponding causative construction. The logical subject of the infinitive is realised as:

- i) the direct object (bearing accusative), if the embedded verb has no direct objects (8)a;  
 ii) an indirect object introduced by the preposition *a/à* (8)b.<sup>7</sup>

- (8) a. Ho fatto/visto cantare Maria (Faire-inf)  
*I.have made/seen sing Maria*  
 'I made/saw Maria sing'  
 b. Ho fatto/visto mangiare la torta a Maria  
*I.have made/seen eat the cake to Maria*  
 'I made/saw Maria eat the cake'

In the last construction the logical subject of the embedded verb is suppressed from the argument structure but can be recovered via an optional agentive phrase headed by the preposition *da*. It is called *faire-par* ('FP', Kayne 1975):<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This type of ECM differs in various respects from the English ECMs with verbs like *want* and *believe* (e.g., it always has anaphoric tense and it involves a bare, prepositionless infinitive). For previous analyses of biclausal EPCs in Romance see the overview and bibliography listed in Sheehan (to appear), and especially Radford (1977), Burzio (1986), Rizzi (1992), Guasti (1993), Labelle (1996), Rafel (2002), Ciutescu (2013) a.o.

<sup>7</sup> The literature on FIs and FPs is abundant (although mainly focused on causative verbs), see Folli&Harley (2007), Ciutescu (2013), Sheehan (to appear) and the literature cited there.

<sup>8</sup> In Spanish, FPs are grammatical only with causative verbs, but not with perceptive verbs, cf. Hernanz (1999: 2256).

- (9) Ho fatto/visto mangiare la torta (da Maria) (Faire-par)  
*I have made/seen eat the cake (by Maria)*  
 'I got/saw the cake eaten by Maria'

## 2.2. The 'Individual Perception Construction'

The second type of perceptive construction is the 'Individual Perception Construction' ('IPC'), which is used to describe the perception of an individual involved in an event. The event is expressed in a secondary predication,<sup>9</sup> i.e. as an optional predicate describing an event that is simultaneous to the main perceptive event and whose logical subject is coindexed with the direct object of the matrix verb.<sup>10</sup> The secondary predicate can be formed by Adjectival Phrases (10)a, Prepositional Phrases (10)b, or some constructions formed by a verb form (10)c-f:

- |                        |    |                               |  |
|------------------------|----|-------------------------------|--|
| (10) Vi a María        | a. | cansada                       | (Spanish; AP)                            |
| <i>I saw to Maria</i>  |    | <i>tired</i>                  |  |
| 'I saw Maria...        |    | '...tired'                    |  |
|                        | b. | con lágrimas en los ojos      | (PP)                                     |
|                        |    | <i>with tears in the eyes</i> |  |
|                        |    | '...with tears in her eyes'   |  |
|                        | c. | sentada en un banco           | (past participle)                        |
|                        |    | <i>sat on a bench</i>         |  |
|                        |    | '...sat on a bench'           |  |
|                        | d. | que estaba cantando           | (Pseudo-relative clause)                 |
|                        |    | <i>that she was singing</i>   |  |
|                        |    | '...singing'                  |  |
|                        | e. | cantando                      | (gerundive clause)                       |
|                        |    | <i>singing</i>                |  |
|                        |    | '...singing'                  |  |
| Vi a Maria             | f. | a cantar                      | (Europ. Port.; prepositional infinitive) |
| <i>I saw the Maria</i> |    | <i>to sing</i>                |  |
| 'I saw Maria...        |    | '...singing'                  |  |

Notwithstanding their different realisations, all the constructions in (10) instantiate secondary predications. While the first four (10)a-d are used in all Romance languages (except for Rumanian, which does not use Pseudo-relative clauses<sup>11</sup>), the gerundive clauses (10)e are only used in some varieties, like Spanish and Catalan. Other varieties, like European Portuguese and several Italo-romance varieties, use prepositional infinitives (10)f, see Raposo (1989), Guasti (1992), Rafel (2000), Casalicchio (2013 and 2015)).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For expository reasons, I will use the term 'predicative' (e.g., 'predicative gerund') to refer only to a syntactic element that expresses a secondary predication, and not a predication in general.

<sup>10</sup> On secondary predication in general – which is usually analysed syntactically as involving a Small Clause – see Williams (1980), Safir (1983), Cardinaletti&Guasti (1995), Graffi (1997), Basilico (2003), den Dikken (2006) a.o.

<sup>11</sup> For Pseudo-relative clauses see Radford (1977), Burzio (1986), Guasti (1992, 1993), Cinque (1992), Rizzi (1992), Rafel (2000), Casalicchio (2013, submitted), Grillo&Moulton (to appear) a.o.

<sup>12</sup> For an overall analysis of the various verbal predicative complements (10)d-f see Rafel (2000), Casalicchio (2013)

Although some scholars have considered that EPCs and IPCs have the same syntactic structure (Burzio 1986, Di Tullio 1998<sup>13</sup>), these approaches fail to capture important differences between the two constructions. Firstly, infinitival clauses (i.e. EPCs) are limited to perceptive and causative verbs, and cannot be used as a secondary predicate:

- (11) a. *María está en la iglesia hablando con el cura* (Spanish; gerundive clause)  
*Maria is in the church speaking with the priest*  
 'Maria is in the church and speaks with the priest'
- b. \**María está en la iglesia hablar con el cura* (infinitival clause)  
*Maria is in the church speak.INF with the church*
- (12) a. *Encontré al ladrón entrando por el techo* (gerundive clause)  
*I.caught to-the thief entering by the roof*  
 'I caught the thief entering through the roof'
- b. \**Encontré al ladrón entrar por el techo* (infinitival clause)  
*I.caught the thief enter.INF by the roof*

The examples in (11) are instances of a secondary predicate of the subject: the embedded verb describes an event which is simultaneous with the matrix verb and whose silent subject is coindexed with the matrix subject.<sup>14</sup> The verb *encontrar* in (12) selects a secondary predicative construction of the object when it means 'to catch someone doing something'. In both examples the infinitival construction is ruled out, because it is incompatible with a secondary predication.

Secondly, in perceptive constructions the secondary predicate can never precede its logical subject. Thus, the embedded VS order is ruled out, unlike EPCs (cf. (13) with (6)):

- (13) a. \**Veo llegando (a) Ana*  
*I.see arriving (to) Ana*
- b. \**Veo telefoneando (a) Ana*  
*I.see phoning (to) Ana*

Thirdly, the logical subject of the embedded verb must always be phonologically realised. As a consequence, arbitrary and quasi-argumental null subjects are excluded (cf. (14) with (5)):

- (14) a. \**Oigo e gritando en el jardín*  
*I.hear e crying in the garden*
- b. \**Oigo e lloviendo*  
*I.hear e raining*

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and the bibliography cited there. In this chapter I do not consider French present participles (although they are diachronically related to gerunds), because they differ in some respects from the gerundial constructions (e.g., they encode stative aspect, while gerunds express a progressive/continuous aspect (see Granville-Hatcher (1944), Halmøy (2003) for French).

<sup>13</sup> To be more precise, Di Tullio (1998) proposes that in Spanish gerundial IPCs have three different structures, sharing one of them with infinitival EPCs.

<sup>14</sup> Fernández-Lagunilla (1999) does not consider examples like (11) to be instances of predicative gerunds. However, on the basis of my cross-linguistic comparison with other types of secondary predication (Casalicchio 2013) I propose that they are.

These syntactic differences<sup>15</sup> are related to a clear semantic difference between EPCs and IPCs, involving the distinction between categorical andthetic predication (a distinction which goes back to Brentano and Marty, see Kuroda 1972, Graffi 1997, Basilico 2003). In fact, I suggest to consider IPCs as categorical predications, where "the subject is "singled out" from the event itself, and the predicate ascribes a property of this subject" (Basilico 2003: 3). EPCs, on the other hand, are thetic: "[...] the subject is not singled out, but instead is introduced as one of the event participants. The thetic predication form can therefore be seen as an "event reporting" sentence that involves introducing an event into the discourse" (*ibid.*).<sup>16</sup>

Table 1 summarises the main differences between EPCs and IPCs:

Syntactic Property	Event Perception	Individual Perception
Can be used in other secondary predications	No	Yes
Permit VS order with intransitive verbs	Yes	No
Permit null subjects	Yes	No
Semantic type of predication	Thetic	Categorical

*Table 1: Main differences between the two perceptive constructions in Romance*

As the discussion demonstrates, the difference between EPCs and IPCs is clear-cut and grounded on both syntactic and semantic considerations. Moreover, we have seen that in most Romance languages EPCs are linked to infinitival clauses, and IPCs to gerunds or other verbal and non-verbal complements. However, this neat picture changes when we consider lesser-used languages like the Rhaeto-romance varieties, which will be the topic of the next section.

### 3. Perceptive constructions in the Rhaeto-romance variety of Gardenese

The Rhaeto-romance variety I consider in this chapter is Gardenese (*Gherdëina* in the local languages), one of the five main varieties of the Ladin group (central Rhaeto-romance), spoken by about 10,000 people in the Gardena valley (Italian Dolomites).<sup>17</sup> Gardenese displays the SVO word order, combined with the Verb Second rule in main declarative and *wh*-interrogative clauses (similar to that found in German and Old Romance, see Benincà 1994, Poletto 2002, Kaiser 2002, Casalicchio&Cognola 2015 a.o.).<sup>18</sup> Like all Romance varieties except Rumanian, it has Pseudo-

<sup>15</sup> For a more detailed survey of the differences between EPCs and IPCs, see Rafel (2002) and Fernández-Lagunilla (2011) for Spanish and Casalicchio (2013) for Italian, a.o.

<sup>16</sup> Basilico (2003), building on the work of a number of scholars, proposes linking categorical predications to individual-level predicates and thetic predications to stage-level predicates. I do not adopt this view here, since perceptive verbs always select stage-level predicates when they describe a direct perception.

<sup>17</sup> As introductions to Rhaeto-Romance see the third volume of LRL (1988), Haiman-Benincà (1992), Salvi (to appear), a.o. Videsott (2011) contains a list of studies on Rhaeto-Romance since 1729.

<sup>18</sup> Note that in Gardenese, referential null pronouns can be used for the persons which lack a clitic pronoun, namely the 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> person (Salvi 2000). On the other hand, the quasi-argumental and expletive pronoun *l* (homophonous with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular pronoun) is mandatorily expressed. Cf. (i-ii) with (16) and (18):

(i) \*(L) vën Anna  
*it comes Anna*  
 'There comes Anna'

relative clauses which can be used in all secondary (stage-level) predications. Moreover, a gerundial clause can be used with perception verbs. Infinitival clauses, on the other hand, are excluded:<sup>19</sup>

- (15) a. Vëjje Maria che maia n mëil (Gardenese: Pseudo-relative)  
*I.see Maria that eats an apple*  
 'I see Maria eating an apple'
- b. Vëjje Maria maian n mëil (Gerund)  
*I.see Maria eating an apple*  
 'I see Maria eat an apple'
- c. \*<sup>/?</sup>Vëjje Maria maië n mëil (Infinitive)  
*I.see Maria eat.INF an apple*

If we look at the syntactic and semantic properties of Gardenese gerunds, we observe that they pattern with the infinitives of Spanish and Italian, rather than with Spanish gerunds (see Table 1, and compare the examples in (5)-(6) and (13)-(14) with the following):

- (16) Vëjje unian Anna (VS order)  
*I.see coming Anna*  
 'I see Anna come'
- (17) Luca aud e svaian te verzon (null arbitrary subjects)  
*Luca hears e crying in garden*  
 'Luca hears someone cry in the garden'
- (18) Aude e pluan (semi-argumental null subjects)  
*I.hear e raining*  
 'I hear it rain'

In (16), the unmarked position of the logical subject of the gerund is postverbal, as in Spanish infinitival EPCs. The examples (17) and (18) also show that the subject can be silent, be it arbitrary or semi-argumental. All these properties indicate that Gardenese gerunds enter EPCs, unlike in Spanish. We may therefore ask if gerunds can enter all three types of EPC listed in section 2:

- (19) É udù Marco maian la tëurta (ECM)  
*I.have seen Marco eating the cake*  
 'I saw Marco eat the cake'
- (20) \*<sup>/?</sup>Ti l'é udù maian (FI)  
*him.DAT her.ACC I.have seen eating*  
 'I saw him eat it'
- (21) L é audì ciantan dal cor (FP)  
*it.ACC I.have heard singing by-the chorus*  
 'I heard it sung by the chorus'

- 
- (ii) \*(L) pluef  
*it rains*  
 'It is raining'

<sup>19</sup> In the younger generation (under 30s) there is a tendency to use infinitival clauses with perception verbs as well. This could be due to the influence of Italian or German; in any case, it does not affect the structural properties of the gerundial clauses. The topic of internal variation in Gardenese is an issue for future research.

In (19), the gerund is used in a biclausal ECM, since both the perception verb and the gerund have their own direct object. The example in (20), instead, shows that the FI is incompatible with perception verbs. Finally, (21) is an example of FP, because the logical subject is expressed by an agentive phrase.

We have seen that gerundial clauses can be used in Gardenese EPCs. But can they also be used in secondary predications (and thus in IPCs)? The following examples show that they cannot:

- (22) \**Maria ie te dlieja rujnan cun l preve* (Secondary predicate of the subject)  
*Maria is in church speaking with the priest*
- (23) \**E' abinà l lere jan ite dal tèt* (Secondary predicate of the object)  
*I have caught the thief going in by-the roof*

Unlike Spanish, Gardenese gerunds are ruled out from all predicative constructions (cf. (22)-(23) with (11)-(12)), hence we have to conclude that when a gerund is used with perception verbs in Gardenese, the structure involved is always an EPC.

Table 2 shows the ways in which EPCs and IPCs are realised in Spanish and Gardenese.

Language	Event Perception Construction	Individual Perception Construction
Spanish	Infinitives	<b>Gerunds;</b> Pseudo-relative clauses
Gardenese	<b>Gerunds</b> (no FIs)	Pseudo-relative clauses

*Table 2: The clause types used with EPCs and IPCs*

The data clearly show that the resemblance between the gerundial constructions of Spanish and Gardenese is just superficial, and masks a clear structural variation. In the next sections I will propose an analysis which accounts for these differences.

#### 4. Analysis of Romance ECMs

In this section, I briefly discuss the structure of ECMs in Romance in general. Then, I focus on two aspects regarding the Gardenese data that are particularly interesting: the choice of the verb form (infinitives vs. gerunds) and the nature of the null subject within ECMs.

##### 4.1 Overall properties of Romance ECMs

As already noted by Belletti (1990) and Guasti (1993), ECMs are 'truncated' structures which are bigger than vPs/VPs and smaller than full TPs. Evidence for this claim comes from the fact that ECMs can host negation (24) and lower adverbs like *sempre* (always) and *spesso* ('often'), (24)-(25), which are held to be merged in the lower TP field (Cinque 1999). This observation leads both

authors to postulate that biclausal EPCs are AGRPs (26):<sup>20</sup>

- (24) Ho visto i bambini non ubbidire alla mamma (Italian)  
*I have seen the children not obey to-the mum*  
 'I saw that the children were not obeying their mum'
- (25) Vedo [TP Luca mangiare sempre [VP ~~Luca mangiare~~ le salsicce]  
*I see [Luca eat always [Luca eating (the) sausages]]*  
 'I see Luca always eat sausages'
- (26) Ho visto [AGRSP Paolo rubare<sub>i</sub> [TP t<sub>i</sub> [VP t<sub>i</sub> una macchina]]] (Guasti 1993: 120)  
*I have seen [Paolo steal<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> a car]]]*  
 'I saw Paolo steal a car'

The tests give the same results for Gardenese EPCs:<sup>21</sup>

- (27) Vëije [TP Luca maian for [VP ~~Luca maian~~ lianies]] (Gardenese)  
*I see [Luca eat always [Luca eating (the) sausages]]*  
 'I see Luca always eat sausages'

The structure of EPCs cannot be a full TP, either (nor can it be a CP-Small Clause, as claimed in Rafel (2002)), since it cannot host elements of the higher functional field like modals (28) or high adverbs (Cinque 1999) (28)-(29):

- (28) a. \*Ho visto Maria poter mangiare (Italian)  
 b. \*É udù Maria pudan maië (Gardenese)  
*I have seen Maria can.INF eat it*
- (29) \*Ho sentito Giulio francamente stonare la tua canzone preferita (Italian)  
*I have heard Giulio frankly sing out of tune your favorite song*

Chomsky (2000, 2001) claims that ECM structures always involve a defective T, which has an incomplete set of  $\phi$ -features and lacks temporal specification. In fact, the tense within ECMs is anaphoric, and no independent tense specification is possible:

- (30) a. \*Ieri ho visto Luca cantare oggi  
*Yesterday I have seen Luca sing today*  
 b. \*Inier é-i udù Luca ciantan ncuei  
*Yesterday have-I seen Luca singing today*
- (31) a. \*Oggi vedo Luca cantare/aver cantato ieri  
*Today I see Luca sing/have sung yesterday*  
 b. \*Ncuei vëij-i Luca ciantan inier  
*Today see-I Luca singing yesterday*

The analysis I want to propose<sup>22</sup> first considers the  $\theta$ -marking domain of the two verbs involved: the

<sup>20</sup> In my analysis, I avoid to refer to AGRPs for conceptual reasons.

<sup>21</sup> It is not possible to test the position of the gerund w.r.t. negation in Gardenese, because it has postverbal negation

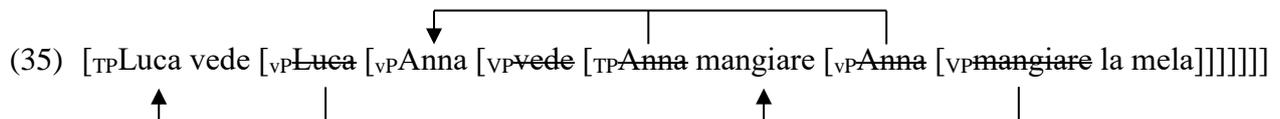
<sup>22</sup> In this section I only briefly discuss the overall structure of ECMs, since there is no significant variation between the

perception verb *s*-selects and thus  $\theta$ -marks the whole non-finite clause as Theme. On the other hand, the logical subject of the embedded verb is merged in its vP, where it gets its  $\theta$ -role. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the logical subject must be compatible with the selectional requirements of the embedded verb, but not of the perception verb:

- (32) Ho visto il vento muovere le foglie (Italian; Radford 1977: 180)  
*I have seen the wind move the leaves*  
 'I saw the wind rustle the leaves'
- (33) Ie aude i mëiles tuman tl'ega (Gardenese; Siller-Runggaldier 1998: 315)  
*I hear the apples falling in-the water*  
 'I hear the apples fall in the water'
- (34) \*Ho visto la stella sorridere (Italian)  
*I have seen the star smile*

Both (32) and (33) show that the logical subject can be an imperceptible object: it is impossible to see the wind, or to hear apples. On the other hand, the wind may move leaves, and apples do fall. Conversely, (34) is ungrammatical because the logical subject is incompatible with the *s*-selectional requirements of the verb *ridere* ('smile'), although a star can be the object of perception. This confirms that in EPCs we perceive the event as a whole.

However, since the embedded T is defective, it is unable to assign nominative and to check the features of the logical subject. Thus, the latter moves to a non- $\theta$ -marked position of the matrix clause, as proposed in Ciutescu (2013):<sup>23</sup>



The movement of the logical subject is shown in examples like the following:

- (36) Paolo<sub>i</sub> vide Maria<sub>j</sub>, PRO<sub>i/j</sub> attraversando la strada, inciampare su un grosso sasso  
 (adapted from Radford 1977: 187)  
*Paolo saw Maria, ('while') crossing the road, trip-up on a big stone*  
 'Paolo saw Maria trip up on a big stone while he/she was crossing the road'

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Rhaeto-romance group and other Romance languages. The considerations presented here are based on Radford's (1977) insightful data, a fraction of which is reported here.

<sup>23</sup> See also Gallego (2009). However, in my opinion in order to explain embedded VS orders (6) we should consider this movement to be optional.

Note also that the exact landing site of the logical subject of the infinitive is not completely clear. While Ciutescu (2013) proposes that it moves to the same position as animate/specific objects in Spanish (Torrego 1998), I tentatively propose that it heads a Specifier which is lower than the merge position of the matrix subject, as the floating quantifier test shows:

- (i) I bambini hanno visto (tutti) Anna (\*tutti) mangiare la torta  
*the children have seen (all) Anna (\*all) eat the cake*  
 'The children have all seen Anna eat the cake'

Moreover, if 'Anna' headed a position higher than the external argument position, it would be unclear how the latter could move to Spec,TP and avoid Relativised Minimality effects. Nor is it possible to explain why inanimate and unspecific subjects can move to the matrix clause, since they cannot head the position for animate/specific objects.

Here, it may be either Paolo or Maria who crosses the street during the matrix event of the perception. If Maria were in the embedded clause, the gerundial clause would be too, and the main subject 'Paolo' could not control the PRO subject of the gerund.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.2 Aspectual differences in the selection of gerunds and infinitives

Having discussed the overall structural properties of perceptive ECMs, I now turn to two cases of variation between Gardenese and the main Romance languages. The first is the verb form used: infinitives in Italian and Spanish, gerunds in Gardenese.<sup>25</sup> I suggest that this difference is related to aspect. Consider the following contrast in Spanish:

- (37) a. Vi el barco atracar en el puerto (#pero, como estalló un huracán, quedó a la deriva)  
*I.saw the ship dock at the port (but, since blew.up a hurricane, it.went adrift)*  
 b. Vi el barco atracando en el puerto (pero, como estalló un huracán, quedó a la deriva)  
*I.saw the ship docking at the port (but, since blew.up a hurricane, it.went adrift)*  
 'I saw the ship dock/docking at the port (but it went adrift because a hurricane blew up)'  
 (Di Tullio 1998: 200 f.)

According to Di Tullio (1998), the infinitival EPC (37)a describes the event as a whole, i.e. from the beginning to the end. Hence, the ship must have completed the docking process, and the second part is incompatible with this utterance. The gerund, on the other hand, points to a single moment during the event (37)b. Therefore, it is possible that the ship began the docking process, but then the hurricane blew up before its completion. This contrast entails an aspectual difference between gerunds and infinitives: gerunds carry an imperfective (continuous/progressive), infinitives a perfective aspect.

In Gardenese, as far as the aspectual value is concerned, gerundial ECMs pattern with the Spanish gerundial clauses, although they are structurally different (recall that gerundial clauses are EPCs in Gardenese, but IPCs in Spanish):

- (38) É udù Maria passan via la streda. (Ma la ne ie nia ruveda dal'autra pert ajache la ie ciumpededa tamez)  
*I.have seen Maria crossing the street. (But she NEG is not arrived to-the other side because she is tripped-up halfway)*  
 'I saw Maria cross the street. (But she didn't reach the other side because she tripped up halfway)'.

By comparing (37) and (38) we see that the progressive reading is not intrinsically related to the

<sup>24</sup> In my analysis, I maintain the use of PRO, essentially following Landau (2004 and successive work).

<sup>25</sup> Note that infinitives are not incompatible with Gardenese ECM structures in general, since they are possible (although with some restrictions) with the causative verb *lascé* ('let'):

- (i) Lasce-la maië l gelato!  
 let.IMP-her.ACC eat the ice-cream  
 'Let her eat the ice cream!'

IPC structure - it is borne by the gerundial verb form itself. Thus, in Gardenese we do not find an aspectual opposition between IPCs and EPCs, because they both express progressive aspect.<sup>26</sup> For Spanish, on the other hand, I propose that the aspectual difference is a by-product of the use of infinitives in EPCs, and that the perfective aspect is independent of this construction.<sup>27</sup>

Hence, Gardenese perceptive verbs always and only select progressive complements (gerunds and Pseudo-relatives). For this reason, I propose that they have a [+progressive] feature which they have to check with the defective T of EPCs. In the case of gerunds, the defective gerundial T has a [+progressive] feature, while infinitival Ts do not. In Spanish and Italian, on the other hand, the perceptive verb requires no particular aspectual values of the complement. As a consequence, infinitival clauses are grammatical in these languages, although not in Gardenese. The hypothesis of an aspectual feature on perceptive verbs is compatible with the Borer-Chomsky conjecture, if we follow Rizzi's (2014) proposal for epistemic verbs in Romance and English: perception verbs can be thought of as a class with a functional  $V_{\text{perc}}$ , whose featural specification [+progressive] in Gardenese is responsible for their c-selectional properties. Hence, the selection of gerunds is not done by single lexical items, but by an entire verb class.

### 4.3. The null subject of EPCs

As already mentioned before, the analysis of perception verbs in Gardenese also gives us some useful hints for the analysis of perceptive constructions in Romance generally. In the case of EPCs, Gardenese helps us to shed light on the nature of null subjects in EPCs. According to Guasti (1993), in Italian and Spanish the infinitival AGRS can formally license an arbitrary *pro* in subject position, as its finite counterpart:

- (39) Ho visto [*pro*<sub>arb</sub> rubare dei libri] PRO nascondendoli sotto il cappotto  
*I.have seen* [*pro*<sub>arb</sub> steal some books] PRO hiding-them under the coat  
 'I saw that some books were stolen by hiding them under the coat' (Guasti 1993: 126, ex. 53)

In (39), Guasti posits that the null subject is an arbitrary *pro*, since it is in an argument position. One piece of evidence for Guasti's hypothesis that null subjects in ECMs are *pros* comes from the fact that sentences of this type are only grammatical in null subject languages, like Italian and Spanish,

<sup>26</sup> The aspectual contrast between EPCs and IPCs (ia-b) noted in Fernández Lagunilla (2011: 38, ex. 23) for Spanish is thus absent in Gardenese (iia-b):

- (i) a. La vi leer el periódico en cinco minutos (Spanish: EPC)  
*her.acc I.saw read the newspaper in five minutes*  
 'I saw her read the newspaper in five minutes'  
 b. \*La vi leyendo el periódico en cinco minutos (Spanish: IPC)  
*her.acc I.saw reading the newspaper in five minutes*  
 (ii) a. L é udú maian ora la jopa te cin menuc (Gardenese: EPC)  
*him.ACC I.have seen eating up the soup in five minutes*  
 b. L é udú che l maiova ora la jopa te cin menuc (Gardenese: IPC)  
*him.ACC I.have seen that ate up the soup in five minutes*  
 'I saw him eat up the soup in five minutes'

<sup>27</sup> In fact, the aspectual readings of EPCs and IPCs appear to vary from language to language. In Italian, for example, there is an aspectual contrast even within EPCs: biclausal ECMs carry an imperfective value, monoclausal FIs a perfective value (although infinitives are used in both constructions), see Lepschy (1975).

while they are ruled out in French, where silent subject pronouns do not generally occur. This proposal predicts that even in other languages which require the phonological realisation of arbitrary subjects, examples like (39) are ungrammatical. However, Gardenese constitutes a counter-argument to this:<sup>28</sup>

- (40) Chësc instà é-i audi PRO<sub>arb</sub> se lamentan truep per via del burt tëmp  
*this summer have-I heard PRO<sub>arb</sub> himself complaining much because of-the bad weather*  
 'This summer I have heard many people complain about the bad weather'

In the variety of Gardenese analysed here, expletive and arbitrary subjects always have to be expressed in finite clauses (fn. 18). Its inventory therefore contains no *pro*<sub>arb</sub>. Nevertheless, sentences like (40) are perfectly grammatical – an unexpected fact, if we accept Guasti's claim that the null subject of (39) is *pro*. On the other hand, if we posit that ECM null subjects are arbitrary PROs in all three languages, we can also account for the Gardenese data.<sup>29</sup> This claim is further confirmed by a test used in Rigau (1995) for determining the nature of the null subjects of personal infinitives. As she notes, reflexive pronouns bound by uncontrolled PROs are always third person, while they can also be first or second person in the case of *pro*:

- (41) [penedir-se<sub>i</sub>/\*-me<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> dels pecats] és difícil (Catalan)  
*[repent-self<sub>3rd.sg/pl./1st.sg.</sub> PRO of-the sins] is difficult*  
 'Repenting of one's sins is difficult' (adapted from Rigau 1995: 175, ex. 11c-d)
- (42) Al desmayar-se<sub>i</sub>/\*-me<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>i</sub>, empezaron a chillar (Spanish)  
*at-the wake.up-self<sub>3rd.sg/pl./1st.sg.</sub> pro, they.started to scream*  
 'When he/I waked up, they started screaming' (adapted from Rigau 1995: 176, ex. 13a)

If we apply this test to ECMs, we observe that the null subject behaves like the PRO in (41), i.e. it only permits third person reflexive clitics, in all three languages:

- (43) a. Non ho mai visto difendere se stessi/\*te stesso/\*voi stessi così abilmente (Italian)  
*not I.have never seen defend oneself/\*yourself<sub>sg.</sub>/\*yourself<sub>pl.</sub> so skilfully*  
 I have never seen someone defend himself so skilfully'  
 (adapted from Guasti 1993: 123)
- b. En ciertos países, Juan ha visto afeitar-se/\*-me/\*-te con cristales (Spanish)  
*in some countries, Juan has seen shave-self<sub>1st/\*2nd/\*3rd</sub> with glass sheets*  
 'In some countries, Juan saw people shave with glass sheets'  
 (Fernández Lagunilla&de Dios López 1991: 230 ex. 32b)
- c. Chësc instà é-i audi se/\*te/\*ve lamentan truep per via del burt tëmp (Gardenese)  
*this summer have-I heard self<sub>3rd./2nd.sg/\*2nd.pl.</sub> complaining much about the bad weather*  
 'This summer I have heard many people complain about the bad weather'

In conclusion, this comparison with Gardenese offers us important evidence for the need to revise

<sup>28</sup> Note that the example (40) cannot be an instance of FP with the optional *by*-phrase missing, because reflexive *se* can never be expressed in FPs (Salvi&Skytte 1996).

<sup>29</sup> The alternative claim that even in Gardenese EPCs (40) the null subject is *pro* would be highly unconvincing, because we would have to explain why Gardenese only uses these null subjects in ECMs and never in finite clauses.

the current hypotheses on null subjects in ECM, proposing a unitary account for Italian, Spanish and Rhaeto-romance.<sup>30</sup>

## 5. An analysis of *faire-inf* and *faire-par* constructions

As we have seen, Spanish and Italian allow the use of FIs and FPs with perception verbs, while in Gardenese only perceptive FPs are grammatical.<sup>31</sup> Both constructions have traditionally been considered monoclausal (i.e., there are no clausal boundaries between the two verbal domains), as first proposed in Kayne (1975). This interpretation presupposes that there are two verbs *fare* ('do/make'), a semi-functional one (see Cinque 2006 a.o.),<sup>32</sup> and a lexical one (an 'ordinary' transitive verb). This analysis of causative verbs has usually been extended to Romance perception verbs: they are considered lexical when selecting a nominal or clausal direct object (DPs or pronouns, ECMs, IPCs), semi-functional when they are used in FIs and FPs.

One crucial question about FPs concerns the use of agentive PPs, which are subject to some idiosyncratic restriction. Both Guasti (1993) and Folli&Harley (2007) show that traditional accounts, which considered the infinitive of FPs to be a passivised form, failed to predict the contexts in which the agentive PP was, or was not, grammatical, as the following examples show:

- (44) La verità è stata detta solo da Ugo (Italian; Guasti 1993: 106)  
*The truth has been told only by Ugo*  
 'Only Ugo has told the truth'
- (45) \*Maria ha fatto dire la verità da Ugo (Guasti 1993: 104)  
*Maria has made tell the truth by Ugo*

The verb *dire* ('say') can be passivised in Italian (44). However, in (45) it is impossible to insert it

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<sup>30</sup> The use of expletive vs. quasi-argumental null subjects is different – the former, in fact, are only grammatical in null subject languages, since the majority of my Gardenese informants do not accept this kind of sentence:

- (i) a. Ho visto venir distrutte molte macchine (Italian; Guasti 1993: 131 ex. 71)  
*I have seen be destroyed many cars*  
 'I saw many cars be destroyed'
- b. \*/<sup>??</sup>Vëije l cërf unian ciacià dal iagher (Gardenese)  
*I see the deer being hunted by-the hunter*  
 'I see the deer be hunted by the hunter'

On the other hand, quasi-argumental null subjects are also possible in a complete non-NSL like French (unlike in English):

- (ii) Je vois pleuvoir (French)  
*I see rain*  
 'I see it rain'

In this case, we cannot posit the presence of an arbitrary PRO (cf. \**It is annoying to rain vs. it is annoying to miss one's bus*, Michelle Sheehan, p.c.). I leave this topic open for future research.

<sup>31</sup> Note that the structure of FIs is not *per se* ungrammatical in Gardenese, because FIs are used with causative verbs. In causative constructions (both FIs and FPs), Gardenese, too, uses infinitives rather than gerunds:

- (i) Paul ti l fej cianté  
*Paul him.DAT it.ACC makes sing*  
 'Paul makes him sing it'

<sup>32</sup> Causative verbs are analysed as 'semi-functional' because they share some properties with functional verbs: they give rise to monoclausal restructuring and are merged in the functional layer (Cinque 2006). However, unlike functional verbs – though like lexical verbs – they add an argument (the matrix subject) to the argumental structure of the embedded verb.

into an FP, contrary to expectations. For these reasons, both papers argue that in FPs infinitives are nominalised rather than passivised (46). Thus, the structure of FPs resembles that of ordinary clauses, where *fare* selects a nominal object (47):

- (46) Gianni ha fatto [<sub>VPNom</sub> [<sub>VPNom</sub> riparare la macchina] da Mario]  
*Gianni has made repair the car by Mario*  
 'Gianni got the car repaired by Mario' (adapted from Folli&Harley 2007: 224)
- (47) Mario ha fatto [<sub>DP</sub> la pasta]  
*Mario has made the pasta*  
 'Mario made pasta'

Folli&Harley conclude that causative verbs are semi-functional only when they are used in FIs, while in FPs they are an instance of the lexical *fare*.<sup>33</sup>

This approach allows us to shed light on the Gardenese data, since it enables us to explain the split between ungrammatical FIs and grammatical FPs. This split is, in fact, rather unexpected, if we consider both constructions to be monoclausal. On the other hand, if we hold that FPs are only formed with lexical - not semi-functional - perceptive verbs, like ECMs, this split becomes no more than a simple inventory difference: Italian and Spanish have both lexical and semi-functional perceptive verbs, while Gardenese lacks the latter. Since perceptive verbs in Gardenese are always lexical, they can be used in ECMs and FPs, but not in FIs. Further evidence for this claim comes from the selection of gerunds in FPs: since the perceptive verb has the same nature as in ECMs, it also has the same c-selectional requirements: i.e., it has to check a [+progressive] feature.<sup>34</sup>

## 6. The analysis of IPCs in Spanish and Gardenese

In the previous sections I dealt with EPCs, accounting for the differences between Italian/Spanish vs. Gardenese using two parameters: the presence or absence of a [+progressive] feature on perception verbs, and the lack of semi-functional perception verbs in the Gardenese inventory.

In this section I tackle the second main issue, concerning the ungrammaticality of gerunds in Gardenese IPCs. In order to approach this topic, however, it is first necessary to discuss the overall status of non-finite clauses with overt subjects in Romance.

### 6.1 Non-finite Ts with nominative subjects in Romance

In Romance, adverbial gerundial clauses usually have a PRO subject, which is coindexed either with the syntactic or with the "thematic" (i.e., logical) subject of the matrix clause (48)-(49); in other cases the null subject may be arbitrary (50), see Lonzi (1988), Fernández Lagunilla (1999):

- (48) María llegó cojeando (Spanish)

<sup>33</sup> In this respect, they differ from Guasti (1993), who nevertheless considers FPs to be incorporations.

<sup>34</sup> However, Folli&Harley's analysis faces a problem when we extend it to Gardenese: in this variety gerunds can never be nominalised (unlike in languages like English). Thus, the presence of a gerund in a nominalised VP is unexpected, and requires further investigation.

- María arrived limping*  
 'Maria arrived, limping'
- (49) A Luis le sobrevino el infarto estando cenando en casa  
*to Luis him.DAT overcame the infarction being having-dinner at home*  
 'Luis had a heart attack while he was having dinner at home'  
 (Fernández Lagunilla 1991: 3465 f.)
- (50) Aun cantándoles una nana, los niños no se durmieron (*Ibid.*)  
*even singing-them.DAT a lullaby, the children not fell-asleep*  
 'Even if I/you/he/she... sang them a lullaby, the children did not fell asleep'

However, there are two cases where the subject of the gerund occurs overtly: the first is that of predicative gerunds, which I will discuss later. The second case, on which I will focus first, involves the so-called absolute gerund: an adverbial gerundial clause preceding the matrix sentence, and working as a sentence modifier. In this case, the subject has nominative case, and is not coindexed with any element of the matrix clause:

- (51) Estando María regando las plantas, sucedió el accidente  
*being María pouring the plants, happened the accident*  
 'While Maria was pouring the plants, there happened the accident '  
 (Fernández Lagunilla 1999: 3466)
- (52) Estando yo/\*mí regando las plantas, sucedió el accidente  
*being I/me pouring the plants, happened the accident*  
 'While I was pouring the plants, there happened the accident'

As noted in Rizzi (1982), in this case the gerund has to precede its subject. Rizzi's original hypothesis was that in non-finite clauses nominative could only be assigned if the gerund (and thus the gerundial INFL) moved to CP, since the gerundial INFL is non-finite (and therefore does not itself assign case).

Since then, various proposals have attempted to account for this nominative case assignment. Sitaridou (2002 and successive work) claims that in Modern Greek the nominative subject of the gerund checks its case due to a weak [+Tense] feature of the gerundial T, as shown by the presence of time adverbials within the gerundial clause. The following examples show that gerundial Ts have tense in Spanish as well:

- (53) Llegando Pablo mañana, este fin de semana podríamos salir juntos  
*arriving Pablo tomorrow, this weekend we.could go.out together*  
 'Since/if Pablo arrives tomorrow, this weekend we could go out together'
- (54) Luis vivió en Sevilla dos años, marchándose después a Granada  
*Luis lived in Sevilla two years, moving afterwards to Granada*  
 'Luis lived in Sevilla two years, moving then to Granada'

In (53), the presence of a [+Tense] feature is confirmed by the temporal adverb *ayer* ('yesterday'). On the other hand, (54) is an example of a so-called *gerundio de posterioridad* ('posteriority gerund'), which is considered normatively incorrect, where the gerundial clause expresses an event that happens after the matrix event.

Unlike Sitaridou, I propose that the [+Tense] feature alone is not able to assign nominative, and that gerunds also have an abstract [+Agr] feature, which plays a fundamental role in this respect.<sup>35</sup> A comparison with Romance personal infinitives (Fernández Lagunilla 1987, Rigau 1995, Ledgeway 2000, Mensching 2000, Sitaridou 2002 a.o.) provides evidence for my proposal: personal infinitives and absolute gerunds both have an overt subject in the nominative, their use is attested in Spanish and various Northern and Southern Italian varieties (55)a-c, but not in Standard Italian or French (55)d,<sup>36</sup> and personal infinitives are used as adjuncts and subjects, but not as complements (i.e. in NOC contexts, Ledgeway 2000: 125).<sup>37</sup>

- (55) a. [Antes de actuar Caballé], el público estaba expectante (Spanish; Rigau 1995: 173)  
*before of perform.INF Caballé, the audience was expectant*  
 'Before Caballé started performing, the audience was expectant'
- b. 'U purcile avia ri scifi vasci [pi ci mangià i gallini e ri puorci] (Calabrian)  
*the pigsty had the troughs low [for there eat.INF the hens and the pigs]*  
 'The troughs in the pigsty were low enough for the hens and the pigs to eat from them'  
 (Ledgeway 2000: 118)
- c. L'à fatu tütu [sènsa saïlu e sò' gènte] (Ligurian; Cuneo 1997:106)  
*he.cl has done everything [without know.INF-it the his parents]*  
 'he did everything without his parents knowing'
- d. \*Ha fatto tutto [senza saperlo i suoi genitori]<sup>38</sup> (Standard Italian)  
*he.has done everything [without know.INF-it his parents]*

As in the case of absolute gerunds, attempts to account for the occurrence of a nominative subject in this context refer either to the presence of an abstract [+Agr] feature (Rigau 1995) or to the presence of a weak [+Tense] feature (Ledgeway 2000, Sitaridou 2002).<sup>39</sup>

However, since Standard Italian infinitives share the same Tense properties with Spanish and with the dialects included in (55)b-c, the latter hypotheses incorrectly predict that nominative subjects will also be grammatical in this language.

The Tense feature alone cannot therefore allow for nominative case checking. Considering the evidence discussed in Ledgeway and Sitaridou, I propose that the checking depends on the interplay of both the abstract [+Agr] and the weak [+Tense] feature. Standard Italian infinitives have the features [+Tense] and [-Agr], and thus nominative subjects are ruled out.<sup>40</sup> While case checking

<sup>35</sup> The fact that non-inflected verb forms can have abstract Agreement or weak Tense is not surprising, when we consider the cases of inflected infinitives, gerunds and past participles in Old Neapolitan discussed in Vincent (1998). In fact, he shows that finiteness should be kept separate from Agreement, Tense and nominative assignment. Thus, finiteness can be conceived of as a gradient, as shown in Ledgeway (1998).

<sup>36</sup> Note that Standard Italian only has Aux-to-Comp structures: unlike personal infinitives, they are heavily restricted: only auxiliaries, copular and a few modal verbs can enter these structures. Furthermore Aux-to-Comps have a different syntactic role, since they can only be used as complements (see Rizzi 1982).

<sup>37</sup> The Calabrian example comes from the village of San Fili (province of Cosenza), Cuneo's (1997) Ligurian example from Cicagna (province of Genoa) and is taken from Ledgeway (2000: 119);

<sup>38</sup> Sentences with personal infinitives have been attested in some substandard Italian varieties (Cuneo 1997, Vincent 1998), although they are undoubtedly ungrammatical in Standard Italian. As far as my regional variety is concerned (Trentino-Alto Adige), both I and other speakers I have consulted, judge this sentence to be completely ungrammatical.

<sup>39</sup> A similar claim is made in Bianchi (2000) for gerundial and infinitival Aux-to-Comp constructions, where it is proposed that non-finite clauses can only assign nominative if their [-Fin]<sup>o</sup> encodes the Speech time.

<sup>40</sup> There is more evidence against the nominative case checking of the [+Tense] feature in the Gardenese data, which I will discuss *infra* (§ 6.3.).

depends on the positive value of both features, the weak [+Tense] feature seems to be responsible for V-to-C movement, since the verb either needs to determine its tense through an operator (Rigau 1995), or to form a T-chain with an operator or with the matrix verb, as proposed in Ledgeway (2000).

## 6.2 Predicative gerunds

Romance gerunds can also occur with an overt subject. However, they differ from absolute gerunds in two respects: first, predicative gerunds are used as predicates of Small Clauses ('SCs'). Second, their logical subject has a different status and does not check nominative. Let's discuss them in more detail.

It has been stated in the literature that predicative gerundial clauses enter two or three structures (Di Tullio 1998, Rafel 2000, Casalicchio 2013).<sup>41</sup> Simplifying these accounts, the instances can be divided between those in which the logical subject of the gerund is part of the SC (56) and those in which it is merged in the matrix clause, controlling a PRO in the SC (57):<sup>42</sup>

- (56) Veo [<sub>SC</sub> a Juan comiendo]  
 (57) Veo a Juan<sub>i</sub> [<sub>SC</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> comiendo]  
*I.see to Juan eating*  
 'I see Juan eating'

In (56), the logical subject is s-selected and  $\theta$ -marked by the gerundial verb, and the entire SC is the complement of the perception verb (in a similar fashion to ECMs). In (57), in contrast, the logical subject is  $\theta$ -marked by the matrix verb, but it must meet the selectional requirements of both the matrix and the embedded verb, since it is coindexed with a null subject in the Small Clause (unlike in ECM constructions, § 4.). This discussion focuses mainly on the structure (56).

The second difference with absolute gerunds concerns the status of the subject. We have already seen that in IPCs it is always in the preverbal position (cf. (13), repeated here, with (6)):

- (13) a. \*Veo llegando (a) Ana

<sup>41</sup> I refer the interested reader to the papers cited for a deeper analysis of the properties of predicative gerunds.

<sup>42</sup> Some contexts are compatible with both structures (e.g. perceptive constructions), while in others only one of the two is possible, as the tests in (i-ii) show: in the (a) examples the cliticisation is a diagnostic for the position of the logical subject in the matrix clause, while in the (b) examples the pseudo-cleft tests whether the logical subject is within the gerundial clause:

- (i) a. Lo<sub>i</sub> veo t<sub>i</sub> [jugando] (Perceptive verbs)  
*him.CL I.see playing*  
 'I see him playing'  
 b. Lo<sub>i</sub> que veo es [a Pablo jugando]<sub>i</sub>  
*it that I.see is [to Pablo playing]*  
 'What I see is Pablo playing'
- (ii) a. \*No lo<sub>i</sub> soporto t<sub>i</sub> [fumando en casa] (Verbs of the *soportar*-class)  
*not him.CL I.stand smoking at home*  
 b. Lo<sub>i</sub> que no soporto es [a Pablo fumando en casa]<sub>i</sub>  
*it that not I.stand is [to Pablo smoking at home]*  
 'What I can't stand is Pablo smoking at home'

- I.see coming (to) Ana*  
 b. \**Veo telefoneando (a) Ana*  
*I.see phoning (to) Ana*

This means that in the case of predicative gerunds, there is no V-to-C movement (provided that the IPCs have a CP). I propose that this fact correlates with a [-Tense] feature of predicative gerunds, since their tense is always anaphoric (i.e., simultaneous to the matrix event):<sup>43</sup>

- (58) a. \**Ayer vi a Juan comiendo ahora/mañana/después*  
*yesterday I.saw to Juan eating now/tomorrow/after*  
 b. \**Mañana veré a Juan comiendo ayer/ahora/antes*  
*tomorrow I.will.see to Juan eating yesterday/now/before*

Moreover, logical subjects of predicative gerunds do not check nominative case with the embedded T; in fact their case always appears to be determined by the matrix clause:

- (59) Pablo me vio a mí comiendo / \*Pablo (me) vio a yo comiendo  
*Pablo me saw to me.ACC eating Pablo (me) saw to I.NOM eating*  
 'Pablo saw me eating'

On the other hand, I suggest that predicative gerunds have an abstract [+Agr] feature too, which is crucial for the overt realisation of the embedded subject. This proposal is supported by an analysis of the diachronic evolution of predicative gerunds in Romance: they have replaced the present participle, which was used in secondary predication in Classical Latin and was inflected for case, gender and number (Škerlj 1926):<sup>44</sup>

- (60) Video Marcum canentem  
*I.see Marcus.ACC sing.PRT.ACC.M.SG*  
 'I see Marcus singing'

Furthermore, gerunds alternate with Pseudo-relative clauses, a similar predicative construction formed with a finite verb, which is fully inflected:

- (61) Veo a María que come/está comiendo  
*I.see to María that eats/is eating*  
 'I see Maria eating'

A further piece of evidence comes from participial and adjectival SCs, which also show agreement.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> An alternative view would be to say that predicative gerunds move to a head C°, while their subject moves to the corresponding Spec position. This configuration would be a welcome parallel to the analyses which I have proposed for Pseudo-relative clauses in Casalicchio (submitted). However, more research is needed to fully answer this question.

<sup>44</sup> The fact that Spanish gerunds have retained some values of the Latin present participle (while other languages like Italian have not) was already noted by Fernández Lagunilla (1999: 3454).

<sup>45</sup> Moro (1995) has argued that there is no agreement in SCs, citing examples like the following:

(i) Gianni ritiene [<sub>SC</sub> loro la causa]

- (62) Vi a Elena sentada/\*sentado en el banco  
*I.saw to Elena sat.down.PRT.SG.F./\*M. on the bench*  
 'I saw Elena sat on the bench'
- (63) Veo a los niños cansados/\*cansado  
*I.see to Ana tired.M.PL./\*SG.*  
 'I see the children tired'

In the examples (62)-(63), the secondary predicate is an adjectival element and thus shows nominal agreement with its subject.

In addition, in Spanish gerunds can be used as *gerundios adjectivos*, which correspond to present participles. The normative grammars (e.g. Bello 1847, Gili Gaya 1951, Sáenz 1953; see also Gutiérrez Araus 1992 on this topic) only permit this use for the three gerunds *hirviendo* ('boiling'), *colgando* ('hanging') and *ardiendo* ('burning'), although their use is much more widespread in everyday speech:

- (64) Se quemó con agua hirviendo  
*himself he.burned with water boiling*  
 'He burned himself with boiling water'
- (65) Se necesita secretaria hablando inglés  
*SE need secretary speaking English*  
 'We are looking for an English speaking secretary'

This use, which resembles that of present participles, confirms that gerunds can have a [+Agr ] feature.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, the most convincing piece of evidence comes probably from some rural dialects of Puerto Rico and Costa Rica, where we find gerunds with morphologically overt gender agreement, as attested by Kany (1970):<sup>47</sup>

- (66) La mujer está muriendase (Puerto Rican Spanish; Kany 1970: 25)  
*the woman is dying<sub>Fem.-SE</sub>*  
 'The woman is dying'

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*Gianni considers [them the cause]*  
 'Gianni considers them the cause'

In this case, the subject of the SC is a plural pronoun, while the predicate is a singular noun. However, I think that such examples are due to an idiosyncratic property of nominal predicates, since agreement is obligatory with other categories like adjectives and participles.

<sup>46</sup> The question as to why predicative and adjectival gerunds are ungrammatical in Italian (which also has [+Agr] gerunds) then arises. I think that a number of causes come into play: first, Italian present participles are still productive (although they are stylistically marked). Moreover, in predicative constructions Italian has replaced predicative gerunds with prepositional infinitives, as has European Portuguese (10)f. However, their use is more restricted, because in Standard Italian infinitives are [-Agr], unlike gerunds (see *supra*, §6.1). For this reason, they are usually only possible when the logical subject is merged in the matrix clause (57), like in the *sorprendere*-class:

- (i) Ho sorpreso Paolo a rubare  
*I.have caught Paolo to steal*  
 'I caught Paolo stealing'

<sup>47</sup> It is not clear what is the trigger for agreement here. According to Kany (1970: 25), the gerund can agree with a clitic pronoun. However, all his examples could also be interpreted as instances of agreement with the subject.

- (67) Es que la muy bandida s'está hacienda la tonta (Costa Rican Spanish; *ibid.*<sup>48</sup>)  
*it.is that the great rascal is doing the stupid*  
 'Its that this great rascal is acting the fool'

In Romance, gerunds are generally uninflected; however, the existence of examples such as (66) attests that agreement is always present at an abstract level, even though it is morphologically expressed only in only a few varieties.

In conclusion, there are several arguments in favour of a [+Agr] feature in SCs, whereas there are no instances of independent or dependent Tense (in Landau's 2004 sense).

### 6.3 The ungrammaticality of gerunds in Gardenese IPCs

Let us now consider Gardenese. Notice that a weak non-finite [+tense] feature is also present on gerunds and infinitives in this language (68)-(69):

- (68) PRO<sub>i</sub> Passan via la streda inier, ie Maria<sub>i</sub> ciumpededa (Gardenese)  
*PRO crossing the street yesterday, is Maria tripped-up*  
 'While she was crossing the street yesterday, Maria tripped up'
- (69) PRO<sub>i</sub> A passé via la streda inier, ie Maria<sub>i</sub> ciumpededa  
*PRO to cross.INF the street yesterday, is Maria tripped-up*  
 'While she was crossing the street yesterday, Maria tripped up (=68)'

In this respect, Gardenese does not differ from languages like Spanish. However, overt subjects are ruled out with both absolute gerunds (70) and personal infinitives (71):

- (70) \*Ulan Anna maië n gelato, sons jic a Urtijëi  
*wanting (Anna) eat an ice-cream, are-we gone to Ortisei (locality)*
- (71) \*Dan da rué sun palch i U2, àl sunà na tel grupa de London  
*before than arrive.INF on.the stage the U2, has played a certain band of London*

These examples are doubly interesting: first of all, they confirm the fact that a [+Tense] feature alone is not enough to enable nominative case-checking, as I argued in § 6.1. Second, we have to posit that either of these non-finite forms has a [+Agr] feature, which would be necessary to make examples such as (70) and (71) grammatical.

This proposal predicts that predicative gerunds are also ruled out, since they have to be [+Agr] (while the Tense feature is unimportant here), as suggested in § 6.2. And this is exactly what we find, as already seen in (23):

- (23) \*É abinà l lere jan ite dal tèt  
*I.have found the thief going in by-the roof*

<sup>48</sup> This quotation is taken by Kany from Carlos Luis Fallas' novel *Gentes y gentecillas* (1947).

Thus, in this case the difference between Spanish and Gardenese again concerns the featural make-up of a functional element. While in EPCs it was the [+progressive] feature on the Gardenese  $v_{\text{perc}}$ , in IPCs it is the abstract [+Agr] feature, which is present in Spanish gerunds (and infinitives), but absent in Gardenese.

Table 3 summarises the status of the Tense and Agreement features in the languages described.<sup>49</sup>

	Spanish	Calabrese and Ligurian	Standard Italian	Gardenese
Gerunds	+Agr/+T	-Agr/-T <sup>50</sup>	+Agr/+T	-Agr/+T
Infinitives	+Agr/+T	+Agr/+T	-Agr/+T	-Agr/+T

*Table 3: The Agreement and Tense features in gerunds and infinitives of some Romance varieties*

## 7. Conclusions

An approach in terms of parameters *à la* Rizzi (2014) allows us to account for the differences found between Spanish and Gardenese gerunds. More precisely, I have suggested that the interplay of three parameters produces the different outcomes found in these two languages: Gardenese is characterised by the presence of a [+progressive] feature on perception verbs, by the unavailability of functional perception verbs and by the absence of abstract Agreement on gerunds. Spanish has the opposite pattern. This approach predicts that some languages will show 'mixed' behaviour, either permitting gerunds in both EPCs and IPCs or ruling them out in both contexts.<sup>51</sup>

Sardinian is an example of a language with both the [+progressive] feature on perception verbs and agreeing gerunds. This is shown by the fact that gerunds are not only grammatical in ECMs (while infinitives are not), but also in secondary predication:

- (72) Appu biu a Giorgiu pappendisia/\*si pappai sa mella (Asuni, Oristano)  
*I have seen to Giorgio eating-self/\*self eat.INF the apple*  
 'I saw Giorgio eat/eating the apple'
- (73) Su ca(n)i e(sti) innia aspettendi po bessì  
*the dog is inside waiting for go.out*  
 'The dog is inside, waiting to go out'

<sup>49</sup> Note that in Romance there is an implicational scale in the featural make-up of non-finite forms:

- (i) If non-finite forms have an abstract [+Agr] feature in a variety, they also have a weak [+Tense] feature, while the opposite is not always the case.

If we do not consider inflected infinitives as non-finite forms, this generalisation also seems to hold beyond Romance, as the data presented in Landau (2004: 869) show. Moreover, the hierarchy Agr > Tense is mirrored in the ordering of subject-oriented functional projections above tense projections in the TP (Cinque 1999, 2006), and it is also reminiscent of the higher position of the AgrSP w.r.t. the TP in the GB framework.

<sup>50</sup> In Calabrese, gerunds cannot be used in absolute or predicative constructions, since they are only used in periphrastic constructions with aspectual verbs like *be* and *go* (Adam Ledgeway, p.c.).

<sup>51</sup> I do not consider the third feature (namely the availability of semi-functional perception verbs) here, because further research is needed to find languages that instantiate all six of the patterns that emerge.

In contrast, Veneto dialects, which belong to the Northern Italian group, lack both features, and therefore have [-progressive] perception verbs and [-Agr] gerunds:

- (74) Go visto Giorgio magnare/\*magnando el pomo (Cittadella, Padova)  
*I have seen Giorgio eat.INF/\*eating the apple*  
 'I saw Giorgio eat the apple'
- (75) \*A Gina (a) ze in cesa parlando col prete  
*the Gina (SUBJ.CL) is in church speaking with-the priest*

The prediction that two different parameters are playing a role in the use of perceptive gerunds is thus confirmed. The results are summarised in table 4:

	[+progressive] v <sub>perc</sub>	[-progressive] v <sub>perc</sub>
[+Agr] gerunds	Sardinian	Spanish
[-Agr] gerunds	Gardenese	Venetian

*Table 4: The interplay of the parameters [+progressive] v<sub>perc</sub> and [+Agr] gerunds in some Romance varieties*

As shown by these examples, the presence of gerunds in EPCs and in IPCs is the result of two different parameters. Both parameters, and the third (the availability of semi-functional perception verbs) belong to the merge parameters described in Rizzi's (2014) typology of parameters: merge parameters are related to c-selection and agreement, as in our case.<sup>52</sup>

This analysis of the distribution of gerunds in perceptive constructions shows that the notion of parameters is valid, but that the focus should be on their interplay: only closely related varieties and a detailed analysis of micro-varying phenomena allows us to fully recognise the importance of a parametric approach to syntactic analysis.

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<sup>52</sup> Within a parameter hierarchy approach, the three parameters can all be conceived of as microparameters, since they are restricted to a lexically definable subclass (v<sub>perc</sub> in the case of the [+/- progressive] feature and of the presence of functional perception verbs in the inventory of a language, [+gerunds] in the case of the feature [+/- Agr]). Biberauer et al. (2014).

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