

Donna Jo Napoli
**A Global Agreement
Phenomenon***

0. Introduction

There are a handful of adverbs in Italian that undergo gender/number agreement with NPs in very particular environments. In this article I will discuss the syntax of one such adverb, *vello*, and show that the rules accounting for gender/number agreement on it must be global.¹

1. Classification of Relevant Adjectives and Adverbs

Various kinds of adjectives and adverbs appear to the right of the verb. Here I will consider those VP adverbs that have adjectives sharing the same root.

r.l. -Mente Adverbs

The most common morphology for VP adverbs with corresponding adjectives is ADJECTIVE (f.s.)² + *mente*. Adverbs of this form are invariable (they never undergo gender/number agreement):

Maria ha rapidamente imparato l'italiano.

f.s. unmk.

'Mary (has) rapidly learned Italian.'

Rapidamente is composed of *rapida* (f.s.) + *mente*.

* This work was supported in part by the National Science Foundation's grant to Harvard University (GS-33063-X). A longer preliminary version of the article appears in Napoli (1974). In that longer work many facts not crucial to the arguments for globality are presented and discussed with details of dialectal variation.

I would like to thank Dave Perlmutter as well for the countless hours, suggestions, and criticisms he contributed to this article. The very fact that it exists as something other than a confused puzzle is due to him. Thanks also go to Avery Andrews, Giulio Lepicchi, Richte Kayne, and Susumu Kuno, as well as to my anonymous *LJ* readers for comments made on various drafts of this article. And a final thanks go to my informants for their infinite *patienza*.

¹ By global rule, I mean one that takes into account information supplied by more than one distinct structure in the derivation. For a discussion of global rules, see Lakoff (1969, 1970) and Postal (1972), among others. For a discussion of various proposals for global rules with respect to agreement phenomena, see Napoli (1974).

² The abbreviations used in this article are: f.s. = feminine singular, m.s. = masculine singular, f.p. = feminine plural, m.p. = masculine plural, unmk. = unmarked.

- (5) Maria parla svelta/svelto, anche se ci vogliono due ore ogni volta che si apre la bocca.
'Mary speaks fast, even if it takes two hours every time she opens her mouth.'
- (6) Maria parla così svelta/svelto che è difficile distinguere tutte le sue parole.
'Mary speaks so fast that it is hard to distinguish all her words.'

For these speakers (5) and (6) are acceptable with and without gender/number agreement on *svelto*. These data may be contrasted with the case of speakers who have two *svelto*'s, one an adjective and one an adverb, and who require gender/number agreement on *svelto* in both (5) and (6), since they make a semantic distinction between their adjective *svelto* and their adverb *svelto*. Another contrast between these two sets of speakers is that the speakers who have an adverbic *svelto* do not accept (4a); they do accept (4b), but with the reading given in (4a') (and not with the reading given in (4b')). The reason the two groups of speakers differ in accepting (1) and (4) is that (1) contains a simple verb form and (4) a compound verb construction. Any successful analysis of this agreement phenomenon will have to account for this strange behavior. In section 3.1.3 I will propose a rule of agreement for adjectives that will account for these facts. The agreement pattern given in section 3 below offers many contrasts between the speakers who have an adverbic and perhaps an adverb *svelto* and those who have an adjective and an adverb *svelto*.

In conclusion, for the adverbic *svelto*, there is no semantic difference between (1a) and (1b).

3. The Rules

In this section we shall see that one rule can account for all cases in which gender/number agreement may optionally occur and all cases in which gender/number agreement must not occur. This rule is shown to be postcyclic and global. A separate principle operating in Italian agreement rules accounts for all cases of obligatory agreement. This principle is needed independently of any considerations of *svelto*.

3.1. A Gender/Number Agreement Rule for *svelto* (G/N *svelto*)

3.1.1. *Not Cyclic*. There is ample evidence that a rule of gender/number agreement operating cyclically is not empirically adequate. (I will call this rule G/N *svelto*.)

In sentences where *svelto*'s subject has been removed by subject Raising or by Equi NP Deletion between subjects, no gender/number agreement may occur on *svelto*:

- (7) a. Maria sembra parlare *svelta/svelto.
f.s. unmk.
'Mary seems to speak fast.'
- b. Maria vuole parlare *svelta/svelto.
'Mary wants to speak fast.'

Consider the derivation of these sentences:

- (8) $s_0[s_1[Maria\ parlare\ svel\text{-}t]_{s_1},\ sembrare]_{s_0}$
(9) $s_0[Maria\ volere\ s_1[Maria\ parlare\ svel\text{-}t]_{s_1}]_{s_0}$

If gender/number agreement of *svelto* is cyclic, on S₁ both (8) and (9) will optional agreement as in (1). Yet in surface structure no agreement appears in (7). Thus the rule producing optional agreement on *svelto* cannot be cyclic.

3.1.2. *Not a Simple Postcyclic Rule*. There is also evidence that a postcyclic form of G/N *svelto* that does not have access to information present earlier in the derivation cannot work.

Contrast (10) with (11):

- (10) Comandiamo a Maria di parlare svelta/svelto/*svelti.
m.p. f.s. unmk. m.p.
'We command Mary to speak fast.'
- (11) Promettiamo a Maria di parlare *svelta/svelto/*svelti.
m.p. f.s. unmk. m.p.
'We promise Mary to speak fast.'

(10) and (11) are structurally identical sentences in the postcycle, yet agreement occurs in (10) but not in (11). A postcyclic rule could not distinguish between (10) and (11), and thus G/N *svelto* should operate the same way in both sentence types: a postcyclic rule. However, it does not. Therefore, G/N *svelto* cannot be a postcyclic rule.

3.1.3. *Postcyclic and Global*. The possibility of gender/number agreement or depends upon where its "controller" appears at the point when agreement a *Svelto*'s controller is usually its cyclic subject.⁷ However, in an S where *svelto*'s

⁷ By the cyclic subject of *svelto*, I mean the NP that is the subject of *svelto* at the end of the first cycle applying to that predicate. Andrews has shown that in Arabic case agreement between NPs and predicate modifiers takes into account the subject of the predicate at the end of the first cycle applying to that predicate. Andrews needs to refer to the subject at the end of a cycle because transformations such as Passive and Raising into subject position can give the predicate a derived cyclic subject, and it is with that derived cyclic subject that the predicate modifier agrees.

Since in Italian *svelto* and other adjectives can never appear in a clause whose surface subject is a subject not identical to the underlying subject (cf. Napoli 1974), *svelto*'s cyclic subject all through the first cycle applying to *svelto* is consistently the same NP. Thus I need not refer to *svelto*'s subject at the end of the first cycle. However, none of the data I know of are in conflict with saying that the relevant point for the definition of *svelto*'s cyclic subject is at the end of the first cycle applying to *svelto*. Thus, by using Andrews's notion of *svelto*'s cyclic subject, one principle can be appealed to in both the Greek and Italian cases. For this reason, I

Andrews's notion of cyclic subject rather than a distinct and less powerful one. However, note that if it were possible to define cyclic subject as the subject at the beginning of a cycle, then a global rule referring to the cyclic subject of some other element would be appealing to information present in the deep structure. Since deep structure is argued to be a significant level of structure for various linguistic phenomena (such as semantic interpretation), this situation would be preferable to a global rule referring to some structure other than the deep structure. For the Italian data we see that it would be possible to define cyclic subject in this way. But for the data presented in Andrews (1971) and in Andrews (1973) on Icelandic, and Crow, such a definition would fail. Thus, all theoretical issues aside, Andrews's definition of cyclic subject is assumed to be the proper one.

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- (15) *Environment: NP COMP V A*
 Prego Maria di parlare svelta/svelto.
 'I beg Mary to speak fast.'
 Comando a Maria di parlare svelta/svelto.
 'I command Mary to speak fast.'
 Costringo Maria a parlare svelta/svelto.
 'I force Mary to speak fast.'

If G/N *svelto* is unordered with respect to Relative Clause Formation, Subject-Verb Inversion, Topicalization, and Adverb Fronting, then gender/number agreement is accounted for in the following examples. (If G/N *svelto* applies before these rules in the following examples, then agreement is produced optionally. If G/N *svelto* applies after these rules in these examples, then no agreement is produced.)^{12,13}

- (16) *Relative Clause*
 La donna che parla svelta/svelto entrò.
 'The woman who speaks fast entered.'
 La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto entrò.
 'The woman who I wanted to speak fast entered.'
Subject-Verb Inversion
 Che cosa recita svelta/svelto Maria?
 'What does Mary recite fast?'
 Parla svelta/svelto Maria?
 'Does Mary speak fast?'
Topicalization
 Maria voglio che parli svelta/svelto.
 'Mary I want to speak fast.'

¹² In a sentence where relative clause movement had moved the NP up two Ss, some of my speakers were influenced by what followed *svelto*. For example, the *svelto* (f.s.) choice is slightly more preferred in (i) than in (ii), where *svelto* is preferred.

- (i) La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto è bella.
 f.s. f.s. unmk. f.s.
 'The woman who I wanted to speak fast is beautiful.'
 (ii) La donna che volevo che parlasse svelta/svelto entrò.
 f.s. unmk. f.s.

'The woman who I wanted to speak fast entered.'

The influencing force in (i) is the G/N agreement on *bella*, which reminds the speaker that the subject of *svelto* is feminine singular.

Also, I found that for some speakers who assigned *svelto* to the always agreeing ADJ class that *svelto* without agreement is not only acceptable in (ii) but also preferred.

These facts lead me to suspect that some very late (perhaps surface) filter is operating. However, I found so few speakers who noticed the distinctions mentioned here that I hesitate to go any further with this speculation.
¹³ There are two kinds of relativizers in Italian, *che* and *il quale*. The examples in (16) involve only *che*. For the facts on *il quale* relatives, see Napoli (1974).

- Adverb Fronting*
 Svelta/svelto parla Maria.
 'Fast speaks Mary.'
 ?Svelta/svelto Maria parla.
 'Fast Mary speaks.'

I have already argued that G/N *svelto* applies postcyclically. If the above formations were cyclic, there would be a problem in allowing G/N *svelto* before them. But since all four of these rules are postcyclic, there is no problem ordering G/N *svelto* with respect to them.¹⁴

The rule seen in (12) also accounts for the following instances in which number agreement on *svelto* may not occur:¹⁵

- (17) a. *Environment: NP V V A*
 Maria { deve
 { comincia a } parlare *svelta/svelto.
 { spera di }
 'Mary { must
 { begins to } speak fast.'
 { hopes to }
 Maria avrebbe parlato *svelta/svelto.
 'Mary would have spoken fast.'
 b. *Environment: NP V V V A*
 Maria sembra potere correre *svelta/svelto.
 'Mary seems to be able to run fast.'
 Maria ha potuto correre *svelta/svelto.
 'Maria was able to run fast.'
 c. *Environment: V A NP*
 Ho fatto parlare ?*svelta/svelto Maria.
 'I made Mary speak fast.'
 d. *Environment: (NP) V NP V (A)*
 Promettiamo a Maria di parlare *svelti/svelto.
 'We promise Mary to speak fast.'

¹⁴ That Relative Clause Formation and *Wh* Movement are postcyclic rules is argued for in Keating (1974). Most of the arguments presented there can be reproduced for Italian. Since it is a ton of *Wh* Movement that triggers Subject-Verb Inversion in a sentence such as *Che cosa recita svelta/svelto* 'What does Mary recite fast?', we see that Subject-Verb Inversion must be postcyclic as long as *Wh* is postcyclic.

Topicalization and Adverb Fronting are root transformations in Italian, as seen in the fact that *svelta/svelto* cannot be preposed in (i) and (ii):

- (i) *Ha detto che Maria volevano che venisse.
 'He said that Mary they wanted to come.'
 (ii) *Ha detto che svelta/svelto parla Maria.
 'He said that fast speaks Mary.'

¹⁵ I am including auxiliaries in the category Verb here. However, if one wishes to maintain the category of Aux, then all the examples with auxiliaries here need to be placed under a separate heading as 'Environment: NP Aux V A'.

Note that in (17a) I am claiming that the presence of an auxiliary verb blocks agreement just as the presence of a main verb does. There is another possible explanation for the behavior of *svelto* agreement in the presence of auxiliaries, however, and this alternative is discussed in footnote 22 below.¹⁶

3.2. The Principle Accounting for Obligatory Agreement of *svelto*

The rule of G/N *svelto* accounts only for those cases in which *svelto* optionally agrees or may not agree. However, there are instances in which *svelto* must agree. First I will show that there is a principle needed independently of *svelto* that will account for all cases of obligatory agreement. Finally, I will show that the statement of this principle is global.¹⁷

¹⁶ In all the cases in the text *svelto* agreement does not interact crucially with any postcyclic rules. However, there are at least two apparent exceptions: G/N *svelto* must be prevented from applying until after Imperative and Clitic Placement to account for the lack of agreement in the following sentences:

- (i) (Maria,) parla **svelto/svelto*
'(Mary,) speak fast!
(ii) La prego di parlare **svelto/svelto*.
f.s. unmk.
her I beg to speak fast
I beg her to speak fast.
La sento parlare **svelto/svelto*.
f.s. unmk.
her I hear speak fast
I hear her speak fast!

Note that the fact that *svelto*'s controller is not really Maria but "you" in the imperative example does not account for the lack of agreement there, since *svelto* can optionally agree with second person subjects in sentences such as (iii):

- (iii) Maria, parli troppo *svelto/svelto*.
'Mary, you're speaking too fast.'
However, for both of these rules I found speakers who allowed G/N *svelto* to apply before or after them (that is, who did not require ordering), although the majority ordered G/N *svelto* after them. Thus I found speakers who accepted *svelto* and *svelto* in (i) and (ii) as well as in cases where even more elements intervene between the controller and *svelto*:
- (iv) Le ho comandato di parlare *svelto/svelto*.
f.s. unmk.
'I ordered her to speak fast.'

(Note that agreement is unacceptable for most speakers in (iv).) Since both Imperative (being a root transformation) and Clitic Placement (see Kayne (forthcoming)) are noncyclic rules, there is no problem in ordering G/N *svelto* before or after either of these rules.

Also note that agreement cannot be excluded from imperatives (for those who exclude it) on semantic grounds since (v) is acceptable:

- (v) (Maria,) sii svelta nel parlare!
'(Mary,) be fast in talking!'
¹⁷ In order to understand many of the examples with obligatory *svelto* agreement below, an understanding of past participle agreement is essential.
There are two basic rules for past participle agreement in Italian.
1. Past participles agree with the subject when the auxiliary is *essere* 'be':
(i) Maria è andata via.
f.s. f.s.
'Mary went away.'

3.2.1. Factors Affecting Obligatory Agreement. Consider the following sentence

- (18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/**svelto*.
f.s. f.s. f.s. unmk.
'Mary ran fast.'
La rondine è volata alta/**svelto*.
f.s. f.s. f.s. unmk.
'The swallow flew high.'

In noncomposite tenses, agreement is optional:

- (18) b. Maria corre svelta/*svelto*.
f.s. f.s. unmk.
'Mary runs fast.'
La rondine vola alta/alto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.
'The swallow flies high.'

There are three factors that distinguish (18a) from (18b): (18a) has a tense; (18a) has the auxiliary *essere* 'be'; and in (18a) the past participle is the subject.

We can easily see that the first factor, that (18a) has a composite tense significant in itself. All Italian verbs in composite tenses take either the auxiliary *essere* 'have', *Correre* 'run' and *volare* 'fly' are unusual many Italians they may take either *avere* or *essere*.¹⁸ Thus in (19) we see these with *avere*, while in (18a) they appear with *essere*:

- Note that whenever there is a reflexive clitic, the auxiliary is *essere*:
- (ii) Maria si è svegliata presto.
f.s. f.s.
'Mary herself woke up early'
'Mary woke up early.'
Past participles do not agree with the subject when the auxiliary is *avere* 'have':
(iii) Maria ha camminato oggi.
f.s. unmk.
'Mary walked today.'

2. Past participles agree with accusative clitic pronouns (optionally) if the pronoun is first or, for some people, obligatorily if the pronoun is third person for all people) regardless of the auxiliary:

- (iv) Maria li ha comprati.
f.s. m.p. m.p.
'Mary bought them.'
'Mary bought them.'
(v) Maria se li è comprati.
f.s. m.p. m.p.
'Mary bought them for herself.'

The auxiliary is *avere* 'have' in (iv), but *essere* 'be' (because of the reflexive clitic *si*) in (v). The easiest way to account for (v) is to let rule 1 apply first. Then rule 2 applies, wiping out agreement if the structural description of rule 2 is met.

¹⁸ There is a slight meaning difference between these verbs with *avere* and those same verb. However, this difference does not concern us here since nothing hinges upon (19)'s being semantical to (18a).

(26) *Agreement in the presence of agreeing adjective:*

Maria ha dovuto parlare piena di rimorsi ma svelta/*svelto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.

'Mary had to speak full of remorse but fast.'

In (25) and (26) the italicized elements, being verbs intervening between *svelto* and its controller other than *svelto*'s verb, would block agreement if agreement here were the result of G/N *svelto*. But agreement is not blocked; rather, it is obligatory. Thus the phenomena of agreement seen in (25) and (26) differ from agreement produced by G/N *svelto* both in the environment for the agreement and in the fact that G/N *svelto* is optional while these phenomena occur obligatorily. As (25d) shows, the obligatory agreement here must occur after Clitic Placement, since it is the placement of the accusative *l(a)* on the auxiliary that causes the past participle to agree in this sentence. Thus, the phenomenon causing the agreement here must not be cyclic.

3.2.2. *Sympathetic Agreement.* There is one principle that accounts for all cases of obligatory agreement of *svelto*. Before I state that principle, let me define some terms.

G/N agreement takes place between NPs or pronouns and adjectives, past participles, and As. That is, NPs and pronouns are triggers for G/N agreement rules; adjectives, past and passive participles, and As are targets for G/N agreement rules.²¹ When the structural description of a gender/number agreement rule is met (that is, when an NP or pronoun and an adjective, past participle, or A are in the proper environment), the rule applies. The proper environment for G/N agreement rules cannot be written as one environment. That is, there is more than one G/N agreement rule. For example, NP and ADJ in the same S form an obligatory environment for gender/number agreement provided that the ADJ modifies the NP. Third person accusative clitic and following past participle is another obligatory environment that in no way depends on a modifying relationship but applies to a certain structural configuration. In (12), our G/N *svelto* rule, we see an optional environment for gender/number agreement, which involves a certain structural configuration as well as the notion of controller.

Which environment allows gender/number agreement to take place is irrelevant to the principle described below. Once a gender/number rule applies, then agreement will appear on every gender/number target adjective, past participle, or A of the given gender/number trigger. This principle governing G/N rules is given in (27):

²¹ I am not offering a structural definition of the trigger/target relationship, because I do not know of any such definition. For adjectives the trigger is the same as the controller (as defined in section 3.1.3. above). However, past participles undergo agreement with preceding accusative clitics but these clitics are not controllers of the participles. Likewise, it would be difficult to argue that certain pre- and postnominal adjectives are controlled by the noun they agree with. The term *target* is used here to refer to an element that undergoes agreement. The term *trigger* is reserved for those elements that the targets agree with. I have no explanation for why certain elements are targets or triggers and others are not.

(27) *Sympathetic Agreement*

If an agreement trigger NP or pronoun triggers agreement on an a target, then all of the trigger's targets must undergo agreement.

This principle accounts for all of the obligatory cases of gender/number a on *svelto* presented here. In the four examples below, G/N targets which, together with their triggers, create an obligatory environment for gender/number agreement. G/N targets which, together with their triggers, create an optional environment for gender/number agreement are in small capitals.

Consider first (18a):

(18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/*svelto.
'Mary ran fast.'

In (18a) we find an obligatory environment for agreement. The trigger NP The target that must undergo agreement is the past participle *corsa*. Thus number agreement applies. Now, by Sympathetic Agreement the target *st* also receive agreement.

Next consider (24):

(24) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/*svelto.
'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

In (24) we again find an obligatory environment for gender/number agreement trigger NP is *Maria*; the target that must receive agreement is the adjective *pi* gender/number agreement applies. Again, by Sympathetic Agreement, if *svelto* must also receive agreement.

Third, consider (18b):

(18) b. Maria corre svelta/*svelto.
'Mary runs fast.'

In (18b) an optional environment for gender/number agreement appears. It is *Maria*; the target is *svelto*. If agreement does not apply, we get *svelto*, if it do we get *svelta*.

Finally, there is (19):

(19) Maria ha corso *svelta/svelto.
'Mary ran fast.'

In (19) no environment for gender/number agreement presents itself. Notice optional gender/number environment for G/N *svelto* in (12) is not met in (19) of the presence of the auxiliary verb *ha* 'has'.²²

²² In section 3.1.4. above and again here I claim that the presence of the auxiliary verb *avere* is such as (i) blocks agreement.

(i) Maria ha parlato *svelta/svelto.
'Mary spoke fast.'

If this is true, the auxiliary verb is behaving just like any other main verb.

- (33) Maria parla svelta/?svolto ma piena di rimorsi.
f.s. f.s. unmk. f.s.
'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.'
(34) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/*svolto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.
'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

In (33) and (34) we see agreement of *svelta* in the presence of the adjectival phrase *piena di rimorsi*. However, in (33), where the adjective falls to the right of *svelta*, *svelta* is questionable, while in (34), where the adjective falls to the left of *svelta*, *svelta* is totally rejected. Right to left is a less strong influence than left to right. In (32) *nudi* is to the right of *visti*, while in (18a) *cora* is to the left of *svelta*. Thus we expect non-agreement in (32) to be questionable, while nonagreement in (18a) should be unacceptable. That is exactly the case.

Whether this influencing factor of left over right should be built into Sympathetic Agreement, or whether this is another principle of Italian, is not clear to me.

3.2.4. *The Necessity and the Global Nature of Sympathetic Agreement.* I have already stated that there are at least three separate G/N agreement rules. One of them (Predicate Attribute Agreement, or PA) accounts for agreement between NPs and ADJs that modify them. Another accounts for agreement between accusative clitics and following past participles; we may call this Clitic Past Participle Agreement (CLPP). And a third accounts for agreement of As such as *svelta*. This is our G/N *svelta*. The environments for all these rules are distinct and cannot be collapsed into one environment with any formalism known to me. Thus we have three distinct rules. Sympathetic Agreement, stated in (27), accounts for instances in which a G/N target that usually optionally receives agreement, instead obligatorily receives agreement. The two targets I discussed that optionally receive agreement in most sentences are As, such as *svelta* in (1) and past participles following nonthird person accusative clitics, such as *visti* in (31):

- (1) Maria parla svelta/svelto.
'Mary speaks fast.'
(31) Vi ho visti/visto.
'I saw you (plural).'
(33) Maria parla svelta/?svolto ma piena di rimorsi.
f.s. f.s. unmk. f.s.
'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.'

We saw that in the presence of some obligatory G/N target of the same G/N trigger (in (1) the trigger is *Maria*; in (31) the trigger is *vi*) the optional target must receive agreement. This is exemplified below, where the obligatory G/N targets are in italics:

- (34) Maria parla *piena* di rimorsi ma svelta/*svolto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.

- (18) a. Maria è *cora* svelta/*svolto.
f.s. f.s. unmk.
'Mary isn't fast.'

- (32) Vi ho visti/?visto *nudi*.
m.p. m.p. unmk. m.p.
'I saw you nude.'

The alternative to having a principle such as (27) is to have separate accounts for each interaction of G/N rules. It is useful to see what these accounts would be:

- (31) Vi ho visti/visto.
'I saw you.'
(32) Vi ho visti/?visto *nudi*.
'I saw you nude.'

From these examples, we see that if PA applies, then CLPP obligatorily agrees with the same G/N trigger that operated in the applicat. Thus we require the extrinsic ordering of these two rules to be:

- (35) PA
CLPP

Then we require a condition on CLPP saying it is obligatory if there is an accusative clitic that has agreed with the same trigger. This condition is itself in that CLPP must be able to identify the trigger that operated in the applicat. PA. That is, not just any application of PA will do. For example, consider

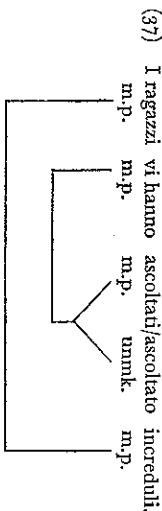
- (36) Le ragazze vi hanno ascoltati/ascoltato incredule.
f.p. m.p. m.p. unmk. f.p.
'The girls listened to you (m.p.) incredulously (the girls).'

In (36) the adjective *incredule* obligatorily undergoes agreement with the NP it which in this case is *le ragazze*. But CLPP only optionally applies to *ascoltati* with *vi* here. The distinction between (36) and (32) is that there are two triggers for the two G/N rules in (36), but there is only one trigger for the two in (32).

One might wish to say that there is no need to know the trigger of P, since the feminine plural ending on *incredule* tells us that it did not have the trigger (which is masculine plural). This explanation will not do, however, for

²⁹ I will not elaborate here as to what "in the vicinity" means, since I will show this is necessary if we have Sympathetic Agreement. These remarks hold as well for the following discussion of G/N *andio* and Subject Past Participle Agreement.

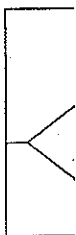
sentences in which there may be two separate triggers that have the same gender and number. For example:



'The boys listened to you (m.p.) incredulously (the boys).'

In (37) CLPP is optional because *increduli* (m.p.) is agreeing with *i ragazzi*, not with *vi*. But in (38) CLPP is much preferred on *visi* because *nudi* (m.p.) agrees with *vi* here, and not with *i ragazzi*.

- (38) I ragazzi vi hanno visti/?visto nudi.
 m.p. m.p. m.p. unmk. m.p.



'The boys saw you nude (you).'

(37) and (38) show that the G/N marking on the adjective is not enough alone to tell CLPP whether it must apply. CLPP must be able to identify the trigger of that adjective. Thus it needs to have access to information that was present at the point at which PA applied, regardless of whether this information is present after the application of PA. In this way, the condition on CLPP is a global one.

Now, let us consider (1), (33), and (34).

- (1) Maria parla svelta/svelto.
 'Mary speaks fast.'
 (33) Maria parla svelta/?svelto ma piena di rimorsi.
 f.s. f.s. unmk. f.s.
 'Mary speaks fast but full of remorse.'
 (34) Maria parla piena di rimorsi ma svelta/*svelto.
 f.s. f.s. unmk.
 'Mary speaks full of remorse but fast.'

Here we see that if PA applies, then *svelto* obligatorily receives agreement as long as the trigger for both targets (for the adjective *piena* and for *svelta*) is the same. I have already pointed out that the rule G/N *svelto* cannot account for obligatory agreement

of *svelto*, since the environment for G/N *svelto* is sensitive to which elements intervene between the trigger and the target (cf. (12) through (17)), but obligatory agreement on *svelto* does not observe this same environment (cf. (25) and (26)). Thus obligatory agreement on *svelto*, if it is not handled by some general principle such as (27) handled by a distinct G/N rule, which we may call Obligatory G/N *Svelto*.¹ again we require extrinsic ordering of the two rules:

- (39) PA
 Obligatory G/N *svelto*

The environment for Obligatory G/N *svelto* (or perhaps a condition on it) is that applies in the vicinity of an adjective that has agreed with the same trigger. (as with CLPP above, it is easy to show that applications of PA involving some separate trigger do not affect Obligatory G/N *svelto*.) We can see that this rule is again a *global* one. That is, the trigger of PA must be known to the later rule of Obligatory G/N *svelto*.

Finally, let us again consider (1) and (18a).

- (1) Maria parla svelta/svelto.
 'Mary speaks fast.'
 (18) a. Maria è corsa svelta/*svelto.
 'Mary ran fast.'

Let us call the rule accounting for agreement of the past participle and the subject (18a) Subject Past Participle Agreement (SPP) (see footnote 17 for a description of this rule). We can see from these two examples that if SPP applies, then *svelto* obligatorily receives agreement as long as the trigger for both targets (for the past participle and for *svelto*) is the same. Since we observe obligatory agreement of *svelto* in (1) we may assume the rule accounting for this agreement is Obligatory G/N *svelto*,² for simplicity's sake. Now we require the extrinsic ordering (40):

- (40) SPP
 Obligatory G/N *svelto*

The environment for Obligatory G/N *svelto* (or perhaps a condition on it) is that applies not only in the vicinity of an adjective (as shown above) but also in the vicinity of a past participle that has agreed with the same trigger. Again this second environment is that of a global rule, in that the trigger of the earlier rule, SPP, must be known to the later rule, Obligatory G/N *svelto*.

We have seen that without principle (27) we need three extrinsic order statements (35), (39), and (40)), we need to include the rule Obligatory G/N in the grammar of Italian, and we need three global devices: a global condition CLPP, a global statement of (or condition on) Obligatory G/N *svelto*, and a second distinct global statement of (or condition on) Obligatory G/N *svelto*. If, instead,

accept Sympathetic Agreement as stated in (27); this one principle does away with the need for the above extrinsic ordering statements; for the rule Obligatory G/N *stello*, and for the three separate global phenomena. For these reasons, I conclude that Sympathetic Agreement is the proper characterization of the phenomena described throughout section 3.2.

Sympathetic Agreement itself is a global principle in at least two ways. First of all, it is global in that it makes use of the notion of *stello*'s G/N trigger, which is precisely *stello*'s controller. Second, it is not an independent rule, but rather an effect triggered by any one of a number of different agreement rules. That is, it takes into account triggers and targets of various G/N agreement rules. If the environment has been met for obligatory G/N agreement between a given trigger and a target, then this principle ensures that agreement will apply to every target of that trigger regardless of other environment factors. Thus this principle applies throughout the derivation.

3.3. Summary of the Arguments

We have seen that optional, gender/number agreement on *stello* cannot be accounted for by a cyclic rule, since subject to subject Raising and Equi NP Deletion between subjects rule out such agreement. The crucial evidence against cyclicity was given in (7).

Then we found that the optional gender/number agreement rule could not apply postcyclically without access to earlier structural information that may well have been destroyed in the derivation. Specifically, the rule needs to know which NP was the cyclic subject of *stello*, or, in the case that *stello*'s cyclic subject has been deleted, which NP controlled deletion of *stello*'s subject, or, in the case that this NP has been deleted, which NP controlled that deletion, and so on. The NP that *stello* ultimately agrees with was called *stello*'s controller. The position of *stello*'s controller in the postcycle was crucial to agreement, as shown in (10) and (11). Thus G/N *stello* is a global rule applying postcyclically.

Obligatory gender/number agreement on *stello* was accounted for by an independently needed (cf. (30) and (32)) principle of Sympathetic Agreement, which ensures that if any agreement target of a given trigger undergoes agreement, then all the targets of that trigger will undergo agreement. This principle accounted for examples like (25) and (26) as well as (30) and (32). The principle is global in two ways. First, it makes use of the notion of *stello*'s controller, a global notion. Second, it is a principle that applies throughout an entire derivation and has access to the structure to which each agreement rule in the derivation applies.

Thus we have one global notion, that of "controller", which is used by the rule G/N *stello* as well as by the principle of Sympathetic Agreement. However, Sympathetic Agreement is global in a second way, as well, in that it must identify the triggers and targets of each gender/number agreement rule that takes place in a given derivation.

4. Conclusion

At this point, I wish to conclude only that the Italian data in this article call devices; thus, global devices must be included in an adequate theory of syntax. Whether global devices are limited to agreement phenomena and of formalism best expresses global devices are questions that remain to be a

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