Why would you D that? On the D-layer in Greek clausal subjects
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The distribution of the D-layer in clausal subjects is determined by its
Kastner (2015 • mostly on factive verbs.
Clausal subjects in some languages, including Greek, are reported to obligatorily have an overt
When the main predicate does not make any claims about the truth of the clausal subject, the
When the predicate entails the falsity of the subject, the D-layer is dispreferred.
The D-layer also does not correlate with the proposition being anaphoric to a previously uttered sentence, as we see examples of it is licensed in out of the blue scenarios like (1).

Previous accounts
The D-layer's context-dependency is not captured under purely syntactic approaches.
Hartman (2012); Kastner (2015) propose the D-layer is obligatory to turn a clausal subject into a DP to move to SpecTP as a subject. This does not explain that the D-layer is never obligatory, nor that the predicate or the belief state of the attitude holder may affect its distribution.
Kastner (2015) claims that the presence of the D-layer in clauses correlates with a factive presupposition. This is too strong to account for our data, since it is sufficient that the clausal subject is possibly true for the D-layer to be licensed, see (1).
The D-layer also does not correlate with the proposition being anaphoric to a previously uttered sentence, as we see examples of it is licensed in out of the blue scenarios like (1).

Proposed Analysis
Proposal: The distribution of the D-layer in clausal subjects is determined by its semantics.
The D-layer is not necessary for syntactic purposes; clausal subjects can be DPs (with a D-layer) or CPs (without it).
We assume that there is no silent D-head in Greek. The *[P CP] constraint shows that when a clausal subject is anaphoric to a previously uttered proposition, the D-layer is obligatory.
The D-layer is not necessary for syntactic purposes; clausal subjects can be DPs (with a D-layer) or CPs (without it).

Predicting preference
• How do we predict the difference between optimality (1) and preference (2) for a D-layer?
• We follow Lauer (2016) in assuming that MP is not a normative rule, but rather a 'linguistic preference' between forms that speakers have. This allows us to explain why the D-layer is never obligatory in the contexts where its presupposition is met, but rather only preferred.
• In (2) the presupposition of the D-layer is necessarily met, since the factive predicate imposes an even stronger presupposition on its subject. In (1), however, the predicate does not introduce any additional presupposition and it may still turn out that the subject p is incompatible with the beliefs of the speaker (or they want to convey impartiality).

Conclusion
• The D-layer in Greek clausal subjects introduces a pragmatically determined presupposition.
• More arguments and references in the handout. Scan the QR code!