Pseudo-relatives complement
of perception predicates

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

0. Abstract

Pseudorelatives (PRs) are single constituents formed by a DP (the head) and an embedded clause headed by the complementizer *que* (1). The relation between the head and the embedded clause is a relation of predication. PRs do not display a restrictive reading but a situational one.

(1)　　　He　　visto a [$_{PR}$ Juan que corría]
　　　　　I.have seen a　　Juan that ran
　　　　　'I saw Juan running'

Previous literature on pseudorelatives contains different explanations regarding their internal structure, the way PRs relate to the matrix predicate, the position PRs can occupy within the matrix clause and the function the head of the PR has within the embedded clause. The goal of this thesis is to go in depth through these four aspects in the light of the following three new observations:

i) Previous literature only considers the possibility of having subject-gap PRs (1) (the head of the PR is the subject of the embedded predicate). However, I propose the Object-gap PR generalization: object-gap PRs (2) (the head of the PR is either the direct or the indirect object of the emebdded predicate) are available in those languages allowing Object Clitic Doubling (Spanish, Greek). Those languages lacking Object clitic Doubling do not allow object-gap PRs (Italian, French or Portuguese).

(2)　　　a. He　visto a María$_i$ que *(la$_i$)　　　traían　　　　en coche
　　　　　　I.have seen a María that　　her-ACC brought.3.PL by car
　　　　　　'I saw María who was being brought by car'

　　　　　b. He visto　　a Paco$_i$ que *(le$_i$)　　　pedían　　　la hora unos chavales
　　　　　　 I.have seen a Paco that　　le-DAT asked.3PL the time some guys
　　　　　　'I saw Paco who was being asked the time by some guys'

ii) The head of the PR needs to be animate. Animacy becomes a crucial factor for object-gap PRs since if the object-head of the PR is not animate, the situational reading is not obtained (3).

(3)　　　He　visto el tren que lo　　　?? reparaban en cocheras/ llegaba　a cocheras
　　　　　I.have seen the train that lo-ACC　fixed-3.PL in sheds　　 / arrived　to sheds
　　　　　'I have just seen the train being fixed up in the shed / arriving to the shed '

iii) PRs can only appear in complement position of the matrix predicate.

Considering the consequences of these new observations, the previous control and raising analyses are discarded. A control analysis cannot account for objet-gap PRs because the controller can never control the direct object of the embedded predicate. The raising analysis is ruled out because it cannot explain the mandatory presence of object clitics within the embedded clause, the double case assignment of the head in subject-gap and indirect object-gap PRs or the motivation for the movement of the head to its superficial position. Thus, a dislocation analysis for PRs where the head of the PR is base-generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause is proposed to account for the availability of subject-gap and object-gap PRs and the presence of the clitics in the case of object-gap PRs and pro in the case of subject-gap PRs.

Further research includes an explanation for those languages that do not allow for object-gap PRs (e.g. Italian) but allow clitic left dislocation structures, the concrete properties that allow perception predicates to select for PRs or the secondary predication character of PRs .

Key words: Pseudo-relatives, object clitic doubling, perception predicates, clitic left dislocation.

1. Introduction

Pseudo-relatives (PRs) are constructions that superficially look like relative clauses (RCs). PRs are formed by a DP (the head) plus an embedded clause headed by a complementizer, which happens to be *que* (that). The relation between the head and the embedded clause is a relation of predication. A schematic representation of the PR structure is given in (1). PRs syntactic nature, the relation between the matrix predicate and the PR as a constituent or the syntactic function of element sitting in head position are three key aspects with respect to PRs underlying structure. The aim of this thesis is to go in depth through these three aspects bearing in mind three new descriptive generalizations, namely, the availability of subject-gap and object-gap PRs, the role animacy plays with respect to the head of the PR and the position the whole PR occupies within the matrix clause, in order to shed some light on the kind of analyses given to PRs.

(1) $(Subject) + V_{PERCEPTION} + [_{PR} DP + COMP + V_{TENSED\ \&\ IMPERFECTIVE\ ASPECT}]$

There are different types of PRs and it is unclear what kind of predicates can introduce them. For Cinque (1992), certain predicates like *convinvere, incontrare, cogliere* or *sopportare* can introduce PRs together with perception predicates (2).

(2)   a. Ho visto Gianni che correva a tutta velocità

'I saw Gianni running at full speed'

b. Ho convinto Gianni che doveva andarsene

'I convinced Gianni that he had better leave'

c. Se incontri Mario che scappa, non meravigliarti

'If you meet Mario that runs away, don't be surprised'

d. Non sopporto Gianni e Mario che fumano in casa mia

'I can't stand Gianni and Mario that smoke in my house'

Since the kind of properties that allow a certain predicate to select a PR complement are not clear yet, this thesis will focus on PRs complement of perception predicates. From now on, PRs complement of perception predicates will be simply refered as PRs.

PRs are present in a great variety of languages such as: Spanish, Galician, Dutch, Italian, French, Serbo-Croatian, Japanese, Korean, Greek or Portuguese, as opposed to languages like English, Basque or Chinese (Grillo & Costa 2014). The reasons accounting for this particular cross-linguistic distribution are yet unknown.

(3) a. He visto a Juan que corría — Spanish

b. He vist en Joan que corria — Catalan — (Rafel 1999: 166)

c. Ho visto - Gianni che correva — Italian — (adapted from Cinque 1992: 1)

d. Am vazut pe Ion ca fugea — Romanian — (Rafel 1999: 166)
I.have seen DOM John COMP ran

e. Vejo - João que chora/está a chorar — Portuguese — (Brito 1985: 40)

f. J'ai vu - Jean qui courait — French — (adapted from Guasti 1988: 35)

g. Eu vin eu Xoán que corria — Galician — (Rafel 1999: 166)

h. Idha ton Yani pu etreche — Greek — (Angelopoulos 2015: 1)
I.saw DOM John COMP ran

'I saw John running'

The structure of this thesis goes as follows. Section 2 portraits the main syntactic properties PRs have according to previous literature. Section 3 presents PRs main semantic characteristics paying attention to the semantics of perception predicates and similarities and differences between PRs, infinitival and completive complements. In section 4 I introduce the three new observations mentioned above: the availability of subject-gap and object-gap PRs, the role animacy plays with respect to the head of the PR and the position the whole PR occupies within the matrix clause. Section 5 breafly summarizes the main analyses given to the internal and external structure of PRs in previous literature as well as the advantages and disadvantages they have in view of the whole set of properties including the new ones presented in 4. Section 6 presents a new tentative analysis for PRs. Section 7 includes open issues and further extentions.

2. Characterizing PRs

PRs are event denoting complements formed by a DP-head and a *que*-clause which constitutes the PR predicate. This section is a review of the syntactic characteristics of PRs that have been considered in previous literature[1].

      i. The head of the PR and the *que*-clause forms a single constituent as shown by pronominalization (4), a pseudo-cleft structure (5) or anaphoric interpretation (6) (Brito 1995: 37-38). *Lo* in (4), (5) and (6) makes reference to the whole event of *Mary getting into the car.*

(4)   a. He   visto [PR a María que subía   al coche]
            I.have seen   Mary   that got.into the car
        b. **Lo**   he   visto.
           It/that   I.have seen. 'I have seen it'

(5)   **Lo**   que   he   visto es a María que subía   al coche
        It/what that I-have seen is a María that got.into   the car
        'What I saw is Mary getting into the car'

(6)   Desde aquí vi   a María que subía   al coche
        From here I.saw a María that got.into the car
        pero desde allí   no debías de poder   ver**lo**
        but   from there not should   be.able see.it
        'From here, I saw Mary getting into the car but from there you couldn't see it'

The insertion of adjuncts between the head and the predicate of the PR makes the structure ungrammatical, suggesting that nothing can interfere between the head and *que*-clause.

(7)   a. *He   fotografiado   a Juan in fraganti que robaba muestras de perfume
           I.have taken.pictures.of a Juan red-handed that stole   samples of perfume
           in the drugstore
           en la droguería
           'I took pictures of Juan in the act of stealing perfume samples in the drugstore'
        b. *He   visto a María de reojo   que la   servían
          I.have seen a María of out.of.the.corner.of.my.eye that her-ACC served-3.PL
          otra   copa a escondidas
          another drink in hiding
          'I look Mary out of the corner of my eye who was served another drink in hiding'

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1   Graffi (1980), Guasti (1988), Cinque (1992), Brito (1995), Rafel (1999), Koopman & Sportiche (2014), Angelopoulos (2015), Moulton & Grillo (2015, 2016)

ii. PRs unlike RCs (8), allow the presence of both common and proper nouns[2] (9).

(8)   He   visto [RC * a María/ a la chica que sonreía]

       I.have seen   a María   / a the girl that smiled

        'I saw *Mary/ the girl who smiled'

(9)   He   oído   [PR a María/a la chica que gritaba]

       I.have heard   a María/a the girl that shouted

       'I heard María/ the girl shouting'

iii. PRs do not allow relative pronouns such as *el cual,* (10b). PRs only allow the complementizer *que* (10a).

(10)   a. He   visto a Juan **que** reía

           I.have   seen a Juan   that laughed

           'I saw Juan laughing'

        b.* He   visto a Juan **el cual** reía]

            I.have seen a Juan who   laughed

            'I saw Juan laughing'

iv. PRs embedded predicate is restricted in tense and aspect terms. The PR predicate must be in the same temporal window the matrix verb is (11)[3] and it must show imperfective aspect (12).

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2   PRs containing common nouns can have ambiguous readings: a restrictive one (as a RC) or an eventive-situational one (as a PR).

    (i)   He visto a la chica que sonreía

          I.have seen a the girl   that smiled

          'I saw the girl who was smiling' or 'I saw the girl smiling'

    (i) can have a restrictive interpretation if what the perceiver sees is *the girl who was smiling,* that is, the girl who was smiling out of a group of girls who were doing different things. (i) can also have a situational/eventive interpretation if what the perceiver sees is a situation where *the girl is actually smiling.* In order to avoid this ambiguity proper nouns will be used when talking about PRs in the remainder of this work.

3   This kind of PRs is what Moulton and Grillo (2016) call 'matching PRs'. In Italian, 'mismathing PRs' where the matrix predicate is present perfect and the embedded predicate is present are available having the interpertation of event kinds (i). 'Mismatching PRs' are not available in Spanish carrying a situational interpretation.

    (i)   a. Tutti hanno visto Gianni che corre

            All   have seen Gianni that runs

            'Everyone has seen Gianni running'

          b. *Todos han visto a Gianni que corre

             All   have seen a Gianni thtat runs

             'Everyon ehas seen Gianni runnig'

(11)　　　a. He　　visto [+PAST] [PR al chico que sonreía [+PAST]]

　　　　　　I.have seen　　　　the boy　　smiling

　　　　　　'I saw the boy smiling'

　　　　　b. * He　　visto [PR al chico que sonreirá [+FUT]]

　　　　　　I.have seen　　the boy who will.smile

　　　　　　'I saw the boy that will smile'

(12)　　　a. * He visto [+PAST] [PR al chico que sonrió [+PAST, +PERF]]

　　　　　　I.have seen　　　　the boy who smiled

　　　　　　'I saw the boy that had smiled'

　　　　　b. He　　visto [+PAST] [PR al chico que sonreía [+PAST, +IMRF]]

　　　　　　I.have seen　　　　the boy who was smiling

　　　　　　'I saw the boy that was smiling'

　　　v. According to Cinque (1992), Rafel (1999) and Koopman & Sportiche (2014), PRs have the same distribution as small clauses (SC), that is, PRs can appear in the same contexts as SCs.

(13)　　　He　　visto a Juan que corría　/ con María/　tendido en el suelo/ corriendo

　　　　　　I.have　seen a Juan that ran /　with María/　stretched out /　　running

　　　　　　'I saw Juan running/ with María/ stretched out on the floor/running'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rafel 1999: 171)

　　　vi. PRs can be coordinated with SCs (14) (Cinque 1992: 8; Rafel 1999: 171).

(14)　　　Vi　　[SC al sospechoso dentro de un coche negro]

　　　　　　I.saw　　the suspect　　inside of a car　black

　　　　　　y　　[PR a una mujer que salía del banco]

　　　　　　and　a woman　　that left the bank.

　　　　　　'I saw the suspect inside a black car and a woman leaving the bank'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rafel. 1999. 171)

　　　vii. PRs can be coordinated with DPs (15) (Brito 1995; Moulton & Grillo 2015).

(15)　　　Desde aquí ya　　veo　a Carlos y　a su hijo Pablo que corre a nuestro encuentro

　　　　　　From　here already I.see a Carlos and a his son Pablo that runs to our　　finding

　　　　　　'From here, I see Carlos and his son Pablo running towards us'

viii. PRs (16b) as well as DPs (16a) and unlike CPs[4] (16c) can complement prepositions (Moulton & Grillo 2015: 5)

(16)   a. Oí   la historia de María

I.heard the story   about María

'I heard the story about María'

b. Oí   la historia de   María que hablaba con espíritus mil   veces

I.heard the story   about María that talked   with ghosts a.thousand times

'I heard the story about María talking to ghosts a thousand times'

c. *Oí   la historia de   que María hablaba con espíritus mil   veces

I.heard the story about that María talked   with ghosts a.thousand times

'I heard the story about María talking to ghosts a thousand times'

ix. Example (18) shows that PRs are islands for extraction[5] (Graffi 1980; Brito 1995). (17) shows that extraction of the complement of the embedded completive clause is possible giving a grammatical result. However, in the case of (18), the extraction of the complement of the embedded clause results ungrammatical.

(17)   a. Has   visto que Juan leía un libro de aventuras

You.have seen that Juan read a book of adventures

'You saw that Juan read an adventures book'

b. ¿Qué$_i$ has   visto que leía Juan t$_i$?

What$_i$ have.you seen that read Juan t$_i$?

What did you see that Juan read?

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4   Although only DPs can complement the preposition *di* in Italian,

(i)   L'evento   di Carlo che   balla   il   tango è da non perdere

'The event of Carlo dancing the tango is not to be missed'

(ii)   *L'evento   di Carlo è da non perdere

'The event of Carlo is not to be missed'

(iii) *L'evento di che   Gianni ha   sconfitto il   drago non è vero

'The event that G. defies the dragon is not true'

the situation concerning CPs as complements of prepositions is more complicated in Spanish.

(iv) Estoy de acuerdo con que ver demasiado la TV no es bueno

'I agree with the idea that watching TV too much is not good'

5   Notice that the only island constituents appearing in complement position are complex DPs.

(18)   a. Has   visto a Juan que leía un libro de aventuras

        You.have seen a Juan that read a book of adventures

        'You saw Juan reading an adventures book'

        b.*¿Qué$_i$ has   visto a Juan que leía t$_i$?

        What have.you seen a Juan that read

        'What did you see Juan reading?'

    x. The wh-word *qué,* which commomly substitutes DPs, replaces the whole PR (19).

(19)   ¿Qué   oyes?   A Pilar que canta mientras se ducha

        What hear-2.SG?   A Pilar that sings while taking.a.shower

        'What do you hear? Pilar singing while taking a shower'

    xi. PRs, unlike CPs, can occur in cleft positions which only allow DPs as shown in (20).

(20)   a. ?Era que Dios te   hablaba, lo   que oiste

        It.was that God to.you talked,   it-ACC that hear-2SG

        'It was that God talked to you, what you heard'

        b. Era   Dios que te   hablaba, lo   que oiste

        It.was God that to.you talked, it-ACC that heard.you

        'It was God talking you what you heard'

                                        (Angelopuolos 2015: 30)

11

3. PRs semantics

This section deals with some of the semantic aspects related to PRs that have been presented in previous literature[6] including: perception predicates semantics, the similarities and differences between PRs and completive clauses and the similarities and diferences between PRs and infinitival complements.

3.1 Perception predicates[7]

In the field of perception predicates, Barwise (1981) proposes a theory of Situation Semantics, based on the idea that when we look around we cannot see a single thing-in-itself. What we see is a scene, a complex of objects having properties and bearing relations to one another. The properties and relations are as important to what we see as the idealized thing-in-itself. In fact, what really counts is the whole complex of objects-having-properties-and-bearing-relations which constitutes the scene (Barwise 1981: 389). Besides, in Barwise's (1981) view, our knowledge of and beliefs about the world stem from our perceptions of the parts of the world (scenes and situations) with which we come in contact. (Barwise 1981: 369).

i. Perception predicates can display two different types of perception: non-epistemic (direct or epistemically neutral) (21a) and epistemic (indirect or epistemically positive) perception (21b) (Dretske 1969; Barwise 1981; Guasti 1988; Brito 1995; Carrasco & González 2011).

(21)   a. Veo   a Juan abrir   el correo todas las mañanas

I.see a Juan to.open the mail   all   the mornings

'I see Juan opening the mail every morning

b. Veo que Juan abre   el correo todas las mañanas

I.see that Juan opens the mail all   the   mornings

'I see that John opens the mail every morning'

In (21a) non-epistemic *see* refers to the primitive perceptual capacity which does not presuppose any intellectual belief. That is, the perceiver actually sees *Juan* opening letters every morning. In (21b) epistecmic *see* has to do with the direct or indirect acquisition of a certain belief (Guasti 1988: 38-39). What the perceiver sees is not *Juan* opening letters but evidence showing that *Juan* opened the mail (e.g. some open envelopes on the table). In Barwise's (1989) words, what we see is a scene *s* in the world. The difference between non-epistemically *see* and epistemically *see* is the difference between what is actually true in a situation *s* and what facts about *s* we are actually aware of at the

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6   Drestske (1969), Graffi (1980), Barwise (1981), Guasti (1988), Carrasgo y González (2011), Kratzer (2014), Moulton & Grillo (2015)

7   As far as perception predicates are concerned, Barwise (1981) proposes a theory of Situation Semantics to account for direct perception reports which were not satisfactorily explained by previous theories, which mainly dealt with propositional semantics. Even though some other authors studying PRs (Angelopoulos 2015; Moulton & Grillo 2015/2016) assume Situation Semantics instead of a theory of events, it does not seem to be the case that situations and events are incompatible. The important difference here is the contrast between events or situations on the one hand and propositions on the other: situations can mostly be 'translated' into events and viceversa. Thus, I will adopt Situation Semantics, being aware of the possibility of 'translating' the relavant parts into Event semantics.

Bear in mind, that for those cases where the predicate introducing the PR is not strictly a perception predicate (*see, hear)*, but some other predicate such as *meet, catch* or *imagine* a justification of how these other predicates behave as perception predicates is needed if Situation Semantics is strictly applied.

level of perceptual consciousness (Barwise 1989: 374-375).

ii. Non-epistemic perception predicates denote properties of situations. Situations as well as events are particular spatio-temporal entities with integrated participants. The main difference between events and situations[8] is that situations are always linked to perception processes (22a) that give us information about the world, whereas events are not necessarily linked to perception (22b).

(22)   a. Lo   que vimos   fue un accidente en el paso de cebra

             It-ACC that we.saw was an accident at the zebra-crossing

             'What we saw was an accident at the zebra crossing'

      b. Lo   que sucedió   fue un accidente en el paso de cebra

             It-ACC that happened.3-SG was an accident at the zebra-crossing

             'What happened was an accident at the zebra crossing'

As Maienborn (2011) observes, events have three ontological properties which situations share: i) events are perceivable, ii) events can be located in space and time, and iii) events can vary in the way they are realized. Expressions like infinitival complements (naked infinitives in Barwise's terms) are prime examples of situational complements of perception predicates: they combine with locative and temporal modifiers (23a), manner adverbials (23b) and comitatives (23c).

(23)   a. Vi   a Juan estudiar en la biblioteca / ayer

            I.saw a Juan study   at the library /yesterday

            'I saw Juan study at the library/ I saw John study yesterday'

      b. Vi   a Juan estudiar concienzudamente

            I.saw a Juan study thoroughly

            'I saw Juan study thoroughly'

      c. Vi   a Juan estudiar con sus compañeros de clase

            I.saw a Juan study with his mates   of class

            'I saw Juan study with his classmates'

PRs are situational complements too (24).

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8 Kratzer (2014) observes that the main difference between situations and Davidsonian events is that Davidsonian basic predications have a built-in minimality condition which situations lack. A situation is a minimal situation in which a proposition p is true iff it has no proper parts in which p is true (See Kratzer 2014).

(24)   a. Vi   a Juan que estudiaba en la biblioteca/ ayer

I.saw a Juan that studied   at the library   / yesterday

'I saw Juan studying at the library/ I saw John studying yesterday'

b. Vi   a Juan que estudiaba concienzudamente

I.saw a Juan that studied thoroughly

'I saw Juan thoroughly studying'

c. Vi   a Juan que estudiaba con sus compañeros de clase

I.saw a Juan that studied   with his mates   of class

'I saw Juan studying with his classmates'

iii. Non-epistemic perception predicates give raise to entailment partterns: (25a) and (25b) entail (25c), whereas epistemic perception predicates do not give rise to entailment patterns (26) but to defeasible inferences that can be obtained due to the context but they cannot be derived by logic. (Carrasco & González 2011: 1).

(25)   a. Vi   a María cruzar la calle

I.saw a María cross the street

'I saw María cross the street'

b. Vi   a María que cruzaba la calle

I.saw a María that crossed the street

'I saw María crossing the street'

c. ⊨ Vi   a María

I saw a María

'I saw María'

(26)   a. Vi   que María cruzaba la   calle

I.saw that María crossed the street

'I saw that María crossed the street'

b. ⊭ Vi   a María

I.saw a María

'I saw María'

iv. Barwise (1979) already pointed out that it is possible to non-epistemically perceive a certain situation and be aware of what is actually happening (27a), but it is not possible to epistemically perceive a situation and be aware of a different incompatible fact at the same time (27b) (Graffi 1980: 124).

14

(27)   a. María ha visto a Juan que robaba el coche de Pedro,

           María has seen a Juan that stole   the car of Pedro,

           pero era   consciente de que se lo   llevaba porque estaba mal   aparcado
           but she.was aware   of that se it-ACC brought because it.was illegaly parked

           'Maria saw Juan stealing Pedro's car, but she was aware of the fact that he took it
           because it was illegaly parked'

         b. ?María ha visto que Juan robaba el coche de Pedro,

           María has seen that Juan stole   the car of Pedro,

           pero era   consciente de que se lo   llevaba porque estaba mal   aparcado
           but, she.was aware   of that se it-ACC took   because it.was illegaly parked

           'María saw that Juan stole Pedro's car, but she was aware of the fact that he took it
           because it was illegaly parked'

       v. In Barwise's (1981) view, direct perception reports describe relations between perceivers and individual situations whereas indirect perception reports describe relations between perceivers and propositions or sets of situations (Moulton & Grillo 2015: 18).

3.2 Similarities and differences between PRs and completive clauses.

       i. PRs, infinitival and gerundive[9] clauses are situational-objects of non-epistemic perception predicates. Propositional-completive clauses are the object of epistemic perception (Guasti 1988; Moulton & Grillo 2015). PRs as complements of perception predicates (28a/29a) are closer to infinitival (28b/29b) and gerundive (28c/29c) complements than to completive-propositional clauses (28d/29d) despite the superficial similarities.

(28)   a. *He visto a María que podía   bailar

           I.have seen a María that could-3SG to.dance

           'I saw María that she could dance'

         b.*He visto a María poder   bailar

           I.have seen a María to.be.able to.dance

           'I saw Mary to be able to dance'

         c. *He visto a María pudiendo   bailar

           I.have seen a María being.able to.dance

           'I saw María being able todance'

         d. He   visto que María podía   bailar

           I.have seen that María could-3SG to.dance

           'I saw that Mary could dance'

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9 I am focusing on infinitival and PR complements, leaving aside gerundive clauses. For more information about gerundive complements see Portner (1992).

(29)   a. * He   oído   a María que debía cantar

                 I.have heard a María that had   to.sing

                 'I heard María that had to sing'

          b. * He   oído a María deber cantar

                 I.have heard a María to.have to.sing

                 'I heard María to have to sing'

          c.* He   oído a María debiendo cantar

                I.have heard a María having to.sing

                 'I heard María having to sing'

          d. He   oído   que María debía cantar

                I.have heard that María had   to.sing

                'I heard that María had to sing'   (adapted from Guasti 1988: 39)

(28a), (28b) and (28c) and (29a), (29b) and (29c) are ruled out because it is not possible to directly perceive an attitude or obligation, whereas it is possible to perceive an attitude or obligation indirectly as in (28c) and (29c).

     ii. PRs, unlike propositional-completive clauses, cannot complement attitude predicates such as *asegurar* (claim) (30) or *adivinar* (guess) (31).

(30)   a. Juan ha asegurado que María corría

                Juan has claimed   that María ran

                'Juan claimed that María ran'

          b.*Juan ha asegurado María que corría

                Juan has claimed   Maria   that ran

                'Juan claimed Mary running'

(31)   a. Juan ha   adivinado que María corría

                Juan has guessed   that María ran

                 'Juan guessed that María ran'

          b. * Juan ha adivinado María que corría

                Juan has guessed María that ran

                'Juan guessed María running'

     iii. Stage-level predicates and states are allowed within the PR predicate (32a), but statives are not (32b).

(32)   a. He   visto a Juan que nadaba / esperaba   al   autobús
               I.have seen a Juan that swam /   waited.for the bus
               'I sawJuan swimming / waiting for the bus '

         b. *He visto a Juan que tenía 15 años
               I.have seen a Juan that was 15 years.old
               'I saw Juan being15 years old'

This contrast is not present in the case of completive clauses where both stage-level predicates as well as individual level predicates are allowed within the embedded clause (33).

(33)   He   visto que Juan nada / tiene 15 años
         I have seen that Juan swims / is 15 yeas old
         'I saw that Juan swims / is 15years old'

     iv. As mentioned before in 2.1.iii, inferences can not be derived from PRs, infinitival or gerundive complements of direct perception (34a), (34b) and (34c), but they can be derived from completive complements of indirect predication (34d).

(34)   a. *Mirando por   la ventana,   Juan ha visto a María que no salía del cine
             Looking through the window, Juan has seen a María that not left of.the cinema

             'While Juan was looking through the window, he saw María that didn't leave the cinema'

         b. *Mirando por   la ventana,   Juan ha visto a María no salir del   cine
             Looking through the window, Juan has seen a María not to.leave of.the cinema
             'While Juan was looking through the window, he saw María not to leave the cinema'

         c. * Mirando por   la ventana,   Juan ha visto a María no saliendo del   cine
             Looking through the window, Juan has seen a María not leaving of.the cinema
             'While Juan was looking through the window, he saw María not leaving the cinema'

         d. Mirando por   la ventana,   Juan ha visto que María no salía del   cine
            Looking through the window, Juan has seen that María not left of.the   cinema
            'While Juan was looking through the window, he saw that María didn't leave the cinema'

                                                                 (Adapted from Graffi 1980: 124)

Examples (34a), (34b) and (34c) are ungrammatical because in such constructions *María* is not directly perceivable. However, in the case of (34d) the absence of *María* is indirectly percivable (infered) since *Juan* can perfectly be looking at some people leaving the cinema and infere that *Maria* is not coming out.

17

Thus, it can be summed-up that PRs are closer to infinitival and gerundive clauses because all of them behave the same in the presence of non-epistemic perception predicates.

3.3 PRs and infinitival complements: similariries and differences.

PRs and infinitival complements share some additional properties related to veridicality and transparency, but there are also decisive differences between them such as their behavior under quantification, negation, conditional, *ever* and future operators, that lead to the DP nature of PRs tearing them apart from infinitival complements.

i. PRs (35b) as well as infinitival clauses (35a) are veridical. The Principle of Veridicality states that if a sees φ , then φ (Barwise 1989: 376). According to Barwise (1981)[10], infinitival perception statements are veridical. If the Veridicality Principle is extended to PRs the same results are obtained.

(35)　　　a. He　visto a Juan　correr　⇒ Juan corría

　　　　　　I.have seen a Juan　to.run ⇒ Juan ran

　　　　　'I saw Juan run, then Juan ran'

　　　　　b. He　visto a Juan que corría ⇒Juan corría

　　　　　I.have seen a Juan that ran ⇒ Juan ran

　　　　　'I saw Juan running, then Juan run'

ii. Infinitival perception statements (36a) as well as PRs (37) are transparent (Moulton and Grillo 2015: 1) . Transparency has to do with the substitution of different descriptions of the same individual within the same context without affecting the truth value of the sentence as a whole. The principle of substitution states that if *a* sees φ (t₁) and t₁ = t₂ then *a* sees φ (t₂). (Barwise 1989: 377).

(36)　　　a. Beryl saw Meryl sprinkle the white powder on Cheryl's dinner

　　　　　The white powder was the most deadly poison

───────────────────────────────────────

　　　　　Beryl saw Meryl sprinkle the most deadly poison on Cheryl's dinner

　　　　　b. Beryl saw that Meryl sprinkled the white powder on Cheryl's dinner

　　　　　The white powder was the most deadly poison

───────────────────────────────────────

　　　　　≠ Beryl saw that Meryl sprinkled the most deadly poison on Cheryl's dinner

(Kratzer 2016)

(36a) shows that infinitival complements of perception predicates are transparent since they allow the substitution of a description of *the white powder* for *the most deadly poison* within the same context without affecting the truth value of the sentence as a whole. Since propositional

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10 Barwise (1981) proposes theVeridicality Principle for infinitival complements of perception. These constructions are called NI (naked infinitives) in Barwise's terms.

complements are not transparent, (36b) has an interpretation that renders the inference in invalid.

(37)   Beryl vio a Meryl que espolvoreaba el polvo blanco en la cena de Cheryl

Beryl saw a Meryl that sprinkled the powder white in the meal of Cheryl

'Beryl saw Meryl sprinkling the white powder in Cheryl's meal'

El polvo   blanco era el veneno más mortífero del   mercado

The podwer white was the poison most deadly   of.the market

'The white powder was the most deadly poison in the world'

Beryl vio a Meryl que espolvoreaba el veneno más mortífero en la cena de Cheryl

Beryl saw a Meryl that sprinkeled the poison most deadly in the meal of Cheryl

'Berylsaw Meryl srpinkling the most deadly poison in Cheryl's meal'

Thus, direct perception reports, namely PRs and infinitival complements, are transparent whereas indirect perception reports are not.

iii. Under universal quantifiers, PRs (39) do not display quantifier-scope ambiguities whereas infinitival complements do (38).

(38)   Todo dios ha visto a Jorge bailar

Everyone has seen   Jorge to.dance

'Everyone saw Jorge dancing'

$\forall > \exists$; multiple events of dancing: one for each individual

$\exists > \forall$; a single event of dancing for everybody

(39)   Todo dios ha visto a Jorge que bailaba

Everyone has seen Jorge that danced

'Everyone saw Jorge dancing'

*$\forall > \exists$; multiple events of dancing: one for each individual

$\exists > \forall$; a single event of dancing for everybody

(Adapted from Moulton & Grillo 2015: 20)

Infinitival complements (38) show ambiguity: the universal quantifier can take scope over the existential quantifier (multiple events of dancing) or the existential quantifier can take scope over the universal quantifier (a single event of dancing). However, PRs (39) resist interpretations that emerge whenever the universal quantifier takes scope over the existential quantifier.

iv. Infinitival clauses can scope below negation (40) but PRs cannot scope under negation without yielding to contradiction as shown in (41).

(40)   Juan no vio a Lea bailar, porque Lea no llegó a bailar

Juan not saw Lea dance because Lea not get to dance

'Juan didn't see Lea dance because Lea didn't get to dance'

(41)   ?Juan no vio a Lea que bailaba, porque Lea no llegó a bailar.

 Juan not saw Lea that daced because Lea not get to dance

'Juan didn't see Lea dancing, because Lea didn't get to dance'

<div align="right">(Adapted from Moulton & Grillo. 2015.20)</div>

In Barwise's (1989) terms, in the case of infinitival complements (42), if *a* sees ¬ φ , then ¬ (*a* sees φ), but this generalization does not work for PRs (41).

v. In conditional contexts, infinitival complements do not force the presupposition of the event of *Juan dancing* (42) whereas when PRs are inserted, the presupposition of such an event is forced (43) (Moulton & Grillo. 2015. 20).

(42)   Si Carla hubiera visto a Alejandro bailar, se habría enfadado,
        If Carla had   seen Alejandro dance, she.would.have got.angry
        pero por suerte no   bailó
        but luckily   not he.dance

'If Carla had seen Alejandro dance, she would have got angry, but luckily he didn't dance'

(43)   Si Carla hubiera visto a Alejandro que bailaba se habría   enfadado,
        If Carla had   seen a Alejandro that danced she.would.have got.angry
        # pero por suerte no   bailó
        # but luckily   not he.dance

'If Carla had seen Alejandro dancing, she would have got angry, but luckily he didn't dance'

vi. In contexts where *ever* appears, infinitives give rise to non-specific interpretations making the question felicitous (44B). In contrast, when PRs are inserted in the question (44B') the resulting construction is infelitious, suggesting that PRs are referential, just like specific indefinite DPs (44B") (Moulton & Grillo 2015: 6).

(44)	A: Juan quiso	realmente bailar con María en la boda

	Juan wanted.to really	dance with María at the wedding

	'Juan really wanted to dance with María at the wedding'

	B:	Pero, ¿la había	visto alguna vez bailar?

		But,	her-ACC he.had	seen ever	dance

		'But had he ever seen her dance?'

	B': ? Pero, ¿la había visto alguna vez que bailaba?

		But, her-ACC he.had seen ever that she.danced

		But, had he ever seen her dancing

	B": ? Pero, ¿había visto alguna vez un baile de María?

		But,	he.had seen	ever a	dance by María

		'But, had he ever seen a dance by María?'

<div align="right">(Adapted from Moulton & Grillo 2015: 6)</div>

vii. Under future operators, PRs display a specific scheduled-event interpetation (45a) whereas infinitives do not (45b), suggesting again that PRs are referential expressions resembling referential DPs (45c).

(45)	a. María querrá	ver	a Juan bailar

		María will.want to.see a Juan to.dance

		'María will want to see Juan dance'

		(Juan might or might not dance)

	b. María querrá	ver	a Juan que bailará

		María will.want to.see	a Juan that will.dance

		'María will want to see Juan dancing'

		(Juan will dance, it is scheduled)

	c. María quiere ver	la obra de teatro

		María wants to.see the play

		'María wants to see the play'

		(it is scheduled)

	d. María quiere ver	una obra de teatro

		María wants to.see a	play

		'María wants to see a play'
		(any will do)

<div align="right">(adapted from Moulton & Grillo 2015: 7)</div>

4. Differences between Spanish and Italian PRs: Three new observations.

This section introduces three new observations on PRs, namely, the availability of subject-gap and object-gap PRs depending on Clitic Doubling, the importance of animacy regarding the head of the PR and the positions the PR as a constituent can occupy within the matrix clause.

4.1 Subject-gap and Object-gap PRs.

The literature concerning PRs interprets the DP preceding the complementizer *que* as the subject of the embedded predicate. This is what I call from now on a subject-gap PR (46). (Graffi 1980; Guasti 1988; Cinque 1992; Brito 1995; Rafel 1999; Koopman & Sportiche 2014, Moulton & Grillo 2015).

(46)　　　a. He visto　　a Juan que saludaba a María

　　　　　　I.have seen a Juan that greeted   a María

　　　　　　'I saw John greeting María'

　　　　　b. Ho　　visto María che usciva dal　　cinema

　　　　　　 I.have seen María that   left of.the cinema

　　　　　　'I saw María leaving the cinema'

　　　　　c. J'ai　　vu　　Marie qui embrassait Jean

　　　　　　I.have seen Marie that kissed　　　Jean

　　　　　　'I saw Marie kissing Jean'

　　　　　d. Vejo o João que se aproxima

　　　　　　 I.see o João that approaches

　　　　　　'I see João approaching'

However, direct object-gap PRs (DO-gap PRs) where the DP preceding the complementizer *que* is interpreted as the direct object of the embedded predicate (47), traditionally lead to ungrammaticality.

(47)　　　a. He　　visto a Juan$_i$ que saludaba María t$_i$

　　　　　　I.have seen a Juan that María   greeted t$_i$

　　　　　　 'I saw Juan that Mary greeted him'

　　　　　b. *Ho　　visto Luigi$_i$ che Maria salutava t$_i$

　　　　　　 I.have seen Luigi that Maria   greeted t$_i$

　　　　　　 'I saw Luigi that Mary greeted him'

　　　　　c. *J'ai　　vu　　Marie$_i$ qui Jean embrassait t$_i$

　　　　　　 I.have seen Marie$_i$ that Jean kissed   t$_i$

　　　　　　 'I saw Marie that Jean kissed her'

　　　　　d. * Vejo o teu filho$_i$ que os meninos estao a magoãr t$_i$

　　　　　　　 I.see o your son that the kids   are   to hurt t$_i$

　　　　　　　 'I see you son getting hurt by the kids'

But, there is a clear contrast between (48a) and (48b) showing that whenever the DO clitic coindexed

with the head of the PR is present, the structure results grammatical (48a), otherwise, if the DO clitic is removed, the structure turns out ungrammatical (48b), as happens in (47).

(48)   a. He   visto a María$_i$ que **la**$_i$ traían   en coche a la facultad

            I.have seen a María that her-ACC brought-3pl by car   to the faculty

            'I saw María who was brought to the faculty by car'

      b.*He   visto a María que traían   en coche a la facultad

            I.have seen a María that brought-3pl by car   to the faculty

            'I saw María who was brought to the faculty by car'

Angelopoulos (2015) independently obeserves that DO-gap PRs are available in Greek. Greek DO-gap PRs are subject to the same condition Spanish DO-gap PRs are: the presence of the DO clitic coindexed with the head of the PR is mandatory.

(49)   a. *Idha   tin Maria   pu   filuse   o   Yanis

             saw-1SG. the Maria-ACC that   was.kissing-3.SG   the Yanis

             'I saw Maria that John was kissing her'

      b. Idha   tin Maria$_i$ pu   ti$_i$ filuse   o Yanis

             saw-1SG. the Maria-ACC. that   her-ACC was.kissing-3.SG the Yanis

             'I saw Maria that John was kissing her'

                                      (Angelopoulos 2015: 52)

        Thus, on the one hand, languages like Spanish or Greek allow both subject-gap PRs and DO-gap PRs in the presence of the clitic. On the other hand, subject-gap PRs are available in languages like Italian, French or Portuguese but DO-gap PRs are not. Since the presence/absence of the clitic coindexed with the head of the PR appears to be the key for the availability of DO-gap PRs, then the object-gap PR generalization (50) follows:

(50)   Those languages where PRs and object clitic doubling are available (e.g. Spanish or Greek) allow DO-gap PRs. Those languages where PRs are available but lack object clitic doubling (e.g. Italian, French or Portuguese) do not allow DO-gap PRs.

An indication that points to (50) being on the right path, comes from Graffi (1980) who observes that if it were the case that the DO of the embedded predicate were the head of the PR, then the insertion of a DO clitic, would notably ameliorate the construction.

(51)   ?Ho   visto Giovanni che suo padre lo picchiava.

        I.have seen Giovanni that his father him-ACC hit

        'I saw Giovanni whose father was hitting him'   (Graffi 1980: 133)

In (51) *Giovanni*, which is the head of the PR, is the DO of the embedded predicate *picchiava.* According to Graffi, the insertion of the DO clitic *lo* coindexed with the head of the PR is what ameliorates the structure, turning it from ungrammatical (lacking the clitic) to marginal. This

observation strongly supports (50) since even in a language which lacks Object Clitic Doubling, the only possibility of getting the closest strucutre to a DO-gap PR would be precisely to make use of an object clitic.

In fact, once (50) is applied to the whole PR picture, it can be observed that PRs are not only restricted to the subject or the DO of the embedded predicate, but they are also available with the indirect object (IO) of the embedded predicate (52).

(52)   a. He   visto a Paco que le   pedían la hora unos chavales a la   puerta

I.have seen a Paco that him-DAT asked the time some boys   at   the door

de la biblioteca

of the library

'I saw some guys asking Paco the time at the library door'

b.*He visto a Paco que pedían la   hora   unos chavales a la   puerta

I.have seen a Paco that asked the time   some boys   at the door

de la biblioteca

of the library

'I saw some guys asking Paco the time at the library door'

The contrast between (52a) and (52b) shows that again, if the dative clitic *le* is inserted within the *que*-clause (52a), the construction results grammatical. However, if the dative clitic is not present within the *que*-clause, the construction results ungrammatical. In other words, in order to obtain grammatical IO-gap PRs, the presence of the doubling dative clitic *le* coindexed with the head is determining, as happend with DO-gap PRs.

4.2 PRs and Animacy

Once object-gap PRs are consider, an important issue concerning animacy arises: the head of the PR must be animate in order to obtain the situational reading PRs have. The fact that traditionally, only subject-gap PR have been considered in the literature, together with the restrictions imposed on the embedded predicate (the embedded predicate cannot be a stative predicate) might have masked the need of animacy of the element in head position, since most of the subjects being agents are already animates.

Animacy plays a crucial role in object-gap PRs: the situational reading that characterizes PRs only emerges whenever the head of the PR is animate. Examples in (53) are instances of DO-gap PRs. The situational reading is not obtained in either (53a) where the head of the DO-gap PR *el coche* is inanimate. Not even the presence of the clitic *lo* coindexed with the head makes a difference. The only available reading for (53a), if any, is that of a restrictive RC. However, in (53b), where the head of the PR *Maria* is animate, the situational reading emerges without problems.

(53)   a. ??He   visto el coche_i que lo_i   aparcaban marcha atrás unos chavales

          I.have seen the car   that lo-ACC parked   backwards   some guys

          'I saw the car that was parked backwards by some guys'

        b. He   visto a María que la   traían   en coche unos chavales

          I.have seen a María that la-ACC brought-3.PL by car   some guys

          'I saw María who was brought by car by some guys'

Examples in (54) are instances of IO-gap PRs. Again, the situational reading is not obtained in (54a) where the the head *el coche* is inanimate. By contrast, the situational reading emerges in (54b), where the head of the PR *Maria* is animate.

(54)   a. ??He   visto el coche que le   daban   un golpe mientras sacaba   la basura

          I.have seen the car   that le-DAT gave.3-PL a stroke while   I.took.out the rubbish

          'I saw the car that was hit while I took the rubbish out'

        b. He   visto a Paco que le   daban   un golpe (unos chavales) mientras sacaba

          I.have seen a Paco that le-DAT gave.3-PL a stroke (some guys)   while   I.took out

          la basura

          the rubbish

          'I saw Paco who was beaten while I took the rubish out'

In fact, if an inanimate head turns into an animate one, then the situational reading automatically follows (55).

(55)   a. ??Acabo de ver   el tren que lo reparaban   en cocheras

          I.have just seen the train that lo-ACC fixed-3.PL in sheds

          'I have just seen the train being fixed up in the shed'

        b. Acabo de ver   el tren que llegaba a cocheras[11]

          I.have just seen the train that arrived to sheds

          'I have just seen the train arriving to the shed'

In (55a), the head of the PR *the train* is an inanimate, and therefore, the only possible reading is that of a restrictive relative clause. But in (55b), *the train* truns into an animate since it becomes the element performing the role of agent of the action of arriving. Thus, both the restrictive reading and the situatonal one are available. In conclusion, it seems that animacy with respect to the head of the PR contributes to the situational reading and becomes decisive in the case of object-gap PRs.

4.3 The position of PRs within the matrix clause

The next point in this section has to do with the position PRs can occupy within the matrix structure.

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11 Recall that when the head of the PR is a DP including a common noun, then, both the restrictive reading of a RC and the situational reading of a PR are available.

According to Moulton & Grillo (2016), Italian PRs can appear in either subject (56) or object (57) position within the matrix clause.

(56) [Io che fumo per strada] é uno spettacolo che non raccomando

  I that smoke in the.street is a   sight that not recommend-1sg

  'Me smoking in the street is a sight I cannot recommend'

(57) Ha visto [me che fumavo per strada]

  He.has seen me that smoke-impf in the.street

  'He saw me smoking in the street'

(Moulton & Grillo. 2016: 11)

However, PRs can only appear in complement position of the matrix predicate as in (58). According to native speakers of Spanish, PRs appearing in subject position are marginal either in active (59a) or passive voice (59b).

(58) Los reporteros fotografiaron a Superman que aterrizaba sobre un rascacielos

  The journalists took.pictures.of a Superman that landed on a skyscraper

  'The journalists took pictures of Superman landing on a skyscraper'

(59) a. ??Superman que aterriza sobre un rascacielos es una estampa para no perderse

    Superman that lands on a skyscraper is a sight to not miss

    'Superman landing on a skyscraper is a sight not ot miss'

  b. ??Superman que aterrizaba sobre un rascacielos fue fotografiado por la multitud

    Superman that landed on a skyscraper was photographed by the crowd

    'Superman landing on a skyscraper was photographed by the crowd'

The only possibility for (59) to be acceptable is to interpret the predicate of the PR as an appositive RC inserting a pause right after *Superman.* This interpretation can be applied to example (56), where the PR predicate displays a temporal reading (60).

(60) Yo, cuando fumo por la calle, soy un espectáculo que no recomiendo

  I, when I.smoke in the street, I.am an image that not I.recommend

  'When I smoke in the street, I am an image that I don't recommend'

Graffi (1980) and Brito (1995) mention that PRs are not parenthetic comments about their head, but predicates of their heads. Thus, PRs do not allow any kind of prosodic pause between the head and the predicate (Brito 1995: 28).

The PRs in (56) and (57) are not the same syntactic object. Maybe, the difference between PRs in subject position and PRs in complement position is that the situational reading complement PRs have is the product of the relation established between the matrix predicate introducing the PR and the PR itself (whatever it is: e.g. the relation between the matrix predicate and AspP of the embedded predicate). Otherwise, the situational interpretation of PRs is not reached.

Under Moulton & Grillo's (2016) view, in the case of PRs in subject position, the head of the

PR can agree with both the embedded predicate and the matrix one (61) or it can just agree with the embedded predicate leaving the matrix verb with 3rd person singular agreement (62).

(61)   a.[Carlo e   Paolo che bestemmiano] sono   un evento da non perdere.
           Carlo and   Paolo that swear   be.3PL   an event   to not miss
           'Carlo and Paolo swearing are an event not ot miss'

        b.[Tu che   balli] sei un evento da non perdere.
           You that dance be.2SG an event   to not miss.
           'You dancing are an event not to miss'

        c.[Io che ballo] sono   un evento da non perdere.
           I that dance   be.1SG an event   to not miss.
           'Me dancing is an event not to miss.'

(62)   a.[Carlo e Paolo che bestemmiano] è   un evento da non perdere.
           Carlo and Paolo that swear   be.3SG an event   to not miss
           'Carlo and Paolo swearing is an event not ot miss'

        b.[Tu che balli]   è   un evento da non perdere.
           You that dance be.3SG an event   to not miss.
           'You dancing is an event not to miss'

        c.[Io che ballo]   è   un evento da non perdere.
           I that dance   be.3SG an event   to not miss.
           'Me dancing is an event not to miss.'

(Moulton & Grillo 2016: 10-11)

However, since the presence of PRs in subject position is marginal for native Spanish speakers, the results of the agreement patterns presented in Italian are marginal too, as shown in (63) and (64)[12].

(63)   a. ?*Carlos y Paula que cuentan chistes son una estampa para no perderse
            Carlos and Paula that telljokes   are a   sight   to   not miss
            'Carlos and Paula telling jokes are a sight not to miss'

        b.?* Tu   que bailas eres una estampa para no perderse.
            You that dance are a   sight   to   not miss
            'You dancing are a sight not to miss'

        c. ?*Yo que canto rancheras soy   un cuadro para no   perderse
            I that sing rancheras I.am a   sight to   not miss
            'Me singing rancheras is a sight not to miss'

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12 I conducted a test to check the grammaticality judgements of the structures in (63) and (64). The test was performed by Spanish native speakers. According to the results I obtained, examples in (63) were judged as marginal-acceptable whereas examples in (64) were judged as marginal-ungrammatical in general terms.

(64)   a.* Carlos y Paula   que cuentan chistes es una estampa para no perderse.

                Carlos and Paula that tell jokes is a   sight to   not miss

                'Carlos and Paula telling jokes is a sight not to miss'

       b. *Tu que bailas es una imagen para no perderse.

                You that dance is a   sight to   not miss

                'You dancing is a sight not to miss'

       c.* Yo que canto rancheras es un cuadro para no perderse.

                Me that sing rancheras is a   sight to   not miss

                'Me singing rancheras is a sight not to miss'

The intended meaning of these constructions is not the temporal reading obtained in the paraphrasis in (65) but the eventive one corresponding to the gerundive[13] clauses presented in (66).

(65)   a.* Carlos y Paula   cuando cuentan chistes es/son una estampa para no perderse

                Carlos and Paula when tell   jokes is/are a   sight   to   not miss

                'When Carlos and Paula tell jokes, it is a sight not to miss'

       b. *Tu cuando bailas es/eres una imagen para no perderse

                You when dance is/are a   sight   to   not miss

                'When you dance, it is a sight not to miss'

       c.* Yo cuando canto rancheras es/soy un cuadro   para no perderse

                Me when sing rancheras is/am a   sight to   not miss

                'When I sing rancheras, it is a sight not to miss'

(66)   a. Carlos y Paula   contando chistes es/son una estampa para no perderse.

                Carlos and Paula   telling   jokes is/are a   sight to   not miss

                'Carlos and Paula telling jokes is a sight not to miss'

       b. Tu bailando *es/eres una imagen para no perderse.

                You dancing is/are a   sight to   not miss

                'You dancing are a signt not to miss'

       c. Yo cantando rancheras *es/soy un cuadro para no perderse.

                I singing rancheras   is/am a   sight to not miss

                'Me singing rancheras is a sight not to miss'

Even in the case of gerundive clauses presented in (66), the agreement relation for 3rd person presented in (66a) does not have a preference towards singular or plural agreement in the matrix predicate, but in (66b) and (66c), the relation between the subject of the gerundive clause and the 3rd person singular default agreement in the matrix predicate is marginal.

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13 Gerundive clauses normally have an eventive reading. The idea is to see if the same agreement patterns obtained in
    PRs appearing in subject position can be reached in canonical event constructions like gerundives.

In conclusion, the head of the PR can be interpreted as the subject, direct object or indirect object of the embedded predicate. In the case of object-gap PRs, a clitic coindexed with the head of the PR is compulsory within the PR predicate. The explanation given to the cross-linguistic availability of object-gap PRs deals with the Object-gap PR generalization: those languages that allow object clitic doubling (e.g. Spanish or Greek) allow for object-gap PRs whereas other languages (e.g. Italian, Portuguese or French) which do not allow object clitic doubling, do not allow object-gap PRs. Animacy of the head of the PR plays a crucial role regarding the obtention of situational readings: only animate heads contribute to the situational reading that characterizes PRs. Inanimate heads make PRs result ungrammatical. PRs can only appear in complement position because the relation between the matrix predicate and the embedded one is what produces the situational reading. PRs apperaring in subject position do not display a situational reading, but a temporal interpetation.

5. On the structure of PRs

In previous sections the main syntactic (section 2) and semantic (section 3) characteristics concerning PRs have been presented. Bearing in mind all those properties and the new descriptive generalizations of section 4, I will consider the different analyses given to PRs up to the moment with respect to their internal structure and the way PRs relate to the matrix clause (e.g. control vs raising analysis). Some of the proposals accounting for the internal structure of PRs include analyzing PRs as CPs, small clauses (SCs) or DPs. In the case of the way PRs relate to the matrix clause, there are two main analyses: the control analysis and the raising analysis. Since neither control nor raising analyses can derive the new properties introduced in section 4, a new tentative proposal will be presented in section 6.

5.1 PRs internal structure

In previous literature, three main possibilities have been proposed in order to account for the internal structure of PRs. First of all, some authors (Guasti (1988), Cinque (1992)) support the idea that PRs are CPs. Some other authors (Cinque (1992), Rafel (1999) or Koopman & Sportiche (2014)) propose that PRs are SCs. A third group of authors (Brito (1995), Angelopoulos (2015), Moulton & Grillo (2015, 2016)) share the idea that PRs are DPs.
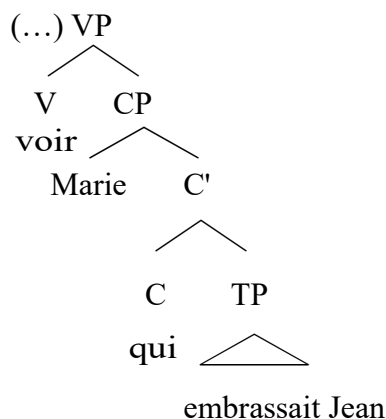
   Guasti (1988) and Cinque (1992) propose that PRs are CPs for different reasons. Guasti (1988) suggests that it can not be the case that PRs are DPs because if PRs were DPs, PRs could be modified by appositive clauses.

(67)   a. Jean, qui a passé sa maturité au mois de décembre,

            Jean, that has passed his maturity in month of december,

            a   trouvé tout de suite un travail

            has found inmediately a   job

            'Jean having passed his maturity, has inmediately found a job'

         b.*J'ai vu Marie qui sortait du cinéma que d'ailleurs tu   connais bien

            I.have seen Marie that left   the cinema that by.the.way you know well

            'I saw Marie leaving the cinema that bythe way you know well'

                                                                              (Guasti 1988: 41)

In (67a) *Jean* being a DP can be modified by the appositive *qui a passé sa maturité au mois de décembre* but in (67b) the PR *Marie qui sortait du cinéma* cannot be modified by the appositive *que d'ailleurs tu connais bien.* According to the reasoning Guasti (1988) is following, if PRs were DPs, they could be modified by appositives, but, since (67b) is ungrammatical, PRs cannot be DPs. As a result, the analysis presented in Guasti (1988) tends towards a CP internal structure for PRs. The structure Guasti (1988) proposes is the one presented in (68).

(68)   J'ai vu [CP Marie[C' qui [IP cv embrassait Jean]]]

```
        (…) VP
          /\
         V   CP
       voir   /\
          Marie  C'
                 /\
                C   TP
               qui  /\
              embrassait Jean
```
                                                           (Guasti 1988: 41)

The ungrammaticality of (67b) maybe related to independent reasons. The PR *Marie qui sortait du cinéma* does not denote properties of individuals but properties of situations and the appositive that is supposed to modify it *que d'ailleurs tu connais bien* makes reference to individuals. This is why even example (69) where the appositive is modifying a situational or eventive DP results ungrammatical[14]. Thus, the DP analysis of PRs is still a possibility.

(69)   *La llegada de María, que por cierto conoces   bien

        The arrival of María, that by.theway you.know well

       'Maria's arrival, that by the way you know well'

Cinque (1992)[15] argues that PRs are CPs on the basis of the type of proforms used for PRs in Italian: *ciò che* or *il che* typically refer to propositions. Cinque (1992) observes that the constituent formed by the NP (head) and the CP (predicate) refers to a proposition (70a, c, e) rather than to an individual (70b, d), even when its head refers to an individual.

(70)   a. Ciò che   ho   visto è Mario che scriveva   nel   sonno

         That which I.have   seen is Mario that was.writting while asleep

      b.*Ciò che   ho   invitato è Mario che scriveva   nel   sonno

         That which I.have invited is Mario that was.writing while asleep

      c. Ho visto un fatto molto curioso: Mario che scriveva   nel sonno

         I.have seen a thing very curious: Mario that was.writing while asleep

      d.*Ho visto   un tipo molto curioso: Mario che scriveva   nel   sonno

         I.have seen a guy very   curious: Mario that was.wrting while asleep

      e. Ho visto Mario che scriveva   nel   sonno, il che non mi pareva poi così strano

         I.have seen Mario that was.writing while asleep, which did not seem that strange

---

14 The intended reading for (69) deals with *knowing María's arrival*, not with *knowing María* as an individual.

15 Cinque (1992) considers three different CP analysis for PRs bearing in mind the extention of the kinds of predicates that can introduce PRs apart from perception predicates (See Cinque 1992: 1-5 for more information on the discarded analysis). Since none of the analysis depicting PRs as CPs seem to result favourable, Cinque (1992) explores the possibility of assigning PRs a SC structure.

However, Moulton & Grillo (2016) point out that the data presented in (70) does not show that PRs are CPs, but rather, that PRs denote properties of situations: they are not propositions. Moulton and Grillo (2016) argue that the proform *il che* can also refer to infinitives, SCs or DPs. These arguments do not rule out the CP analysis of PRs, but weaken it, still leaving the door open to the SC and DP analysis of PRs.

In fact, a CP analysis of PRs cannot explain properties 2.v about the distribution of PRs and SCs, 2.vi on coordination between SCs and PRs or 2.vii about coordination between PRs and DPs. This kind of analysis is incompatible with 2.viii on being complement of the preposition *di* (at least in Italian) or 2.xi about the possibility of finding PRs in cleft positions. None of the semantic properties presented in 3.2 about the differences between PRs and propositional clauses or 3.3.ii on transparency can be explained under a CP analysis of PRs.

The second option regarding PRs internal structure suggests that PRs are SCs (Cinque (1992), Rafel (1999) and Koopman & Sportiche (2014)[16]). According to Cinque (1992), a possible analysis for PRs follows from the assumption that a tensed CP is a manifestation with particular aspectual properties of the predicate of a SC (Cinque 1992: 5-6). Cinque (1992) and Rafel (1999) present two arguments in favor of this proposal: first, PRs can be coordinated with SCs (71), and second, PRs are possible in all those contexts where SCs are possible (72):

(71) Ho visto Gianni depresso e Pietro che cercava di risollevarlo

    I.have seen Gianni depressed and Pietro that tried to cheer.him.up

    'I saw Gianni depressed and Pietro trying to cheer him up'

(72) a. Non sopporto Gianni e Mario vestiti da boy scout / che fumano en la casa mia
     I can't stand Gianni and Mario dresses as boy scouts / that smoke in my house

    b. Mangiò la pizza PRO calda / PRO che stava ancora fumando

     He.ate the pizza PRO hot/ PRO that was still smoking

    c. Gianni lasciò la stanza PRO ubriaco/PRO che era encora sotto gli effetti dell'alchol

     Gianni left the room PRO drunk/PROthat he.was still under the effects of alcohol

    d. Con Gianni malato/che continuaa lamentarsi, non possiamo partire

     With Gianni ill / that keeps complaining, we can't leave

    e. Maria è la PRO arrabbiata più di prima/ Maria è là PRO che piange più di prima

     María is there PRO angry more than ever/ Maria is there PRO that cries more than ever

    f. C'è qualcuno PRO disposto ad aiutarci / PRO che sta salendo le scale

     There.is someone PRO willing to.help us / PRO that is climbing the stairs

    g. Mario ubriaco / che si è offerto di aiutarci? E' impossibile!

     Mario drunk / that offered to help us? It's impossible (Cinque 1992: 6-8)

---

16 Koopman & Sportiche (2014) assume the parts of Cinque's (1992) analysis which are relevant to exlain the *que/qui* alternation phenomenon in French.

The rationale behind the coordination argument Cinque (1992) and Rafel (1999) present is that two elements can be the conjuncts of a coordination structure if both elements belong to the same syntactic category. Thus, if a PR can coordinate with a SC, then, PRs and SCs must be the same. A similar argument goes for distribution: if PRs can appear in those contexts where SCs appear, then both SCs and PRs must be the same syntactic object.

However, a SC analysis of PRs cannot explain why PRs can also coordinate with DPs, as mentioned in 2.vii. Following the argument Cinque (1992) and Rafel (1999) give, SCs, DPs and PRs must be the same syntactic category and this is an assumption I do not want to make. A SC analysis of PRs can neither explain why PRs can be replaced by the wh-word *qué* that normally replaces DPs as mentioned in 2.x.

One possible way to explain this coordination and distribution phenomena is to have a look to the semantic properties of the predicates involved in both PRs and SCs. In Yokogoshi's (2007) view, there are at least two different types of small clauses as presented in (84) and (85):

(73) We consider Mary honest   (individual-level predicate)

(74) We want Mary happy   (stage-level predicate)

Yokogoshi (2007) observes that the selection of a small clause by a predicate has to do with both syntactic and semantic factors. *Mary honest* in (73) and *Mary happy* in (74) are instances of SC-predication phrases, but they differ in the type of predicates that selects them as well as in the nature of their predication. Yokogoshi (2007) points out that predicates like *consider, believe, find, imagine* involve the selection of secondary individual-level predicates, that is to say, predicates describing permanent qualities (Tenny & Pustejovsky 2000), whereas predicates like *want, expect, love* or *fear* select for secondary stage-level predicates.

Thus, the reason why examples like (71) and (72) are grammatical has to do with the nature of the predicates involved in both the SC and the PR. The contrast between examples (75) and (76) shows that coordination between two elements displaying the same kind of predication (stage-level predication) results grammatical whereas the coordination between two elements displaying different kinds of predication results ungrammatical. In (75) the coordination between a SC like *Paco feliz* and a PR such as *María que cantaba y bailaba sin parar* results grammatical because both constructions involve stage-level predicates. However, example (76) shows that, although the same syntactic pattern of coordination has been applied to a SC *Paco sincero* and to a PR *María que bailaba y cantaba sin parar;* the resulting construction is ungrammatical.

(75) En la fiesta de fín de año, vi a Paco feliz y a Elena que bailaba

    At the party of end of year, I.saw a Paco happy and a Elena that danced

    y cantaba sin parar

    and sang without stopping

    'At New Year's Eve party, I saw Paco happy and Elena dancing and singing without interruption'

(76)   *En la fiesta de fín de año,   vi   a Paco sincero   y   a Elena que bailaba

At the party of end of year, I.saw a Paco honest and a Elena that danced

y   cantaba sin   parar

and sang   without stopping

'At New Year's Eve party, I saw Paco happy and Elena dancing and singing without interruption'

The same semantic argument can be applied to the distribution of SCs and PRs presented in (72). Having a look at the kind of predicates that appear in (72), two observations can be made. First, some of the examples presented by Cinque (1992) in (72) do not fit with the situational reading PRs have in Spanish but with some sort of temporal reading. This is the case of (72a). Second, all the SCs that display a situational reading and that can be replaced by a PR involve stage level predicates such as: *calda, ubriaco, malato, arrabbiata* or *diposto.* The fact that PRs can appear in these precise contexts suggests that possibly what makes PRs compatible with all of them is the kind of predication they involve despite the syntactic category they belong to.

Thus, if I am right, coordination and distribution patterns established between SCs and PRs can be explained by semantic independent reasons that do not force to assign PRs the internal structure of SCs.

Rafel (1999) presents one additional argument in favor of the SC nature of PRs that has to do with the single constituent nature of PRs: PRs can appear adjoined to the right (77a), PRs can be in focal position (77b), PRs can appear in cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions (77c) and (77d), and be replaced by the pronoun *lo* (77e).

(77)   a. Yo he   visto y   María ha oido a Juan que entraba en   la   habitación

I   have seen and Maria has heard a John that came   into the room

'I saw and María heard John coming into the room'

b. ¡Hasta Juan que bailaba un tango vimos ayer!

Even Juan that danced a tango we.saw yesterday

'Even Juan dancing the tango we saw yesterday!'

c. Fue   a Juan que subía en un coche negro que vi   aquella noche

It.was a Juan that got   into a car   black that I.saw that night

'It was Juan getting into a black car what I saw that night'

d. Lo único   que vi   aquella noche fue a Juan que subía en un coche negro

The only.thing that I.saw that   night was a Juan that got   into a car   black

'The only thing I saw that night was Juan getting into a black car'

e. Vi   a María que subía en un coche negro. Pedro dice que él también *lo* vio

I.saw a María that got into   a   car black.   Pedro says that he also it saw

'I saw maría getting into a black car. Pedro says he saw it too'

(Rafel 1999: 171)

All the examples in (77) account for the single constituent nature PRs and, precisely, some of these syntactic tests have been used for that purpose in section 2. However, these syntactic tests do not show the SC nature of PRs.

The last option concerning the internal structure of PRs points towards DPs (Brito (1995), Moulton and Grillo (2015), Angelopoulos (2015)). Brito (1995) gives three syntactic arguments in favor of the DP internal structure of PRs, that have already been presented. First, PRs are islands for extraction (78) as mentioned in 2.ix. The idea is that the only structures appearing in complement position that have the property of being islands for extraction are DPs, thus, PRs are DPs. Second, Brito (1995) observes that PRs can be coordinated to DPs as mentioned in 2.vii, but again, PRs can also be coordinated with SCs, leaving the three syntactic categories at the same level. Since the coordination pattern between PRs and SCs can be explained by independent semantic reasons, this argument will be left aside. The third argument Brito (1995) gives in favor of the DP internal structure of PRs is that they can appear in cleft structures as said in 2.xi. If only DPs can appear in cleft structures, PRs must be DPs. This last argument is shared by Angelopoulos (2015).

Angelopoulos (2015) mainly bases his arguments supporting the DP nature of Greek PRs on the semantic data provided by Moulton and Grillo (2015, 2016) that has already being presented in 3.3.vi concerning the behaviour PRs display under the operator *ever* and 3.3.vii under future operators. PRs in such contexts resemble definite DPs, suggesting that both PRs and definite DPs are referential descriptions. Apart from that, Moulton and Grillo (2015) also present some syntactic pieces of data suggesting that PRs are in fact DPs. Propertiy 2.vii shows that PRs and DPs can complement prepositions but CPs cannot (at least in Italian) and property 2.x shows that PRs can be replaced by the proform *qué* which commonly substitutes DPs

Having revised the three main alternatives accounting for the internal structure of PRs, it appears that only the DP proposal is based on arguments coming from both syntax and semantics. Besides, the DP proposal is the only one that does not contradict any of the syntactic or semantic properties described in previous sections. Thus, I consider PRs to be DPs.

5.2 PR external structure

Regarding the external structure of PRs, that is, the relation between the matrix predicate and the PR, and the way the head of the PR is case assigned, there are two main lines of thought. On the one hand, the literature on PRs has proposed a control[17] analysis for PRs. On the other hand, some more recent perspectives support a raising analysis of PRs.

A control analysis for PRs

Graffi (1980), Guasti (1988), Cinque (1992), Brito (1995) and Moulton and Grillo (2016) propose a

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17 Notice that control structures (i) always include a non-finite embedded predicate which is not the case of PRs (ii).

    (i) I want Juan to read my book

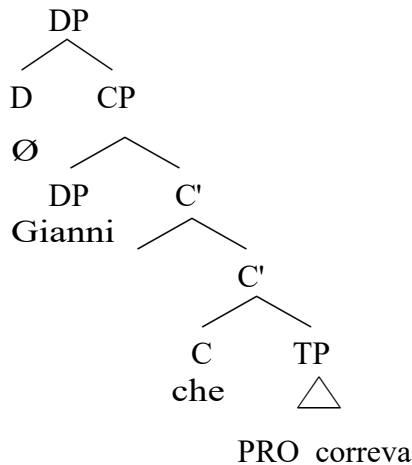   (ii) He visto a Juan que leía mi libro

        I.have seen a Juan that read my book

        'I saw Juan reading my book'

  Thus, the control analysis proposed for PRs is not a proper control analysis.

control analysis for PRs. Leaving aside the syntactic category assigned to PRs, the rationale behind a control analysis for PRs is that the head of the PR *Gianni* is base-generated in Spec-CP and it is coindexed with a PRO placed within the predicate of the PR *che correva* (78).

(78)   Ho visto Gianni che correva

```
              DP
             /  \
            D    CP
            Ø   /  \
              DP    C'
            Gianni  /  \
                   C'
                  /  \
                 C    TP
                che   △
              PRO  correva
```
                                                      (Moulton & Grillo 2016: 10)

Regarding case assignment, according to Moulton & Grillo (2016), the head of the PR being generated in Spec-CP, is case assigned through a sort of long distance mediated agreement by the matrix predicate[18].

Importantly, a control analysis of PRs accounts for subject-gap PRs where the head of the PR is the subject of the embedded predicate. However, such an analysis cannot be extended to object-gap PRs in any of their forms (DO or IO) since although the controller could be an object in the matrix clause, the controlled element has to be the subject of the embedded construction. In other words, the controller can never control the DO or the IO of the embedded predicate, leaving aside any instance of the object-gap PR presented in 4.1.
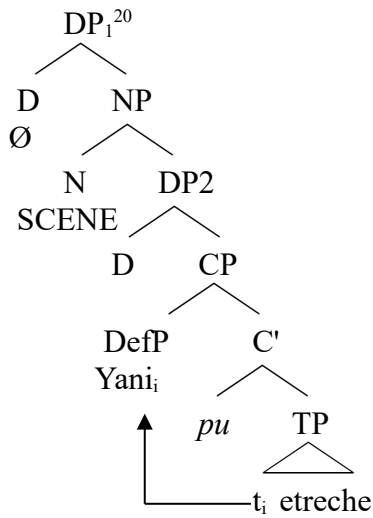
A raising analysis for PRs

Angelopoulos (2015)[19] proposes that PRs are instances of raising structures considering both subject-gap object-gap PRs. In a nutsell, the two main ideas Angelopoulos (2015) proposes are that the head of the PR is base generated within the PR predicate and raises to the position of Spec-CP and that the situational reading PRs have comes from the null SCENE head incorporated in the structure.

Under Angelopoulo's (2015) analysis the element that raises to spec-CP is a syntactic object which includes some projections of the DP region, concretely, the definite projection. The reason why such a syntactic object can raise is that the complementizer *pu* is always related to a D-head and thus, selects a definite local DP, the one containing *Yani*.

---

18 Since Moulton & Grillo (2016) consider it possible to have PRs in both subject and complemet position of the matrix predicate, they argue that whenever the PR is in subject position, the head of the PR is nominative case assigned since the PR as a whole is nominative case assigned. If the PR is in complement position, the head of the PR is accusative case assigned because the whole PR is accusative case assigned (Moulton & Grillo 2016: 11)

19 Angelopoulos' (2015) aim is to give an unifiying analysis for Greek PRs, restrictive RCs and factive RCs under the distribution of the complementizer *pu* (that).

(79)   Idha   ton Yani pu   etreche
        I.saw the Yani that ran
        'I saw Yani running'

```
                DP₁²⁰
               /    \
             D       NP
             Ø      /   \
                   N      DP2
                 SCENE   /   \
                        D      CP
                      DefP     C'
                      Yaniᵢ    /  \
                         ↑   pu    TP
                         |        /\
                         |_____tᵢ etreche
```

A raising analysis has one clear advantage over the control analysis: it is compatible with both subject-gap and object-gap PRs presented in 4.1: the head of the PR raises to its superficial position independently of whether it is the subject or the object of the embedded predicate. Besides, it is consistent with the fact that PRs are instances of predication, and thus, the arguments are generated within the lexical projection of the predicate and move to their superficial position. However, the raising analysis also presents difficulties. First, in the case of subject-gap PRs, there is no argument explaining why the subject of the embedded predicate can be nominative Case assigned within the PRs predicate, and then be accusative Case assigned in head position or why, in IO-gap PRs the IO of the embedded predicate is dative Case assigned within the PRs predicate and then, be accusative Case assigned in head position. A goal (the head of the PR) that checks its features twice with two different probes (if it were possible) challenges the Case system. Second, a raising analysis cannot explain the motivation that makes the head of the PR move. Third, a raising analysis of PRs does not explain why clitics, appear always overtly realized in the case of direct object PRs but never with subject PRs containing a DP instead of a proper noun.

(80)   a. He   visto a Juan/ al   niño que reía
           I.have seen a Juan/ a.the kid that laughed
           'I saw Juan/ the kid laughing'
        b. *He   visto al   niño que le   reía
           I.have seen a.the kid that the? laughed
           'I saw the kid laughing'

A possible way to go would be to extend what Bhatt (2002) proposes for RC (81) to PRs. Bhatt (2002) stands for the raising analysis for English RCs, and supports the idea that, what raises is not a

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20 (79) is a simplified version exemplifying the kind of analysis Angelopoulos (2015) gives. For further details see Angelopoulos (2015).

whole DP but a NP. This idea is also shared by Bianchi (1999: 35-49).

(81)   The book$_i$ that John likes t$_i$ is good.

In (81), *the book* is base generated in complement position of the embedded predicate *like,* where it is accusative Case assigned. Now, Bhatt's (2002) proposal faces two difficulties: i) the motivation that makes *the book* move up in the structure and ii) *the book* being both nominative and accusative Case assigned. The solution Bhatt (2002) proposes is that the element that moves is the NP *book,* which merges with a null determiner *Ø-the$_1$* in complement position where the whole DP$_1$ is accusative Case assigned. Then, the NP *book* moves upwards until it reaches Spec-TP where it merges with a different determiner *the$_2$* where the whole DP$_2$ is nominative Case assigned.

Following Bhatt (2002), Donati and Cecchetto (2011)[21] observe that in fact, the stranded Ø determiner is visible in many languages as resumptive pronouns[22]. which are homophonous with the definite article in some Italian varieties.

(82)   L'uomo che l'   ho   visto

           the.man that him-ACC I.have seen

           'The man I saw'   (Donati and Cecchetto 2011: 529)

Donati and Cechetto (2011) observe that only by assuming that the determiner preceding the head of the RC is externally merged the differences in quantificational contexts in (83) can be explained. In (83), the external determiner must have wider scope than a quatifier inside the RC. The impossibility of ∀ > ∃ in (83a) follows if ∃ is mergerd externally. Then, ∀ would remain trapped within the RC and could not take scope over ∃ in (83a). Notice that the same quantificational pattern was presented in 3.3.iii for PRs.

(83)   a. Un compito   che ho   distribuito a ogni   studente era troppo difficile

              An assignment that I.have given   to every student   was too   difficult

              'An assignment that I gave to every student was too difficult'

              ✔ ∃>∀   *∀ >∃

           b. Ho   distribuito un compito   a ogni studente/ a ogni studente un copito

              I.have given   an assignment to every student/ to every student an assignment

              'Igave an assignment to every student'

              ✔ ∃>∀   ✔ ∀ >∃   (Donati & Cecchetto 2011: 526)

However, it is important to clarify that the raising analysis supported by Bianchi (1999), Bhatt (2002) or Donati & Cecchetto (2011) considers two separate aspects: first, that the head must move and second, that the external merge of the determiner heading PRs or RCs is the element that makes the quantification patterns in (83) emerge. But notice, that these same patterns of quantification also emerge if the head of the PR is base-generated in their superficial position preceding the que-clause.

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21 Donati & Cecchetto (2011) work on RC and extend their analysis to PRs.
22 Notice that this resumptive clitic can be related to the object clitic that is needed in object-gap PRs presented in 4.1.

In conclusion, up to this point, neither the control nor the raising analysis seem to be suficient to explain the data presented in section 4. The main problem the control analysis has to face is that it cannot explain the existance of object PRs and so, it has to be ruled out. The main problem the raising analysis has to face is the double Case assignation for a single argument. It seems that the only possible way to solve it is complicating the system proposing the existance of two different determiners and relating it to the clitic system. Although most of the data presented in section 4 could be explained by a raising analysis, the assumptions that one has to make in order to make all the pieces fit point towards looking for an alternative analysis.

6. PRs analysis

The analysis here proposed maintains that the head of the PR is a left-dislocated element base generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause. Precisely because the head (either subject or object) is base generated in the left periphery, either an empty category (pro) or object clitics appear within the PR predicate. In the following sections I will show that in this alternative analysis no movement is involved and that PRs are instances of dislocation structures.

6.1 No movement in PRs

In this subsection I show three arguments, manely, the presence of the clitics in object-gap PRs, the impossibility of licencing parasitic gaps within PRs and locality constraints pointing towards a no-movement analysis of PRs.

     i. Object clitics are complulsory in object-gap PRs (84) as shown in 4.1, contrary to what happens in object RC (85) where movement is well established. The contrast between (85a) and (85b) suggests that the insertion of the clitic is an obstacle for movement. Then, the grammaticality of (84a) suggests that, since the object clitic is not an obstacle for movement, then, no movement is involved. In fact, remind that if the clitic is absent (84b), the construction results ungrammatical.

(84)   a. He   visto a María que la   traían   en coche

               I.have seen a María that her-ACC brought.3-PL by car

               'I saw María who was being brought by car'

        b. *He visto a María que traían en coche

              I.have seen a Marúa that brought.3-PL by car

              'I saw María who was being brought by car'

(85)   a. He   visto al   chico que trajeron   en coche

               I.have seen a.the boy   that brought.3-PL by car

               'I saw the boy who was brought by car'

        b. *He   visto al   chico que lo   trajeron   en coche
               I.have seen a.the boy   that him-ACC brought.3-PL by car

               'I saw the boy who was brought by car'

In no-movement ClLD[23] structures, the resumptive element is not compulsory (86a), but if it is present, it can only be a clitic (86b). Notice that those ClLD structures where the object clitic is compulsory (86b) suggest that the the clitic and the dislocated element are two different constituents and that the clitic *le* is the argument of the embedded predicate *echar de menos*. This same reasoning can be extended to PRs. In object-gap PRs the clitic is the argument of the embedded predicate. For instance, in (84a), the clitic *la* is the internal argument of the embedded predicate *traían* and the head *María* is a different dislocated constituent.

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23 All the descriptive properties about ClLD presented in section 6 are taken from Alexiadou (2006, 2007)

(86) a. Juan creo   que llegará   tarde

Juan I.think that he.will.arrive late

'Juan I think will arrive late'

b. A Pedro le   echo mucho de menos

A Pedro him-ACC I.miss much

'Peter I miss him much'

c. *A Pedro echo mucho de menos

 A Pedro cl-ACC I.miss much

 'Peter I miss him much'

ii. ClLD structures (87) cannot license parasitic gaps (PGs)[24] (Cinque 1990; Demirdache 1991). Object PRs (88) neither can.

(87) a. *A Juan **le**   han contratado   sin   entrevistar [PG] previamente

A Juan him-DAT they.have employed without interviewing   previously

'John they emplyed him without previously interviewing'

b. A Juan **le**$_1$ han   contratado sin   entrevistar**le**$_2$ previamente

A Juan him-DAt they.have employed without interviewing.him previously

'John they employed him wothout previously interviewing him'

In (87a) the clitic *le* is interpreted as the trace that licenses the PG. In PG licensing, the trace licensing the PG cannot c-command it. However, in (87a) the trace is indirectly bound (c-commanded and coindexed with) by *le* causing the structure to result ungrammatical. The contrast between (87a) and (87b) shows that, if a second *le*$_2$ is inserted in the PG position within the adjunct *sin entrevistar*, the structure results grammatical.

In the case of PRs, the contrast between examples (88a) and (88b) shows that again, PGs cannot be licenced within PR constructions if the clitic were understood as a trace. If a second *le*$_2$ is inserted in the position of the PG, the structure considerably ameliorates, suggesting that the clitic cannot be interpreted as a trace of movement and therefore, the structure does not involve movement.

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24 PGs are licensed by a variable which does not c-command it whose operator c-commands the PG. PGs are parasitical upon the existance of a trace coindexed with them in the matrix clause (i). Traces left by A-movement operations do not license parasitic gaps (ii). The parasitic gap cannot be c-commanded by the variable (iii). The coindexed wh-phrase (operator) must c-command the parasitic gap cannot (iv). Parasitic gaps are selectively sensitive to islands: they cannot be contained in more than one island (v).

(i) Which book did John file t without reading PG?
(ii) *That book$_i$ was filed t$_i$ [without PRO$_j$ reading PG$_i$]
(iii) *Which book$_i$ [t$_i$ was filed t$_i$ without PRO$_j$ reading PG$_i$]
(iv) The book which Mary filed without reading was review by John
(v) * Which book did you borrow after leaving the bookstore without finding?

(88)   a. *He visto a Juan que le   contrataban sin   entrevistar [PG] previamente

I.have seen a Juan that him-ACC employed without interviewing   previously

'I saw Juan being employed without being previously interviewed'

b. He   visto a Juan que le$_1$ contrataban sin entrevistarle$_2$

I.have seen a Juan that him-ACC employed without interviewing-him-ACC

previamente

previously

'I saw Juan being employed without being previously interviewed'

iii. ClLD (89) and PRs (90-92) are subject to locality constraints: ClLD and PRs are sensitive to strong islands but not to weak ones. In (89a) the object clitic *lo* coindexed with the left dislocated element *el vestido* is placed within the weak island *dónde lo he puesto* with grammatical results. However, in (89b) the object clitic *lo* coindexed with the left dislocated element *el artículo* is placed within a strong island with ungrammatical results.

(89)   a. El vestido$_i$ no se   dónde lo$_i$ he   puesto
         The dress not I.now where it I.have put

'The dress I don't know where I left it'

b. *El artículo$_i$ que me quedé dormida leyéndolo$_i$ anoche es muy denso
         The paper that me I.fell   asleep reading.it last.night   is very hard going

'The paper I fell asleep while I was reading it last night is very hard going'

Examples in (90) show a clitic climbing context where the clitic *le* can either climb to a position closer to the head (90b) or remain as the complement of the infinitival complement the embedded predicate takes (90a).

(90)   a. Acabo de ver   a Juan que intentaban meterle   a la fuerza en   el coche

I.have just seen a Juan that they.tried to.put.him-ACC by force   inside a car

'I just saw Juan to whom they tried to put by force inside the car'

b. Acabo de ver   a Juan que le   intentaban meter a la fuerza en   un coche

I.have just seen a Juan that him-ACC they.tried to.put   by force   inside a car

'I just saw Juan to whom they tried to put by force inside the car'

Example (91) shows a context where clitic climbing is not available because the predicate *evitar* (avoid) is not a clitic climbing predicate. Altough the construction does not result to be ungrammatical, it seems to be marginal for Spanish native speakers.

(91)   ?Vi   a María que evitaban discutirle   sus decisiones empresariales

         I.saw a María that avoided to.argue.against her decisions company

         mil   veces durante los últimos tres meses

         a.thousand times during the last   three months

         'I saw María who they avoided contradicting her company decisions a thousand
          times during the last three months'

Finally, in (92a) where the clitic *la* is placed within the weak island *dónde la llevan* is marginal for Spanish native speakers. In (92b) the clitic *la* is placed within the adjunct island *sin rechistarla* and the construction results ungrammatical showing that PRs are sentitive to strong islands.

(92)   a. ? Vi   a María que decidían   dónde la   llevaban

            I.saw a María that they.decided where her-ACC they.took

            'I saw María who they decided where to take her'

         b. *Vi   a María que acatában   sus decisiones empresariales sin

            I.saw a María that they. complied.with her decisions company   without

            rechistarla

            complaining.her

            'I saw María that they complied with her company decisions without sayinga word'

It seems that the relation between the head of the PR and the clitic does not need to be strictly local since the clitic can be the argument of an embedded prediate of the PR predicate. If the clitic is placed within a strong island, the construction results ungrammatical since the relation between the head and the clitic is blocked for some reason. Being sensitive to strong islands constitutes a problem for the kind of no-movement analysis proposed here because strong islands should not constrain PRs if no movement is involved. One possible way to go would be to extend what Cinque (1990) proposes for no-movement ClLD structures to PRs: sensitivity to strong islands is a property that characterizes chains regardless of whether they involve movement or base generation. That is to say, chains are sensitive to strong islands only. Therefore, strong islands constrain the chain between the left dislocated element and the clitic and weak islands constrain movement. I leave this issue as an open question that needs to be further researched.

6.2 PRs and ClLD compared

The three points presented in the previous subsection are shared by ClLD and PR constructions. However, ClLD structures and PRs differ with respect to the syntactic nature of the deslocated element, the number of dislocated elements, Case connectivity or availability of idiomatic expressions, suggesting that PRs and ClLD are different phenomena.

i. The dislocated element in ClLD can be any maximal phrase (93) but in the case of PRs the head is always a DP (94a) (assuming that *a* is not a real preposition but DOM). If the head of the PR is

a PP (94b), a AP (94c) or and AdvP (94d) the structure results ungrammatical.

(93)   Al   mare ci   siamo   già   stati

        To.the see there we.have already been

        'To the sea, there we have already been'

(94)   a. He   visto a María que jugaba descalza en la orilla

           I.have seen a María that played barefoot in the seaside

           'I saw María playing barefoot in the seaside'

        b. *He visto en la orilla que María jugaba descalza

           I.have seen in the seeside that María played barefoot

           'I saw in the seaside that María played barefoot'

        c. *He visto descalza que María jugaba en la orilla[25]

           I.have seen barefoot that María played in the seaside

           'I saw barefoot that María played in the seaside

        d. *He visto ayer   que María jugaba descalza en la   orilla[26]

           I.have seen yesterday that María played barefoot in the seaside

           'I saw yesterday that María played barefoot in the seaside'

     ii. In CLLD structures, there is no limit to the number of elements that can be dislocated to the left (95a) but in the case of PRs, since they are instances of predication, there is one single head. The presence of more than one head results ungrammatical (95b).

(95)   a. Un vestido a mi Juan en aquella tienda no me   ha comprado jamás

            A   dress   a me Juan in that   shop   not me-DAT has bought   ever

           'A dress in that shop Juan has never bought me'

        b.* He   visto a Paco unos chavales que le pedían la hora

           I.have seen a Paco some boys   that him.DAT asked the time

           'I saw Paco some boys asking him the time'

     iii. ClLD structures force Case connectivity between the dislocated and the clitics. In (96a) *María* has to be accusative case assigned as well as the object clitic *tin*. If *Maria* is nominative case assigned (*i Maria*), the structure results ungrammatical. However, it is not the case that whenever a clitic appears within the PR predicate, it necessarily bears the same Case as the head of the PR. In (96b) *Juan* is accusative case assigned whereas the clitic *le* appearing within the PR predicate is dative.

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25 The interpretation that is being looked for is that where the barefoot person is *María* and not the one who is looking.
26 The only possible reading for (94d) is that of a completive clause, nor a PR.

(96)   a. Ipe oti ti Maria   /* i Maria   tin   emathe kala tosa   hronia

                Said that the Maria-ACC/ * Maria-NOM her-ACC learnt well so.many years

                'He said that, Mary he knows her well after som any years'

      b. He   visto a Juan que le pedían   la hora

                I.have seen a Juan-ACC that him-DAT asked-3.PL the time

                'I saw Juan who was asked the time'

Notice that the cases where PRs display Case connectivity between the head and the clitic within the PR predicate are cases of DO-gap PRs. The fact that the head in IO-gap PRs and the clitic within the PR predicate are differently case assigned, points towards the idea that the head is base-generated in a high position within the PR and Case assigned by the matrix predicate, whereas the clitic within the PR predicate is case assigned by the embedded predicate.

        iv. Whereas ClLD structures (97) allow for the presence of idiomatic expressions, PRs (98) do not.

(97)   Tin tihiti   kathe ftohos tin ekane pigenodas stin Ameriki

               The luck-ACC his every poor her did going to America

               'Every poor person made his luck by going to America'   (Alexiadou 2006: 673)

(98)   *Ya   he visto el caso   que lo hacías mientras te   hablaba Already

              I.have seen the attention that lo-ACC you.paid while   to.you I.talked

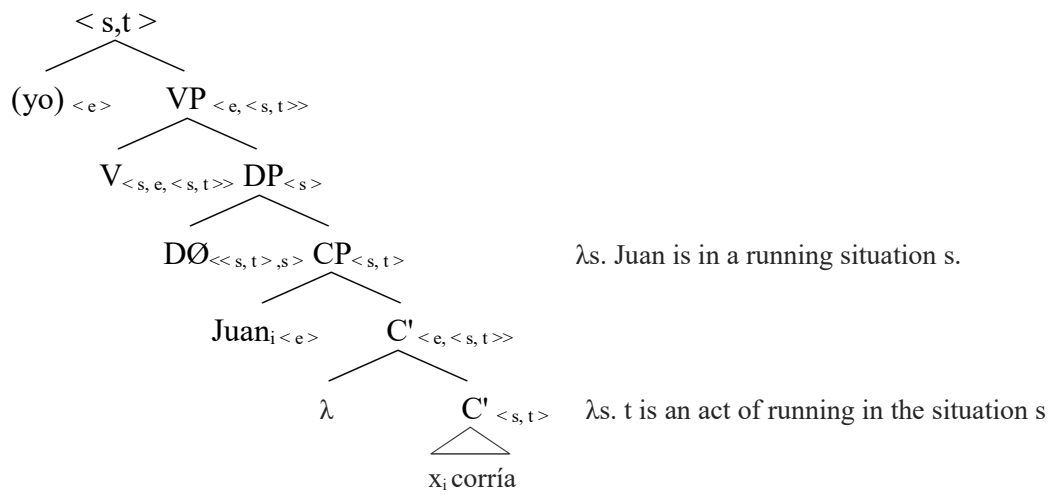   'I already saw the attention you paid while I talked to you'

6.3 Semantic and Syntactic Analyses

Putting everything together The analysis I propose for PRs is based on four main ideas. First, PRs are DPs. Second, the head of the PR is base-generated in the left periphery of the PR. Third, the head of the PR is long distance Case assigned by the matrix predicate, and this is why despite the syntactic function it has within the PR predicate (subject, DO or IO) it is always assigned accusative case. Fourth, independently of the kind of analysis given to the clitic appearing within the PR predicate (e.g. whether they are agreement marks or determiners), the presence of the clitics in the case of object-gap PR is mandatory (see 4.1). In the case of subject-gap PRs, instead of object clitics, pro is placed within the embedded predicate .

Semantic analysis

Considering the semantic properties that have been introduced in 3 I propose the following semantic analysis of PRs. In the case of subject-gap PRs, there is a variable x_i within the embedded predicate, which pairs with the resumptive clitic in object-gap PRs. This variable is bound by lambda abstraction by the head of the PR which is base generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause. The whole PR constitutes a DP situation of type $< s >$ that merges with thematrix predicate by function application. Asuming Situation Semantics, the act of seeing a situation is a situation itself of the type $<s,t>$.

(99)　　　He　　visto [a Juan que corría]

　　　　　　I.have seen a Juan that ran

　　　　　　'I saw Juan running'

$<$ s,t $>$

(yo) $_{<e>}$　　　　VP $_{<e,\,<s,\,t\,>>}$

　　　V $_{<s,\,e,\,<s,\,t\,>>}$ DP $_{<s>}$

　　　　　DØ $_{<<s,\,t\,>,s>}$ CP $_{<s,\,t\,>}$　　　　　　　λs. Juan is in a running situation s.

　　　　　　　Juan $_{i\,<e>}$　　　C' $_{<e,\,<s,\,t\,>>}$

　　　　　　　　　　　　λ　　　　　　C' $_{<s,\,t\,>}$　　　λs. t is an act of running in the situation s

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　x$_i$ corría

Syntactic Analysis

(100a) is an instance of subject-gap PR. The head of the PR *Juan* is base generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause and it is case assigned by Agree: the matrix predicate sends a probe to check its Φ-features of person and number and finds *Juan*, which is the closest DP within the structure. In return, *Juan* is long-distance[27] accusative case assigned even-though it is understood to be the external argument of the embedded predicate *corría* because it is coindexed with *pro* which is the external argument of the embedded predicate, being Spanish a subject pro-drop language.

(100)   a. He   visto a Juan que corría

          I.have seen a Juan that ran

         'I saw Juan running'

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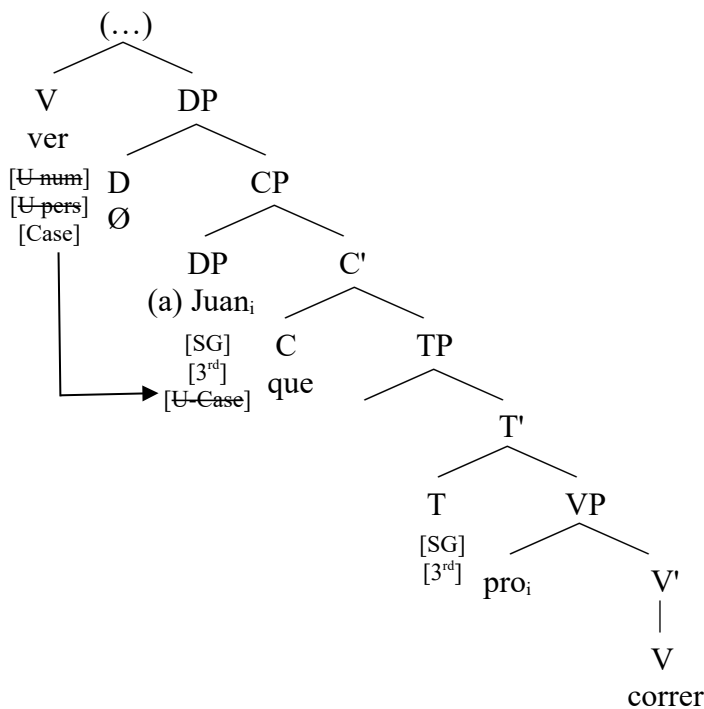
27 The structure here proposed minimally resembles the long distance agreement analysis Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) propose for Tsez. See Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) for more information.

(100b) is an instance of DO-gap PR. The head of the PR *María* is again base generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause and it is case assigned by Agree: the matrix predicate sends a probe to check its Φ-features of person and number and finds *María*, which is the closest DP within the structure, and thus, *María* is accusative case assigned by the matrix predicate. Crucially, *María* and the DO clitic are coindexed. The DO clitic *la* is placed within the PR predicate and it is the internal argument of the embedded predicate *traer* which is the element in charge of assigning accusative Case to the DO clitic.

(100)   b. He   visto a María que la   traían   en coche

        I.have seen a María that her-ACC brought-3.PL by car

        'Isaw María who was being brought by car'

48
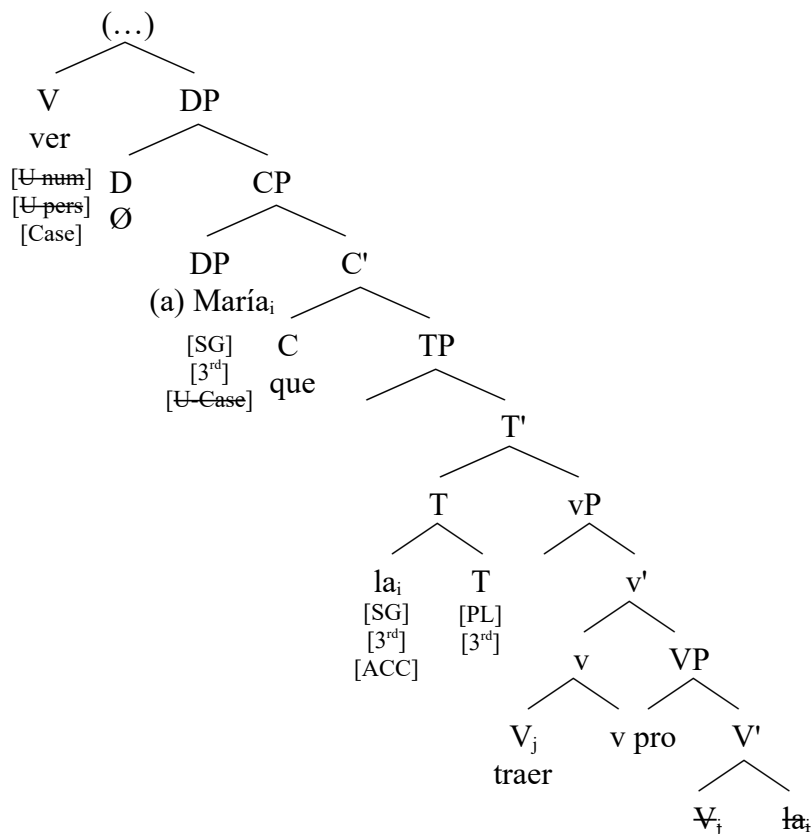
(100c) is the representation of an IO-gap PR. The head of the PR *Paco* is base generated in the left periphery of the embedded clause and it is case assigned by Agree, as in the previous cases. The matrix predicate sends a probe to check its Φ-features of person and number and finds *Paco*, which is the closest DP within the structure. *Paco* is then accusative case assigned by the matrix predicate. Crucially *Paco* and the IO clitic are coindexed. The dative clitic *le* is placed within the PR predicate because it is the IO of the embedded predicate *pedir* which is the one in charge of assigning dative Case to *le*.

(100) c. He visto a Paco que le pedían la hora unos chavales

I.have seen a Paco thathim-DAT asked.3-PL the time some guys

'I saw Paco who was being asked the time by some guys'

49
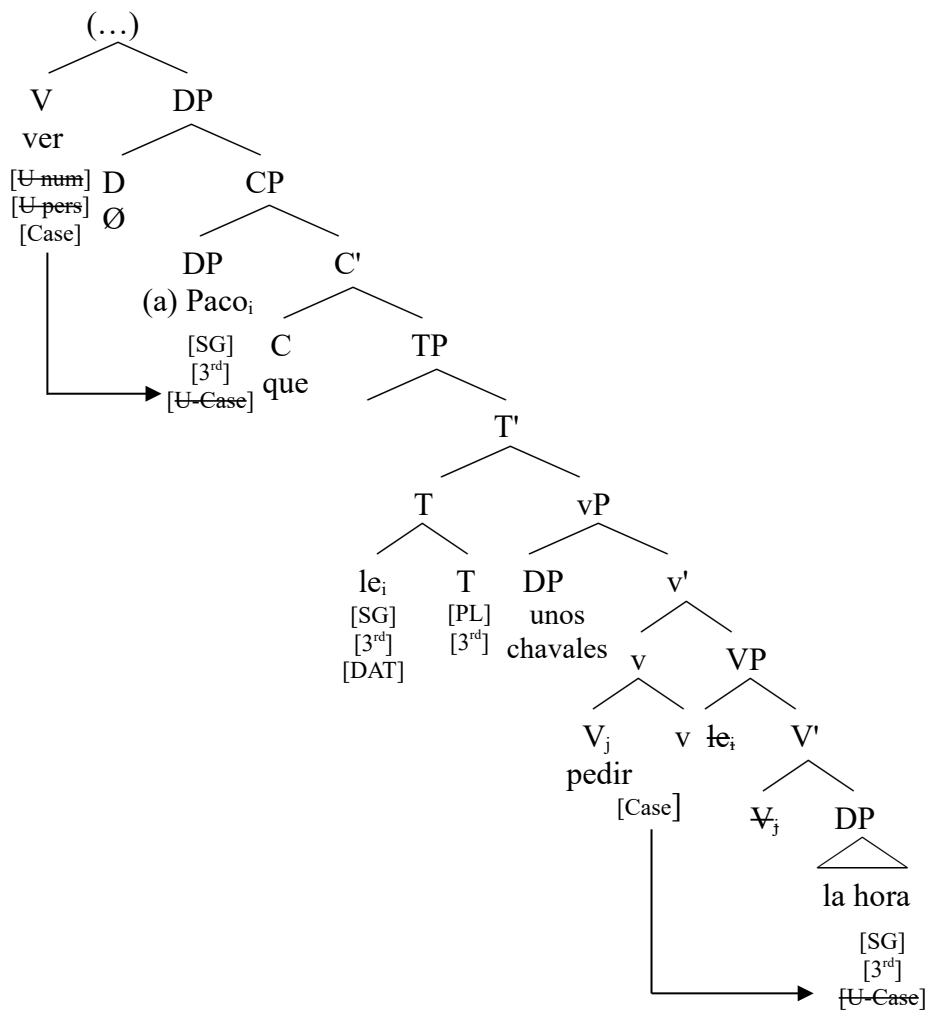
7. Open issues and further extentions

According to the object-gap PR generalization in (50), those languages that allow for PRs and object clitic doubling (e.g. Spanish, Greek) allow for object-gap PRs, whereas those languages that allow for PRs but do not allow for Object Clitic Doubling, do not allow object-gap PRs (e.g. Italian, French or Portuguese). However, there is still a missisng link between the generalization and the kind of dislocation analysis I propose in section 6: some of the languages that lack object-gap PRs (e.g. Italian or Portuguese) do have ClLD structures. Thus, although it has been shown that PRs and ClLD strutures are different phenomena, the key to the availability of object-gap PRs which according to (50) is the presence or absence of the object clitic coindexed with the head it does not seem to be enough to account for the whole picture of object-gap PRs distribution.

A second issue open to further research is the kind of properties that allow perception predicates select for PR complements and whether those properties can be found in any other kind of predicates or contexts.

Another question that needs to be answered is whether PRs are instances of secondary predication or not. In Spanish, there are certain constructions called predicative relatives that seem to share certain properties with the PRs complements of perception predicates. Gumiel (2005: 28) mentions that perception predicates such as *see* or *hear* allow for the presence of this type of constructions (101). However, the main difference is that the clitic *la* and the embeddded clause are analyzed as two different constituents, which contradicts property 2.i.

(101)   La   vi   que se marchaba antes de tiempo

           her-ACC I.saw that se she.left   before time

           'I saw her leaving too soon'

Lozano & Velero (2012) mention some other authors such as Gómez Manzano (2009: 344) as pointing out that this kind of predicative complements is available with other verbs of understanding such as *imagine, believe* or *think*.

(102)   Te   creí   el que llevaba   la ambulancia

           you-ACC I.believed he that he.carried the ambulance

           'I believed that it was you who was driving the ambulance'

                                                                      (Lozano & Valero 2012)

Some evidence suggesting that PRs are secondary predicates have to do with the predication relation they establish with their heads, with the fact that they only allow stage level predicates and states but never statives or the fact that the element subject of the predication must be referential. Besides, PRs that carry idiomatic meanings, seem to be the paraphrasis of other one-word secondary predicates (103).

(103) a. María venía que se tiraba de los pelos (= dispair)

María came that se pull   of the hair

'María came pulling her hair out'

b. He   visto a Juan que se caía por las esquinas (= drunk)

I.have seen a Juan that se fell in   the corners

'I saw Juan completely drunk'

c. Dejaron a Paco que parecía un cromo (= bruised, hurt)

They.left a Paco that looked.like a sticker

'They bit Paco in such a way that he end up really bruised'

However, the fact that PRs are availale with IO becomes problematic since secondary predication of IO is resticted to certain constructructions.

(104) a. Le   di   un libro a Paco borracho

Him-DAT I.gave a book   a Paco drunk

'I gave a book to Paco drunk' (intended meaning *I* was drunk)

b. *Le   di   un libro a Paco$_i$ borracho$_i$

Him-DAT I.gave a book   a Paco drunk

'I gave a book to Paco drunk' (intended meaning *Paco* was drunk)

The key question would be to analyze if examples in (101) - (104) and the PRs that have been the main focus of this thesis are the same (e.g. have the same situational reading and are subject to similar semantic and syntactic properties) independently of the presence of the perception predicate.

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