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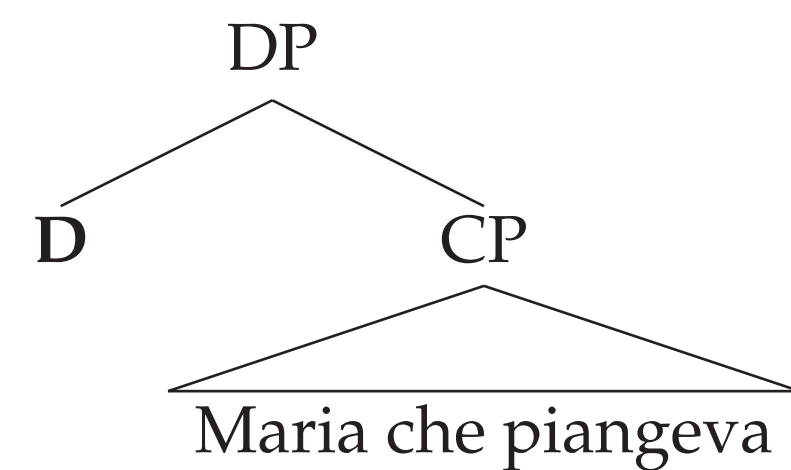
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## THE PLOT

In previous work on Pseudo-Relative (PR) constructions, we show that they are headed by a null determiner. Because of this, PRs denote individual situations and so can complement direct perception verbs.



- (1) Ho visto **Maria che piangeva**.  
 I.have seen Maria that cry-IMPF.  
 'I saw **Maria crying**'

Building on what we know about determiners in the **nominal domain**, we propose that PRs show us that at least the following types of determiners are found in the **clausal domain**: (see Portner 1995, Ferreira 2005, Iatridou 2014, a.o.)

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Existential Quantifier D<br>Higginbotham (1983) | Specific (in)Definite D<br>Moulton and Grillo (2014) | <b>Kind-denoting D</b><br><b>Habitual PRs</b><br><b>this talk!</b> |
|---|--|--|

## 1. MOULTON & GRILLO 2015

PRs are finite constructions found in Italian (2), and many other languages, that are only superficially like relative clauses (Radford 1977, Kayne 1975, Cinque 1995, a.o.).

**PRs can be constituents** that refer to events/situations.

- (2) **Ciò che**<sub>1</sub> /(\***Chi**)<sub>2</sub> ho visto è **Maria<sub>2</sub> che piangeva<sub>1</sub>**  
 That which/ (Who) I.have seen is Maria that cry-IMPF  
 'What /(\*Who) I saw was Maria crying' (after Radford 1977: 160(98))

**PRs are DPs** They can complement prepositions (3a), unlike standard finite CPs/infinitives (3b).

- (3) a. La storia di [<sub>PR</sub> Gianni che balla] è fantastica.  
 The story of G. that dances is fantastic.  
 'The story of G. dancing is fantastic.' (Cinque 1992: (35b))  
 b. \*La storia di che Gianni ballava /Gianni ballare non è vera.  
 The story of that G. danced /G. dance.INF not is true.  
 'The story that G. danced is not true.'

**PRs, like infinitives and unlike finite clauses, are transparent, epistemically neutral.**

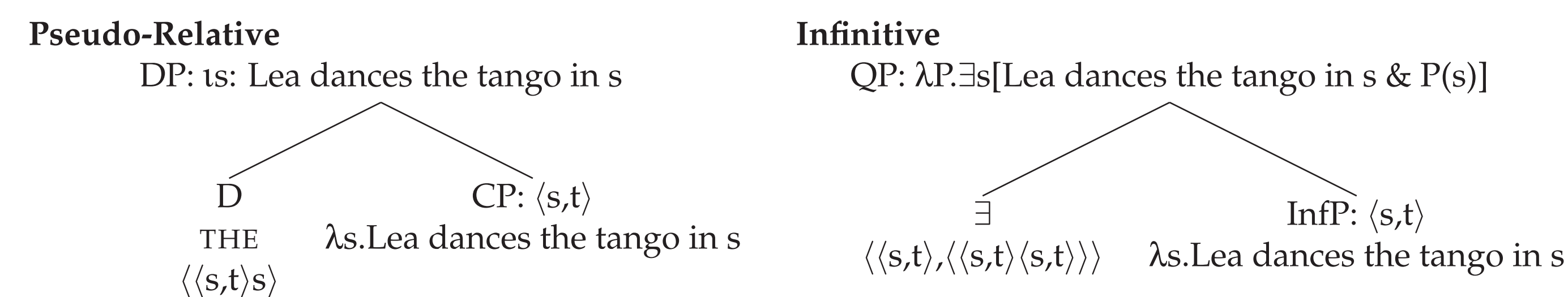
- (4) Gianni ha visto **Maria piangere /che piangeva**, ma pensava ridesse.  
 G. has seen M. cry.INF /that cry.IMPF, but thought laugh.SUBJ.  
 'G. saw M. cry /crying but thought she was laughing.'  
 (5) Gianni ha visto dalle lacrime **che Maria piangeva**, #ma pensava ridesse.  
 G. has seen from.the tears that M. cry.IMPF, but thought laugh.SUBJ.  
 'G. saw from the tears that M. was crying, #but thought she was laughing.'

Barwise (1981): direct perception selects for individual situations (type s) not propositions, ⟨s,t⟩

**PRs are referential, in comparison to infinitives which are existentially quantified (Higginbotham 1983)**

- (6) **NEGATION (EXISTENTIAL ENTAILMENT FOR PRs)**  
 Dato che Lea non ha mai ballato...  
 Max non ha mai visto **Lea ballare il tango** /# **L. che ballava il tango**  
 M. NEG has never seen L. dance.INF the tango / L. that dance-IMPF the tango  
 'M. never saw L. dance the tango / dancing the tango.'

Scopelessness of PRs also replicated with respect to higher quantifiers (see table)



Moulton and Grillo (2015, forthcoming) argue the D can also be a **specific indefinite**.

## 2. A TWIST WITH TENSE MISMATCHES

In general, the tense of the PR must **Match** the matrix. Present tense only available under present. Past (imperfective) under past (simple past SP).

- (7) a. Gianni vide Maria che ballava. **past...past**  
 G. saw.SP M. that dance.IMPF.  
 'G. saw M. dancing.'  
 b. \*Gianni vide Maria che balla. **\*past...pres**  
 G. saw.SP M. that dance.PRES.  
 'G. saw M. dancing.'

However, when the matrix clause is Present Perfect, **Mismatch** is possible, allowing present PRs. In that case, only generic spatial/temporal modifiers are allowed (giving rise to subkinds).

- (8) a. Ho visto Maria che balla (\*al parco giovedì scorso). **Mismatch**  
 I.have seen M. that dance.PRES (at.the park Thursday last).  
 'I saw M. dancing at the park last Thursday.'  
 b. Ho visto Maria che ballava (al parco giovedì scorso). **Match**  
 I.have seen M. that dance.IMPF at.the park Thursday last.  
 'I saw M. dancing at the park last Thursday.'

(8a) and (8b) both report a past direct perception of one event of Mary dancing but (8a) additionally implies a habitual interpretation of the the embedded clause.

**But this is no ordinary embedded habitual:** These PRs are also DPs:

- (9) Ciò che ho visto è [<sub>DP</sub> questo tipo di evento] e [<sub>DP</sub> Maria che balla].  
 What that I.have seen is [ this kind of event] and [ M. that dances].  
 'What I have seen is this type of event and Mary dancing.'

**And most importantly, these PRs take scope under negation** unlike the match cases.

- (10) Max non ha mai visto Maria che balla il tango. →∃!∃>¬  
 M. NEG has never seen L. that dance.PRES the tango.  
 'M. never saw L. dance the tango / dancing the tango.'

**Lots of diagnostics** contrasting Match PRs, Mismatch PRs and infinitives:

|  | Infinitives               | Match PRs              | Mismatch PRs      |
|--|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Negation                                 | Wide/Narrow               | Scopeless (Wide)       | Narrow            |
| QP                                       | Wide/Narrow               | Scopeless (Wide)       | Narrow            |
| Numerals                                 | Collective/Distributive   | Collective Only        | Distributive Only |
| Conditional                              | No existential entailment | Existential Entailment | No ex. entailment |
| Adjunct Island                           | Multiple events           | *Multiple Events       | *Single Event     |
| Ellipsis reading                         | Strict/Sloppy             | Strict/*Sloppy         | Sloppy/*Strict    |
| Spatial/Temporal modification            | ✓(generic/punctual)       | ✓(punctual)            | Generic only      |
| Ability to introduce discourse referents | ✓                         | ✓                      | ×                 |
| Pseudo Incorporation                     | ✓                         | ×                      | ✓                 |
| Kind Anaphora                            | ×                         | ×                      | ✓                 |

## 3. WHY DOES MATRIX TENSE-ASPECT MATTER?

Experiential PERFECT (EXPPERF) promotes kind readings for DP objects; SIMPLE PAST (SP) only allows a token interpretation (see Carlson 1977:446 (122)).

- (11) Gianni ha assaggiato di tutto, la foca, la balena e perfino il tricheco.  
 G. has tasted.EXPPERF of all, the seal, the whale and even the walrus.  
 G. is a guy who tried everything, seals, whales and even walruses. KIND
- (12) Gianni assaggiò di tutto, la foca, la balena e perfino il tricheco.  
 G. tasted.SP of all, the seal, the whale and even the walrus. TOKEN  
 G. tried everything, the seal, the whale and even the walrus.

| Matrix Tense/Aspect | PR interpretation                             | Def. NP interpretation |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| SP                  | Episodic PR                                   | Token                  |
| EXP. PERFECT        | Habitual/kind PR (PRES) or Episodic PR (IMPF) | Kind or Token          |

## 4. KIND PRs

Many kind-taking predicates also take present PRs:

- (13) [Maria che balla] è piuttosto comune.  
 M. that dances is rather common.  
 'Mary dancing is rather common.'

2 ingredients:

#1. Ferreira (2005), Kratzer (2007)

- Habituals (e.g. the CP in (8a)) denote **pluralities of events**
- Episodics (e.g. the CP in (8b)) denote singular events

#2. Kind determiners:  $[[D_{kind}] = \lambda P.^{\circ}P$

- (14) For any property  $P, ^{\circ}P = \lambda w \iota P_w$ , if:  
 $\lambda w \iota P_w$  is in the domain of Kinds K;  
 P is plural; undefined otherwise. (after Chierchia 1998, 16)

- (15)  $[[DP D_{kind} [CP Maria che balla-habitual]] =$  the kind associated with an event of Maria dancing

## 5. EXPLAINING THE SCOPE DIFFERENCE WITH DKP

When token-taking verbs meet kind-denoting objects (16), the verb shifts by DKP:

- (16) [pointing at a picture of a lion in a zoology book] I saw that in the zoo  
 (Chierchia 1998, ex. 18).

(17) **Derived Kind Predication (DKP):**

$$[[verb]](kind) = \exists x [^{\circ}kind(x) \ \& \ [[verb]](x)]$$

↑  
kind = the property describing instantiations of the kind

$$[[ (8a) ]] = \exists s [^{\circ} [DP [CP Maria che balla]](s) \ \& \ see(s)(I) ]$$

=  $\exists s$  [s is an instantiation of an event-kind of dancing by Maria & I saw s ]

Low scope in (10) is just a reflection of the existential incorporated by DKP:

$$[[ (10) ]] = \neg \exists s [s \text{ is an instantiation of an event-kind of dancing the tango by Maria \& Max saw } s]$$

Other differences (see table) between Match PRs and Mismatch PRs follow. E.g. temporal modifiers are out (8a) because they attach to a habitual sentence — the token is only derived by DKP.

**Ambiguity:** Even Match PRs *can* involve a kind PR, but that meaning appears to be less available than the episodic PR.

## 6. CONCLUSION: SO WHAT'S SURPRISING?

**Habituals can be used in direct perception complements, via  $D_{kind}$**

- Ds select clauses and return the expected descriptions of situations (expected on Kratzer 1989, 2007 etc.)
- The range of Ds is constrained by Aspect (episodic/habitual) in a manner expected by Ferreira 2005.
- Role of D and verbal inflection can be separated (cf. Ferreira 2005) as both exist in PRs.
- What other Ds combine with CPs? Why not plural definites?

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