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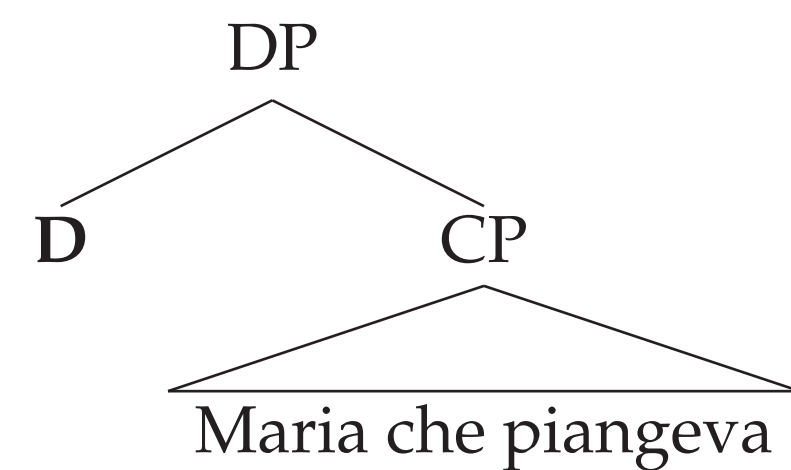
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THE PLOT

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 Higginbotham (1983)	Specific (in)Definite D Moulton and Grillo (2014)	Kind-denoting D Habitual PRs this talk!
Infinitives under perception	Standard PRs	

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**₁ />(***Chi**)₂ ho visto è **Maria₂ che piangeva₁**
 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 [_{PR} 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.

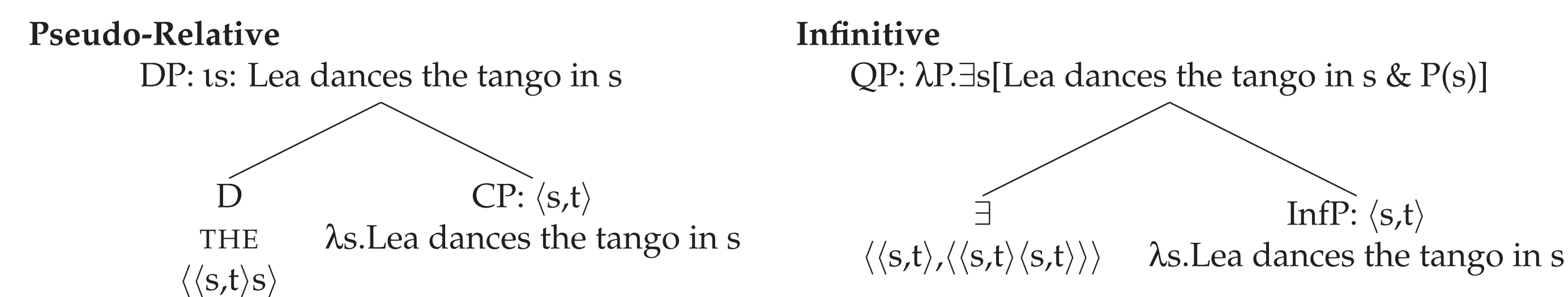
- (4) Gianni ha visto **Maria piangere /che piangeva**, ma pensava ridesse.
 G. has seen M. cry.INF /that cry.IMPF, but thought laugh.SUBJ.
 'G. saw M. cry /crying but thought she was laughing.'
 (5) Gianni ha visto dalle lacrime **che Maria piangeva**, #ma pensava ridesse.
 G. has seen from.the tears 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 [_{DP} questo tipo di evento] e [_{DP} 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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