

Pseudo-relatives and their left-periphery: a unified account

This is a pre print version of the following article:

Original:

Casalicchio, J. (2016). Pseudo-relatives and their left-periphery: a unified account. In E. Carrilho, A. Fiéis, M. Lobo, S. Pereira (a cura di), Romance languages and linguistic theory, 10: selected papers from 'Going romance' 28, Lisbon (pp. 23-42). Amsterdam : John Benjamins [10.1075/rllt.10.02cas].

Availability:

This version is available <http://hdl.handle.net/11365/1248794> since 2023-10-20T14:02:53Z

Publisher:

John Benjamins

Published:

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.10.02cas>

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PSEUDO-RELATIVES AND THEIR LEFT-PERIPHERY:

A UNIFIED ACCOUNT*

(Pre-published version, appeared in: E. Carrilho *et al.* (eds.) (2016),

Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory. Selected Papers from 'Going

Romance' 28, *Lisbon*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 23-42.

Abstract

In this article I propose a new analysis of Pseudo-Relative clauses ('PRs') within the Cartographic model (Rizzi 1997 a.o.). Heretofore, the apparently contradictory behaviour of PRs in the syntactic tests used to determine their structure has been very problematic. Based on new data from Italian, I show that PRs are Small Clauses with a ForceP projection. Moreover, I explain the inconsistent results of the syntactic tests by claiming that PRs can be embedded in different syntactic environments. More specifically, they can be inserted as 'bare' Small Clauses into the matrix clause or be part of a bigger structure: i.e., a Complex-DP, a locative adjunction or a 'Larsonian' structure.

Keywords: Pseudo-relative clauses, perception verbs, predicative constructions, Italian, Romance, Small Clauses, Generative Grammar, Syntax, Cartographic model, Split-CP

1. Introduction

Pseudo-relative clauses (PRs) are a predicative construction found in all Romance languages except Romanian, as well as some other language groups like Slavic and Greek. They correspond roughly to the English *Acc-ing* construction, witness (1)-(3):

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|
| (1) | Vedo Maria che corre | (Italian) |
| (2) | Je vois Marie qui court | (French) |
| (3) | Veo a María que corre | (Spanish) |
| | (I) see (to) Mary that runs | |
| | 'I see Mary running' | |

Since the behaviour of PRs in the syntactic tests used to determine their structure appears to be contradictory, different analyses have been proposed for them, focusing on some of their properties but leaving others unexplained (Kayne 1975, Radford 1975, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1988, Rizzi 1992, a.o.). Some scholars relate the differences in the syntactic tests to the existence of more than one PR structure (Cinque 1992, Rafel 2000 a.o.). However, these analyses either do not take the whole range of PR occurrences into account, or appear more costly than previous analyses, since they postulate two or three different structures. A further problem is

the fact that PRs have been significantly understudied in the last twenty years, and most accounts therefore lag behind recent theoretical developments.

This is the context in which I am proposing a new approach, which considers the existence of a Split-CP (Rizzi 1997, Benincà/Poletto 2004 a.o.), where there are several projections, each dedicated to a single scope-discourse property. Within this framework, I suggest that PRs are Small Clauses that correspond to a ForceP projection. Their conflicting properties are explained by the claim that PRs share a common structure, but that this basic structure can be inserted into different projection types.

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 discusses the properties of PRs in Italian. An overview of the literature to date is given in section 3, while section 4 deals with semantic differences among PRs. In the following sections I discuss my analysis of the PR-structure (§5.) and the contexts in which it can be embedded (§6.). Section 7 contains the conclusions.

2. Pseudo-relative clauses: description

2.1. Properties of Pseudo-relative clauses

Radford (1975) offers a list of properties that distinguish true relative clauses from PRs, the most important of which are:¹

1. The antecedent² of the PR can be a **proper noun**, and it can also be **cliticised** (impossible in restrictive relative clauses):

(4) Vedo Marco *che corre* (PR) vs. *Chiamo Marco *che corre* (RR)

I.see Marco that runs

I.know Marco that runs

'I see Marco running'

(5) Lo vedo *che corre* (PR) vs. *Lo conosco *che corre* (RR)

him I.see that runs

him I.know that runs

'I see him running'

2. The complementiser *che* must be used in PRs, while the relative pronoun *il quale* (used for appositive relatives) is excluded:

(6) Sento il cane *che*/**il quale* abbaia

I.hear the dog that/which barks

'I hear the dog barking'

3. The verb of the PR has **anaphoric tense**, i.e. the events described by the matrix verb and by the PR are (at least partially) simultaneous:

(7) Lo vedo *che attraversa*/**attraversava*/**attraverserà* la strada

him I.see that crosses/crossed/will.cross the street

'I see him crossing the street'

4. There is a **subject-object asymmetry**: the antecedent of the PR is coindexed with its subject:³

(8) a. Ho visto Luigi che salutava Maria

I.have seen Luigi that greeted Maria.OBJ

'I saw Luigi greeting Maria'

b. *Ho visto Luigi_i che Maria salutava Luigi_i

I.have seen Luigi that Maria.SUBJ greeted Luigi.OBJ

2.2 Main contexts for PRs

The contexts in which PRs are used can be divided into four groups according to the antecedent's syntactic role:⁴

1. The antecedent of the PR is the complement of a transitive verb. The PR can be either an adjunct (9)a or an argument of the matrix verb (9)b:

(9) a. Mangiò la pizza *che fumava* (free adjunct PR)

(he) ate the pizza that steamed

'He ate the pizza while it was steaming'

b. Ho sorpreso Maria *che rubava* (argumental PR)

I.have caught Maria that stole

'I caught Maria stealing'

2. The antecedent is the subject of the matrix clause, e.g. in locative constructions (10)a or as internal modifier of the nominal subject (10)b:

(10)a. Il cane è là *che dorme* (locative expressions)

the dog is there that sleeps

'The dog is sleeping there'

b. *I bambini che ballano* è/sono uno spettacolo (DP-modifier)

the children that dance is/are a spectacle

'Children are a real spectacle when they dance'

3. The PR is embedded in a prepositional phrase (PP), e.g. in so-called absolute constructions (11)a⁵ or in DP-modifying PPs (11)b:

(11)a. Con *Maria che piange*, non posso uscire (absolute construction)

With Maria that cries, not I.can go.out

'Since Maria is crying, I cannot go out'

b. Hai visto la foto di Maria che balla? (DP-modifying PP)

you.have seen the picture of Maria that dances

'Did you see the picture of Maria dancing?'

4. Finally, a last group refers to 'root' expressions, like captions or exclamations:

(12)a. *Aldo che picchia sua moglie?* Non ci credo! (exclamations)

Aldo that beats his wife? Not it I believe

'Aldo beating his wife? I can't believe it!'

b. E. Delacroix, *La Libertà che guida il popolo* (titles)

the Liberty that leads the people

'Liberty leading the people'

This composite list shows that the hypothesis that PRs are always bound to a perceptive or presentational meaning (Strudsholm 1998 a.o.) cannot be maintained. In fact, from a descriptive point of view, PRs should be seen as elements that transitorily modify a nominal element (Scarano 2002).

3. Previous analyses

Over past decades, the analyses proposed for PRs have evolved in three directions: the first (Radford 1975, Guasti 1988, Rizzi 1992) considers the antecedent and the PR to be a single, clausal constituent:⁶

(13) Ho visto _{CP}[Mario che correva]

The arguments for a clausal structure are mainly based on constituency tests, where the PR is resumed by neuter proforms (14)a, but also on the fact that copular verbs do not necessarily agree with the antecedent when the PR is in subject position ((14)b, and (10)c):

(14)a. Vedo _{CP}[Maria che piange]_i, e anche Luca lo_i vede

(neuter resumption)

I see Maria that cries, and also Luca sees it

'I see Maria crying, and so does Luca'

b. _{CP}[I bambini che ballano] è uno spettacolo (DP-modifier)

the children that dance is a spectacle

'Children are a real spectacle when they dance'

The second analyses PRs as Complex-NPs/DPs (Burzio 1986, Di Lorenzo 2010, Cecchetto&Donati 2011):

(15) Ho visto _{DP}[_{DP}[Mario_i] _{CP}[PRO_i [che correva]]]

The structure in (15) resembles that of relative clauses, except that it is a control structure. Among the tests for (15) are resumption with a personal pronoun (16)a and the agreement of the matrix verb with the antecedent when the PR is in subject position (16)b:

(16)a. Vedo_{DP}[Maria che piange]_i, e anche Luca la_i vede

(personal resumption)

I see Maria that cries, and also Luca her sees

'I see Maria crying, and so does Luca'

b. _{DP}[I bambini che ballano] sono un vero spettacolo (DP-modifier)

the children that dance are a real spectacle

'Children are a real spectacle when they dance'

The examples in (16)b and (14)b are minimal pairs, where the only difference is given by the structural label of the PR.

The last proposal was first made by Kayne (1975), who analysed the antecedent as an argument of the verb and the PR as a VP-adjunct:⁷

(17) Ho_{VP}[V[visto Mario]_i] _{CP}[PRO_i [che correva]]

In this 'two-constituent structure' the antecedent and the PR do not form a constituent, and the PR forms a VP-adjunct controlled by its antecedent. Evidence for this construction comes from the antecedent's cliticisation (18)a and from the insertion of elements between the antecedent and the PR (18)b, among other factors:

(18)a. *L'ho vista che giocava.*

(cliticisation)

Her I.have seen that played

'I saw her playing'

b. *Ho visto Maria [di nuovo] che rubava* (insertion of elements)

I.have seen Maria [again] that stole

'I saw Maria stealing again'

As the reader may have noticed, almost all the tests are based on sentences with perception verbs. In fact, most analyses focus on this sentence type, while other constructions with PRs have –with few exceptions– received less attention. Scholars therefore tend to base their arguments on perceptive constructions, while other properties of PRs go unnoticed or without proper explanation.

However, in other contexts for PRs the tests do not produce consistent results. For example, consider the behaviour of PRs with *sopportare* ('stand') and *sorprendere* ('catch'):

(19)a. $_{CP}$ [*Laura che fuma in casa*]_i, non lo_i sopporto!

(PR = CP)

b. $_{DP}$ [*Laura che fuma in casa*]_i, non la_i sopporto!

(PR = DP)

[*Laura that smokes at home*], not it/her I.stand

'Laura smoking at home, I can't stand it'

c. *Non lo sopporto [*che fuma in casa*]

(*PR = 2 constituents)

not him I.stand that smokes at home

- (20) a. $*_{CP}[Maria\ che\ fuma]_i, lo_i\ sorprendo\ spesso$ ($*PR = CP$)
 b. $*_{DP}[Maria\ che\ fuma]_i, la_i\ sorprendo\ spesso$ ($*PR = DP$)
 [Maria that smokes] it/her I.catch often
 c. L'ho sorpresa [che fumava] (**PR = 2 constituents**)
 her I.have caught that smoked
 'I caught her smoking'

These results lead Cinque (1992) to claim that PRs can indeed have all three of the structures that have been proposed in the literature to date:

- (13) Clausal constituent: Ho visto $_{CP}[Mario\ che\ correva]$
 (15) Complex-DP constituent: Ho visto $_{DP}[DP[Mario_i]\ CP[PRO_i\ [che\ correva]]]$
 (17) Two constituents: Ho $_{VP}[v'[visto\ Mario_i]\ CP[PRO_i\ [che\ correva]]]$

The threefold analysis is suggested by a comparison of all the different contexts in which PRs are used ((9)-(12)). Thus, PRs with perception verbs can instantiate all three structures, but when they are used with, for example, *sorprendere* (20), they can only instantiate the structure in (17).

I will come back to the syntactic analysis in §5., after a discussion of the semantic properties of these structures.⁸

4. From external syntax to semantics

The arguments for the tripartition of PRs are not limited to internal syntax: there are also differences in external syntax, which point to three different semantic values. In fact, each structure is available when it is compatible with the c-selectional properties of the PR-selecting head. Thus, verbs that select full CPs can select clausal PRs (21), while verbs or prepositions that select simple DPs can select PRs which are complex DPs (22):⁹

(21)a. Immagino_{CP}[che sarai stanco] (*immaginare* + CP)

I imagine that you are tired

'I guess you are tired'

b. Immagina_{CP}[Gianni che balla]!

Imagine Gianni that dances

'Imagine Gianni dancing'

(22)a. Ho incontrato_{DP}[Lucia] (*incontrare* + DP)

I have met Lucia

'I met Lucia'

b. Ho incontrato_{DP}[Lucia che piangeva]

I have met Lucia that cried

'I met Lucia crying'

The contrast between *immaginare* ('imagine') and *incontrare* ('meet') is clear: the former usually selects a CP, thus PRs with *immaginare* have the clausal structure (21), while *incontrare* selects a DP, and so its PRs are complex DPs (22).

Another piece of evidence concerns PRs embedded in argumental PPs. Verbs like *pensare* ('think', in the sense of 'have a particular image in mind'), for example, can select both CPs and DPs (23)a-b. PRs can therefore instantiate both a CP and a DP structure (23)c:

- (23)a. Pensavo _{CP}[che Filippo è stato licenziato] (*pensare*+CP)
 I.thought that Filippo is been fired
 'I was thinking about Filippo, who was fired'
- b. Pensavo a _{DP}[Filippo] (*pensare*+a+DP)
 I.thought about Filippo
 'I was thinking about Filippo'
- c. Pensavo a _{CP/DP}[Filippo che viene licenziato]
 (*pensare*+a+PR_{CP}/PR_{DP})
 I.thought to Filippo that is fired
 'I was thinking about Filippo, who was fired'

The striking fact of (23)c is that the pattern '*pensare*+*a*+CP' does not exist; nevertheless, the PR in the PP can be a CP.¹⁰ On the other hand, verbs like *parlare* ('speak') select only DPs: '*parlare*+*con/a*+DP' – not CPs. As expected, PRs only have a DP-structure with these verbs (see Casalicchio 2013 for further details).

The differences in the c-selection are related to semantic differences: CP-like PRs denote clausal elements (usually considered to be propositions, but see Grillo/Moulton 2015 for the proposal that they are events), and for this reason they are used with (some of the) verbs that select propositions. On the other hand, PRs can be part of complex DPs (see *infra* for a detailed analysis). In this case, they temporarily modify the antecedent, which is thus given a special semantics, as in the case of *if*- or *when*-clauses (Cinque 1992):¹¹

- (24)a. I can't stand Carlo and Paolo smoking
- b. I can't stand Carlo and Paolo when they smoke

Turning now to the two-constituent structure, I suggest that we should distinguish between cases in which PRs are adjuncts and others in which they are an argument of the verb. The first case concerns verbs like *mangiare* ('eat'):

- (25) Mangiò la pizza (che fumava)
 he.ate the pizza (that steamed)
 'He ate the pizza (while it was steaming)'

Here the PR is an adjunct, since the sentence would be grammatical even without the PR. In other cases, however, the PR is an argument:¹²

- (26) Ho sorpreso Maria *(che rubava)
 I.have caught Maria that stole
 'I caught Maria stealing'

In cases like (26), PRs cannot be considered free adjuncts, since their absence would yield an ungrammatical result.

In conclusion, Figure 1 shows the possible structures of PRs:

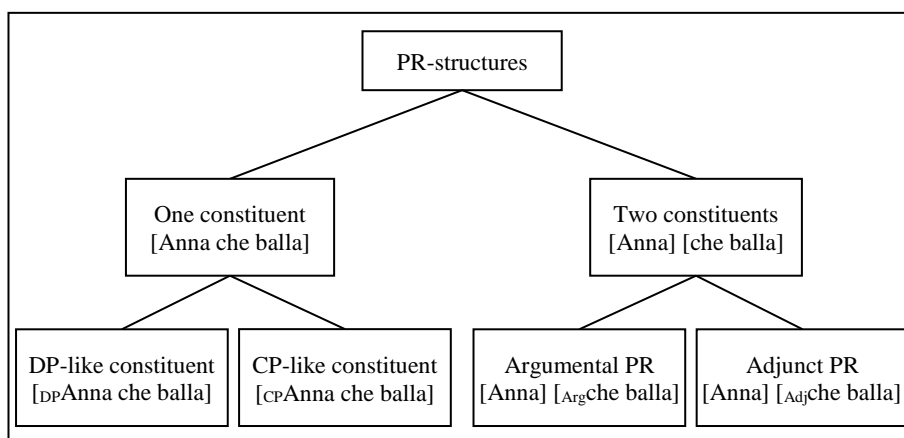


Figure 1: The four structures of PRs in Italian

5. New proposal for a unified analysis:

In this section, I put forward a new approach, which combines the advantages of Cinque's (1992) threefold analysis with the expected uniformity of all PRs.

5.1 *Pseudo-relatives are Small Clauses*

There is ample evidence for analysing PRs as Small Clauses (SCs; Haïk (1985), Cinque (1992), Rafel (2000) a.o.). First, PRs occur only in those contexts in which an SC with a Stage-Level predicate is possible:

| | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------|------|
| (27) | Ho visto Lucia I have seen Lucia | { | <i>malata</i> | (AP) |
| | | | ill | |
| | | | <i>in lacrime</i> | (PP) |
| | | | in tears | |
| | | | <i>che correva</i> | (PR) |
| | | | that run | |

Second, PRs can be coordinated with other SCs:

- (28) Con *sc*[Gianni malato] e *sc*[Maria che tossisce continuamente], ...
With Gianni ill and Maria that coughs continuously, ...
'Since Gianni is ill and Maria keeps coughing...'

Finally, PRs are not syntactically independent, as SCs in general:

(29) *Gianni malato/che mangia

Gianni ill/that eats

It might seem surprising that PRs are SCs, since they are almost fully expanded clauses. Indeed, in her analysis of cleft sentences, Belletti (2008) notes that the main property of SCs is not their 'smallness', but the fact that they have a Subject-Predicate configuration. In formal terms, this is expressed through an EPP-feature in a position higher than the predicate:

(30) SC[EPP[Subject] [Predicate]]

(31) ... EPP[Jean_{FinP}[~~qui~~ [~~la~~ ~~parlé~~]]]]]]]]

(adapted from Belletti 2008, 9)

5.2 The internal structure of Pseudo-relatives

In this section, I identify the exact position of the antecedent and the complementiser within a Split-CP (Rizzi 1997 a.o.). According to this model, the CP has a complex internal structure, in which each head is dedicated to a specific scope-discourse property. I assume that the CP-layer is structured as follows (Benincà/Poletto 2004 a.o.):¹³

(32) Hanging Topic (HT) > ForceP > TopP > FocusP > FinP > TP

A first consideration to note is that the antecedent and the complementiser cannot be separated by any intervening material, as we will see in the tests.

Let us first consider the ordering of HTs and PRs.¹⁴ As shown in (33), HTs always precede the antecedent:¹⁵

(33)a. Maria_i, Luca che invita quella cretina_i non è una buona idea.

Maria, Luca that invites that idiot not is a good idea (HT > PR)

'Maria- Luca inviting that idiot is not a good idea

b. *Luca, Maria_i, che invita quella cretina_i non è una buona idea (*PR > HT)

Luca, Maria, that invites that idiot not is a good idea

In contrast, both the antecedent and the complementiser appear in a higher position than topics:

(34)a. *Aldo che a Roma ci porta pure Mario?* Non ci credo! (PR > Top)

Aldo that to Rome there takes also Mario? not to-it I.believe

'Aldo is also taking Mario to Rome? It's incredible!'

b. *A Roma, *Aldo che ci porta pure Mario?* Non ci credo!

(*Top > PR)

to Rome Aldo that there takes also Mario? not to-it I.believe

Contrastive Foci are usually incompatible with PRs:¹⁶

(35)a. **Le ragazze che LAURA imitano (e non Giulia) è divertente*

(*PR > Foc)

the girls that LAURA mimic (and not Giulia) is funny

b. *(LAURA,) *le ragazze (LAURA) che imitano è divertente*

(*Foc > PR)

(LAURA,) the girls (LAURA) that mimic is funny

The results show that both the antecedent and the complementiser are located in ForceP:¹⁷

(36) HT > *Maria che* > Top

A further piece of evidence for this position comes from complex wh-exclamatives, which, according to Benincà (2001), also target ForceP. Since exclamatives are only compatible with main clauses, we need a special context for PRs. I propose to use a PR which might be found as caption in a newspaper (37) (cfr. (12)b):

(37) Il presidente che guarda la partita

the president that looks-at the match

(38)a. *Che partita (che) il presidente che guarda! (*Excl > PR)

what match that the president that looks-at

b. *Il presidente (che) che partita che guarda!¹⁸ (*PR > Excl)

the president (that) what match that looks-at

As expected, they compete for the same position and are therefore incompatible. This is further confirmed by the fact that PRs can also be used as exclamatives (12)a.

Thus, I suggest that the complete structure of PRs is as follows:¹⁹

(39) SC=ForceP[+EPP][Maria_i che TopP[... TP[pro_i canta_v VP[pro_i canta]]]]]

In (39), the Small Clause is a ForceP, the Specifier of which has an EPP-feature. The presence of this feature makes Spec,ForceP criterial: according to Rizzi/Shlonsky (2007), positions are criterial if they are dedicated to a scope-discourse interpretive property.²⁰ Elements that are merged in a criterial position are frozen in place and cannot move any further. This explains why the antecedent cannot be extracted from the CP-structure:²¹

(40) *Chi_i non sopporti ~~chi_i~~ che fuma in casa?

who not (you) stand ~~who~~ that smokes at home

Note also that the CP of (39) is not complete, since FocusP, and possibly other projections, is/are missing. This explains why Foci are incompatible with PRs (35).

The subject-object asymmetry of PRs is due to minimality (Rizzi 1990 and subsequent work): the antecedent cannot be coindexed with an object because there is an intervening element (the *pro* subject of the PR).

I also propose that this type of SC be considered a full phase: other elements cannot be extracted from the PR because they cannot pass through the phase edge:

- (41) *Cosa_i hai visto Maria che comprava ~~cosa_i~~?
what you.have seen Maria that bought ~~what~~

Now, an alternative approach could analyse the antecedent as moved to Spec,ForceP from inside the TP or vP (Haik 1985, Casalicchio 2013 a.o.). PRs would be based on an Operator-like movement, and this explains why Foci are excluded from PRs (35).

However, at least two arguments lead me to modify the analysis provided in Casalicchio (2013) in favour of (39). First, a movement approach cannot explain why only the subject can be the antecedent of a PR. In principle, the EPP need not be satisfied by the syntactic subject, because it can also be associated with either a topicalised element or the pragmatic subject (see e.g. Rizzi 2005 on quirky subjects):

- (42) A Marco stanno mancando sempre di più i suoi amici
to Marco is missing always more the his friends
'Marco is missing more and more his friends'

In (42), 'Marco' is the pragmatic and semantic subject, while the syntactic subject is 'i suoi amici', as shown by the agreement of the verb with the latter. Note that the verb is used in the progressive form so that we can be sure that we are dealing with a stage-level predicate (since individual-level predicates are independently excluded from PRs). If PRs involved an internal merge in Spec,ForceP, we would also expect pragmatic subjects to be allowed in that position. However, this is not the case:

- (43) *Con (a) Marco che stanno mancando i suoi amici...
with (to) Marco that are missing the his friends...

The second argument for my analysis concerns reconstruction effects. In fact, this is a possible test for distinguishing between raising and control structures:

- (44) Friends of each other seemed [*e* to amuse (*e*) the men]
(45) *Friends of each other wanted [PRO to amuse (*e*) the men]

(Langendoen&Battistella 1982)

However, this test is not easy to apply to PRs because in Italian the differences seen in (44)-(45) only appear when the higher element is first merged in the object position. A possible solution to this problem would be to consider psych-verbs: as shown by Belletti&Rizzi (1988), with some psych-verbs like *preoccupare* ('worry') the syntactic subject 'questo' of (46)-(47) is merged in a more embedded position than the Experiencer 'Gianni':²²

(46) Questo preoccupa Gianni

this worries Gianni

"This worries Gianni"

(47) s[ec VP[[preoccupa questo] Gianni]] (Belletti/Rizzi 1988, 293)

As expected, reconstruction effects are grammatical with raising verbs (48), but not with control verbs (49):

(48) I propri_i figli sembrano preoccupare Gianni_i

the own children seem worry Gianni

'His own children seem to worry Gianni'

(49) *I propri_i figli credono di PRO preoccupare Gianni_i

the own children believe of worry Gianni

If we now adapt this test to PRs, the result is ungrammatical:

- (50) *Vedere i propri_i figli che preoccupano Gianni_i mi dispiace
 see.INF the own children that worry Gianni me displeases
- (51) *Con i propri_i figli che preoccupano Gianni_i...
 with the own children that worry Gianni...

Hence, we are forced to conclude that the antecedent of a PR is not raised to Spec,ForceP, instead being externally-merged in this projection.²³

6. Four embedding contexts for PRs

In §5. I have proposed a basic structure for PRs (39). Now I show that in order to account for all its syntactic properties, we have to consider the different positions into which it can be inserted.

First, consider the CP-structure, which is used, for instance, with verbs of the *immaginare*-class (52) and when the PR is the subject of non-agreeing copular verbs (53). In this case the basic structure is directly merged in the needed argument position:

- (52) Immagina SC/ForceP[Gianni che balla il walzer]
- (53) SC/ForceP[I bambini che ballano] è uno spettacolo

Second, the Complex-DP structure. I follow Cinque (1992) in analysing it as a control structure, because this explains both the subject-object asymmetry of PRs of this type (8) and why PRs are only grammatical with certain verbs, since Complex-DP structures have to meet their selectional requirements:

(54) Vedo Maria che canta

I.see Maria that sings


'I see Maria singing'

(55) *Chiamo Maria che canta


I.call Maria that sings

I suggest that the PR-structure (39) is inserted into the DP as a functional projection (FP). Its internal structure is the same as in the case of clausal PRs (see Casalicchio 2013 for the tests of co-occurrence with other elements of the Left Periphery (32)-(34)). Since it is a control structure, it is headed by a PRO:

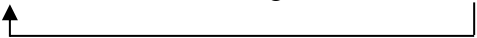
(56) DP[Maria_i FP=PR[PRO_i che TopP[... TP[pro_i balla]]] NP[Maria_i]]



(57) La foto di DP[Anna_i FP=PR[PRO_i che balla] NP[Anna]]



(58) DP[I bambini_{FP=PR}[PRO_i che giocano] NP[~~bambini~~]] sono adorabili



(56) shows the internal structure of these Complex-DPs, while (57) and (58) illustrate the position of the Complex-DP within a DP-modifying PP (headed by the preposition *di*) and when it is the subject of agreeing verbs.

The last structure concerns cases in which the antecedent and the PR form two distinct constituents. I suggest that here the PR is part of a locative phrase (LocP) projected by an abstract Loc^o, because two-constituent PRs have important affinities with locative adjuncts/arguments: in many cases PRs either alternate or co-occur with locative phrases:

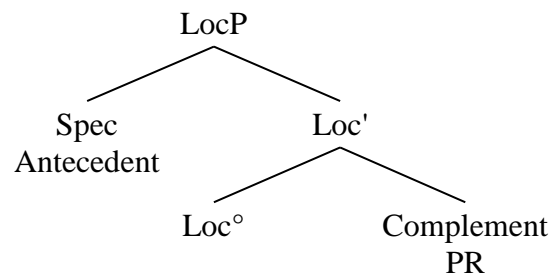
(59) L'ho vista che dormiva / a letto
 her (I) have seen that slept / in bed
 'I saw her sleeping/in bed'

Moreover, in some cases 'two-constituent' PRs can be resumed by a locative clitic:

(60)a Maria non ce la vedo che canta in pubblico
 Maria not there her (I) see that sings in public
 'I can't imagine Maria singing in public'

Therefore, I propose that two-constituent PRs are in the complement position of LocP:

(61)



The PR is again a control structure with a PRO in ForceP, as the subject-object asymmetry shows:²⁴

(62) $\text{LocP}[\text{Maria}_i \text{ Loc}'[\text{Loc}^\circ \text{ ForceP}[\text{PRO}_i \text{ che TopP}[\dots \text{TP}[\text{pro}_i \text{ canta}]]]]]$

However, as noted in §3, it is necessary to distinguish between the contexts in which the PR constitutes an adjunct to the matrix verb, and those in which the PR is an argument. PRs are adjuncts, for instance, of the verbs *mangiare* ('eat') or *lasciare* ('leave'). I propose that LocP is inserted into the required argument position, i.e. in the complement position of the VP if it is an object (63)a, or, if the antecedent is the subject of the matrix clause, in Spec,vP (63)b:

- (63)a. Gianni mangiò la pizza_i LocP[~~la pizza_i~~ Loc° [PRO_i che fumava]]]
- b. Anna_i lasciò la stanza_i vP[LocP[Anna_i Loc° [PRO_i che piangeva]] ...]
-

In both cases the antecedent moves out of LocP: in (63)a it moves to the position in the vP dedicated to determined/specific objects (see Diesing's 1992 mapping hypothesis),²⁵ while in (63)b it moves to the TP. In both cases the PR remains within LocP.

When both the antecedent and the PR are arguments of the matrix verb, I propose that the verb projects a 'Larsonian' structure:

- (64) vP[Giulio sorprende vP[Maria_i v[sorprende [PRO_i che ruba]]]]]
-

Summarising the proposal put forward in this section, we see that the basic structure shown in (39) occurs in any type of PR. It is the way and the place in which this structure is embedded that changes. This analysis allows us to combine a single analysis – that of PRs as always being ForcePs – with Cinque's claim that the former have more than one structure. The differences between PRs are therefore not dependent on their internal structure, but rather on the context in which they occur.

7. Conclusions

In this article I propose a new analysis of PRs, which combines the advantages of Cinque's (1992) threefold structure with the more frequent 'mono-structure' approaches. In order to reach this result, I suggest that there is only one basic structure for all types of PR; therefore the differences are not due to the PR-structure itself, since PRs are always ForcePs. The differences are, in fact, explained by the wider context of each PR i.e. by the structures into which it can be inserted.

Consequently, it is important that we know exactly what these structures look like. In this paper I suggest that PRs can either be inserted as bare SCs, i.e. as clausal constituents, or be located in a Complex-DP or in a LocP, where they are either arguments of the matrix verb or adjuncts. These structures are not selected for theory-internal reasons; in fact, they have an important semantic counterpart, thus demonstrating that PRs can be related to the matrix clause in various ways.

The conclusions that I reach in this article can be transposed to other predicative constructions: the analysis proposed has significant similarities with other Romance constructions, like gerundial clauses and prepositional infinitives, as I showed in Casalicchio (2013). However, future research should examine whether or not these considerations also hold for non-verbal

predicative constructions in Romance languages, or for similar constructions in other language groups, as is predicted by my approach.

8. Literature

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* I would like to especially thank Adam Ledgeway for reading through, and for his helpful suggestions. Moreover, I am grateful to Paola Benincà, Andrea Padovan, Cecilia Poletto and the audience of Going Romance 2014 for useful comments, and to Rachel Murphy for reviewing the English of the article. The usual disclaimer applies. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 613465 (AThEME).

¹ There are in fact some exceptions to the properties listed in 3-4 (see Casalicchio 2013).

² In this article I use the term 'antecedent' to refer to the nominal element that is coindexed with the subject of the PR. This should just be considered a descriptive label and does not imply that I consider PRs to be a subgroup of relative clauses.

³ As pointed out by Adam Ledgeway (p.c.), this implies that PRs with verbs like *affondare* ('sink') permit only the unaccusative, and not the transitive object reading:

(i) Vedo la barca che affonda

I.see the boat that sinks

"I see the boat sinking/*I see the boat being sunk"

⁴ For a detailed list of contexts where PR can occur, see Casalicchio (2013). Note that the role played by the antecedent does not correlate with a particular structure of PRs.

⁵ For the absolute construction, see in particular Casalicchio (2015).

⁶ The structures in (13), (15) and (17) are simplified for expository reasons.

⁷ Following Landau (2003 and successive work), throughout this article I maintain the use of PRO for indicating the null pronoun of control clauses.

⁸ A semantic approach to PRs has just been proposed by Grillo&Moulton (2014). The authors, who focus on perception verbs, analyse PRs as having both a DP and a two-constituent structure.

⁹ An anonymous reviewer pointed out that analysing (one type of) PRs as CPs is problematic, since it does not account, for example, for the asymmetry between these two clause types with perception verbs. I am aware of this issue, but I think that there are various ways in which this difference can be accounted for, e.g. the fact that PRs are SCs (see *infra*). I also think that an important contribution to this topic comes from Grillo&Moulton (2015), who propose that PRs are headed by a null determiner.

Unfortunately, this paper appeared too late for me to take their proposal fully into account.

¹⁰ For syntactic tests confirming the two proposed analyses (CP and DP) with *pensare*, see Casalicchio (2013). As suggested by Adam Ledgeway (p.c.), this proposal is confirmed by the fact that its PRs can be resumed by both the clitics *ci* and *lo*.

¹¹ A further piece of evidence for semantic differences between CP- and DP-structures is provided by Cinque (1992):

- (i) Se senti Gianni che fa piangere il fratellino, chiamami

(Cinque 1992, 23)

If you hear Gianni that makes cry the little-brother, call-me

'If you hear Gianni making his little brother cry, call me'

I agree with Grillo/Moulton (2015) in analysing (i) as a direct perception of the whole event (pace Cinque 1992): thus, PRs with perception verbs sometimes correspond to other clausal elements, like infinitival clauses and full CPs (recall that full CPs may convey both direct and indirect perception). Usually, however, the PR conveys the direct perception of the antecedent (and thus has a DP-structure).

¹² The example in (26) is grammatical without a PR in an irrelevant reading, where *sorprendere* means 'surprise' and not 'catch'.

¹³ The structure in (32) is a simplified version of Benincà/Poletto's (2004) proposal.

¹⁴ In these tests I systematically use PRs that have a non-ambiguous CP-like structure. However, the same results are obtained with the other two structures (see *infra*).

¹⁵ As an anonymous reviewer observed, in (33)a the HT could also be in the matrix CP, instead of the CP of the PR. What mainly matters for my analysis, however, is that the antecedent can never be higher than a HT (33)b.

¹⁶ Note that contrastive foci are usually grammatical in Italian embedded clauses, and that they are not incompatible with the informational status of PRs, since low foci are possible:

- (i) Maria e Anna che imitano LAURA (e non Giulia) è divertente

Maria and Anna that mimic LAURA (and not Giulia) is funny

'Maria and Anna are funny when they mimic Laura, not Giulia'

¹⁷ This finding is in line with Rizzi's (1997) claim that the complementiser *che* usually occurs in ForceP (cf. also Ledgeway 2012).

¹⁸ This example could maybe be grammatical with a comma intonation after *presidente*; in this case, however, we would not deal with a PR, but with an exclamative with an extraposed subject.

¹⁹ This structure holds for Standard Italian, but not necessarily for other varieties. In Grecanico (a Modern Greek dialect spoken in Calabria), the higher complementiser *ti* is used, like in Italian. In Ariellese (Abruzzese), on the other hand, PRs are formed with the lower complementiser *che*, which is usually analysed as merged in FinP:

- (i) Ivra i Maria ti etroge to glicio (Maria-Olimpia Squillaci, p.c.)
I.saw the Maria that ate the cake
'I saw Maria eating the cake'
- (ii) Vedə Marijə chə stè ppiagnə (Roberta D'Alessandro, p.c.)
I.see Maria that stays cry
'I see Maria crying'

²⁰ An anonymous reviewer asked what the interpretative property associated with the antecedent in ForceP was. I think that the antecedent and the complementiser are in ForceP because they signal that the clause-type involved is a Small Clause. Moreover, there is at least one context in which the merge of the antecedent in ForceP is expected, confirming our analysis: as seen in (12)a, PRs can be used in exclamations, which are associated with the Force projection (cfr. *supra*).

²¹ Recall that the antecedent can move further if it is in a two-constituent structure. In this case, however, the antecedent is merged outside the PR-constituent.

²² I thank Luigi Rizzi (p.c.) for suggesting me this test, which has already been used by Grillo&Moulton (2015).

²³ Note that there is also a conceptual problem if we posit that the subject of a Small Clause is first merged within the predicate and then moved to the subject position.

²⁴ The tests give the same results for this kind of PR, too, thus showing that they are ForcePs (Casalicchio 2013).

²⁵ Note that in cases like (63)a it is impossible to have a non-specific antecedent (in (i) a relative clause reading is forced):

- (i) #Maria mangia una pizza che fuma
Maria eats a pizza that steams