

The structure of Pseudo-relatives in Spanish.

A preliminary account

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Aims of the talk

- ✓ to investigate some properties of pseudo-relatives, infinitives and gerunds with Spanish perception verbs, which have not yet received sufficient empirical and theoretical attention in the literature
 - (im-)possibility of passivization
 - (lack of) subject-object asymmetries
- ✓ to present an acceptability judgment task with respect to PRs in Spanish (and their infinitival and gerundive counterparts)
- ✓ to provide a (preliminary) approach to the differences between PRs, infinitives and gerunds in terms of...
 - the 'size' of the (embedded) clause
 - the position of the clause (complementation vs. adjunction)
 - phase theory

0 Introduction

In the complement of perception verbs, Spanish has four possibilities to encode very similar meanings:

1. Finite complement:

- (1) *Vi [que Juan bailaba].*
(I)saw that Juan danced
'I saw that John danced.'

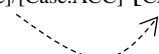
2. Infinitive:

- (2) *Vi a Juan bailar.*
(I)saw ACC Juan dance.INF
'I saw John dancing.'

3. Gerund:

- (3) *Vi a Juan bailando.*
(I)saw ACC Juan dance.GER
'I saw John dancing.'

For **finite complements**, the embedded clause is the direct object of *ver* ‘see’:

- (4) [CP C [TP T-Vi [VP *pro* v-*vi* [VP \bar{V}_i _{{0:Theme}/[Case:ACC]} [CP *que* ... *pro* *bailaba*]]]]]
- 

For **infinitives and gerunds**, there are in principle several possible **analyses**:

a) **secondary predication** (with PRO in nonfinite clause):

[VP Perception-V [ACC DP] [S PRO infinitive/gerund]]

- the infinitive/gerund is in adjunct position and reference of PRO is determined by means of predication, similarly to other secondary predicates:

- (5) *Vi* [DP *a Juan*] [AP *contento*]
saw(I) ACC.Juan satisfied

b) **ECM; *accusativus cum infinitivo***

[CP ... [VP Perception V [S [ACC DP] Infinitive/Gerund]]]

- accusative Case is assigned ‘exceptionally’ to the subject of the embedded nonfinite verb, i.e. to its external argument (Hernanz 1999, Ciutescu 2018)

c) **Clause Union / restructuring:**

[CP ... [VP Perception V-Infinitive [S [ACC DP] ~~Infinitive~~]]

- the infinitive moves out of the embedded clause, forming a complex verb and a single case domain

4. Pseudo-relatives (PRs)

- (6) *Vi a Juan que bailaba.*
(I)saw ACC Juan that danced
‘I saw John dancing.’

- **PRs have some mixed properties of finite and nonfinite clauses**

- the embedded verb is inflected for person, number, and tense/aspect
- but the subject of the complement cannot have free reference (see Suñer 1984, Campos 1994, Herbeck 2020, for Spanish):

- (7) *Vi a Juan_i que {_____{i/*j} / *María} bailaba.*
(I)saw ACC Juan that María danced

- pseudo-relative structure, in which the ACC DP is inside the Spec of a small clause (Cinque 1992, Campos 1994, Rafel 1999, Casalicchio 2013, 2016, among many others)?

Research questions:

What are the properties of PRs in Spanish? In how far can they be considered (non-)finite structures?

If Spanish has four ways of encoding complements of perception verbs, what are their different functions and structures?

To what extent are Spanish PRs similar to and different from Italian PRs (e.g. Graffi 1980, 2007, Cinque 1992, Guasti 1988, 1992, Rizzi 1992, Casalicchio 2013, 2016, among others)?

1 Some properties of pseudo-relatives (and infinitives and gerunds) in the complement of perception verbs in Spanish

Some preliminary observations on the structure of PRs, in comparison to infinitives and gerunds:

A) Negation

- even though it has been argued in the literature that negation is impossible in pseudo-relatives (cf. Campos 1994), corpus examples can be found.

- (8) *Entonces me puse a correr pa que me vieran que **no me iba a quedar tranquilo***
 ‘Then I started to run so that they saw that I wouldn’t stay there without doing anything’
 (CORPES XXI, written, Chile)

- Herbeck (2020): **negation structurally possible**, but requirement of direct perception

⇒ Gerunds: no negation (Casalicchio 2019)

⇒ Infinitives: no negation (Hernanz 1999)

B) only anaphoric tense?

Campos (1994), Rafel (1999:169): PRs have anaphoric tense

- (9) a. **Veo a José que venía.*
 see.PRES.1SG DOM José that came.IMP.3SG
 b. **Vi a José que viene/vendrá.*
 see.PAST.1SG DOM José that come.PRES.3SG/come.FUT.3SG
 (Campos 1994:212)

A few corpus examples containing **tense mismatches** can be found; but mostly **partial** ones:

- (10) matrix past preterit / embedded past perfect:

*Una vez los perseguimos buen rato a los terrucos hasta que los **vimos que habían entrado** en una casa, se escondieron en una casa.* (CORPES XXI, written, Peru)
 ‘[...] we saw [them] that they had entered into a house [...]

Even if PRs are inflected, **they do not have fully independent tense!**

- no full deictic centre (Bianchi 2003) in the C-domain; no free reference

⇒ Gerunds: only anaphoric tense (Casalicchio 2019)
 ⇒ Infinitives: (presumably) only anaphoric tense

C) Camacho (2011): **no left dislocation** within the PR:

- (11) a. *Vi a María que compró los panes.*
 saw.1SG María.ACC that bought.3SG the bread
 ‘I saw Mary buying bread.’
 b. **Vi a María que los panes, los compró.*
 saw.1SG María.ACC that the bread them brought.3SG

(Camacho 2011:26)

However, speaker judgments (12 linguist informants) range from acceptable to unacceptable, with a **tendency towards acceptable**:

- (12) Pseudo-relative:
La vi que, los libros, los leía en la biblioteca. (ok: 6, ?: 3, *: 3)
 (13) Full finite complement:
Vi que, los libros, los leían en la biblioteca. (ok: 12, ?: 0, *: 0)

Cf. left dislocation inside **infinitives** and **gerunds**:

- (14) Infinitive:
La vi, los libros, leerlos en la biblioteca. (ok: 2, ?: 3, *: 7)
 (15) Gerund:
La vi, los libros, leyéndolos en la biblioteca. (ok: 1, ?: 4, *: 7)

- PRs having less structure than full finite clauses, but more structure than infinitives and gerunds?

Some issues that need further research:

- will be the topic of talk!

D) **Passivization of the matrix perception verb** in PR constructions

- Rafel (2000), Herbeck (2020): passivization of the matrix verb impossible:

- (16) ?* *María fue vista que besaba a Juan.* (Rafel 2000: 99; fn. 74)
 María was seen that kissed DOM Juan

⇒ Gerunds: passivization is (presumably) possible (DiTullio 1998)
 ⇒ Infinitives: passivization is generally impossible (DiTullio 1998; Sheehan 2020)

This fact is surprising because **Italian PRs generally allow passivization** (cf. Cinque 1992).

- (17) Gianni è stato visto che correva a tutta velocità. (Cinque 1992: 11)
 Gianni is been seen that run at full speed
 ‘Gianni was seen running very fast.’

E) subject-object asymmetries (see Graffi 1980, Cinque 1992, Campos 1994, Rafel 1999, Casalicchio 2016)

- (18) *He visto a Juan que saludaba a María.*
 (I)have seen Juan.ACC that greeted.3SG María.ACC
 (19)**He visto a María que saludaba Juan.*
 (I)have seen Mary.ACC that greeted.3SG Juan.NOM (Rafel 1999:168)

➤ the ACC DP can only co-refer with a null subject (not an object) inside the PR

BUT: Campos (1994), Aldama García (2018), Herbeck (2020):

No asymmetry if the object inside the PR is realized as **a dative/accusative clitic**:

- (20) *Lo_i vi que le_i daban golpes por todos los lados.*
 him saw.1SG that him-DAT give.3SG hits everywhere
 ‘I saw how he was beaten everywhere.’ (Campos 1994:211)
 (21) *Lo_i vi que lo_i arrestaban.*
 him saw.1SG that him arrested.3PL
 ‘I saw how he was arrested.’ (Campos 1994:235)

⇒ No information about gerunds and infinitives on this phenomenon.

RECAP:

	PRs	Gerunds	Infinitives
negation	ok	*	*
non-anaphoric tense	*?	*	*
left dislocation	?yes	no	no
matrix passivization	no?	yes	no
embedded passivization	NA	NA	NA
subject-object asymmetries	ok/*	NA	NA

Table 1: Information about the properties of PRs, Gerunds and Infinitives in the literature

2 Experiment

We investigate **four phenomena**, which might provide evidence for the type of structure of the embedded clause:

- embedded modal verbs
- embedded passivization
- matrix passivization
- subject-object asymmetries (→ resumptive pronoun strategies)

In this talk, we focus on the properties of **matrix and embedded passivization** and **subject-object asymmetries**.

2.1 Methodology

Before the development of the questionnaire, a corpus study of PRs with matrix accusative clitics has been conducted.

- CORPES XXI (RAE)
- investigation of embedded tense/aspect
- subject-object asymmetries
- embedded verb types

However, given the low frequency of the configuration in the corpus (74 unambiguous cases), an acceptability judgment task has been conducted.

- the sentences of the experiment have partly been selected, departing from data found in the corpus

2.1.1 The questionnaire

Online questionnaire.

1st part: sociolinguistic data (country, age, gender, ...)

2nd part: short training/example

3rd part: acceptability judgement task (Likert scale 1-5)

→ 3 sentences for each topic: one with PR, one with gerund, one with infinitive

Total:

- **21 sentences** on perception constructions (3 for each phenomenon)
- Fillers (22 sentences with various syntactic phenomena)

4th part: Last question to check whether participant speaks a *leísta* variety

2.1.2 Participants

Total number: 82 participants
Age: 18-75 (mean: 32, median: 30,5)
Gender: 58,5% female, 40,2% male, 1,3% other/I don't want to say it
Country of origin: Spain (59; 14 of them from Catalunya)
 Argentina (6)
 Mexico (6)
 Costa Rica, Cuba, Venezuela (each 2)
 Chile, Colombia, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (each 1)

2.2 Results

2.2.1 Embedded passive

Tested sentence:

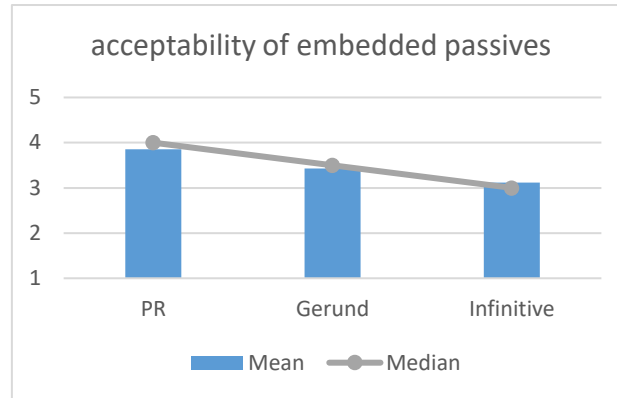
(22)

A	María,	la	vi	{	<i>que estaba siendo</i> <i>siendo</i> <i>ser</i>	}	forzada.
DOM	Maria,	her.CL	I.saw		BE		forced

'I saw Maria being forced.'

Results:

	PR		Gerund		Infinitive	
	mean	median	mean	median	mean	median
Embedded passive	3.85	4	3.43	3.5	3.12	3



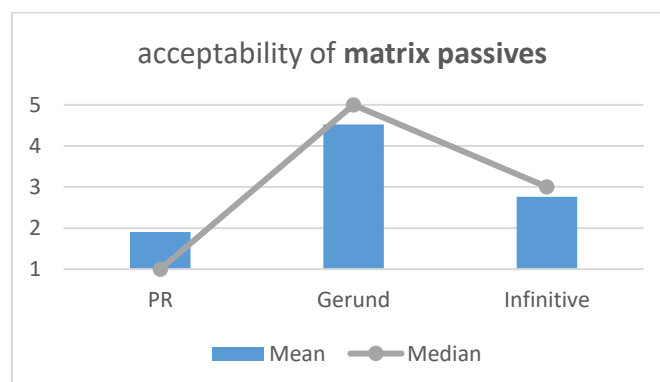
2.2.2 Matrix passive

Tested sentence:

- (23) La actriz fue vista $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{que lloraba} \\ \text{llorando} \\ \text{llorar} \end{array} \right]$ en un restaurante berlinés.
 the actress was seen CRY in a restaurant Berliner
 ‘The actress was seen crying in a restaurant in Berlin.’

Results:

	PR		Gerund		Infinitive	
	mean	median	mean	median	mean	median
Matrix passive	1.90	1	4.52	5	2.76	3



2.2.3 ‘Controlled’ non-subjects

Tested sentences:

a) Dative experiencers:

- (24) Cuando la vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que le caían} \\ \text{cayéndole} \\ \text{caerle} \end{array} \right\}$ lágrimas, le pregunté qué pasaba.
 when her.CL I.saw FALL=her.DAT.CL tears her.DAT.CL I.asked what happened
 ‘When I saw her crying, I asked her what was happening.’

b) Dative (non-experiencers):

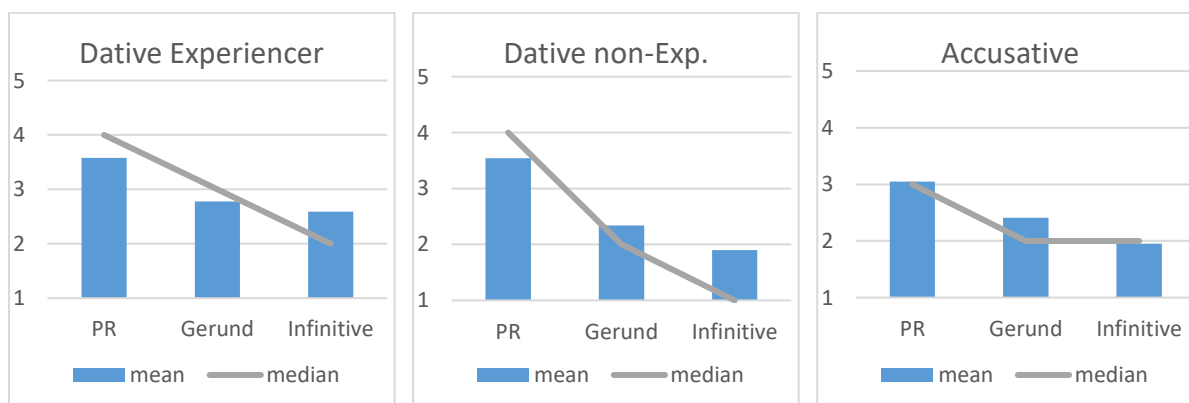
- (25) Cuando la vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que le daban} \\ \text{dándole} \\ \text{darle} \end{array} \right\}$ golpes un ladrón, llamé a la Policía.
 when her.CL I.saw GIVE=her.CL beats a thief I.called to the police
 ‘When I saw that a thief was beating him, I called the Police.’

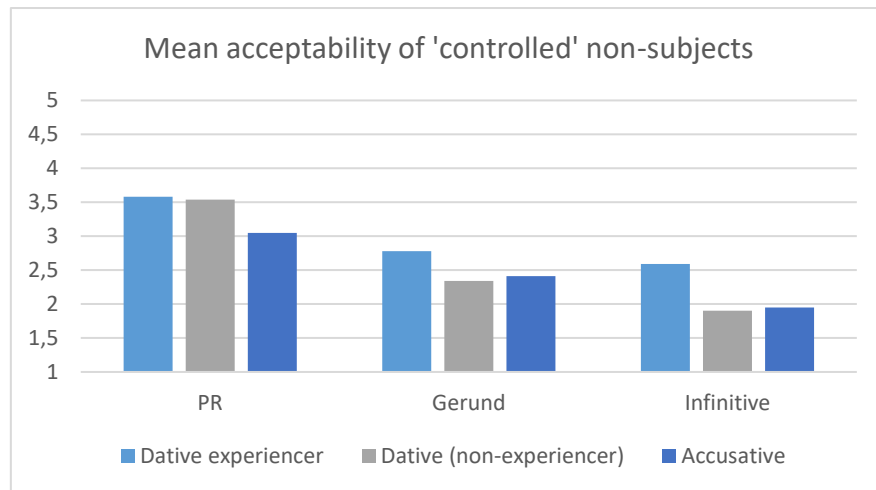
c) Accusative objects:

- (26) A los ladrones, los vi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{que los llevaba} \\ \text{llevándolos} \\ \text{llevarlos} \end{array} \right\}$ la Policía.
 DOM the thieves them.CL I.saw BRING.AWAY-them.CL the police
 ‘I saw that the Police brought away the thieves.’

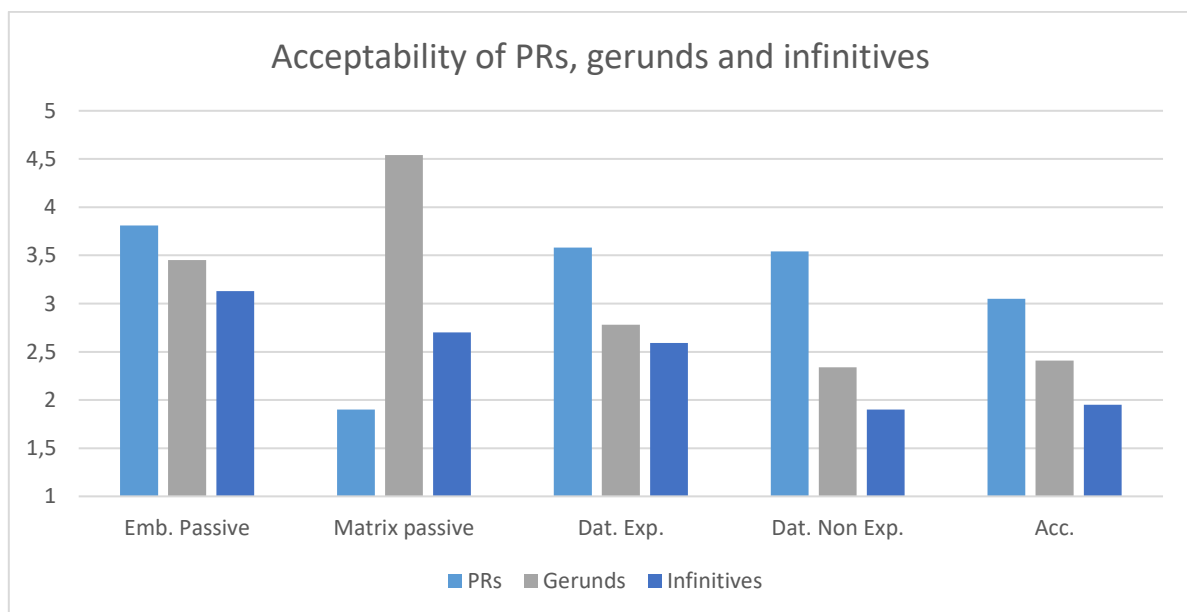
Results:

	PR		Gerund		Infinitive	
	mean	median	mean	median	mean	median
Dative experiencer	3.59	4	2.73	3	2.56	2
Dative (non-experiencer)	3.52	4	2.33	2	1.93	1
Accusative	3.15	3	2.41	2	1.95	2





2.3 Recap & Discussion



A. Embedded passive: quite acceptable with all constructions (>3)

B. Matrix passive: PRs are out, gerunds are fully acceptable

C. 'Non-subjects': PRs get the best scores in all cases. They are more acceptable with datives. Gerunds and infinitive are strongly marginal/ungrammatical

First observations:

A → PRs have at least a VoiceP, maybe gerunds and infinitives as well?

B → most intricate issue concerning PRs (will be discussed below); gerunds are secondary predicates (thus ok); infinitives are VoicePs (thus marginal/ungrammatical)

C → PRs probably show a 'movement + clitic resumption' mechanism; gerunds and infinitives score better than expected in some cases

3 Towards a (preliminary) analysis

Starting points:

- **Clausal complements can have different ‘sizes’** (cf. e.g. Rizzi 1997, Felser 1999, Wurmbrand 2001, Haegeman 2004, Sheehan & Cyrino 2018, among others; Folli & Harley 2007 for causatives)
- **Phase-based theory** (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2007; Sheehan & Cyrino 2018, Sheehan 2020)
- Pseudo-relatives are not ‘relatives’ (Kayne 1975, Radford 1975, 1977, Graffi 1980, Suñer 1984)

Phasal status of PRs, infinitives and gerunds:

- PRs are **reduced structures**
 - no speaker/addressee linking (no free reference)
 - no independent tense
 - left peripheral fronting restricted for some speakers
- reduced left periphery: no SAP (Speas & Tenny 2003), no external logophoric centre (Bianchi 2003), no FocP:

Finite clause: [SAP SA [ForceP ... [FocP FOC [TopP Top [FinP Fin [TP T [vP v [VP V]]]]]]]]]

PR: [~~SAP SA~~ [~~ForceP ...~~ [~~FocP Foc~~ ([TopP Top) [FinP Fin [TP T [vP v [VP V]]]]]]]]]

- PRs contain inflected verbs, a complementizer, and allow CLLD for some speakers
- PRs project at least a FinP and a low TopP, similarly to some control infinitives (Rizzi 1997, Haegeman 2004)

Gerunds and infinitives are more reduced

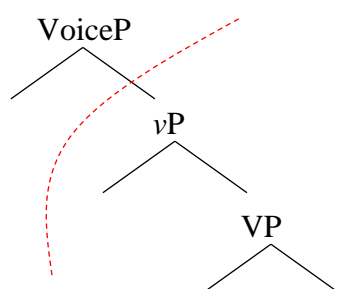
- CLLD strongly marginal; no tense, no phi, no neg, no comp
- TP, VoiceP, vP?

Inf /Ger: ([TP T) [VoiceP Voice [vP v [VP V]]](I)

3.1 Embedded passives

The **gerund and infinitive** allow **embedded passivization** for several speakers

- the embedded clause contains a VoiceP above vP; VoiceP is a phase (cf. Sheehan & Cyrino 2018; Sheehan 2020):



- material inside vP should not be available for A-operations in the matrix domain; cf. Chomsky's 2000 PIC

3.2 Matrix passives (long passivization)

Sheehan & Cyrino (2018), Sheehan (2020), building on Chomsky's 2001 PIC2:

Long passives are possible if the embedded infinitive contains a T-projection (with an EPP) and blocked if it does not project T (\rightarrow bare infinitives):

(27) a. BVC:

I made/saw/heard [Kim fall/sing/read the book].

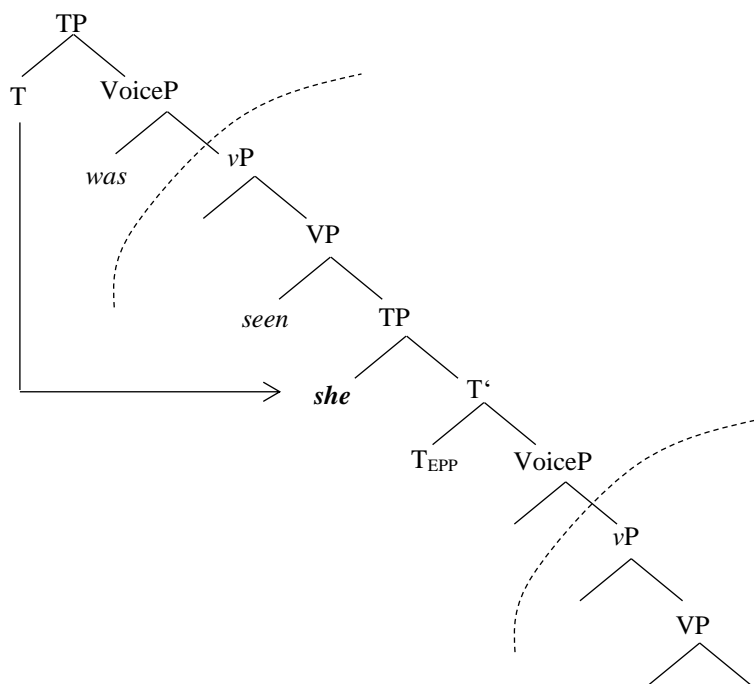
b. *passive of BVC:

*Kim_i was made/seen/heard [t_i fall/sing/read a book].

(Sheehan 2020 [adapted])

(28) He was seen/made [TP **to** have completed the training before the meeting].

(Sheehan 2020 [adapted])



(graph built on Sheehan 2020:7)

- prohibition against crossing two phase boundaries (cf. Sheehan 2020; building on Chomsky's 2001 PIC2)

PIC 2 (Chomsky 2001):

In a configuration [$ZP Z \dots [HP \alpha [H YP]]$], (where H and Z are phase heads)

“The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.” (Chomsky 2001:14)

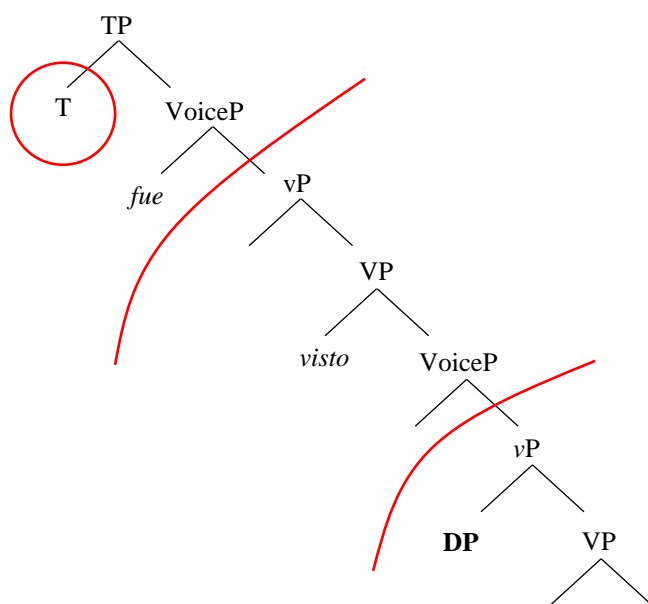
3.2.1 Long passives with infinitives

In Spanish, long passives with infinitives are **marginal** → speaker variation

(29) % *La actriz fue vista llorar en un restaurante berlinés.*

(mean acceptability: 2.76; median: 3)

- speakers that do not allow ‘long passives’: **no TP projection; bare VoiceP**



- [nom] Case Agree between matrix T and the embedded DP would violate PIC2
- passivization impossible

Infinitives = ECM (cf. Hernanz 1999; Ciutescu 2018), but without TP

(30) *Julia vio [VoiceP a Juan bailar].*

For those speakers that accept long passives → the infinitive projects a TP

- A-movement to Spec,TP feeds further A-movement

3.2.2 Long passives with gerunds

Gerunds allow apparently ‘long passivization’ for most speakers:

(31) % *La actriz fue vista llorando en un restaurante berlinés.*

(mean acceptability: 4.53; median: 5)

- not necessarily a consequence of PIC2, but gerunds have a possible structure of **secondary predication** (DiTullio 1998; Casalicchio 2019)
- ‘long’ passive is in fact **short**

(32) [*Juan*] fue visto [~~Juan~~] [PRO bailando].

Infinitives, in contrast to gerunds, **do not have a derivation of secondary predication** (DiTullio 1998; Casalicchio 2019):

- (33) *Vi a Juan [muy tranquilo] y [sonreír].
 I.saw Juan.ACC very calm and smile.INF
 (Di Tullio 1998:202 fn. 8; Casalicchio 2019:84)
- (34) Vi a Juan [muy tranquilo] y [sonriendo].
 I.saw Juan.ACC very quiet and smiling
 (Di Tullio 1998: 202; Casalicchio 2019:81)

3.3 Long passive with pseudo-relatives

PRs have more structure than infinitives and gerunds:

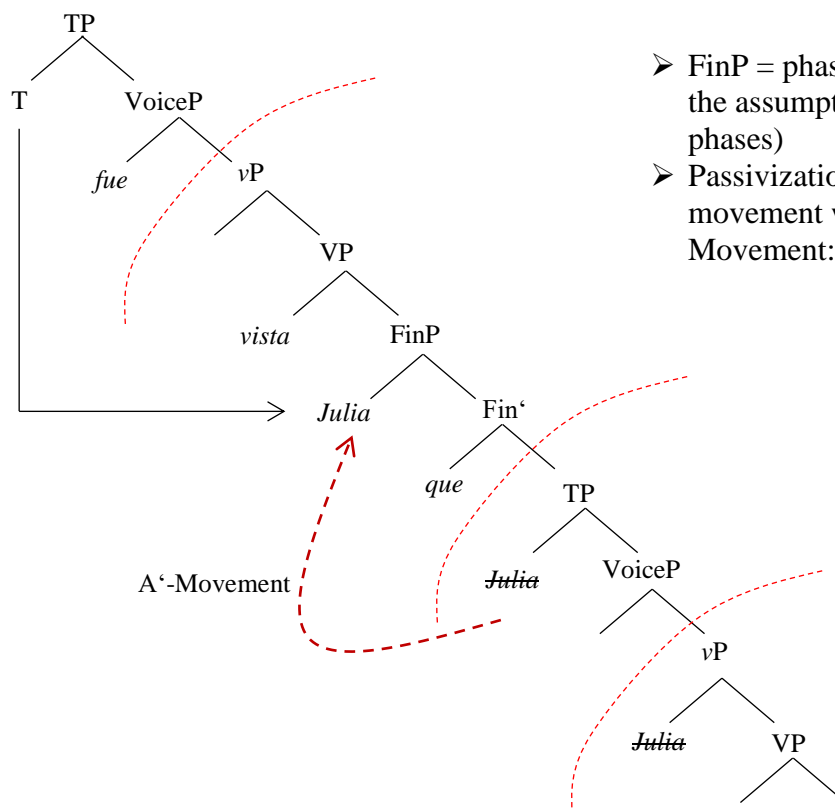
- TP/AgrP (inflected structures)
- NegP (negation permitted)
- FinP (low complementizer)
- for some speakers, TopP above FinP

Problem: Why are **long passives impossible with PRs** if the embedded clause projects a TP?

- (35) % *La actriz fue vista que lloraba en un restaurante berlinés.*
 (mean acceptance: 1.9; median: 1)

Possible solution for impossibility of matrix passivization:

- **Phase-based account**



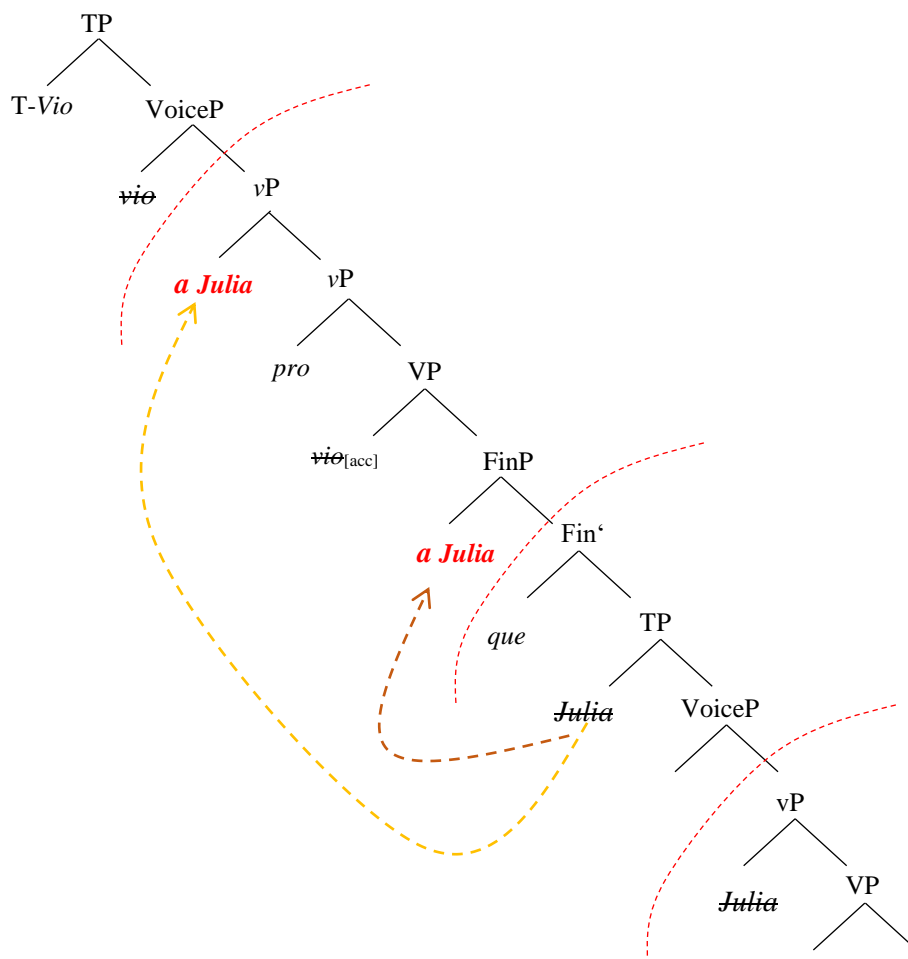
- FinP = phase (see López 2009 for the assumption that FinPs can be phases)
- Passivization in terms of A-movement would yield Improper Movement: (A-A'-A)

3.3.1 The derivation of pseudo-relatives with accusative DPs

How are PRs derived?

- ECM-like structure or object movement?

(36)



- Spec,FinP as the subject-of-predication position (cf. Casalicchio 2016)
- *in situ* accusative Case Agree
- Spec,FinP as a **mixed A/A'-position?** (left periphery plus ACC Case?)

However, there is also evidence that movement into the matrix position is an option:

(37) Vi **a Juan** ayer que bailaba con mi novia.
 saw.1SG ACC.Juan yesterday that danced.3SG with my girlfriend
 (Herbeck 2020:118)

- for some speakers, the ACC DP can precede certain matrix adverbs

Object movement = A-movement?

- would technically be an option because only one phase (FinP) would be crossed, in contrast to 'long passives' where two phases (matrix VoiceP + FinP) would have to be crossed

Object-movement = A'-movement?

- for the object position in Spanish, it has often been argued that a higher Spec of ν P sanctions a position for **scrambling** (Ordóñez 2007), p-movement (López 2009), or object shift (Gallego 2010, 2013)

If Spanish sanctions a position for object scrambling, this position might be targeted, also by 'accusative subjects':

(38) [_{FP} F [_{TP} T-Vi [_{VP} (a **María**) [_{VP} *pro* v-vi [_{VP} V-vi [_{FinP} (a **María**) Fin-que ...

- long distance ACC *Agree* as well as movement an option

Further evidence:

Constituency test (Rafel 1999):

- (39) a. [Hasta a Juan que bailaba un tango] vimos ayer.
 even ACC.Juan that danced a tango saw(we) yesterday
 → acc DP *a Juan* inside embedded FinP
- b. [Hasta a Juan] vimos ayer [que bailaba un tango].
 even ACC.Juan saw(we) yesterday that danced a tango
 → *a Juan* inside matrix clause

Note that **accusative clitics** are clear evidence that movement into the matrix clause is possible.

Interim summary

Long passives in PRs:

- impossible because two phase boundaries intervene (even if movement to T): matrix VoiceP and embedded FinP
- moving first to matrix ν P impossible because of lack of trigger (accusative Case absorbed)
- using escape hatch (Spec,FinP) yields improper movement (A-A'-A)

Object movement:

- two possibilities?
 - A-movement would not be blocked because only one phase head intervenes
 - A'-movement in terms of p-movement or scrambling would be a potential option

Long passives out of infinitives:

- impossible because two phase boundaries intervene (matrix and embedded VoiceP)
- no embedded TP 'feeding' further A-movement

'Long' **passives with gerunds** are in fact **short**

- gerunds have a derivation of **secondary predication**
- the ACC DP can be generated as a matrix object → passivization unproblematic

4 What about Italian?

Italian PRs allow passivization (Cinque 1992), in contrast to Spanish

Italian does not allow gerunds in the complement of perception verbs!

(40)*Ho visto Paolo cantando
(I)have seen Paolo.ACC singing

(41)*L'ho visto cantando
him-(I)have seen singing

➤ **Italian PRs appear in the context of Spanish gerunds**

➤ Italian PRs, in contrast to Spanish, can resource to a strategy of **secondary predication**

(42) Ho visto Gianni [PRO che correva] (Casalicchio 2016: 40 [adapt.])
I.have seen Gianni that ran.3SG

➤ This applied to passivization yields in fact *short* passives! (exactly like Spanish gerunds)

(43) [Gianni] è stato visto [Gianni] [PRO che correva].
Gianni is been seen Gianni that ran.3SG
'Gianni was seen running very fast.'

Evidence: when the DP is clearly inside the PR, passivization is ruled out (like in Spanish):

(44) Non sopporto [CP Paolo che canta]
not (I)-stand Paolo that sings
'I can't stand Paolo singing.'

(45)*Paolo non è sopportato che canta.
Paolo not is stand that sings
intended: 'nobody can stand Paolo when he's singing.'

Spanish	Italian
PR	PR
Gerund	
Infinitive	Infinitive

Note: **French** also seems to allow passivization (→ secondary predication?)

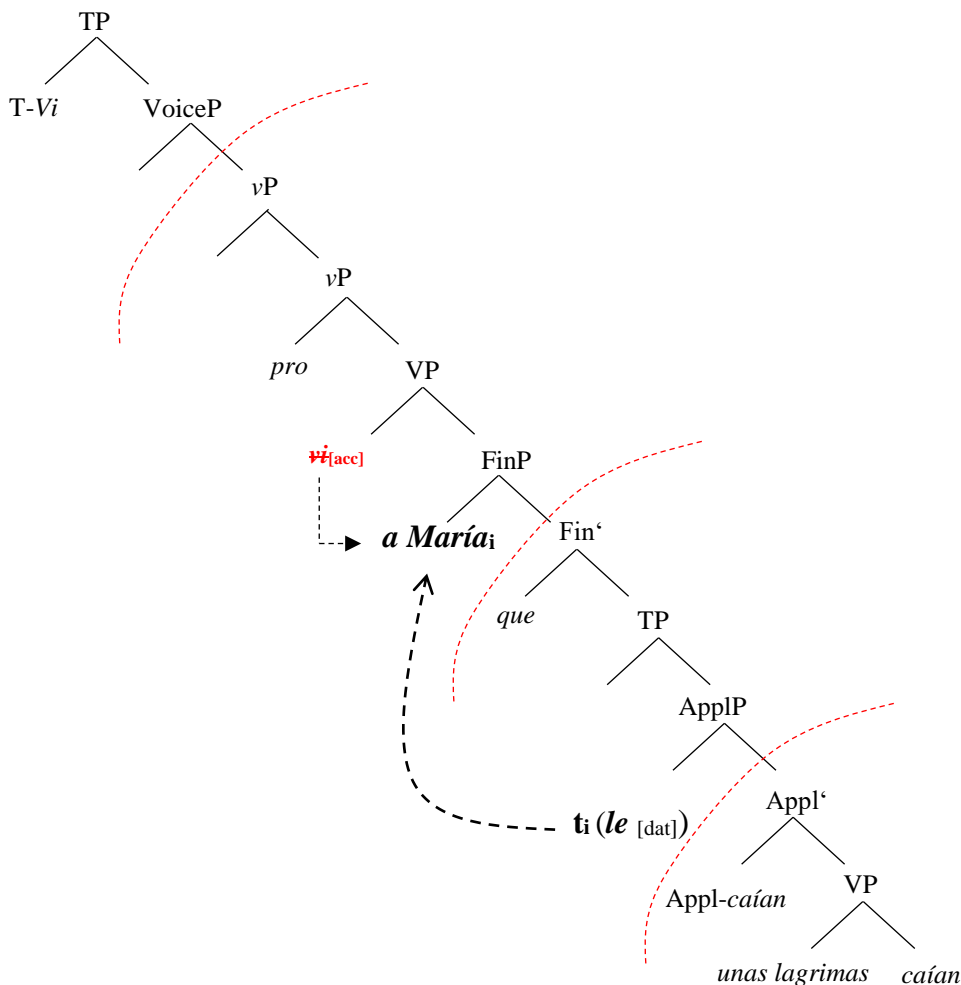
(46) Le suspect a été vu qui volait une voiture. (Authier & Reed 2020)
the suspect AUX been seen that stole a car
'The suspect was seen stealing a car.'

5 Lack of subject object asymmetries in Spanish PRs:

(47) % *La_i vi que le_i caían unas lagrimas.* (mean acceptability: 3.59; median: 4)

- resumptive pronoun strategy (cf. Herbeck 2020)
- ‘last resort’ mechanism (cf. Shlonsky 1992, Sharvit 1999)
- resumptive pronoun insertion to resolve the conflict between two Cases

(48) ... [_{VP} v_[uACC]] [_{VP} Vi [_{FinP} a María_i que [_{TP} T-caían [_{AppIP} t_i (= le_[dat]) ApplP-caían ...



- matrix *v* needs to check ACC and phi-features
- However, closest Goal is a DAT DP or clitic
- the Goal is still active (not sent to interfaces (→ PIC2))
 - all operations apply at the phase level – at spell-out (Chomsky 2007)

Resolving this **Case conflict** by means of spelling out the higher and lower copy.

- **multiple Case Chain** (Bejar & Massam 1999; Alexiadou et al. 2010)

Experiencer resumptive pronouns are *slightly* more acceptable than accusative DOs

- Experiencers are generated higher in the structure than the nominative subject (AppIP; Cuervo 2020)
- the Experiencer is the closest Goal for *Agree* with matrix *v*
- IOs and DOs are generated below the embedded subject in a transitive structure → locality
- However, dative IO clitics received similar acceptance in the experiment

(49) % *Cuando la vi que le daba golpes un ladrón, llamé a la Policía.*
(mean acceptability: 3.52; median: 4)

(50) % *A los ladrones, los vi que los llevaba la Policía.*
(mean acceptability: 3.15; median: 3)

6 Some issues for future research

A) subject-object asymmetries in infinitives and gerunds

- even though resumptive pronouns are less acceptable than in PRs, they are not fully out for all speakers:

(51)
 Cuando la vi $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{cayéndole} \\ \text{caerle} \end{array} \right]$ lágrimas, le pregunté qué pasaba.
 when her.CL I.saw FALL=her.DAT tears her.DAT I. asked what happened

(mean acceptability infinitive: 2.73; gerund: 2.56)

- acceptability is fully **unexpected!**

Possible solution:

- related to the fact that infinitives and (absolute) gerunds can have overt subjects in Spanish (cf. Rigau 1995; Hernanz 1999, Herbeck 2015, among any others)

B) subject-object asymmetries in Italian (and French)

- It seems that clitics improve them in certain configurations:

Italian:

(52)?Ho visto Giovanni_i che suo_i padre lo picchiava. (Graffi 1980)
 I.have seen Giovanni that his father him.CL beat
 ‘I have seen Giovanni while he was beaten by his father.’

(53)Paolo la vide che *(la) stavano rincorrendo. (Cinque 1992: fn. 4)
 Paolo her.CL saw that her.CL they.were chasing
 ‘Paolo saw her being chased.’

- (54) Ieri in TV ho visto Maria che le davano un premio.
 yesterday in TV I have seen Maria that her.DAT.CL they.gave a reward
 ‘Yesterday on TV I saw Maria receiving a reward.’

➤ usually the subject is impersonal; agent defocusing?

French:

➤ Subject-object asymmetry apparently exists in French (Authier & Reed 2020):

- (55) *J’ai entendu Macron que les Gilets Jaunes huaient.
 I have heard Macron that the Vest Yellows booed

But there may be some cases where it is possible:

- (56) Voilà ta soeur qu’on porte dans son lit. (Sandfeld 1909: 119)

- (57) Je l’ai vue qu’on la portait encore en bras (French; A. Antoine 1822)
 I her have seen that on her brought still in arm

➤ would have to be tested

C) *wh*-extraction

Literature claims that *wh*-extraction is

- possible out of PRs (Suñer 1984) or only if the matrix ACC element is a clitic (Campos 1994)
- impossible out of gerunds (at least if argumental *wh*-; Di Tullio 1998:204)
- possible out of infinitives only if there is clause union (Di Tullio 1998:216)

Considering **preliminary speaker judgements** (12 linguist informants), the status of *wh*-extraction is not fully clear, but seems to depend on the type of *wh*-element:

(58) PR and *wh*-extraction:

a. *wh* = ACC-Obj:

¿**Qué libro** la viste que leía? (ok: 1, ?: 4, *: 7)

b. *wh* = PREP-Obj:

¿**De qué** la viste que se quejaba? (ok: 1, ?: 8, *: 3)

c. *wh* = adjunct

¿**Con qué cuchillo** la viste que cortaba las cebollas? (ok: 5, ?: 4, *: 3)

Speaker judgments have a tendency towards **accepting *wh*-extraction with infinitives and gerunds** (even though in both cases, argument extraction is more marginal than adjunct extraction):

(59) Infinitives and *wh*-extraction:

a. *wh* = ACC-Obj:

¿**Qué libro** la viste leer? (ok: 7, ?: 4, *: 1)

- b. *wh* = PREP-Obj:
 ¿*De qué la viste quejarse?* (ok: 8, ?: 3, *: 1)
- c. *wh* = adjunct
 ¿*Con qué cuchillo la viste cortar las cebollas?* (ok: 11, ?: 0, *: 1)

(60) Gerunds and *wh*-extraction:

- a. *wh* = ACC-Obj:
 ¿*Qué libro la viste leyendo?* (ok: 6, ?: 3, *: 3)
- b. *wh* = PREP-Obj:
 ¿*De qué la viste quejándose?* (ok: 8, ?: 2, *: 2)
- c. *wh* = adjunct
 ¿*Con qué cuchillo la viste cortando las cebollas?* (ok: 11, ?: 0, *: 1)

Some ideas:

- PRs have a FinP phase, whose edge is occupied by the accusative subject
 - blocks argument extraction?
- infinitives and gerunds are ‘smaller’ (no FinP phase) → direct A’-movement?

Note: Extraction seems to be fully out in **Italian PRs**:

- (61) * Con cosa_i l’hai visto che tagliava la torta t_i?
 with what him-have.2SG seen that cut.3SG.IMPF the cake

7 Conclusion

- PRs in Spanish are reduced complements (FinPs (+TopP))
 - they are phases, blocking passivization, but not object movement (PIC2)
- Infinitives and gerunds are more reduced
 - differences with respect to passivization stem from complement vs. adjunct (→ secondary predicate) position
- PRs in Spanish, differently from Italian, do not have a secondary predication structure
- subject-object asymmetries are the result of a resumptive pronoun strategy, which resolves multiple Case assignment

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