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# Pseudo Relatives in Modern Hebrew

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## **Abstract**

This study addresses the Pseudo Relative (PR) construction in Modern Hebrew, a construction which has been identified and studied in the Romance languages and Modern Greek, as well as in Dutch and Serbo-Croatian, but never before in Hebrew. PRs are structurally similar to relative clauses (RC), but have different characteristics that justify treating them as a separate construction. For example, Hebrew PRs can only appear with the complementizer *ha-* ‘*the*’, while RCs allow *ha-*, *še-* and *ašer*; PRs restrict the tense of the embedded verb while RCs do not.

Conducting a systematic and comprehensive comparison between the Hebrew PR and its counterparts in Italian and Greek, I show that the Hebrew construction shares many features of the Greek and Italian ones, but also differs from them in certain respects. However, closer examination reveals that the differences are superficial: they do not reflect any fundamental difference in the structure or essence of the Hebrew PR, but stem from independent parametric differences between the languages.

The essential similarity between the Hebrew and Italian PR means that, in seeking to analyze the Hebrew construction, it is pertinent to examine analyses proposed for the Italian one, such as the one suggested by Moulton and Grillo (in prep.; 2015a,b). These scholars argue that, unlike RCs, PRs do not denote properties of concrete individuals but rather of events. Syntactically, they form a single constituent of type DP, headed by an empty D position complemented by a CP predicate of situations. This analysis allows Moulton and Grillo to account for various properties of the PR, such as its exceptional agreement and case marking and the existential presuppositions it triggers. In Hebrew it will allow me to also account for the restrictions it places on the choice of complementizer.

In proposing an analysis for the Hebrew PR, I indeed adopt Moulton and Grillo's analysis, with certain modifications necessary to account for the specific behavior of the Hebrew construction. I argue that although Hebrew PRs, unlike their Italian counterparts, contain an overt determiner-complementizer (*ha-*) in the C position, the empty D position posited by Moulton and Grillo for Italian should nevertheless be retained in the Hebrew analysis as well, since it helps to account for several prominent features of the Hebrew PR. I show that the suggested Hebrew analysis accounts for all the features of the Hebrew PR, including the behaviour of PRs with conjoined VPs, an issue not addressed in the discussions of PRs in the literature.

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## List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
CP	complementizer phrase
CS	construct state
FS\FP	feminine singular\ feminine plural
FUT	future
IMPF\IMP	imperfective
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
MS\MP	masculine singular\ masculine plural
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PR	pseudo relative
PRES	present
PRON	pronominal copula
PST	past
PTCP	participle
QR	quantifier raising
RC	relative clause
SC	small clause
SG	singular
SOT	sequence of tense
VB	verbal

## Introduction

This study discusses the Pseudo Relative (PR) construction in Modern Hebrew<sup>1</sup>. PRs have been studied in several languages, including Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek, but never before in Hebrew.

In terms of their structure, PRs superficially resemble Relative Clauses (RCs). Like RCs, PRs have a DP\NP head, and consist of a complementizer followed by a clause (see ex. 5 for a schematic representation). However, a closer examination reveals many differences between RCs and PRs, both syntactic and semantic. These differences have motivated researchers to treat the PR as a distinct construction, with its own syntactic structure and semantic meaning. According to Moulton and Grillo (2015a, b), PRs differ from RCs in that they denote properties of events, while RCs denote properties of concrete individual. Over the years, researchers have proposed various structural analyses for the PR in several Romance languages (Italian, French and Spanish) and in Modern Greek. This study argues that the PR constitutes a distinct construction in Modern Hebrew as well, and suggests an analysis for it.

Relative clauses are classified into two types: restrictive and non-restrictive. NPs with restrictive RCs (as in examples 1 and 2) denote the intersection of two sets: the set denoted by the head noun, and the one denoted by the relative clause. The restrictive RC thus restricts the denotation of the head noun, making it a subset of the set denoted by the head. In example 1, set A (denoted by the head noun) is 'students', set B (denoted by the RC) is 'individuals who were arriving at school'; the intersection of the two sets is 'students who were arriving at school.' Combining this with the

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Hebrew PRs are extremely rare, if there are any, in colloquial Modern Hebrew. However, PRs are found in the literature and in written Modern Hebrew.

definite article *the* yields a unique plural individual: the students who were arriving at school in the specific instance evoked by the speaker.

1. התבוננתי דרך החלון בתלמידים שהגיעו לבית הספר.  
hitbonanti    derex    ha-xalon    ba-talmidim    ʃe-hegiʃu  
look.1.SG.PST through the-window at.the-students that-arrive.3.PL.PST  
le-beit.ha.sefer  
at-school  
‘I looked through the window at the students who were arriving at school.’
2. חשבתי על הילדים המגיעים לגן ברגל.  
xaʃavti    ʃal    ha-yeladim    ha-magiʃim    la-gan    ba-regel.  
think.1.SG.PST about the-children the-arrive.PTCP.PL to.the-kinder.garden by.the-foot  
‘I thought of the children who come to school on foot.’

Non-restrictive relative clauses add backgrounded information regarding the head noun, but do not restrict its denotation, since it is already uniquely identified.

3. הזמרת, שמציינת את יום הולדתה היום, יצאה להגוג.  
ha-zameret, ʃe-mecayenet    ʔet    yom.huladet-a    ha-yom, yacʔa  
The-singer that-celebrate.PTCP.MS ACC birthday-her today went-out.3.SG.PST  
laxgog  
to-celebrate  
‘The singer, who is marking her birthday today, went out to celebrate.’  
(<https://pplus.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4993574,00.html>, 24.7.2017)
4. שוחחתי עם גל, המספר סיפורי עם, על תרבויות שונות.  
soxaxti    ʃim gal, ha-mesaper    sipurey ʃam,    ʃal    tarbuyot ʃonot.  
talk.1.SG.PST with Gal the-tell.PTCP.MS stories.CS folk about cultures different  
‘I talked with Gal, who tells folk tales, about different cultures.’

As for the PR construction, it consists of a nominal head (of type DP or NP), followed by a complementizer and an embedded participle phrase. The following is a schematic representation of a Hebrew sentence with a PR in object position:

5. Subject + V + [PR DP\NP + [COMP<sub>ha</sub> + VP<sub>participle</sub>]]

When the PR construction complements a verb, it is always a perception verb such as לראות/להתבונן

'to see/watch', לשמוע/להקשיב, 'to hear/listen,' etc.<sup>2</sup>

6. האזנתי לרן המספר על חוויותיו מהטיול.  
heʔezanti le-ran ha-mesaper ʕal xavayot-av me-ha-tiyul.  
listen.1.SG.PST to-Ran the-tell.PTCP.MS about adventures-his from-the-trip  
'I listened to Ran telling about his experiences from the trip.'

The following are two attested examples of PRs following perception verbs:

7. לילי התבוננה בנתן המגלגל את השזיף בכף ידו...  
lili hitbonena be-natan ha-megalgel ʔet ha-ʕezif be-kaf-yad-o  
Lili watch.3.SG.PST at-Natan the-roll.PTCP.MS ACC the-plum in-hand- his  
'Lili watched Natan rolling the plum in his hand...'  
(*The Imposter Bride*, Nancy Richler [Hebrew translation], 2014, p.6)

8. היא התבוננה בחבר שבטתה המנסה לדוג במאמץ רב עד שהצליח לתפוס דג אחד ולהשליך אותו ליבשה.  
hi hitbonena be-xaver-ʕivt-a ha-menase ladug  
she watch.3.SG.PST at-friend.CS-tribe-hers the-try.PTCP.MS fish.INF  
'She watched her tribe member trying to fish.'  
(<https://he.mypen.net/serialized-stories/6301>, 12.11.2017)

The following is an additional attested example, this time of a modifier of an NP with a perceptual content (picture):

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<sup>2</sup> In Italian, a PR (or a structure that closely resembles a PR) can also follow verbs such as 'catch', 'convince' and 'meet', which are not perception verbs since they select only individuals as their complements, whereas perception verbs also select events. I found no convincing examples of this sort in Hebrew. All potential examples of PRs preceded by the equivalent Hebrew verbs are interpreted as RCs rather than PRs, e.g.:

ברדתי מן המדרגות פגשתי בשלושה צעירים, קבצני בית הסוהר, המחזרים אחר נדבות באבדסט־חנה  
be-redeti min ha-madregot pagalti be-ʕloʕa ceʕirim, ...  
descending.my.CS from the-stairs meet.1.SG.PST with-three young.men  
ha-mexazrim axar nedavot be-abdest-xana  
the-beg.PTCP.MP for charity in-abdest-Xana  
"Descending the stairs, I met three young men... begging for charity... at Abdest-Xana"

(*Spies or Heroes*, 1930, Ya'akov Ye'ari-Polskin. From the Ben-Yehuda Project)

For this reason, I will not discuss such examples in this thesis.



9. שאלה נוספת ולא פחות חשובה שנשאלת היא האם לתמונות של אביי ואפרוורקי המחייכים והמתחבקים תהיה השפעה חיובית על המצב באריתריאה עצמה
- ha-tmunot    ʃel    abiy    ve-afwerki    ha-mexayxim    ve-ha-mitxabkim  
 the-pictures   of    Abiy    and-Afwerki    the-smile.PTCP.MP    and-the-hug.PTCP.MP
- ‘An additional and not less important question which raises is whether the pictures of Abiy and Afwerki smiling and hugging will have a positive effect on the situation in Eritrea itself.’
- (Haaretz 11.7.2018, page 8 of main section)

Although the embedded clauses in the three examples above superficially resemble RCs, they are neither restrictive nor non-restrictive RCs. A restrictive RC necessarily restricts a set of elements, and therefore cannot follow proper names or definite singular nouns, which denote individuals rather than sets. Since the head noun in 7 is a name (*Natan*), and the one in 8 is a definite singular noun, the clauses that follow them cannot be restrictive relative clauses. Nor can these clauses be non-restrictive RCs, since they do not add information about the identity or characteristics of the referent himself; rather, they inform us about the action the referent was performing as he was being perceived by the speaker. The following test is useful for distinguishing Hebrew PRs from RCs. In a PR, the complementizer *ha-* can be omitted without changing the event denotation of the sentence, as shown in 10 (produced from 7 by omitting the complementizer):

10. לילי התבוננה בנתן מגלגל שזיף בכף ידו.
- lili hitbonena    be-natan megalgel ʃezif be-kaf-yad-o  
 Lili watch.3.SG.PST at-Natan rolling    plum in-hand-his  
 ‘Lili watched Nathan rolling a plum in the palm of his hand.’

This example preserves the event denotation of 7, showing that what is being perceived in 7 is indeed the action itself rather than the individual, Natan. Altering the structure of an RC in the same way produces a change in the semantics of the sentence, shifting the focus from the individual denoted by the head noun to the action this individual is carrying out. For example, performing the test on the example in 1 yields the example in 11:

11. התבוננתי דרך החלון בתלמידים מגיעים לבית הספר.  
 hitbonanti derex ha-xalon ba-talimidim magiʕim le-beit-ha-sefer.  
 look.1.SG.PST through the-window at.the-students arriving at-school  
 ‘Through the window I watched the students arriving at school.’

Example 011 noticeably differs in meaning from example 1. In the former the speaker is watching the students who are arriving at school, whereas in 0 she is watching the event of the students’ arrival. In addition, example 1 implies that the speaker is watching only a subset of the students (the ones arriving in school), whereas example 0 carries no such implication. Applying the test to the RC in 4 yields an infelicitous sentence:

12. \*שווחחתי עם גל מספר סיפורי עם על תרבויות שונות.  
 soxaxti ʕim gal mesaper sipurey ʕam ʕal tarbuyot ʃonot.  
 talk.1.SG.PST with Gal telling stories.CS folk about cultures different  
 ‘I talked with Gal telling folk tales about different cultures.’

The above examples demonstrate two additional differences between Hebrew PRs and RCs: First, PRs can appear only with the complementizer *ha-*, whereas RCs allow all of the Hebrew complementizers: *ʃe-*, *ʔaʕer* and *ha-*. Second, the embedded verb in PRs must be in participle form, whereas RCs do not restrict the tense of the embedded verb.

This study argues that the Hebrew PR shares the characteristics of its Italian and the Greek counterparts, and that PRs are subject to the same restrictions in all three languages. However, these restrictions are realized differently in each language due to independent language-specific factors.

The next section of this study will introduce PRs in Italian and Greek. Then I will review the characteristics of the Hebrew PR construction and the features that distinguish it from RCs and small clauses, while also examining the Italian and Greek PRs for the same characteristics and features. The last section of the study will suggest an analysis for the Hebrew PR.

## Pseudo Relatives: Italian and Greek versus Modern Hebrew

Unlike the Hebrew construction, PRs in other languages have been discussed in previous literature. I chose to present PRs in Italian (which serves here to represent all Romance languages) and in Greek, because their PRs have been studied most extensively. I will refer to Cinque (1992) and to Moulton and Grillo (in prep., henceforth M&G and 2015b) for Italian<sup>3</sup>, and to Angelopoulos (2015) for Greek.

### The PR in Italian and Greek

Like Hebrew PR constructions, Italian and Greek PRs consist of a DP followed by a complementizer and a finite clause, and therefore superficially resemble RCs. However, as will be shown below in greater detail, PR clauses can only be preceded by an invariant complementizer (*che* in Italian and *pu* in Greek), not by relative pronouns, whereas RCs can be preceded by relative pronouns. Example 13 presents a PR in Italian, and examples 14-15 present PRs in Greek.

13. Ho visto Gianni che correva. (PR)  
I.have seen Gianni that ran.IMPF  
'I saw Gianni running.'  
(M&G ex. 1a)
14. Idha ton Yani pu opios etreche. (PR)  
saw-1SG. The Yani that who run-3SG.+PST.+IMP.  
'I saw Yani running.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 3)
15. I Maria evlepe ton Jani pu etrexe. (PR)  
the Mary watch.PST.IMPF the John.ACC that run.PST.IMPF  
'Mary was watching John running.'  
(Grillo & Spathas 2014 ex.7a)

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<sup>3</sup> All Italian examples are taken from M&G in prep., unless stated otherwise.

Cinque 1992 and M&G distinguish between two kinds of PR. The first kind follows perception verbs (such as *see* and *hear*), which can select both events and individuals as their complements; the second kind follows main verbs like *meet* or *catch*, which select only individuals as their complements. M&G deal only with the first kind, hence, all mentions of M&G's study refer only to PRs of the first kind, which denote events.<sup>4</sup>

### Characteristics of Hebrew PRs versus their Italian and Greek Counterparts

Since Hebrew is a Semitic language while Italian and Greek are both Indo-European, we expect to find at least some difference in the realization of the PR and its properties. The following section takes a closer look at the characteristics of Hebrew PRs and compares them to their Italian and Greek counterparts to highlight both differences and similarities.

#### Syntactic Characteristics

##### *The Complementizer*

Hebrew, unlike English, Greek and the Romance languages (e.g., Italian), has no relative pronouns equivalent to *which* or *who*. It does, however, have three overt complementizers: *a[er*, *ʃe*<sup>5</sup> and *ha-*, which introduce both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, and are equivalent to the invariant English complementizer *that*.

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<sup>4</sup> M&G p.4

<sup>5</sup> Some maintain that *a[er* and *ʃe* are two morphological realizations of the same word, while others believe that they are synonyms, neither of which is morphologically derived from the other. *a[er* is the dominant complementizer for RCs in Biblical Hebrew, while *ʃe* is the dominant one in Mishnaic and Modern Hebrew (Blau 2010, Azar 1995).

In the context of relative clauses, the only difference between them (apart from a difference in register<sup>6</sup>) is that *aʕer* and *ʕe-* can be used in every syntactic and semantic environment, while *ha-* requires the verb within the relative clause to be a non-negated participle whose subject is bound by the head noun (Bar-Ziv Levy 2017).

Examples 16-19 present RCs consisting of *aʕer* or *ʕe-* followed by finite clauses (in all three tenses), and example 20 presents an RC featuring *ha-* followed by a participial clause.

16. אנו מציעים כלי נוסף שיכול לספק עוד תובנות לצרכנים. (RC, *ʕe* + present)  
 anu maciʕim kli nosaf ʕe-yaxol lesapek ʕod tovanot  
 we offer.PTCP.MP tool another that-can.PTCP.MS provide.INF more insights  
 la-carxanim.  
 to.the-customers  
 'We offer another tool that can provide more insights to the customers'  
 (<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4994541,00.html>, 12.11.2017)
17. הרובוטית שקיבלה אזרחות רוצה להקים משפחה. (RC, *ʕe* + past)  
 Ha-robotit ʕe-kibla ezraxut roca lehakim miʕpaxa.  
 the-robot that-accept.3.SG.PST citizenship want.PTCP.FS establish.INF family  
 'The robot, who has been granted citizenship, wants to start a family.'  
 (<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5048374,00.html>, 27.11.2017)
18. יהד איתם תגיע להקת הרוק הנשית וורפיינט, שתספק את מופע החימום. (RC, *ʕe* + future)  
 yahad ʕitam tagiʕa lehakat ha-rok ha-naʕit warpaint  
 together with.them arrive.3.FS.FUT band.CS the-rock the-feminine warpaint  
 ʕe-tesapek ʕet mofaʕ ha-ximum  
 that-provide.3.FS.FUT ACC act the-heat  
 'The all-girl rock band Warpaint, which will provide the warm-up act, will arrive with them.'  
 (<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5048096,00.html>, 27.11.2017)
19. ולעומתו נשמע קול צחוק אדיר, אשר השמיעו כל המשרתים... (RC)  
 ve-le-ʕumat-o niʕma kol cxok adir, aʕer hiʕmiʕu  
 and-to-opposite-him hear.3.SG.PST.PASS sound laughter great that voice.3.PL.PST  
 kol ha-meʕartim...  
 all the-servants  
 'And in response to it a great sound of laughter, produced by all the servants, was heard.'

<sup>6</sup> In Modern Hebrew *aʕer* is typical of the written (especially literary) language, while *ʕe-* is common in both the written and the spoken language.

(*The Rich Man's Daughter* (*bat ha'ashir*), Alexander Ziskind Rabinovich [from the Ben-Yehuda Project])

20. הילד ההולך בשביל הוא אחי. (RC)  
 ha-yeled ha-holex ba-ʃvil hu ʔax-i.  
 the-boy the-walk.PTCP.MS on.the-trail is brother-my  
 'The boy walking along the path is my brother.'

PRs, on the other hand, can only be introduced by *ha-*, as shown by the minimal pairs in 21-22 and 23-24:

21. לילי התבוננה בנתן המגלגל את השזיף בכף ידו ותהתה מה ראה בה אחיו שהבריה אותו. (PR)  
 lili hitbonena be-natan ha-megalgel ʔet ha-ʃezif be-kaf-yado...  
 Lili watch.3.SG.PST at-Natan the-roll.PTCP.MS ACC the-plum in-his-hand  
 'Lili watched Natan rolling the plum in his hand...'  
 (*The Imposter Bride*, Nancy Richler [Hebrew translation], 2014, p.6)
22. \*לילי התבוננה בנתן שמגלגל את השזיף בכף ידו ותהתה מה ראה בה אחיו שהבריה אותו. (\*PR)  
 lili hitbonena be-natan ʃe-megalgel ʔet ha-ʃezif be-kaf-yado...  
 Lili watch.3.SG.PST at-Natan that-roll.PTCP.MS ACC the-plum in-his-hand  
 'Lili watched Natan who was rolling the plum in his hand...'
23. היא התבוננה בחבר שבטתה המנסה לדוג במאמץ רב עד שהצליח לתפוס דג אחד ולהשליך אותו ליבשה. (PR\RC)  
 hi hitbonena be-xaver-ʃivta ha-menase ladug (PR\RC)  
 she watch.3.SG.PST at-friend.CS-tribe-hers the-try.PTCP.MS fish.INF  
 'She watched her tribe member as he was trying to fish.'  
 (<https://he.mypen.net/serialized-stories/6301>, 12.11.2017)
24. #היא התבוננה בחבר שבטתה שמנסה לדוג במאמץ רב עד שהצליח לתפוס דג אחד ולהשליך אותו ליבשה.  
 Hi hitbonena be-xaver-ʃivta ʃe-menase ladug (#PR, RC)  
 she watch.3.SG.FEM.PST at-friend.CS-tribe-hers that-try.PTCP.MS fish.INF  
 'She watched her tribe member trying to fish.'

To understand the difference in meaning and grammaticality between the two variants of each sentence, I apply the test described in the introduction, which distinguishes PRs from RCs. With the complementizer *ha-*, we get the PR event reading: the embedded clause describes the action that is being watched, not a property of the individual who is being watched, as expected in the case of RCs (moreover, this reading is preserved if the complementizer is removed). In example 21, Lili is watching Natan performing the action of rolling the plum. She is not watching Natan as a person who is rolling a plum or who rolls plums as part of his general characteristics or habits,

nor is she distinguishing one specific Natan who is rolling a plum from other Natans who are not, for Natan is already singled out as a specific single individual in this context (in the story from which the example is taken Natan is Lili's husband). Describing Natan as an individual is the function of RCs, not of PRs.

In example 23, we get both the PR reading and the RC reading, as noted above. The ambiguity exists in 23 but not in 22 due to the difference in the clausal subject: in 21 the clausal subject is a proper noun (Natan) while in 23 it is a definite noun, constructed on the basis of the set of members of the tribe. This set allows the (restrictive) RC reading, which distinguishes this specific tribe member who is fishing from other tribe members who are not.

Replacing *ha-* with *ǰe-* precludes the PR reading. Examples 21-22 demonstrate this more clearly than examples 23-24, since 21 allows only the PR reading, and switching the complementizer therefore renders the sentence ungrammatical. Example 23, on the other hand, allows the RC reading as well, so the change of complementizer only eliminates the ambiguity: example 24 can only be understood as distinguishing a single tribe member – the one trying to fish – from others.

Turning now to Italian and Greek, they too allow RCs to be introduced by any relativizing element, whereas PRs can only be introduced by one invariant complementizer: *che* in Italian and *pu* in Greek.

25. Il cane il quale abbaia è felice. (RC)  
the dog the which barks is happy  
'the dog that is barking is happy.'  
(M&G, ex. 4a)

26. Ciò che ho visto è Gianni che\\*il quale ballava. (PR)  
that which i.have seen is Gianni that\the which dance.IMPF  
'I saw Gianni dancing.'  
(M&G, ex. 4b)

Example 25, in Italian, is an RC introduced by a relative pronoun, while 26 shows that the PR clause can only be introduced by *che*, not by a relative pronoun.

In Greek, the situation is slightly more complex. Greek has three complementizers, all of which can introduce constructions that display PR-like properties. However, *pu* seems to be the most common complementizer in PRs, and it is the only one that generates the robust existential presupposition typical of this construction, as will be shown below.

27. Ton idha pu pighenepiti tus. (PR)  
Him I saw that as going home of-their  
'I saw him going to their home.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 17)
28. Evlepa ton Stolditi na ine kurasmenos (PR)  
I was seeing the Stolditi na is tired  
'I was seeing Stolditi being tired.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 74a)
29. Evlepa ton Stolditi oti itan kurasmenos. (PR)  
I was seeing the Stolditi that was tired  
'I was seeing Stolditi being tired.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 74b)

### *The PR Tense*

While Hebrew RCs can feature a verb in any tense, PRs allow only a participle, regardless of the tense of the main verb (the same is not true for Italian and Greek, but is equivalent -- as will be shown below). The participle can be active or passive (as long as the passive participle has the verbal reading; including a reversible resultative reading of an adjectival passive, as in 32). The use of the participle is indicative of the present tense.

Example 30 presents an RC with the embedded verb in each tense (past, present and future); examples 31-33 show PRs with present participles (both active and passive).



30. היא התבוננה בילד שאכל/אוכל/יאכל גלידה. (RC)  
 hi hitbonena ba-yeled ]e-axal/?oxel/yoxal glida.  
 she watch.3.SG.PST at.the-child that-ate/eats/will.eat ice.cream  
 ‘She watched the child who ate/eats/will eat ice cream.’
31. אני התבוננתי/מתבוננת בדני האוכל את הגלידה. (PR)  
 ani hitbonanti/mitbonenet be-Dani ha-?oxel et ha-glida.  
 I watch.1.SG.PST/FS.PTCP at-Dani the-eat.PTCP.MS ACC. the-ice.cream  
 ‘I watch/ed Dani eating the ice cream.’
32. התבוננתי בדני המובל אל החופה. (PR)  
 hitbonanti be-Dani ha-muval el ha-xupa.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Dani the-lead.PTCP.PASS.MS.VB to the-chuppa  
 ‘I watched Dani being led to the *chuppa*.’
33. התבוננתי בדני העטוף במגבת. (PR)  
 hitbonanti be-Dani ha-šatuf be-magevet.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Dani the-cover.PTCP.PASS.ADJ with-towel  
 ‘I watched Dani having been wrapped in a towel.’

The restriction on the tense of the PR verb makes sense if we accept that PRs denote events (or certain temporary results of events). The event denoted by the PR necessarily occurs while it is being perceived, and the sentence must reflect this simultaneity. This is achieved by restricting the tense of the embedded verb. RCs, denoting individuals, do not require this expression of simultaneity, since the denotation of the individual remains constant over time.

The restriction on the tense of the PR verb is also evident in Italian and Greek. In these languages, too, the tense of the PR verb must match the tense of the matrix verb. More precisely, the time interval denoted by the PR must include the time denoted by the matrix verb. This restriction does not apply to RCs.

34. \* Vedo Maria che correva. (\*PR)  
 I.see.PRES Maria that run.IMPV  
 ‘I see Maria that was running.’  
 (M&G, ex. 3a)
35. Vedo la ragazza che correva. (RC, \*PR)  
 I.see.PRES the girl that run.IMPV

‘I see the girl that was running.’  
(M&G, ex. 3b)

Example 35 is interpreted as an RC but not as a PR. As an RC, it conveys that one of the girl’s characteristics is that she ran at some point in the past. But a PR, which has an event reading, is impossible because the speaker cannot be perceiving in the present an event that occurred in the past. The need to express the co-occurrence of the event and its perception dictates the match between the matrix and embedded verbs. Example 34 is infelicitous since it is neither an RC nor a PR. The restrictive RC reading is excluded because the head is a proper name. The PR reading is impossible as well, since the matrix verb and the embedded verb do not match in tense, meaning that event and perception did not occur simultaneously.

The Greek examples are similar to the Italian ones: example 38 is an RC, which involves no tense restriction, example 36 has a PR reading, and example 37 has neither an RC reading nor a PR reading.

36. I Maria evlepe ton Jani pu etrexe. (PR)  
the Mary watch.PST.IMPF the John.ACC that run.PST.IMPF  
‘Mary was watching John running.’  
(Grillo & Spathas 2014 ex. 8a)

37. \*I Maria evlepe ton Jani pu tha trexi. (\*RC\*PR)  
the Mary watch.PST.IMP the John that FUT. run.PERF  
‘Mary was watching John that will run.’  
(Grillo & Spathas 2014 ex. 8b)

38. I Maria evlepe ton athliti pu tha trexi. (RC)  
the Mary watch.PST.IMP the athlete that FUT. run.PERF  
‘Mary was watching the athlete that will run.’  
(Grillo & Spathas 2014 ex. 8c)

Now, on the face of it, the restriction on the clausal tense of Hebrew PRs may seem somewhat different from the restriction in Italian and Greek, because in Italian and Greek, the tense of the

embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb, whereas Hebrew requires the embedded verb to be a present participle, regardless of the tense of the matrix verb. However, I claim that all three languages exhibit the same restriction (i.e., the simultaneity restriction), but that it is realized differently in each language. The reason for the difference is that Italian and Greek are sequence-of-tense (SOT) languages, while Hebrew is not (Sharvit 2003).<sup>7</sup>

In non-SOT languages like Hebrew, simultaneity of the matrix and embedded verbs is expressed by means of present-under-past sentences (see footnote 6), so these are the sentences that allow the PR reading in Hebrew (ex. 31). In SOT languages like Italian and Greek, simultaneity is

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<sup>7</sup> Languages have different ways to convey whether an action mentioned in the embedded clause occurred at the same time as an action mentioned in the matrix clause. Based on their strategy of expressing this simultaneity or lack of it, some languages are classified as sequence-of-tense (SOT) languages and others as non-SOT languages. SOT languages have two characteristics: (a) past-under-past sentences (i.e. sentences in which the matrix verb is a propositional attitude verb containing a past morpheme, and the embedded verb likewise contains a past morpheme) have two possible interpretations – the first is that the embedded past is semantically nonpast, which conveys a meaning of simultaneity; the second is that the embedded past is also semantically past, which conveys a meaning of anteriority.

John believed that Mary was pregnant.

*nonpast reading:*

John's belief: "Mary is pregnant"

the time of the alleged pregnancy overlaps with John's "now".

*Anteriority reading:*

John's belief: "Mary was pregnant"

the time of the alleged pregnancy precedes John's "now".

(b) present-under-past sentences (i.e. the matrix verb is a propositional attitude verb which contains the past morpheme but the embedded verb contains the present morpheme) have only the *double access* reading, in which the embedded action coincides both with the time conveyed by the matrix verb and the time of utterance.

John believed that Mary is pregnant.

*Double access reading:*

the time of the alleged pregnancy contains the time at which John held his belief as well as the time of utterance.

Non-SOT languages have also two characteristics: (a) present-under-past sentences generate a nonpast reading similar to the nonpast reading of past-under-past sentences in SOT languages.

דני חשב שרותי בהריון

(b) past-under-past sentences exhibit only the anteriority reading.

דני חשב שרותי היתה בהריון

(Sharvit 2003)

expressed using past-under-past sentences, and therefore these are the sentences that allow the PR reading in these languages (ex. 13 and 36).

### *The Relative Gap*

RCs contain a gap which can appear in several positions within the dependent clause, including subject, object or lower subject. In Hebrew, in the complement of a preposition, this gap must be filled with a pronominal suffix coreferential with the head of the RC. Example 39 presents an RC with a gap in the subject position and ex. 40 an RC with a gap in the object position.

39. שלחנו אליך את רשימת הספרים שהודפסו. (RC)  
 šalaxnu      ?ele-xa ?et    rešimat ha-sfarim    ]e-hudpesu.  
 send.1.PL.PST to-you    ACC list.CS    the-books    that-print.3.SG.PST.PASS  
 'We sent you the list of the books that have been printed'

40. עדיין לא קראתי את הספר שכולם קראו. (RC)  
 ?adayin lo    karati      ?et    ha-sefer<sub>i</sub>    ]e-kulam      kar?u       $\phi$ <sub>i</sub>.  
 still      NEG read.1.SG.PST ACC the-book    that-everyone read.3.PL.PST  
 'I still haven't read the book everyone has read.'

The gap within a PR, though, can only be in the highest subject position (ex. 41).

41. התבוננתי בדני המנשק את דינה. (PR)  
 hitbonanti      be-Dani<sub>1</sub>    ha-e<sub>1</sub>-menafek      ?et    Dina.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Dani    the-e<sub>1</sub>-kiss.PTCP.MS ACC Dina  
 'I watched Dani kissing Dina.'

This restriction is correlated to the fact that Hebrew PRs can only appear with the complementizer *ha-*, and this complementizer (in PRs and elsewhere) marks a gap in subject position.

Italian exhibits the same feature: PRs and RCs both contain a gap, but in a PR this gap must be in the highest subject position, whereas RCs also allow lower gaps, such as in object or lower subject position.

42. Ho visto Luigi<sub>1</sub> che e<sub>1</sub> salutava Maria. (PR)  
 I.have seen Luigi that greet.IMPF Maria  
 ‘I saw Luigi greet Maria.’  
 (M&G, ex. 5a)
43. \*Ho visto Luigi<sub>1</sub> che Maria salutava e<sub>1</sub>. (\*PR)  
 I.have seen Luigi that Maria greet.IMPF  
 ‘I saw Maria greeting Luigi.’  
 (M&G, ex. 5b)
44. \*Ho visto Luigi<sub>1</sub> che Paolo sosteneva che e<sub>1</sub> salutava Maria. (\*PR)  
 I.have seen Luigi that Paolo assert.IMPF that greet.IMPF Maria  
 ‘I saw Luigi assert that Paolo greeted Maria.’  
 (M&G, ex. 5c)

#### DP Distribution

M&G claim that PRs have the distribution of DPs, and present several syntactic arguments to prove this, which will be presented here. I will show that Hebrew PRs, like their Italian counterparts, have DP distribution. For every characteristic I will present Hebrew examples, followed by Italian ones.

- First, it should be noted that PRs form constituents, as shown by the tests of topicalization (ex. 45 and 47) and pseudo-clefting (ex. 46 and 48).

45. את דני הבוכה בכי תמרורים ראיתי רק פעם אחת בחיי. (PR)  
 ?et dani ha-boxe bxi-tamrurim ra?iti rak pa?am ?axat be-xay-ay.  
 ACC Dani the-cry.PTCP.MS cry.CS-bitter saw.1.SG.PST only time one in-my-life  
 ‘Dani crying bitterly I saw only once in my life.’
46. מה<sup>1</sup>/מי<sup>2</sup> שראיתי זה את [דני<sub>2</sub> הבוכה בכי תמרורים]<sub>1</sub>. (PR\\*PR)  
 Ma<sub>1</sub>\\*mi<sub>2</sub> [e-ra?i-ti ze ?et [dani<sub>2</sub> ha-boxe bxi-tamrurim]<sub>1</sub>.  
 what<sub>1</sub>\\*who<sub>2</sub> that-saw.1.SG.PST is ACC [Dani<sub>2</sub> the-cry.PTCP.MS cry.CS-bitter]<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘What I saw is Dani crying bitterly.’
47. Mario che piangeva, ho visto! (PR)  
 Mario that weep.IMPF, I saw  
 ‘Mario weeping, I saw!’  
 (M&G, ex. 8a)

48. *Ciò che<sub>1</sub>/\*chi<sub>2</sub> ho visto è [Mario<sub>2</sub> che piangeva]<sub>1</sub> (PR\\*PR)*  
 That which/\*who I have seen is Mario that cry-IMPF  
 ‘What/\*who I saw was Mario crying.’  
 (M&G, ex. 8b)

- Hebrew DPs can follow the preposition *šel* ('of'), as shown in 49, whereas CPs such as content clauses cannot, as shown in 51. Example 50 shows that PRs can complement this preposition, like a DP:

49. *המראה של דני על כיסא מזהב הוא מרהיב.*  
*ha-marʔe šel [DP dani šal kise muzhav] hu marhiv.*  
 the-sight of [DP Dani on chair golden] is spectacular  
 ‘The sight of Dani on a golden chair is spectacular.’

50. *המחזה של דני האוכל את הסלט הוא מרהיב.* (PR)  
*ha-maxaze šel [PR dani ha-oxel ʔet ha-salat] hu marhiv.*  
 the-sight of [PR Dani the-eat.PTCP.MS ACC the-salat] is spectacular  
 ‘The sight of Dani eating the salad is spectacular.’

51. *הטענה (של\*) שדני אהב את רותי היא לא נכונה.* (CP)  
*ha-teʕana (\*šel) še-dani ʔahav ʔet Ruti hi lo nexona.*  
 the-claim (\*of) that-Dani love.3.SG.PST ACC Ruti is not true  
 ‘The claim that Dani loved Ruti is not true.’

Italian exhibits a similar characteristic: PRs can complement prepositions such as *di* ('of') (ex. 53), just like simple DPs (ex. 52), while other embedded clauses and small clauses cannot (ex. 54-55).

52. *La vista di [DP Carlo]...*  
 the sight of Carlo  
 ‘The sight of Carlo...’  
 (M&G, ex. 12a)

53. *La vista di [PR Carlo che balla il tango] è da non perdere.* (PR)  
 the sight of Carlo that dance the tango is to not miss  
 ‘The sight of Carlo dancing the tango is not to be missed.’  
 (Cinque 1992, ex. 35b)

54. *La storia (\*di) [CP che Gianni ha sconfitto il drago] non è vera.* (CP)  
 the story of that Gianni defied the dragon not is true

‘The story that Gianni defies the dragon is not true.’  
(M&G, ex. 12c)

55. \* La vista di [TP Carlo ballare]... (bare infinitive)  
the sight of Carlo dance.INF  
‘The sight of Carlo dancing...’  
(M&G, ex. 12d)

- PRs, like DPs, can be subjects of embedded clauses (ex. 56 and 58), while CPs cannot (ex. 57 and 59).

56. תהיתי אם [דני המקשיב למוזיקה רועשת] מפריע לך. (PR)  
tahiti im [dani ha-makʃiv le-muzika roʃeʃet] mafriʕa  
wonder.1.SG.PST if [Dani the-listen.PTCP.MS to-music loud.FS] disturb.PTCP.MS  
l-ax.  
to-you  
‘I wondered whether Dani listening to loud music disturbs you.’

57. \*תהיתי אם [שדני מקשיב למוזיקה רועשת] מפריע לך. (\*CP)  
\*tahiti im [ʃe-dani makʃiv le-muzika roʃeʃet] mafriʕa  
wonder.1.SG.PST if [that-Dani listen.PTCP.MS to-music loud.FS] disturb.PTCP.MS  
l-ax.  
to-you  
‘I wondered whether that Dani listens to loud music disturbs you.’

58. Mi chiedo se [Gianni che costruisce una nave spaziale] ti disturbi. (PR)  
to.me ask.1SG if Gianni that builds a ship space you disturbs  
‘I wonder whether Gianni building a spaceship annoys you.’  
(Moulton, HUJI course handout, ex. 20a)

59. \*Mi chiedo se [che Gianni costruisce una nave spaziale] ti disturbi. (\*CP)  
to.me ask.1SG if that Gianni builds a ship spatial you disturbs  
‘I wonder if that Gianni builds a spaceship annoys you.’  
(Moulton, HUJI course handout, ex. 20b)

- Coordination: a singular noun-based DP and a PR can be coordinated, triggering plural agreement (ex. 60 and 63), whereas CPs cannot be coordinated with DPs in subject position (ex. 61 and 64). Also, PRs cannot be coordinated with bona fide CPs (ex. 62 and 65). This means that, once again, PRs behave more like DPs than CPs.

60. (PR+DP) [דני הרוקד את הסלסה] ו[ההופעה של רותי] הם מחזות שאני לא רוצה לראות.  
 [PR dani ha-roked ?et ha-salsa] ve-[DP ha-hofaʃa ]el ruti] hem  
 [PR Dani the-dance.PTCP.MS ACC the-salsa] and-[DP the-performance of Ruti] are  
 maxazot ]e-ʔani lo roce lirʔot.  
 sights that-I NEG want.1.PTCP.MS see.INF  
 ‘Dani dancing the salsa and Ruti’s performance are sights I don’t want to see.’
61. (CP+DP)\* [שדני משוגע] ו[הסיפור שסיפרת לי] הם סיפורים מוזרים.  
 \* [CP ]e-dani me]uga] ve-[DP ha-sipur ]e-sipart li] hem sipurim muzarim.  
 that-Dani carzy and-the-story that-tell.3.SG.PST to.me are stories strange  
 “That Dani is crazy and the story that you told me are strange stories.”
62. (PR+CP)\* \*ראיתי את יוני הרוקד את הטנגו ושגלי שרה.  
 \* raʔiti ?et yoni ha-roked ?et ha-tango ve-]e-gali ]ara.  
 see.1.SG.PST ACC Yoni the-dance.PTCP.MS ACC the-tango and-that-Gali sang.  
 ‘I saw Yoni dancing tango and that Gali sang.’
63. [PR Gianni che balla] e [DP l’evento di cui mi parlavi] sono immagini  
 Gianni that dance and the.event of which to.me spoke.2SG be.3PL images  
 che non vorrei mai vedere. (PR+DP)  
 that NEG want.1SG never see  
 ‘Gianni dancing and the event you told me about are images I’d never want to see.’  
 (M&G, ex. 13)
64. \*[CP Che Maria è pazza] e [DP la cosa che mi hai r acontato di Lisa]  
 that Maria is crazy and the thing that me have.2SG told of Lisa  
 sono storie ridicole. (CP+DP)  
 are stories ridiculous  
 ‘That Maria is crazy and the thing you told me about Lisa are ridiculous stories.’  
 (M&G, ex. 15)
65. \* Ho visto Gianni che balla e che Maria cantava. (PR+CP)  
 have.1SG seen Gianni that danced and that Maria sang  
 ‘I saw Gianni dancing and that Maria sang.’  
 (Moulton, HUJI course handout, ex. 26b)

### *Exceptional agreement*

Unlike RCs, PRs display exceptional agreement between the matrix verb and the PR: the matrix verb can agree with the event denoted by the PR as a whole (ex. 67 and 69); alternatively, it can



agree with the PR head in number, person and gender (ex. 66 and 68). In Hebrew, since there's no *to be* verb, I will demonstrate this using copulative PRON (*hu* 'he' and *hem* 'they' in this case).

66. בן ודני הרוקדים את הטנגו הם מחזה מרהיב. (PR)  
 ben ve- dani ha-rokdim ?et ha-tango hem maxaze marhiv.  
 Ben and Dani the-dance.PTCP.PL ACC the-tango PRON.MP sight spectacular  
 'Ben and Dani dancing the tango are a spectacular sight.'

67. בן ודני הרוקדים את הטנגו הוא מחזה מרהיב. (PR)  
 ben ve-dani ha-rokdim ?et ha-tango hu maxaze marhiv.  
 Ben and-Dani the-dance.PTCP.PL ACC the-tango PRON.MS sight spectacular  
 'Ben and Dani dancing the tango is a spectacular sight.'

68. Gianni e Maria che ballano il tango sono uno spettacolo  
 Gianni and Maria that dance-PRES the tango are a sight  
 da non perdere. (PR)  
 not to miss  
 'Gianni and Maria dancing the tango are a sight not to be missed.'  
 (Cinque 1992, ex. 33b)

69. Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango è uno spettacolo  
 Carlo and Paolo that dance-PRES the tango is a sight  
 da non perdere. (PR)  
 not to miss  
 'Carlo and Paolo dancing the tango is a sight not to be missed.'  
 (M&G, ex. 19)

This exceptional agreement between the matrix verb and the PR head is also possible in non-copular sentences:

70. בן ודני המבשלים את המרק מאוד הרשימו את רינה. (PR)  
 ben ve-dani ha-mevaʃlim ?et ha-marak me?od hirʃimu ?et rina.  
 Ben and-Dani the-cook.PTCP.PL ACC the-soup very impress.3.PL.PST ACC Rina  
 'Ben and Dani cooking the soup really impressed Rina.'

71. בן ודני המבשלים את המרק מאוד הרשים את רינה. (PR)  
 ben ve-dani ha-mevaʃlim ?et ha-marak me?od hirʃim ?et rina.  
 Ben and-Dani the-cook.PTCP.PL ACC the-soup very impress.3.SG.PST ACC Rina  
 'Ben and Dani cooking the soup really impressed Rina.'

72. Carlo e Paolo che ballano il tango infastidiscono Maria. (PR)  
 Carlo and Paolo that dance the tango bother.3PL Maria  
 ‘Carlo and Paolo dancing the tango bother Maria.’  
 (Moulton, HUJI course handout, ex. 30a)

As opposed to Cinque, who claims that when the matrix verb agrees with the PR head (ex.68 and 66), the PR denotes an individual, M&G argue that both patterns of agreement characterize event-denoting PRs, i.e., that there is no semantic difference between PRs exhibiting singular vs. plural agreement.

While this criterion is the same in Hebrew and Italian, its realization is slightly different due to different properties of the two languages: verbs in Hebrew agree with their subjects in three parameters: number (singular/plural), person (1, 2, 3) and gender (feminine/masculine), whereas verbs in Italian agree with their subjects in only two of these parameters: number and person, but not in gender. This can be seen by comparing ex. 66 (above) with the following example:

73. רינה וגילה הרוקדות את הטנגו הן מחזה מרהיב. (PR)  
 rina ve-gila ha-rokdot ?et ha-tango **hen** maxaze marhiv.  
 Rina and-Gila the-danic.PTCP.FP ACC the-tango PRON.FS sight spectacular  
 ‘Rina and Gila dancing the tango are a spectacular sight.’

### Case assignment

The case of the PR head depends on the position of the entire PR: when the PR is in subject position, the PR head is in nominative case (ex. 74 and 76), and when the PR is in object position, its head is assigned accusative case (ex. 75 and 77-78).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> M&G exemplify this using PRs with pronominal heads, which (unlike other Italian nouns) exhibit overt case distinctions (e.g., *io* vs. *me*). This option is not available in Hebrew, since pronouns – which likewise exhibit case, e.g., *?ani* vs. *?oti* – cannot function as PR heads (a restriction to be discussed below). I therefore use examples in which the PR heads are definite or proper nouns, which likewise exhibit overt case distinctions in Hebrew (definite accusatives are marked with *?et* whereas nominatives are unmarked). 78 thus makes an argument that PRs are definite

74. (PR) \*ראת (את) רינה המעיפה עפיפון גדול ואדום הוא מחזה מלבב.  
 (\*ʔet) rina ha-maʕifa ʕafifon gadol ve-adom hu maxaze melabav.  
 (\*ACC) Rina the-fly.PTCP.FS kite big and-red is sight lovely  
 ‘Rina flying a big red kite is a lovely sight.’
75. (PR) \*ראיתי (את) רינה המעיפה עפיפון גדול ואדום.  
 raʔiti \*ʔet rina ha-meʕifa ʕafifon gadol ve-adom  
 see.1.SG.PST ACC Rina the-fly.PTCP.FS kite big and-red  
 ‘I saw Rina flying a big red kite.’
76. Io/\*me che fumo per strada è uno spettacolo che non raccomando. (PR)  
 I.NOM/\*me that smokes in the.street is a sight that not recommend-1SG  
 ‘Me smoking in the street is a sight I cannot recommend.’  
 (M&G, ex.33)
77. Ha visto me/\*io che fumavo par strada. (PR)  
 he.has seen me.ACC/\*I that smoke.IMP in street  
 ‘He saw me smoking in the street.’  
 (M&G, ex. 34a)
78. L’evento di me/\*io che ballo il tango è da non perdere. (PR)  
 the.event of me.ACC/\*I that dance.PRES the tango is to not miss  
 ‘The event of me dancing the tango is not to be missed.’  
 (M&G, ex. 34b)

#### Possible PR Heads

The head of a PR is a DP or an NP, just like the head of an RC. However, Hebrew (non-restrictive) RCs can be headed by a noun of any sort: a proper name (ex. 79), a definite or indefinite noun (ex. 80 and 81), and, as pointed out by Yael Maschler (2011), even a pronoun (ex. 82):

79. התבוננתי בגלי שרקדה את הטנגו. (RC non-restrictive)  
 hitbonanti be-gali ʃe-rakda ʔet ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Gali that-dance.3.SG.PST ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched Gali, who was dancing the tango.’
80. התבוננתי בילדה שרקדה את הטנגו. (RC)  
 hitbonanti ba-yalda ʃe-rakda ʔet ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at.the-girl that-danced ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched the girl, who was dancing the tango.’

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in Hebrew, i.e. a new argument for postulating that the definite article ha- starts in D, where you also see the accusative *et* (and only then lowers to C)

81. התבוננתי פִּילדה שרקדה את הטנגו. (RC)  
 hitbonanti be-yalda ]e-rakda ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-girl.INDF that-danced ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched a girl, who danced the tango.’

82. הוא שקרא עיתונים מבין באקטואליה. (RC)  
 hu ]e-kara ?itonim mevin be-?ktualia.  
 he that-read.3.SG.PST newspapers understand.PTCP.MS in-current.events  
 ‘He, who reads newspapers, has an understanding of current events.’

As for PRs, just like RCs they can be headed by proper and definite nouns (ex. 83 and 84)

83. התבוננתי בגלי הרוקדת את הטנגו. (PR)  
 hitbonanti be-Gali ha-rokedet ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Gali the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched Gali dancing the tango.’

84. התבוננתי פִּילדה הרוקדת את הטנגו. (PR, RC)  
 hitbonanti ba-yalda ha-rokedet ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at.the-girl the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched the girl dancing the tango.’

It should be noted that example 84 is actually ambiguous: it can be understood as a restrictive RC if the context is such that there are several girls and the speaker was watching only the one who was dancing the tango. But a different context, like the one below – in which the speaker is describing the event he witnessed, namely the dancing of the girl – yields the PR reading:

התבוננתי פִּילדה הרוקדת את הטנגו, וזה היה מחזה מדהים.  
 I watched the girl dancing the tango, and it was a marvelous sight.

However, PRs are unlike RCs in that they cannot be headed by pronouns (ex. 85-87) or by non-specific indefinite nouns (ex. 88)

85. \* התבוננתי בך/בה הרוקדת את הטנגו. (\*PR)  
 \* hitbonanti bax/ba ha-rokedet ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at.2.FS/at.3.FS the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched you/her dancing the tango.’

86. \* התבוננתי בכן/בהן הרוקדות את הטנגו. (\*PR)  
 \* hitbonanti baxen/bahen ha-rokdot ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at.2.FP/at.3.FP the-dance.PTCP.FP ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched you/them dancing the tango.’

87. הוא התבונן בי הרוקדת את הטנגו. (\*PR)  
 \* hu hitbonen bi ha-rokedet ?et ha-tango.  
 he watch.3.MS.PST at.1.SG the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC. the-tango  
 ‘He watched me dancing the tango.’

88. התבוננתי בילדה הרוקדת את הטנגו. (RC, \*PR)  
 # hitbonanti be-yalda ha-rokedet ?et ha-tango.  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-girl.INDF the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC. the-tango  
 ‘I watched a girl dancing the tango.’

Ex. 88 shows that a non-specific indefinite noun in the head position precludes the PR reading, leaving only the RC reading. An exception is specific indefinites, which can function as heads in both RCs (ex. 89) and PRs (ex. 90):

89. רותי התבוננה בחתול קטן וחמוד שניסה ללקק חלב מתוך הכלי. (RC)  
 ruti hitbonena be-xatul katan ve-xamud ?e-nisa lelakek  
 Ruti watch.3.SG.PST at-cat.INDF small and-cute that-try.3.SG.PST lick.INF  
 xalav mi-tox ha-kli.  
 milk from-inside the-bowl  
 ‘Ruti watched a cute little cat who was trying to lick milk out of the bowl.’

90. רותי התבוננה בחתול קטן וחמוד המנסה ללקק חלב מתוך הכלי. (PR)  
 ruti hitbonena be-xatul katan ve-xamud ha-menase lelakek xalav  
 Ruti watch.3.SG.PST at-cat.INDF small and-cute the-try.PTCP.MS lick.INF milk  
 mi-tox ha-kli.  
 from-inside the-bowl  
 ‘Ruti watched a cute little cat trying to lick milk out of the bowl.’

Italian does not display a similar restriction on the PR head: any DP can function as the head of a PR, including pronouns, as shown below:

91. Tu che balli sei un evento da non perdere. (PR)  
 you that dance be.2.SG an event to not miss  
 ‘You dancing is an event not to be missed.’  
 (M&G, ex. 29a)

92. Io che ballo è un evento da non perdere. (PR)  
 I that dance be.3.SG an event to not miss  
 ‘Me dancing is an event not to be missed.’  
 (M&G, ex. 30b)

93. Ha visto me che fumavo par strada. (PR)  
he.has seen me.ACC that smoke.IMPV in street  
'He saw me smoking in the street.'  
(M&G, ex. 34a)

This is another contrast between Italian and Hebrew, which again raises the question of whether the contrast indicates an intrinsic structural difference between Hebrew and Italian PRs, or stems from an independent difference between the two languages that is unrelated to PRs.

Evidence again points to the second option. The apparent difference may stem from the fact that the Italian pronouns are clitics and can climb up the sentence, while the Hebrew pronouns cannot climb even when they are clitics.

"Clitic climbing"<sup>9</sup> is a phenomenon where a clitic does not append to the embedded verb of which it is the object, but rather to the matrix verb. This involves movement from an embedded non-finite verb position, which is lower in the tree, to the matrix verb position, which is higher – hence the name “clitic climbing.” This process, possible only with certain main verbs, is found in Italian and Greek<sup>10</sup>, but not in Hebrew.

The following examples are from Italian:

94. Gianni vuole dar**celi**.  
Gianni wants to-give-US<sub>DAT</sub>-them  
(Kayne 1991, ex. 40)

95. Gianni **ce li** vuole dare.  
(Kayne 1991, ex. 41)

In ex. 94 the clitics follow the non-finite verb of which they are the objects, and in ex. 95 they have climbed up, to precede the matrix verb.

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<sup>9</sup> Rizzi 1982, Kayne 1991

<sup>10</sup> Chatzikyriakidis, 2010a, 2010b

PRs are different from the constructions presented in the literature as examples of clitic climbing, such as those in 94-95. The literature refers to clitic climbing out of object position within the embedded clause, not from subject position. Conversely, Italian PRs display clitic climbing from the subject position within the embedded clause, and Greek PRs display clitic climbing from both subject and object position. Another difference is that the literature on clitic climbing refers to constructions where the embedded clause is non-finite, whereas the verb within a PR clause is finite.

Despite these dissimilarities, the Italian and Greek mechanism that allows clitic climbing may be responsible for the ability of pronouns to function as PR heads in these languages. This option is ruled out in Hebrew since this language does not allow clitic climbing.

#### *Heavy PR Clauses*

It seems that Hebrew clauses are more amenable to a PR reading when the clause is heavier, for example when it contains a complement. Ex. 96 is an RC, which is grammatical whether the clause is light or heavy. But in ex. 97, the PR reading is available only when we include the object in brackets.

96. (RC) התבוננתי בילדה שרקדה (ריקוד מהיר).  
 hitbonanti ba-yalda ]e-rakda (rikud mahir).  
 watch.1.SG.PST at.the-girl that-dance.3.SG.PST (dance rapid)  
 ‘I watched the girl who danced a rapid dance.’

97. (PR) התבוננתי ברינה הרוקדת \* (ריקוד מהיר).  
 hitbonanti be-rina ha-rokedet \*(rikud mahir).  
 watch.1.SG.PST at-Rina the-dance.PTCP.FS \*(dance rapid)  
 ‘I watched Rina dancing a rapid dance.’

Italian and Greek seem less sensitive to this parameter. In 98 and 99 (which appear above as 13 and 15), the PR reading is available even without a complement.

98. Ho visto Gianni che correva. (M&G, ex. 1a)  
'I saw Gianni running.'

99. I Maria evlepe ton Jani pu etrexe. (Grillo & Spathas 2014)  
'Mary was watching John running.'

### *Adjectival PR predicates*

Hebrew allows nominal sentences,<sup>11</sup> i.e. sentences where the predicate is non-verbal: an AP (ex. 100), a PP, or an NP (ex. 101), including an adjectival participle.

100. הילדה חכמה.  
Ha-yalda xaxama.  
the-girl smart.FS  
'The girl is smart.'

101. דני רופא.  
dani rofe.  
Dani doctor.MS  
'Dani is a doctor.'

Therefore, one might expect PRs to allow adjectives, as well as verbal passive participles, to play the role of the predicate. However, this seems to be impossible:

102. ראיתי את דני העצוב. (#PR)  
# raʔiti ʔet Dani ha-ʕacuv.  
see.1.SG.PST ACC Dani the-sad.MS  
'I saw the sad Dani.'

While grammatical, the sentence doesn't convey the PR meaning, but only the meaning where *atzuv* is a modifier and describes Dani as an individual in a permanent state of being sad.

Italian, on the other hand, allows adjectives as PR predicates:

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<sup>11</sup> Doron, 1983.



103. Ho visto Gianni che era triste (PR)  
 I.have seen Gianni that was sad  
 ‘I have seen Gianni being sad.’

This is possible because the PR contains a copular verb which eliminates the individual-level meaning of the adjective (‘sad’ in this case) and allows a situational reading.

*PRs with Conjoined Predicates*

An interesting phenomenon which M&G do not address is that of PRs with conjoined predicates.

The following are some attested Hebrew examples:

104. למול עיני עלתה אמי היפה ועדינת המראה השמה את מטפחת התחרה הלבנה על ראשה, מדליקה  
 את הנרות, מברכת עליהם, עורכת את השולחן וקוראת לנו לבוא. (PR)  
 le-mul ʕein-ay ʕalta im-i ha-yafa ... ha-sama  
 to-against eyes.CS-my rose mother.CS-my the-beautiful... the-put.PTCP.FS  
 ʔet ha-taxara ha-levana al roʃ-a, madlika ʔet ha-nerot,  
 ACC. the-lace the-white on head-hers light.PTCP.FS ACC. the-candles,  
 mevarexet ʕal-eihem, orexet ʔet ha-ʕulxan  
 bless.PTCP.FS on-them, set.PTCP.FS ACC. the-table  
 ve-koret lanu lavo.  
 and-call.PTCP.FS us to.come  
 ‘In front of my eyes rose my beautiful mother, placing the white lace on her head, lighting the candles and blessing them, setting the table and calling us to come.’  
 (*A Lone Wolf in Jerusalem*, Ehud Diskin, 2016)

105. נזכרתי באבי המקדש על היין, מברך על החלה ובוצע אותה. (PR)  
 nizkarti be-av-i ha-mekadeʃ al ha-yaʕin,  
 remember.1.SG.PST at-father.CS-my the-sanctify.PTCP.MS on the-wine  
 mevarex al ha-xala ve-botzeʕa ʔota.  
 bless.PTCP.MS on the-xala and-slice.PTCP.MS it  
 ‘I remembered my father blessing the wine, blessing the challah and slicing it.’  
 (*A Lone Wolf in Jerusalem*, Ehud Diskin, 2016)

106. ואני התבוננתי בתלמידים המקשיבים, המריעים בגאווה כל פעם ששם המורה שלהם עצמם או החונך  
 הוירטואלי של עצמם מוזכר, המנגנים יחד- מורה ותלמידיו, המחבקים יחד- תלמידה עם חונכת וירטואלית.  
 (PR)  
 ani hitbonanti ba-talmidim ha-makʕivim,  
 I watch.1.SG.PST at.the-students the-listen.PTCP.PL  
 ha-mariʕim be-gaʔava..., ha-menagnim yaxdav...,  
 the-cheer.PTCP.PL with-pride... the-play.PTCP.PL together...  
 ha-mexabkim yaxad...

the-hug.PTCP.PL together...

‘I watched the students listening, cheering with pride..., playing together..., hugging...’  
(*Dashvu’i* – magazine for high school principals, Issue 77, 3.7.2015)

It should be noted that these sentences differ slightly in structure. In the first two examples (104-105) the complementizer *ha-* appears only once, before the first predicate, although it obviously takes scope over all the actions described by the conjoined predicates.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, in the last sentence (106), the complementizer is repeated before each conjoined predicate.

Interestingly, example 106, with multiple complementizers, also exhibits ambiguity. It has two possible readings: one in which all the actions were committed by the same agent, meaning all of the students, and another (distributive) reading, in which only some of the students participated in each action – some listened, some cheered, and some played (the groups may or may not overlap). Obviously, in examples 104-105, no such ambiguity is possible, since the PR head is a singular noun. However, consider example 107, where the singular head is replaced with a plural one:

107. נזכרתי בילדי המקדשים על היין, מברכים על החלה ובוצעים אותה.. (PR)  
nizkarti be-yelad-ay ha-mekadeʃim al ha-ya’in,  
remember.1.SG.PST at-children-my the-sanctify.PTCP.PL on the-wine  
mevarexim al ha-xala ve-botzeʃim ʔota.  
bless.PTCP.PL on the-xala and-slice.PTCP.PL it  
‘I remembered my children blessing the wine, blessing the challah and slicing it.’

108. אני התבוננתי בתלמיד המקשיב, המריע בגאווה..., המנגן... (PR)  
ani hitbonanti ba-talmid ha-makʃiv, ha-meriʕa  
I watch.1.SG.PST at.the-student the-listen.PTCP.MS the-cheer.PTCP.PL  
be-gaʔava..., ha-menagen ...  
with-pride... the-play.PTCP.PL...  
‘I watched the student listening, cheering with pride..., playing...’

Example 107 seems to lack the distributive reading even though the agent is plural: the sentence conveys that all children performed all the actions. This suggests that it is the repetition of the

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<sup>12</sup> In Hebrew, it is not obligatory to repeat the complementizer even when there is more than one embedded clause. (Azar 1995, p.221)

complementizer that produces the distributive reading. In 108 the distributive reading is naturally unavailable, because the head noun is singular.

Examples 104-105 also seem to differ from 107/106 in another way, namely in terms of the understood order of actions: in 104-105 the actions are understood to occur one after the other, whereas in 106 they may be occurring simultaneously. To test whether this has to do with the repetition of the complementizer, I examined a version of 105 with multiple complementizers:

109. נזכרתי באבי המקדש על היין, המברך על החלה והבוצע אותה. (PR)  
 nizkarti                    be-av-i                    ha-mekade]                    al ha-ya'in,  
 remember.1.SG.PST at-father.CS-my the-sanctify.PTCP.MS                    on the-wine  
 ha-mevarex                    al ha-xala                    ve-ha-botze'a                    ?ota.  
 the-bless.PTCP.MS                    on the-xala                    and-the-slice.PTCP.MS                    it  
 'I remembered my dad blessing the wine, blessing the xala and slicing it.'

Ex. 109 indeed seems to be ambiguous between a sequential reading and an unordered one, suggesting that coordination with a single complementizer favors the former reading.

## Semantic Characteristics

### *Complementing Attitude Verbs*

Unlike regular embedded clauses, which can function as objects of attitude verbs like 'claim,' 'guess' and 'deduce' (ex. 110), PRs can't complement such verbs (ex. 111).

110. דני טוען/מסיק/מנחש שרינה רוקדת. (CP)  
dani toʕen/masik/menaxeʃ ʃe-rina rokedet.  
Dani claim/deduce/guess.PTCP.MS that-Rina dance.PTCP.FS  
'Dani claims/deduces/guesses that Rina is dancing.'

111. דני טוען/מסיק/מנחש את רינה הרוקדת. (\*PR)  
dani toʕen/masik/menaxeʃ et rina ha-rokedet.  
Dani claim/deduce/guess.PTCP.MS ACC Rina the-dance.PTCP.FS  
'Dani claims/deduces/guesses Rina dancing.'

The following examples show that Italian is similar: regular CPs can complement the equivalent attitude verbs (examples 112, 114 and 116), while PRs cannot (ex. 113, 115 and 117).

112. Gianni sostiene che Maria corre. (CP)  
Gianni claims that Maria runs  
'Gianni claims that Maria runs.'  
(M&G, ex. 47a)

113. \* Gianni sostiene Maria che corre. (PR)  
Gianni claims Maria that runs  
'Gianni claims Maria running.'  
(M&G, ex. 47b)

114. Gianni ha intuito che Maria correva. (CP)  
Gianni has guessed that Maria run-IMPF  
'Gianni guessed that Maria runs.'  
(M&G, ex. 48a)

115. \* Gianni ha intuito Maria che correva. (PR)  
Gianni has guessed Maria that run-IMPF  
'Gianni guessed Maria running.'  
(M&G, ex. 48b)

116. Gianni ha visto la stanza vuota e ha dedotto che Maria correva. (CP)  
Gianni has seen the room empty and has deduced that Maria run-IMPF  
'Gianni saw the empty room and deduced that Maria was running.'  
(M&G, ex. 49a)

117. \* Gianni ha visto la stanza vuota e ha dedotto Maria che correva. (PR)  
Gianni has seen the room empty and has deduced Maria that run-IMPF  
'Gianni saw the empty room and deduced that Maria running.'  
(M&G, ex. 49b)

### *Epistemic Perception*

According to Barwise (1981), finite embedded clauses generate an epistemically positive reading.<sup>13</sup> Barwise examines and exemplifies the behaviour of CPs and IPs under perception verbs that describe scenes\events. Ex. 118 is an IP (denoting direct perception) under a perception verb ('to see'), and 119 is a CP (denoting indirect perception) under the same verb.

118. Ralph saw a spy hiding a letter under a rock.

119. Ralph saw that a spy was hiding a letter under a rock.  
(Barwise 1981, ex. 5-6)

Barwise notes that 119 implies 118, but not vice versa. This implication is pragmatic rather than semantic, i.e., involves the hearers' expectations regarding the contexts in which each sentence is appropriate. The presence (or absence) of the implication becomes clearer when we add a clause that contradicts it, as in ex. 120 and 121:

120. Ralph saw a spy hiding a letter under a rock, but thought she was tying her shoe.  
(Barwise 1981, p.374)

121. Ralph saw that a spy was hiding a letter under a rock, #but thought she was tying her shoe.

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<sup>13</sup> The distinction between epistemically positive and epistemically neutral perceptual reports was first made by Fred Dretske in his book *Seeing and Knowing*. According to Dretske, there is a simple kind of seeing, in which something is physically perceived by the eyes but is not necessarily interpreted as what it actually is. This type of seeing, which he calls *non-epistemic* seeing, is expressed by direct perception sentences (ex. 118, 120). The other kind of seeing is *epistemic* seeing, in which something is not only physically perceived by the eyes but also interpreted as what it really is. This type of seeing is expressed by indirect perception reports. Barwise refers to the latter type of seeing (seeing and also understanding) as "epistemically positive," and to the former type (seeing but not necessarily understanding) as "epistemically neutral."

In ex. 120 the addition is acceptable because the first part of the sentence is epistemically neutral: it does not convey that Ralph necessarily understood what the spy was doing. In other words, it does not generate an implication that contradicts the addition. Conversely, the first part of the sentence of ex. 121 is epistemically positive: it does convey that Ralph understood what he was seeing, so the addition is infelicitous.

M&G tested PRs for this criterion. Comparing Italian PRs to CPs, which generate an epistemically positive reading (ex. 122), and to non-finite SCs (small clauses), which generate an epistemically neutral one (ex. 123), they found that the PRs, like SCs and unlike CPs, are epistemically neutral, as shown in 124.

122. Gianni ha visto dalle lacrime che Maria piangeva,  
 Gianni has seen from.the tears that Maria cry.IMPF,  
 #ma pensava rideva. (CP)  
 but thought laugh.SUBJ  
 ‘Gianni saw from the tears that Maria was crying, #but thought she was laughing.’  
 (M&G, ex. 50)

123. Gianni ha visto Maria piangere... ma pensava rideva. (bare infinitive)  
 Gianni has seen Maria cry.INF ... but thought laugh.SUBJ  
 ‘Gianni saw Maria crying but thought she was laughing.’  
 (M&G, ex. 51)

124. Gianni ha visto [<sub>PR</sub> Maria che piangeva]... ma ha pensato che rideva. (PR)  
 Gianni has seen Maria that cry.IMPF ... but has thought that laugh.SUBJ  
 ‘Gianni saw Maria crying... but he thought she was laughing.’  
 (M&G, ex. 52)

It should be noted that direct perception verbs describe a relation between a perceiver and an individual situation (Barwise 1981), whereas indirect perception verbs describe a relation between a perceiver and a proposition (Kratzer 1989). This explains why attitude verbs (*deduce* and *claim*) don’t select PRs, as they can only combine with propositions, not situations, which is what PRs denote.

In Hebrew, the bare complement is not an infinitive like in Italian, but a participle. Nonetheless, it resembles the Italian bare infinitive in that it generates an epistemically neutral reading (example 126). As for the Hebrew PR, example 127 shows that, just like its Italian counterpart it is epistemically neutral. Also, like Italian, the CP in ex. 125 generates an epistemically positive reading.

125..דני ראה מהדמעות שרינה בוכה, אבל חשב שהיא צוחקת.. (CP)  
 dani raʔa me-ha-dmaʔot ʃe-rina boxa,  
 Dani saw.3.MS.PST from-the-tears that-Rina cry.PTCP.FS  
 #ʔaval xaʃav ʃe-hi coxeket.  
 but think.3.MS.PST that-she laugh.PTCP.FS  
 ‘Dani saw from the tears that Rina was crying, #but thought she was laughing.’

126..דני ראה את רינה בוכה, אבל חשב שהיא צוחקת.. (bare complement)  
 dani raʔa ʔet rina boxa, ʔaval  
 Dani saw.3.MS.PST ACC. Rina cry.PTCP.FS but  
 xaʃav ʃe-hi coxeket.  
 think.3.SG.PST that-she laugh.PTCP.FS  
 ‘Dani saw Rina crying, but thought she was laughing.’

127..דני ראה את רינה הבוכה בכי מר, אבל חשב שהיא צוחקת.. (PR)  
 dani raʔa ʔet rina ha-boxa bexi mar,  
 Dani saw.3.MS.PST ACC. Rina the-cry.PTCP.FS cry bitter  
 ʔaval xaʃav ʃe-hi coxeket.  
 but think.3.MS.PST that-she laugh.PTCP.FS  
 ‘Dani saw Rina crying bitterly, but thought she was laughing.’

### *Existence Presupposition*

Unlike bare complements<sup>14</sup> of direct perception verbs (ex. 128), which don’t presuppose the existence of the events they denote, PRs give rise to an existential presupposition (ex. 129).

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<sup>14</sup> Higginbotham (1983) claims that infinitives, as complements of direct perception verbs, are descriptions of existentially quantified events.

a. John saw Mary depart.

128. בהינתן שדני מעולם לא רקד, רינה לא ראתה את דני רוקד את הטנגו. (bare complement)  
 be-hinaten [e-dani me-ʕolam lo rakad, rina lo raʔata  
 in-given that-Dani since-always NEG dance.3.MS.PST, Rina NEG see.3.FS.PST  
 ʔet dani roked ʔet ha-tango.  
 ACC Dani dance.PTCP.MS ACC the-tango  
 ‘Given that Dani has never danced, Rina hasn’t seen Dani dancing the Tango.’

129. בהינתן שדני מעולם לא רקד, רינה לא ראתה את דני הרוקד את הטנגו. (PR)  
 be-hinaten [e-dani me-ʕolam lo rakad, rina lo raʔata  
 in-given that-dani since-always NEG dance.3.MS.PST, Rina NEG see.3.FS.PST  
 ʔet Dani ha-roked ʔet ha-tango.  
 ACC Dani the-dance.PTCP.MS ACC the-tango  
 ‘Given that Dani has never danced, Rina hasn’t seen Dani dancing the Tango.’

In ex. 128 there is no contradiction between the second part of the sentence, which evokes an event of Danny dancing, and the clause in the beginning of the sentence, which asserts that such an event never took place. In ex. 129, on the other hand, the first part of the sentence is felt to contradict the second part, and is therefore unacceptable. This contradiction arises because the PR in 129 generates a presupposition that an event of Dani dancing actually occurred.

Italian displays a similar contrast:

130. Dato che Maria non ha mai ballato,  
 given that Maria NEG has never danced,  
 Gianni non ha mai visto Maria ballare. (bare infinitive)  
 Gianni NEG has never seen Maria dance  
 ‘Since Maria has never danced, Gianni has never seen Maria dance.’  
 (M&G, ex. 57)

131. # Dato che Maria non ha mai ballato, Gianni non ha mai visto  
 given that Maria NEG has never danced, Gianni NEG has never seen  
 Maria che ballava. (PR)  
 Maria that dance.IMPF  
 ‘Since Maria has never danced, Gianni never saw Maria dancing.’  
 (M&G, ex. 58)

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b. John saw Mary’s departure.  
 (M&G ex. 56)

The infinitive complement (ex. a) is the indefinite description of the nominal complement in ex. b, which is a definite event.



In ex. 131 there is a contradiction between the first part of the sentence and the presupposition generated by the PR in the second part of the sentence, making the sentence as a whole infelicitous. But in 130, since the bare infinitive in the second part of the sentence doesn't presuppose existentiality, there is no contradiction between the two parts of the sentence.<sup>15</sup>

It should be noted that the epistemic implication pertains to the perceiver's state of mind, whereas the existential presupposition pertains to (what the speaker presents as) the real world. This means that the existential presupposition is weaker than the epistemic implication: an expression can presuppose that the event it describes took place without implying that whoever perceived this event necessarily interpreted it correctly.<sup>16</sup> A PR is such an expression (it carries an existential presupposition but is epistemically neutral), and this is why it can be felicitously accompanied by an utterance that denies the epistemic implication, but not the existential one.

As for Greek, it has three complementizers: *pu*, *oti* and *na*. *Oti* introduces propositions following attitude verbs, and *na* introduces finite clauses which function as infinitives or subjunctives (Greek lacks infinitive or subjunctive forms). All three complementizers can complement perception verbs, as shown below:

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<sup>15</sup> This is also true of Spanish PRs:

- a. Juan no vio a Lea bailar, porque Lea no llegò a bailar.  
Juan NEG saw OBJ Lea dance.INF, because Lea NEG arrive to dance. INF  
'Juan didn't see Lea dance, because she didn't get to dance.'
- b. #Juan no vio a Lea que bailaba, porque Lea no llegò a bailar.  
Juan NEG saw OBJ Lea that dance.IMPF, because Lea NEG arrive to dance. INF  
'Juan didn't see Lea dance, because she didn't get to dance.'  
(M&G ex. 59-60)

<sup>16</sup> The opposite is not true: an expression cannot imply that the event it describes was correctly identified by the perceiver without presupposing that the event actually occurred. In other words, an expression that is epistemically positive necessarily carries an existential presupposition as well.

132. Evlepa ton Stolditi na ine kurasmenos.  
I was seeing the Stolditi na is tired  
'I was seeing Stolditis being tired.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 74a)

133. Evlepa ton Stolditi oti itan kurasmenos.  
I was seeing the Stolditi that was tired  
'I was seeing Stolditis being tired.'  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 74b)

134. Evlepa ton aera pu fisuse.  
I was seeing the wind that was blowing  
(Angelopoulos 2015, ex. 25)

Syntactically, the subordinate clauses in the three examples above are very similar. However, when it comes to semantic features, the complementizers differ. *Pu*-clauses, like Italian PRs, generate an existential presupposition, whereas *na*-clauses do not, and *oti*-clauses generate only a weak existential presupposition (as will be explained in more detail below).

This is exemplified by the following examples:

135. Dhen ton icha dhi na kurazete.  
not him had seen na is getting tired  
=I did not see any event of him getting tired.  
-there is a specific event of him getting tired but I had not seen this event.  
(Anglopoulos 2015, ex. 76a)

136. Dhen ton icha dhi pu kurazotan. (PR)  
not him had seen that was getting tired  
= there is a specific event of him getting tired but I had not seen this event.  
- I had not seen any event of him getting tired.  
(Anglopoulos 2015, ex. 76b)

137. Dhen ton icha dhi oti kurazotan.  
not him had seen that was getting tired  
= there is a specific event of him getting tired but I had not seen this event.  
- I had not seen any event of him getting tired.  
(Anglopoulos 2015, ex. 78)

138. Context: Gianni never danced in his life.  
a. Opote, kanis den ton idhe/exi dhi na xorevi sto parti.  
therefore nobody not him saw/has seen SUBJ dance at.the party  
'Therefore, no one saw/has seen him dance at the party.'

b. Opote, kanis den ton idhe/exi dhi pu xoreve sto parti. (PR)  
 therefore nobody not him saw/has seen that dance.PST.IMPF at.the party  
 ‘Therefore, no one saw/has seen him dance at the party.’  
 (M&G, ex. 61)

The contrasts exemplified above stem from the different characteristics of each complementizer. *Pu*-clauses behave like definites, generating an existential presupposition that projects over negation. *Na*-clauses, on the other hand, are claimed to have indefinite properties, which explains why they don’t generate an existential presupposition. They scope lower than negation, just like Italian infinitives (M&G 2015a). *Oti*-clauses are said to have properties of specific indefinites: they generate an existential presupposition, but it is a weak one, which can be denied (Angelopoulos 2015, Roussou 2010). To demonstrate this difference, I bring another example from Roussou 2010:

139. Thimame oti/pu dhiavaze poli.  
 remember-1S that read-3S much  
 ‘I remember that he used to read a lot/I remember him reading a lot.’  
 (Roussou 2010, ex. 17)

Since *oti* generates weak existential presupposition, the content of the embedded clause may be denied, as follows: ‘I remember that he used to read a lot, but this may be a false recollection.’. When using *pu* instead, which generates a strong presupposition, it is impossible to deny the clause.

More evidence of the existential presupposition generated by PRs is found in other environments: under conditionals and universal quantifiers.

### **Conditionals**

PRs seem to carry an existential presupposition under conditionals, as opposed to bare infinitives. In ex. 140 and 142, where the action is described by bare complement in Hebrew and a bare infinitive in Italian, it is possible that Dani/Gianni never danced. In other words, the sentences do

not suppose that an event of Dani/Gianni dancing necessarily took place. Ex. 141 and 143, on the other hand, where the action is described by a PR, do presuppose that Dani danced (although Rina/Maria did not witness it).

140. .לו רינה ראתה את דני רוקד את הוואלס, היא הייתה שמחה, אבל הוא לא רקד. (bare complement)  
 lu rina raʔata ʔet dani roked ʔet ha-vals,  
 if.IRR Rina see.3.FS.PST ACC. Dani dance.PTCP.MS ACC. the-waltz  
 hi hayta smexa, ʔaval hu lo rakad.  
 she would.be happy.FS but he NEG dance.3.MS.PST  
 ‘If Rina had seen Dani dancing Waltz, she would be happy, but he didn’t.’

141. .לו רינה ראתה את דני הרוקד את הוואלס, היא הייתה שמחה, \*אבל הוא לא רקד. (PR)  
 lu rina raʔata ʔet dani ha-roked ʔet ha-vals,  
 if.IRR Rina see.3.FS.PST ACC. Dani the-dance.PTCP.MS ACC. the-waltz  
 hi hayta smexa, \*ʔaval hu lo rakad.  
 she would.be happy.fs but he NEG dance.3.MS.PST  
 ‘If Rina had seen Dani dancing Waltz, she would be happy, but he didn’t.’

142. Se Maria avesse visto Gianni ballare si sarebbe arrabbita. (bare infinitive)  
 if Maria had.COND seen Gianni dance.INF SI would.be angry  
 ‘If Maria had seen Gianni dance she would have got angry.’  
 (M&G, ex. 62a)

143. Se Maria avesse visto Gianni che ballava si sarebbe arrabbita. (PR)  
 if Maria had.COND seen Gianni that dance.IMPF SI would.be angry  
 ‘If Maria had seen Gianni that dance she would have got angry.’  
 (M&G, ex. 62b)

## Under universal quantifiers

PRs show similar behaviour under universal quantifiers<sup>17</sup>: they allow the non-distributive reading but block the distributive reading; bare complements (or bare infinitives in Italian), on the other

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<sup>17</sup> Due to the phenomenon of "quantifier raising" (QR), the usage of a universal quantifier alongside an existential one creates ambiguity between a distributive and a non-distributive reading:

Someone loves everybody.

The non-distributive reading is the one in which the existential quantifier scopes over the universal quantifier, producing the proposition there exists one person who loves everyone. The distributive reading is the one in which the universal quantifier undergoes QR and scopes over the existential one, even though it is syntactically lower. This

hand, allow both readings in the same environment. In ex. 144, with a bare complement, each person saw some event of Tali dancing, but they did not necessarily see the same event.

Conversely, ex. 145, with a PR, necessarily means that everyone saw the same dancing event.

144.. 'כולם ראו את טלי רוקדת את 'אגם הברבורים' (bare complement)

kulam raʔu ʔet tali rokedet ʔet agam ha-barburim.  
 everyone see.3.PL.PST ACC Tali dance.3.FS.PTCP ACC lake the-swans  
 'Everyone saw Tali dancing 'swan lake'.'

145.. 'כולם ראו את טלי הרוקדת את 'אגם הברבורים' (PR)

kulam raʔu ʔet tali ha-rokedet ʔet agam ha-barburim.  
 everyone see.3.PL.PST ACC Tali the-dance.PTCP.FS ACC lake the-swans  
 'Everyone saw Tali dancing 'swan lake'.'

The Italian examples in 146 and 147 display the same contrast.

146. Tutti hano visto Maria ballare. (bare infinitive)

All have seen Maria dance.INF  
 'Everyone saw Maria dance.'  
 (M&G, ex. 63a)

147. Tutti hano visto Maria che ballava. (PR)

All have seen Maria that dance.IMPF  
 'Everyone saw Maria dancing.'  
 (M&G, ex. 63b)

In other words, the structures in ex. 146 and 144 allow the universal quantifier to scope over the dancing event, generating a multiple event reading as well as a single event reading. Conversely, the PRs in ex. 147 and 145 do not allow the universal quantifier scope over the dancing event, generating a single meaning for the sentence: that there was only one event of dancing, which was witnessed by everyone.

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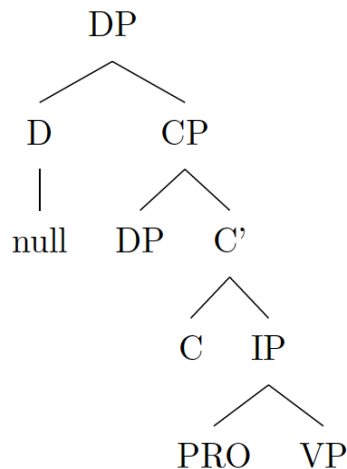
produces the proposition that for every person there exists another person that loves him. PRs behave unexpectedly in that they block QR, thus precluding the distributive reading.

The distributive reading becomes available, however, when the PR head contains a variable pronoun that is bound by the quantifier:

148. Ogni ragazzo<sub>i</sub> ha visto sua<sub>i</sub> sorella che ballava.  
every boy has seen his sister that dance.IMPF

## Hebrew PRs: An Analysis

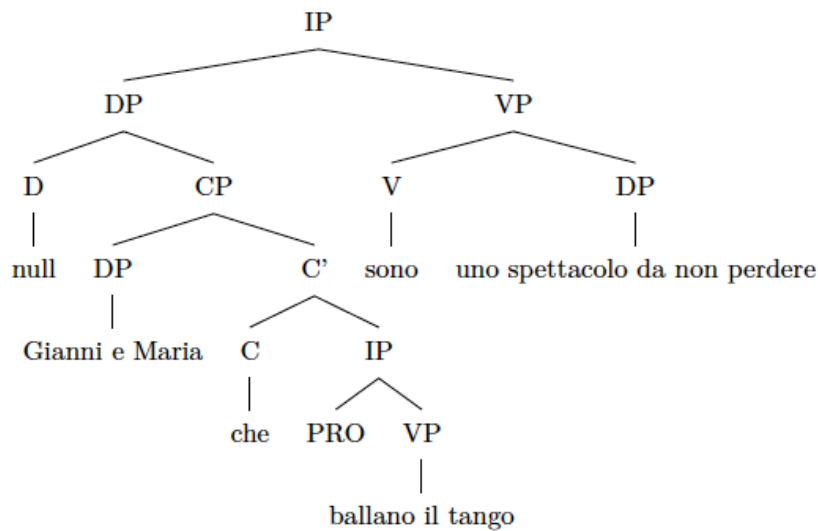
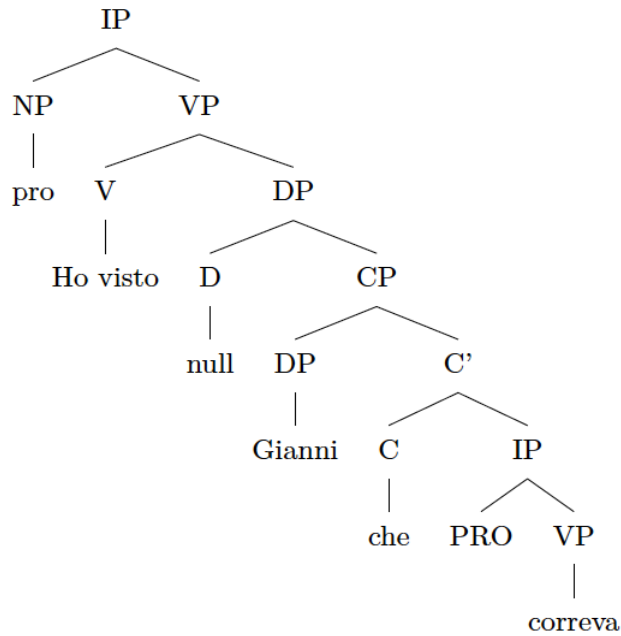
Having described the PR and its properties, I now turn to the question of its precise structural analysis. First, I will present the analysis suggested by M&G for Italian PRs. I will also mention Cinque's (1992) analyses but will not elaborate on them. Subsequently, I will propose an analysis for the Hebrew PR, largely inspired by M&G's analysis for Italian PRs but not identical to it. Finally, I will show how the analysis suggested for the Hebrew PR accounts each of its properties. M&G suggest a unified analysis for all PRs under perception verbs.<sup>18</sup> They treat them as event-denoting constructions in which the PR head and the PR-clause are part of a single constituent of type DP, headed by a null D:



Since this analysis is only of the PR element, it can be inserted into any sentence, in any position – subject or object. The following are two examples, with the PR in object position (ex. 13) and in subject position (ex. 68).

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<sup>18</sup> M&G's analysis doesn't account for PRs under verbs that do not select events as complements, such as *meet* and *catch*. According to them, these PRs should have a different analysis as they indeed denote individuals, not events.



As M&G argue and as is shown above, PRs have the distribution of DPs, which motivates M&G to analyze them as DPs rather than CPs. The empty D explains the fact that the case of the PR head is not assigned by any element within the CP but is determined by the position of the entire PR in the larger sentence. The process that enables this is as follows: the matrix V assigns case to the empty D, which in turn assigns case to the PR head.



The empty D position also facilitates the exceptional agreement between the PR head and matrix verb, which is unique to the PR construction (as shown above in ex. 68-69): the phi-features of the PR head are percolate to the empty D position,<sup>19</sup> but, since this position is empty, these phi-features remain unexpressed unless they further agree with the matrix verb itself, where they can be realized. Of course, as mentioned earlier, this exceptional agreement is optional; the second option is for the empty D to receive the impersonal 3SG phi-features, which are then agrees to the matrix verb.

The analysis of PRs must differ from that of RCs and bare infinitives in order to reflect the semantic differences between the constructions exemplified above, namely that PRs cannot complement propositional attitude verbs, and carry an existential presupposition while generating an epistemically neutral reading. M&G's assumption that PRs are DPs can indeed account for these differences, since constituents of different kinds have different properties. In this case, DPs differ from CPs in that they do not denote propositions. M&G's analysis also explains why PRs, unlike bare infinitives, are referential. According to them, the empty D that heads the PR lends the entire construction the properties of a definite expression by causing the empty position to be interpreted as a definite article (which is also similar to the definite article in its semantic type, as will be demonstrated below). This accounts for the differences between PRs and infinitives in existential presupposition and in quantificational force, as the definite article would generate the existential presupposition and mark the event as specific.

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<sup>19</sup> The phi-features from the PR head are projected to the empty D because the PR head combines with a CP, which is a constituent that cannot bear phi-features (Iatridou and Embick 1997).

Moreover, if we consider D to be of type  $\langle\langle s,t \rangle, \langle s \rangle\rangle$ <sup>20</sup> and CP to be of type  $\langle s,t \rangle$ , the empty D can operate on a set of events to yield a single event. This is not possible if we analyze PRs as CPs or as infinitives, because these constituents denote a set of events and neither contains a D to single out one event from among the set.

Finally, M&G show that Cinque's (1992) analysis doesn't account for all PR properties Cinque (1992) distinguishes three types of Italian PRs, and associates each of them with a different structure. He treats one kind of PR as a constituent of type CP, but M&G show that these PRs actually have the distribution and behavior of DPs. He analyzes another kind of PR as a single constituent of type DP, but in his analysis this PR denotes an individual, rather than an event. M&G show that even the PRs of this type denote events, which means that this analysis is problematic.

A third type of PR, featuring verbs that do not select events, is analyzed by Cinque as two constituents. M&G do not address this analysis, since they deal only with event-denoting PRs. Regardless whether it is applicable to the Italian data, this analysis is irrelevant to Hebrew PRs, since, as stated above, Hebrew does not feature PRs of this sort.

The following section proposes a structural analysis of the Hebrew PR, treating it as a single constituent, and shows that this analysis accounts for each of the PR properties presented in the previous sections.

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<sup>20</sup> s stands for "situation".

As already demonstrated above, constituency tests such as topicalization (ex.149) and pseudo-clefting (ex.150) indicate that the Hebrew PR forms a constituent.

(The original sentence is ex. 7: lili hitbonena be-natan ha-megalgel ?et ha-?ezif be-kaf-yad-o.)

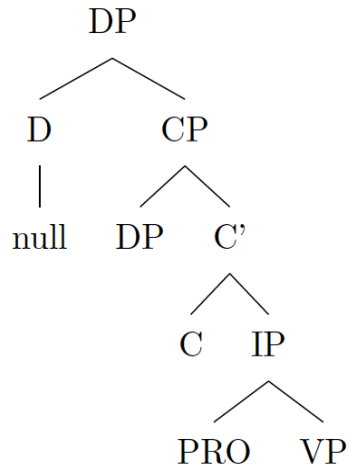
149. בנתן המגלגל את השזיף בכף ידו לילי התבוננה!  
 be-natan ha-megalgel ?et ha-?ezif be-kaf-yad-o lili hitbonena!  
 at-Natan the-roll.PTCP.MS ACC the-plum in-hand-his Lili watch.3.FS.PST  
 ‘Lili watched Natan as he was rolling the plum in his hand...’

150. מה שלילי התבוננה בו הוא נתן המגלגל את השזיף בכף ידו.  
 ma ?e-lili hitbonena b-o hu natan ha-megalgel ?et ha-?ezif  
 what that-Lili watch.3.FS.PST at-him is Natan the-roll.PTCP.MS ACC the-plum  
 be-kaf-yad-o.  
 in-hand-his  
 ‘What Lili was watching is Natan rolling a plum in his hand.’

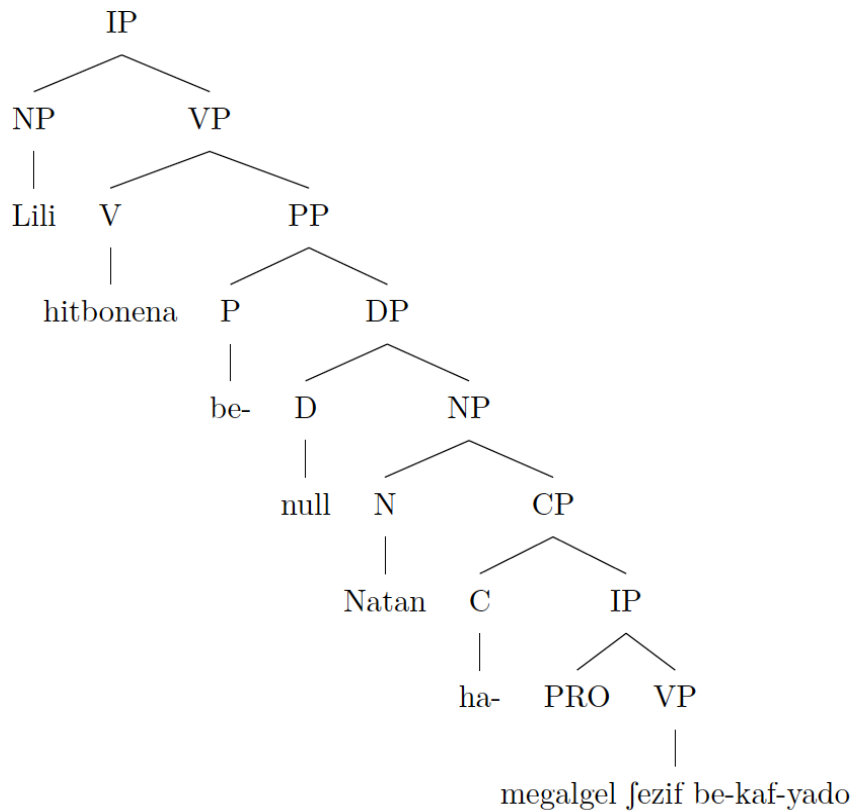
I have also shown that PRs have the distribution of DPs: they can complement prepositions, coordinate with DPs, and be the subject of an embedded clause. The PR, then, seems to be a single constituent of type DP. Such an analysis is indeed suggested by Cinque and by M&G for Italian PRs (or for some of them). But, as mentioned above, their analyses differ: Cinque implies that the *che* clause modifies the individual denoted by the PR head, while M&G contend that the PR, as a whole, denotes an event.

Hebrew seems to support M&G’s claim that PRs denote events. This follows from the properties that were presented above, namely pseudo-clefting, which is only grammatical when using the relative pronoun *what*, not *which* (see ex. 46 and 150), and exceptional agreement: pronouns can agree either with the PR head (in number, gender and person) or with the entire PR as an event-denoting expression (which triggers impersonal singular, 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement; see ex. 66-73). Consequently, I tend to adopt M&G’s structural analysis rather than Cinque’s. As I will show below, M&G’s analysis, with a few modifications, is applicable to the Hebrew PR.

Let us recall M&G’s proposal:



Applying this to ex. 7, we get the following tree:



This seems like a reasonable analysis for this sentence. However, it raises the question: is the empty D position necessary in Hebrew, as it is in Italian? The crucial difference between Italian and Hebrew PRs is that the latter feature an overt determiner, *ha-*, which serves as the

complementizer. *Ha-* is also the definite article in Hebrew. So, is there need for an empty D position, or should the proposed structural analysis be modified in some way?

Two possible modifications suggest themselves:

- a. Omitting the empty D position altogether (leaving *ha-* in the complementizer position).
- b. Positing a D position, just like M&G, but instead of leaving it empty, having it contain the determiner-complementizer *ha-*, which is realized in the complementizer position.

I will present the consequences of each option, and explain why I chose the latter, namely to leave the tree as it is, only with a silent determiner in the D position, which is realized in the C position.

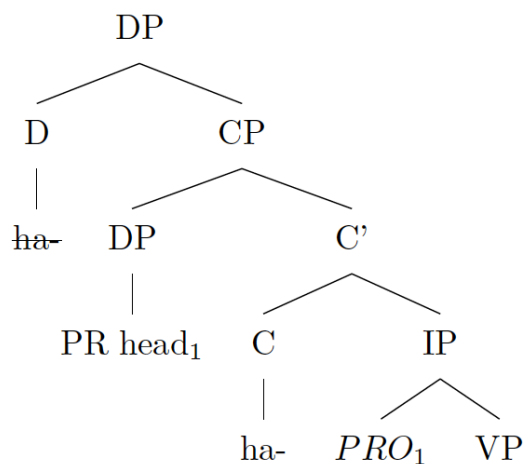
M&G suggest the D position in order to explain several properties of the Italian PR: its DP distribution, its exceptional case marking and its exceptional agreement. (In Italian, this position is necessarily empty, and has no phonological expression). As stated, M&G assume that the matrix verb assigns case to the PR head via the empty D position. The phi-features of the PR head percolate in the opposite direction, projecting first to the empty D position and then upwards to the matrix verb, allowing the exceptional agreement between the verb and the PR head. (Alternatively, the verb can also acquire the default 3SG phi-features). These features can't be expressed on a phonologically null position, and are only expressed on an overt element elsewhere in the sentence (the agreement on the matrix verb and the case on the PR head).

The D position lends the whole structure the properties of a definite expression, which explains the referential nature of PRs. The D position takes a set of events (denoted by the PR predicate) and operates on it, yielding a single definite event, just as an "ordinary" D operates on a set of individuals and singles out one of them.

The properties of the Italian PR that motivate the assumption of the empty D position are all shared by the Hebrew PR, and thus should be reflected by the Hebrew analysis as well. Returning to the two options presented above, it is evident that if the empty D position is eliminated, there is no way to account for the fact that the PR, as a whole, behaves like a DP, as demonstrated above.

The second option – that the D position contains a ‘silent determiner,’ which projects to the complementizer position, where it is realized phonologically as *ha-* – seems to be the better option, as it accounts for all the PR properties presented above, and also accords with the fact that the Hebrew complementizer *ha-* is first and foremost the Hebrew definite article. In fact, it might also explain why this is the only complementizer that can appear in PRs.

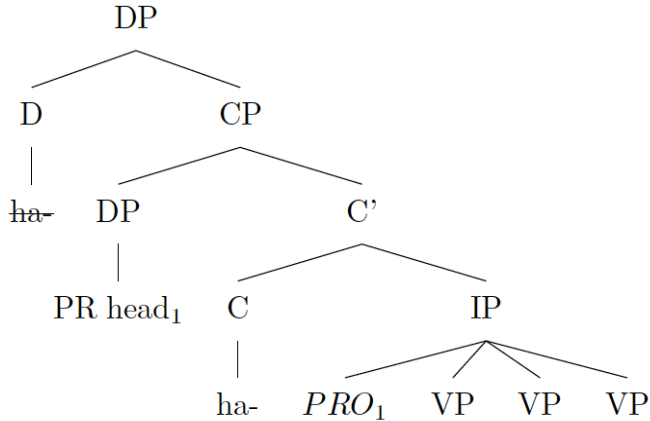
The analysis is as follows:



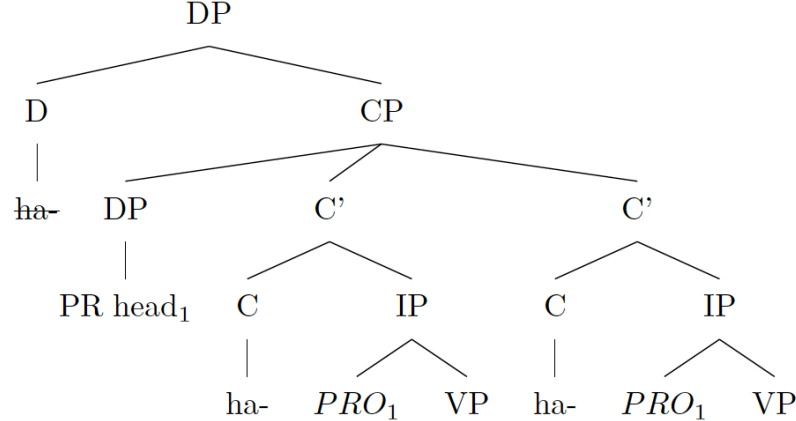
As stated, this analysis reflects all the properties which are common to Italian and Hebrew PRs. It accounts for the epistemically neutral reading of the PR, because it treats this construction not as a CP (which denotes propositions) but rather as a DP. This aspect of the analysis also accounts for the existential presupposition; in fact, this is clearer in Hebrew than in Italian, because the DP head is the definite article.

The restriction on pronouns as heads of Hebrew PRs is accounted for by the fact that the pronoun, which is a clitic, corresponds to a null *pro* in the head position, which cannot be licensed by any functional head in the embedded clause (from which it is separated by *C*, or any functional head in the main clause, from which it is separated by *D*). Since the clitic cannot climb outside the clause, as Hebrew doesn't allow clitic climbing, the derivation crashes.

As for Hebrew PRs with conjoined predicates, I believe that this analysis, with several extensions, can account for them as well. I assume that, when the PR predicate consists of only one complementizer *ha-* followed by conjoined VPs, the complementizer scopes over all of the VPs, which are lower than it in the tree:

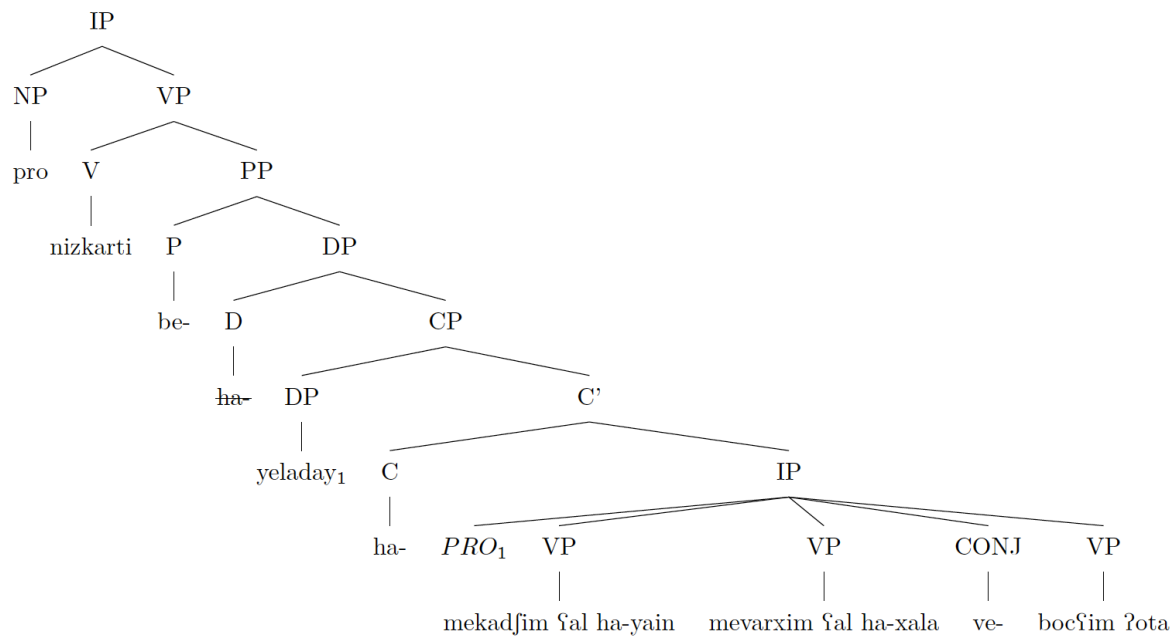


For the other case, where *ha-* is repeated before each conjunct, I suggest the following analysis:

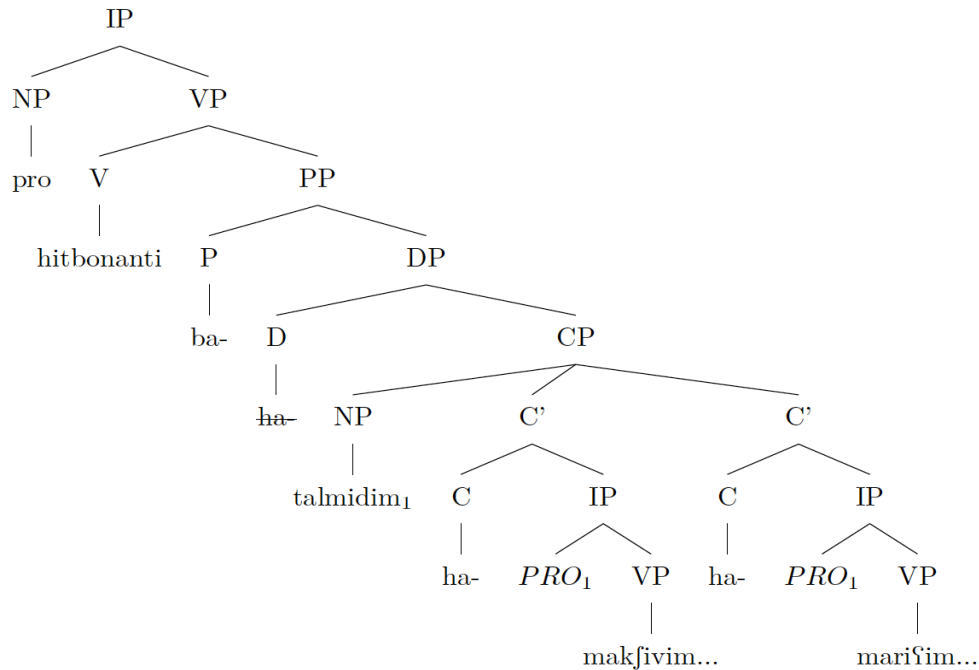


The two analyses account for the differences in interpretation described above. In the first construction, with only one complementizer, the entire set denoted by the PR head is understood to be the agent, be it a set of one element or more. This, I argue, stems from having a single PRO in the embedded clause, followed by several sibling VPs. Since the PRO (coindexed with the PR head) is the subject of all these VPs, the sentence cannot convey that each action was carried out by a different subset of the set denoted by the PR head. The second construction, where the complementizer is repeated before each VP, can generate such a reading, because each VP is associated with a different PRO, all of them referring back to the PR head. If the PR head denotes a set of more than one element, we may assume that, given multiple PROs, each can refer to a different subset of this set. The subsets may or may not overlap; alternatively, they can all be identical to the entire set, producing a reading identical to a single-complementizer sentence.

As an illustration, examples 106 and 108 above are associated with the trees below, respectively:







A question that arises is whether the silent definite article in the D position impedes the procedures that enable the exceptional agreement and the case assignment. I claim that it does not. The case assignment remains the same: the matrix verb assigns case to the D position, which contains a silent determiner. Since, as a null element, this determiner cannot bear case, it passes the case downward to the PR head, where the case can be realized.

The matter of the exceptional agreement, on the other hand, is more complex. The PR head projects its phi-features onto the silent determiner in the D position above it. It might be suggested that the D position can then form an agree relation with the matrix verb (as suggested for the Italian PRs).

Three issues remain to be resolved: Why is the definite article realized in the lower in the C position, rather than in the D position itself; why do PRs appear only with the complementizer *ha-* and not with the complementizer  $\int e$ ; and lastly, but most importantly in my opinion, why does Hebrew allow the realization of an overt determiner while Italian doesn't?

Regarding the first issue (the realization of the determiner in the C position rather than the D position), the answer may lie in the fact that *ha-* (which is the complementizer, in this case) is a clitic. As such, it is bound to be realized in adjacency to the verb to which it cliticizes, which, in the case of the PR, is the embedded verb. As mentioned above, Hebrew doesn't allow clitic climbing, which prevents *ha-* from climbing towards the D position, away from its verb.

This claim is reinforced by Shlonsky (1988). Shlonsky argues that the cliticization of the Hebrew complementizer  $\int e-$  is syntactic, not only phonological, occurring already at level of logical form.  $\int e-$  is free to move according to the empty category principle.<sup>21</sup> Its movement out of C position leaves this position empty, just like the movement of *ha-* from the C position to the D position. In both scenarios, the complementizer is phonologically realized in the C position.

As for the second issue, perhaps the complementizer of a PR is required to be *ha-* rather than  $\int e-$  because the PR is a constituent of type DP, with a D head. As described above, Hebrew RCs with present participles can be introduced by either  $\int e-$  and *ha-*, and in colloquial Hebrew, RCs with  $\int e-$  (rather than *ha-*) are in fact the rule. Hence, the exclusion of  $\int e-$  in PRs might on the face of it seem odd. But if the PR is actually a DP, the restriction becomes reasonable: we may assume that *ha-* is the only complementizer that can bear all the semantic and syntactic features of the PR as described above, thanks to its dual function as both the definite article and as a complementizer.

This brings us to the third and last issue (why Hebrew allows the realization of the determiner while Italian doesn't). As claimed throughout this work, it seems that the Hebrew PR and the Italian PR are intrinsically and structurally similar, differing only in superficial features that stem

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<sup>21</sup> This principle states that an empty category must stand in *proper government* relation to another category.  $\alpha$  properly governs  $\beta$  if and only if  $\alpha$  governs  $\beta$  [and  $\alpha \neq \text{AGR}$ ]. The bracketed phrase is relevant only for non-pro-drop languages. (Chomsky, 1981).

from parametric differences between the two languages. (For example, the tense restriction on the embedded verb exists in both languages, but is realized differently in each of them because Italian is a SOT language while Hebrew is not; the restriction on pronouns as the heads of PRs exists in Hebrew but not in Italian because Italian allows clitic climbing whereas Hebrew does not). I suggest that the exclusion of an overt definite article from the Italian PR but not from the Hebrew one stems from a difference between the definite articles in the two languages: the Hebrew definite article *ha-* bears no phi-features such as number, person or gender, whereas the Italian definite article is marked for number and gender, but not for person. Had the Italian PR featured a definite article, there would have been no way to account for the exceptional agreement: the phi-features of the PR head would project onto the D position, and some of them, namely number and gender, would be realized in that position, but the person feature would remain unrealized. The matrix verb, unlike the definite article, can overtly express all three features, which is what actually occurs in the Italian PR. This once again validates the claim that the PRs are structurally similar in Hebrew and Italian.

In sum, I have adopted M&G's structural analysis of the PR, with slight modifications so as to reflect the properties of the Hebrew construction more accurately. Adopting M&G's analysis was possible due to the structural similarities between the Hebrew and Italian PRs, which were presented and exemplified above. The analysis presented here captures all the properties of the Hebrew PR, while also explaining how it differs from superficially similar structures (RCs and small clauses), both syntactically and semantically.

## *Conclusions*

In this study I examined the Hebrew Pseudo Relative (PR) structure, which has not been addressed in previous literature, perhaps because its close resemblance to relative clauses (RCs) caused it to be conflated with the latter. I argued that, while PRs are somewhat similar to RCs in form and to bare complements in meaning, they nevertheless constitute a unique construction, distinct from both.

In order to fully comprehend the structure of PRs in general and Hebrew PRs in particular, I compared PRs in three languages – Hebrew, Italian and Greek. The comparison revealed differences between the PR construction in each language, but at the same time revealed that these differences are superficial. That is, I determined that the fundamental properties of the construction are identical in all three languages, but that these properties are realized somewhat differently in each of them, due to parametric differences between Hebrew, Italian and Greek. This finding is significant, as it means that the PR is a cross-linguistic phenomenon that exists in all these languages, and perhaps in other languages as well. Since the structure is basically the same, I was able to apply M&G's analysis of Italian PRs to the Hebrew construction with only slight modifications. I showed that the proposed analysis accounts for all the properties of the PR construction.

This study addressed only PRs that are preceded by perception verbs, because Hebrew PRs seem to be restricted to verbs of this class. According to M&G and Cinque, Italian allows PRs with verbs such as *meet* and *catch*, but, as mentioned above, Hebrew does not seem to allow this. PR-like Hebrew constructions featuring these verbs appear to be structurally different from PRs. They may simply be RCs, or perhaps they are a construction distinct from both PRs and RCs. The question

of their identity and behavior, in Hebrew and in other languages, is a question that merits further investigation.

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## תקציר

עבודה זאת עוסקת במבנה פסבדו-זיקה (Pseudo Relative, PR) בעברית החדשה (עברית), מבנה שזוהה ונחקר בשפות הרומאניות, יוונית מודרנית וכן בהולנדית וסרבו-קרואטית, אך טרם נלמד בעברית המודרנית. PR דומה במבנהו לפסוקיות זיקה (Relative Clause, RC), אך בעל מאפיינים שונים המצדיקים שיתייחסו אליו כאל מבנה נפרד. למשל, בעברית, המשעבד של PR יכול להיות רק ה-, בניגוד ל-RC, שם המשעבד יכול להיות אחד משלוש המשעבדים בעברית: ה-, ש- או אשר; PR מחייב שהפועל המשועבד יופיע בצורת בינוני, בניגוד ל-RC המאפשר לפועל המשועבד להופיע בכל זמן שקיים בעברית המודרנית.

השוואה שיטתית ומקיפה בין PR בעברית ובין PR באיטלקית וביוונית העלתה שמבנה ה-PR בעברית חולק תכונות רבות עם זה האיטלקי והיווני, אך גם נבדל מהם במובנים מסוימים. עם זאת, בחינה מקרוב חושפת שהבדלים אלו הם שטחיים – הם לא משקפים הבדל עקרוני/יסודי במבנה או במהות של ה-PR בעברית, אלא הם נובעים מהבדלים פרמטריים בין השפות.

בניסיון לנתח את המבנה בעברית מצאתי לנכון להתבסס על ניתוח המבנה באיטלקית המוצע על-ידי מולטון וגרילו 2015b, עקב הדמיון המהותי בין PR בעברית ובאיטלקית. מולטון וגרילו טוענים שבניגוד ל-RC, PR לא מציינים תכונות של אובייקטים מוחשיים, אלא של אירועים. מבחינה תחבירית, ה-PR וה-PR head (הישות המבצעת את הפעולה הנתפסת ע"י הדובר) יוצרים יחד רכיב יחיד מסוג DP, שבראשו ניצבת עמדת D ריקה. ניתוח זה מאפשר למולטון וגרילו להסביר את התכונות השונות של PR, למשל ההתאם יוצא הדופן בין הפועל הראשי ל-PR, סימון היחסה הייחודי למבנה זה וכן קדם הנחת הקיום שמבנה זה מייצר אצל הקורא/השומע. בעברית, ניתוח שכזה מסביר גם את המגבלות על בחירת המשלים/משעבד במבנה ה-PR.

בהצעת הניתוח ל-PR בעברית, אני אכן מאמצת את הצעתם של מולטון וגרילו, אך עם ההתאמות הנחוצות על מנת להסביר את המקרה הייחודי של ה-PR העברי. אני טוענת שיש לשמר את עמדת ה-D הריקה שמציעים מולטון וגרילו גם לניתוח ה-PR בעברית. זאת למרות שהמימוש הפונולוגי הטבעי של המשלים ה- בעברית הוא בעמדת ה-C, אך בגלל תפקידו הדואלי הן כמיידע והן כמשלים, הוא מעיד על קיום ה-D שנשאר ריק גם בעברית. בעבודה זו אני מראה כיצד

המבנה המוצע, כולל שימור עמדת ה-D הריקה, עוזר להסביר את התכונות המאפיינות את ה-PR בעברית, תוך כדי התייחסות למקרה של קוניונקציה של PR, נושא שלא קיבל התייחסות בספרות הדנה ב-PR.

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח

חוג לבלשנות

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בהנחיית פרופ' עידית דורון

מרץ 2018