

Relative clauses

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the EGG 2016, Lagodekhi

1 Introduction

(1) Defining properties of relative constructions (de Vries 2002: 14):

- a. A relative clause is subordinated
- b. A relative clause is connected to surrounding material by a pivot constituent

(A pivot is a constituent semantically shared by the matrix clause and the RC)

Classification:

- restrictive / defining

- (2) a. The girl that lives in Amsterdam is very keen on winter sports.
- b. The girl who lives in Amsterdam is very keen on winter sports.
- c. The girl I saw yesterday is very keen on winter sports.

- non-restrictive / non-defining / appositive

- (3) The girl, who lives in Amsterdam, is very keen on winter sports.

- headless / free

– definite / standard free relative

- (4) a. [What you said] was unfair.
- b. There is no internet [where you are going]
- c. I don't like [how you dealt with the situation]

– indefinite / concessive free relative

- (5) a. I will do [whatever you want]
- b. [Wherever you go], I'll go with you
- c. I'll read [whichever book you recommend]

– transparent free relative

- (6) a. [What appeared to be a jet airliner] had landed on the freeway
(de Vries 2002)

- b. They served me [what they euphemistically referred to as a steak]
(de Vries 2002)

- correlative

- (7) [Jo larRkii khaRii hai] vo lambii hai
rel girl standing is dem tall is
Lit: Which girl is standing, that (one) is tall (Den Dikken 2005) Hindi

Classification based on the position of the head:

- externally headed

- (8) I saw the **boy** [that Mary likes]

- internally headed / circumnominal (only in languages that are at least partly head-final)

- (9) [[[John-ga **ronbun-o** kaita]-no]-ga] LI-ni notta
John-nom paper-acc wrote-nm-nom LI-loc appeared
the paper that John wrote appeared in LI (Grosu 1994: p. 59) Japanese

- (10) Yoko-wa [[[Taro-ga sara-no ue-ni **keeki-o** oita]-no]-o tabeta
Yoko-top Taro-nom plate-gen on-loc cake-acc put-nm-acc ate
Yoko ate a piece of cake which Taro put on a plate
(Lit. ‘Yoko ate [Taro put cake on a plate].) (Shimoyama 1999: ex. 1 and 2)
Japanese

NB: correlatives are also head-internal relatives

- doubly headed

- (11) Junya-wa [Ayaka-ga **ringo-o** mui-ta] sono-**ringo-o** tabe-ta
Junya-top Ayaka-nom apple-acc peel-pst that-apple-acc eat-pst
Lit: Junya ate those apples [that Ayaka peeled apples]
(Erlewine & Gould 2016) Japanese

RCs may feature

- a relative pronoun
- a resumptive pronoun
- a complementizer (possibly a special relative C)
- a relative particle
- a relative verbal affix

2 Restrictive RCs

2.1 Some properties of restrictive RCs

- can only take nominal antecedents; in (12) the rel. pronoun refers to the table rather than the place under the table

(12) Peter put it under the table where I had put it earlier (Fabb 1990)

- lack of definiteness effect in the RC

(13) The men [that there were _ in the garden] were all diplomats (Bianchi 1999: 137)

- not an island for binding

(14) No one_i [who loves himself_i] will do that

- WCO

(15) *?A man_i [who his_i wife loves _] arrived early (Safir 1986)

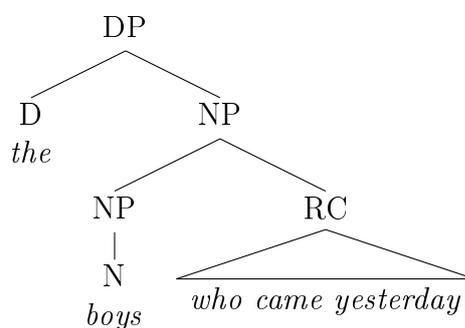
- pied-piping is more limited than in non-restrictive RCs (data from Fabb 1990)

(16) a. Peter put it under the table [[under which] I had put it earlier]
b. *The man [[the mother of whom] I met yesterday] is a French speaker
c. *The men [[some of whom] I like] arrived yesterday

2.2 Analyses of restrictive RCs: the position of the CP

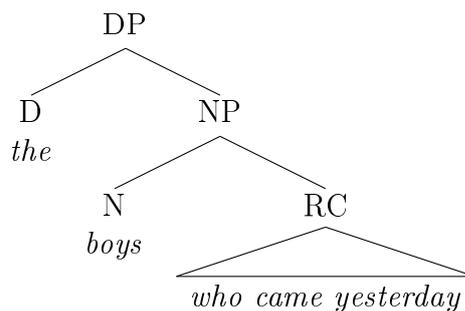
RC is an adjunct: Ross (1968), Bresnan & Grimshaw (1978), Chomsky (1977), Jackendoff (1977), Demirdache (1991), Toribio (1992), Bury (2003), Erlewine & Gould (2016), among others

(17)



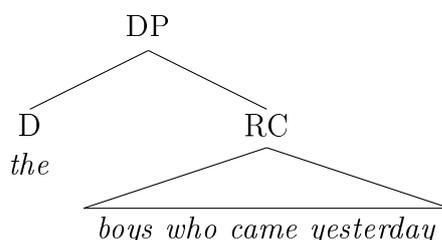
RC is the complement of N: Fabb (1990), Meinunger (2000), Platzack (2000)

(18)



RC is the complement of D: Smith (1964), Kayne (1994), Schmitt (2000), Bianchi (1999; 2000a;b), Alexiadou et al. (2000), Zwart (2000), de Vries (2002), among others

(19)

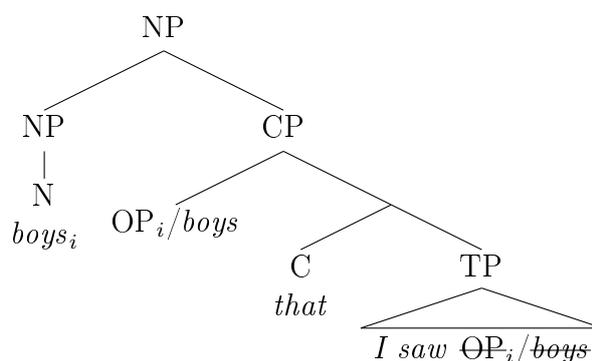


2.3 Analyses of restrictive RCs: the origin of the overt head

Matching: Chomsky (1980), Gračanin-Yuksek (2008), among many others

- the head originates outside of the RC
- the RC features movement of an empty operator or a full head that is deleted under identity with the external head
- the external head is linked to the gap in the RC by predication or binding
- mostly paired with the adjunction analysis (but see Cinque 2013; 2015)

(20)

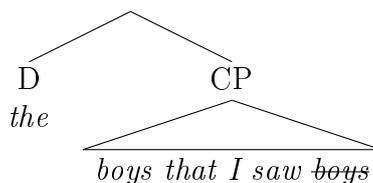


Raising/Promotion: Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999; 2000a;b), Zwart (2000), Alexiadou et al. (2000), de Vries (2002), Citko (2004), Erlewine & Gould (2016), among others

- the head originates inside the RC
- it is moved to the left periphery of the RC

- mostly paired with the complement analysis (but see Erlewine & Gould 2016)

(21)



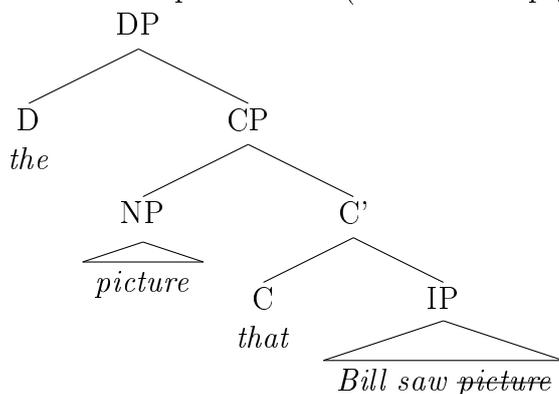
Both are necessary: Bhatt (2002), Szczegielniak (2004), Krapova (2010), Gračanin-Yuksekić (2013), Cinque (2008; 2015), Deal (to appear), among others

2.4 Two influential analyses

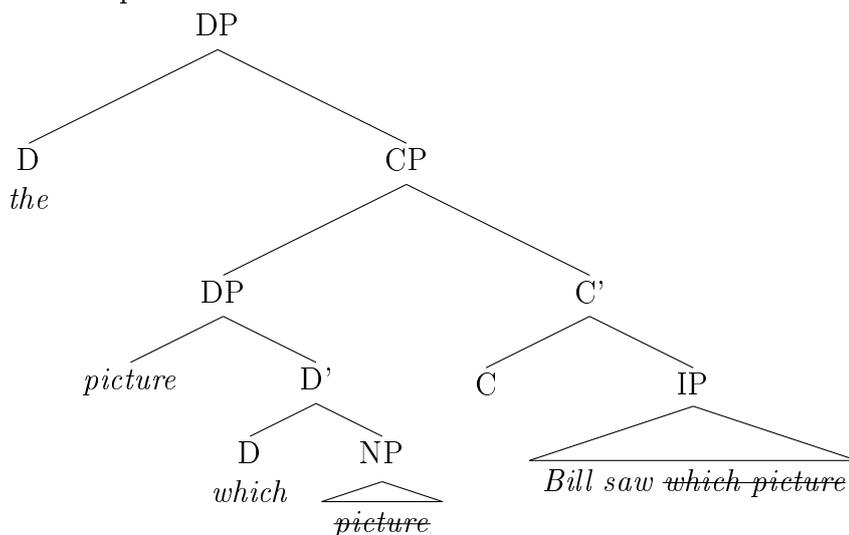
2.4.1 Kayne's (1994) analysis

One of the best known analyses of RCs; it combines the D-complement hypothesis with the raising hypothesis.

(22) relative complementizer (C can be empty under the appropriate conditions)

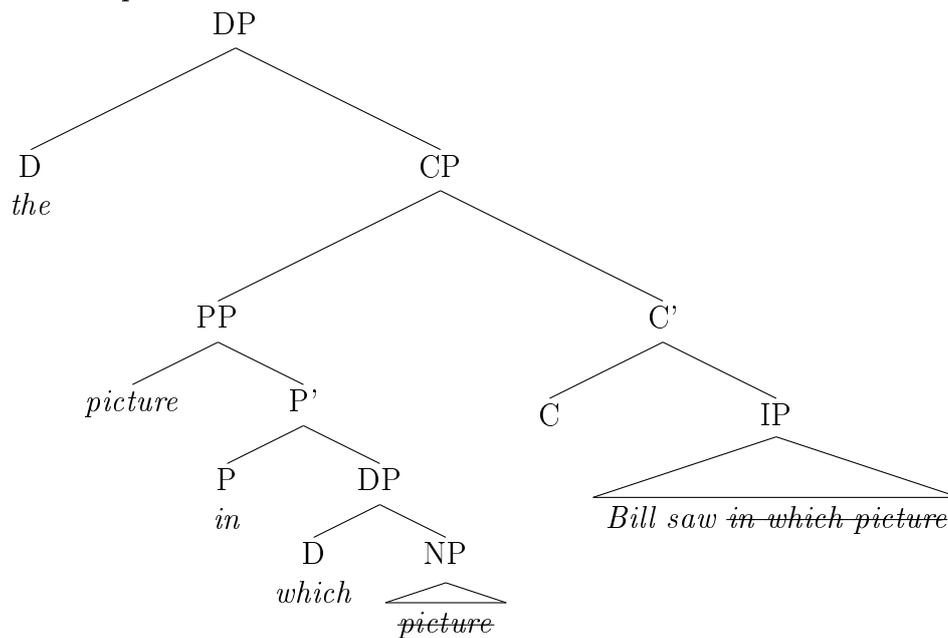


(23) relative pronoun



NB: For Bianchi and Zwart, *which picture* targets a position below C; then *picture* raises to spec, CP and strands the relative pronoun

(24) relative pronoun embedded in PP



N-final relatives feature additional movement of IP to spec, DP and a zero C, possibly also a zero D: $[_{DP} IP_i [D [_{CP} picture C t_i]]]$

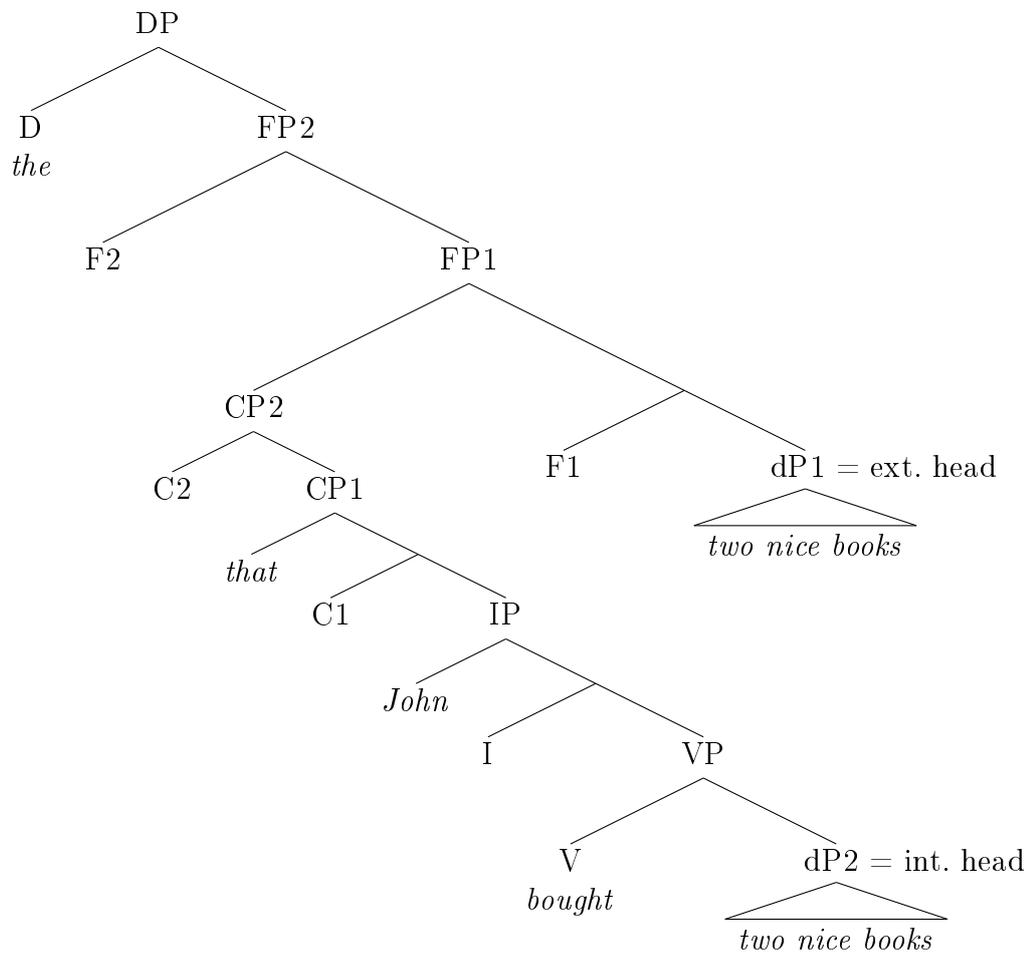
Internally headed relatives: same as N-final relatives, but the IP-internal copy of the head is spelled out and the copy in spec, CP is silenced

See Borsley (1997) for criticism and Bianchi (2000a) for a reply.

2.4.2 Cinque's (2013, 2015) analysis

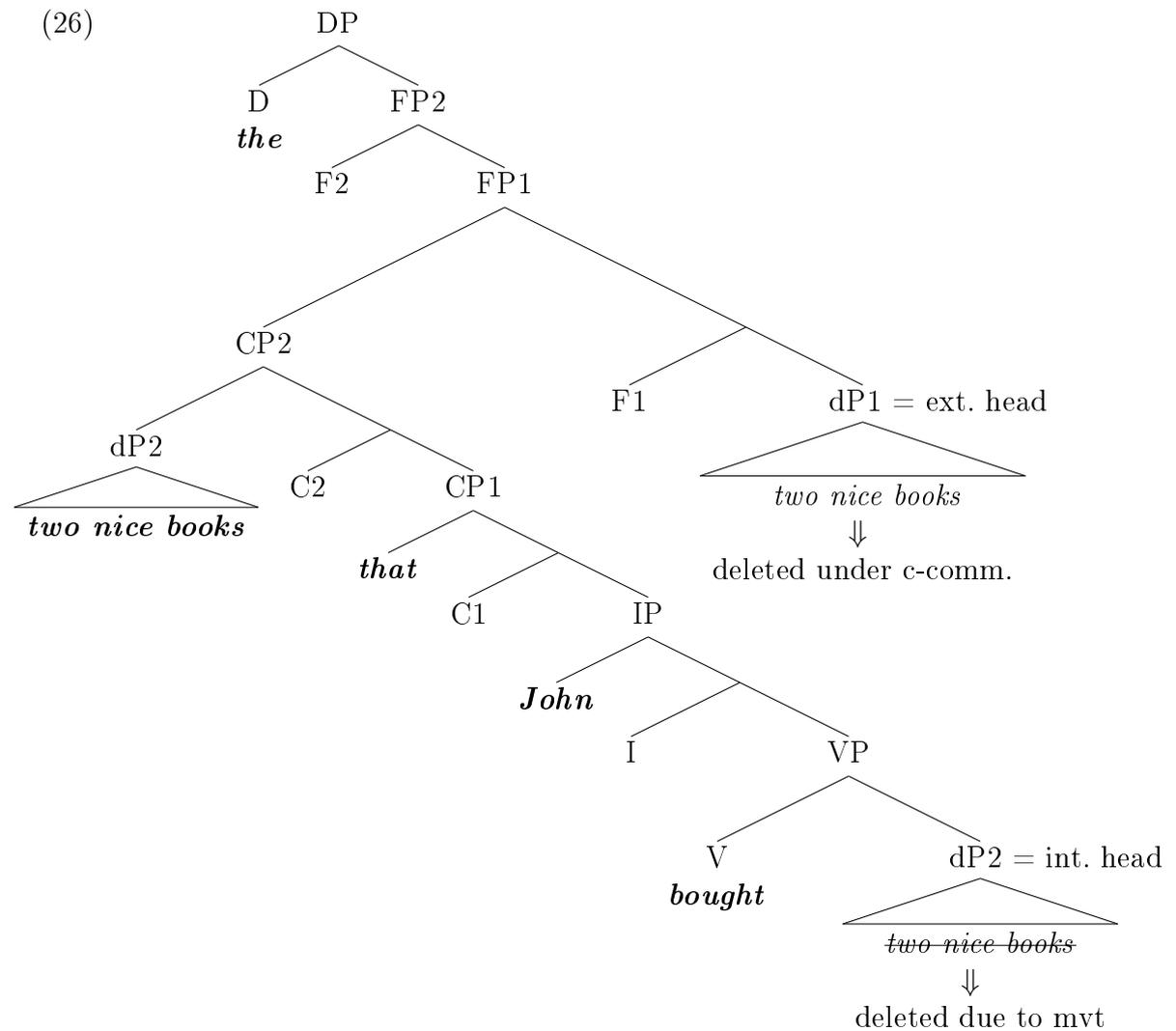
relatives are merged above weak quantifiers but below D

(25)



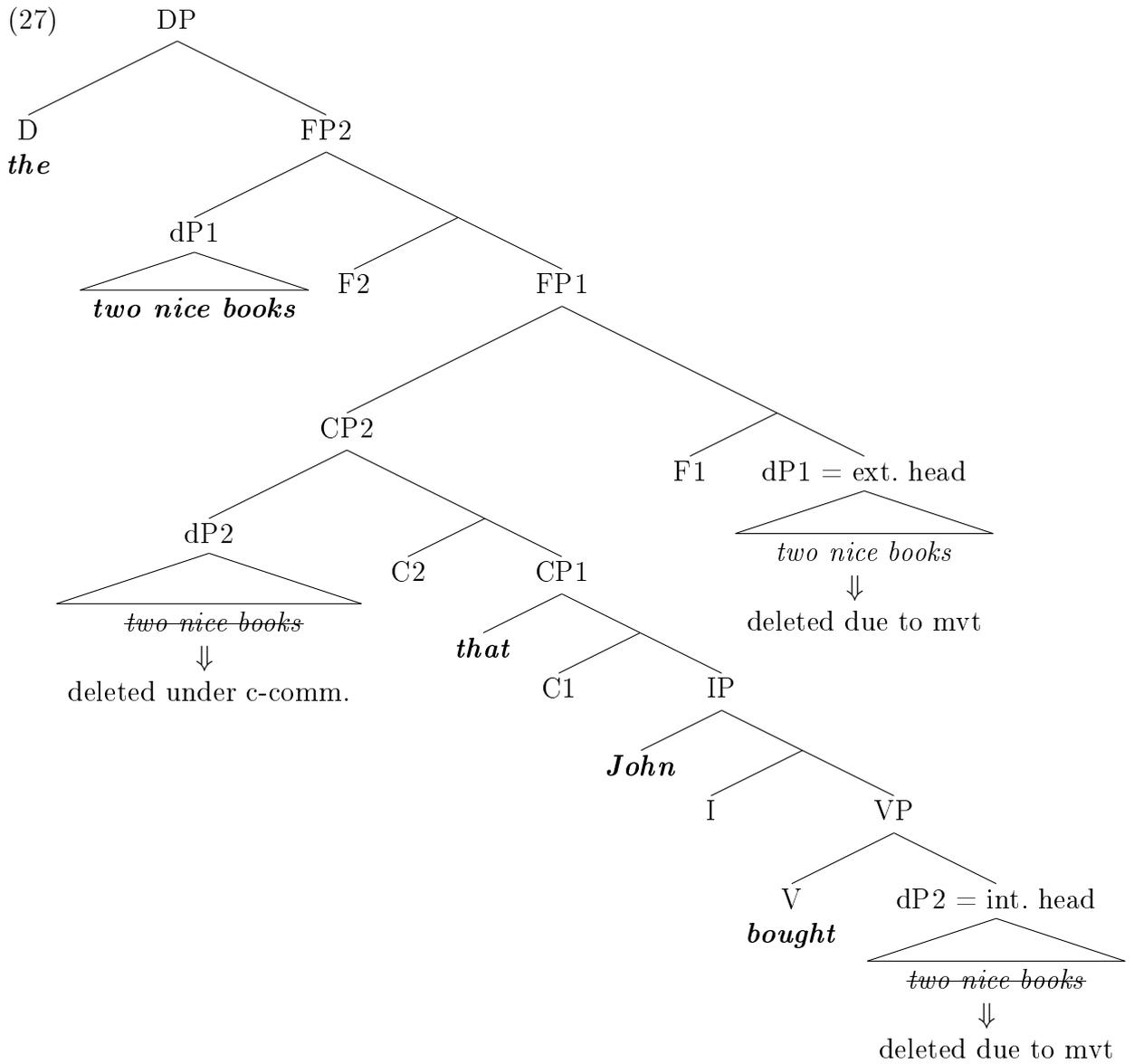
raising derivation:

- the internal head moves to spec, CP2
- then it c-commands the external head
- the external head is deleted



matching derivation

- the internal head moves to spec, CP2
- the external head raises to a position above the RC
- the external head c-commands the internal head; the latter is deleted



3 Non-restrictive RCs

3.1 Some properties of non-restrictive RCs

- can take NP, AP, AdvP, PP, VP, or CP antecedents

- (28)
- | | | |
|----|--|------|
| a. | My brother, who lives in London, is an acclaimed painter | NP |
| b. | John is tall, which I will never be | AP |
| c. | John answered the question politely, which is how I thought he should have answered it (Fabb 1990) | AdvP |
| d. | John is in Brazil, which is where I will go next year | PP |
| e. | John left, which Mary hasn't | VP |
| f. | John played loud music all night, which was not very nice for us | CP |

- definiteness effect in the RC

- (29) *She left magazines, [which there are _ on the table] (Bianchi 1999: 137)

- island for binding

- (30) *No one_i wanted Sue to leave, [which suited him_i] (Jackendoff 1977: 176)

- lack of WCO

- (31) John_i, [who his_i wife loves _], arrived early (Safir 1986)

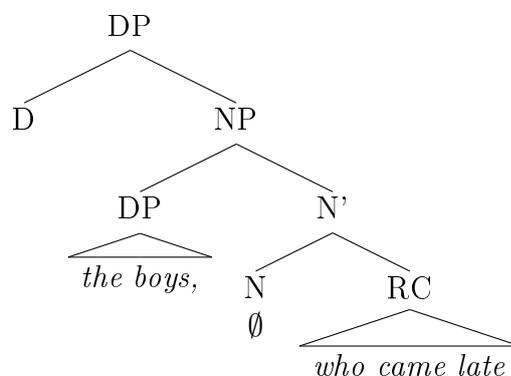
- pied-piping is less limited than in restrictive RCs (data from Fabb 1990)

- (32)
- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | The man, [[the mother of whom] I met yesterday], is a French speaker |
| b. | The men, [[some of whom] I like], arrived yesterday |

3.2 Analyses of non-restrictive RCs

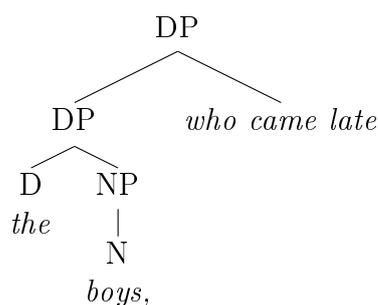
Complement of an empty N: Platzack (2000)

(33)



(High) **Adjunct**: Demirdache (1991), Toribio (1992)¹

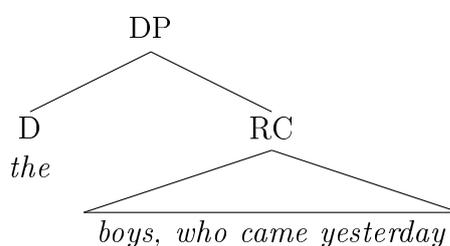
(34)



Radical orphanage (RC is a parenthetical syntactically not part of the main clause: Fabb (1990)

Complement of D: Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999) (same derivation as restrictives + the IP *came yesterday* moves to spec, DP at LF)

(35)



Coordination on the clausal level: Ross (1968)

Coordination on the DP level: de Vries (2006), Lassiter (2011)

4 (Standard) free relatives

4.1 Properties of free relatives

- look like clauses but distribute like nominal phrases (data from Ojeda 2011)

(36) *SAI*

- Is [what she suggests] unreasonable?
- *Is [that she proposes to go alone] unreasonable?

(37) *Complement of P*

- I am sorry for [what I did]
- *I am sorry for [that you were inconvenienced]

(38) *Subject of SC*

- They considered [_{SC} [what she suggested] unreasonable]

¹Analyses that take both restrictive and non-restrictive RCs to be adjuncts agree that the former are lower and the latter are higher. Non-restrictives are taken to be above and outside the scope of D. Demirdache (1991) argues that restrictives are always adjoined to NP, while non-restrictive may be adjoined to NP (in indefinite noun phrases) or DP (in definite noun phrases).

b. *They considered [_{SC} [*that she proposes to go alone] unreasonable]

- the matching effect: the *wh*- phrase has to satisfy the selectional restrictions of both the matrix and the embedded predicate
- their interpretation is definite or universal

4.2 Analyses of (standard) free relatives

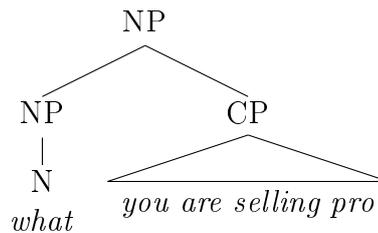
The big questions:

1. DPs or CPs
2. the *wh*- is inside the RC or outside, if the latter, whether it is merged there or is moved from the RC

- **The Head Account:** the *wh*- is the head

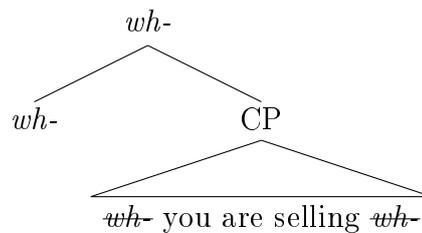
- the *wh*- is base-generated outside the adjunct RC, RC has a *pro* (Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978, Larson 1987, Citko 2002)

(39)



- the *wh*- is generated inside the RC and raises out of it (Bury 2003)

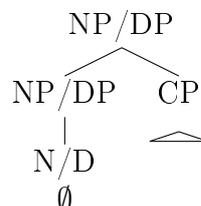
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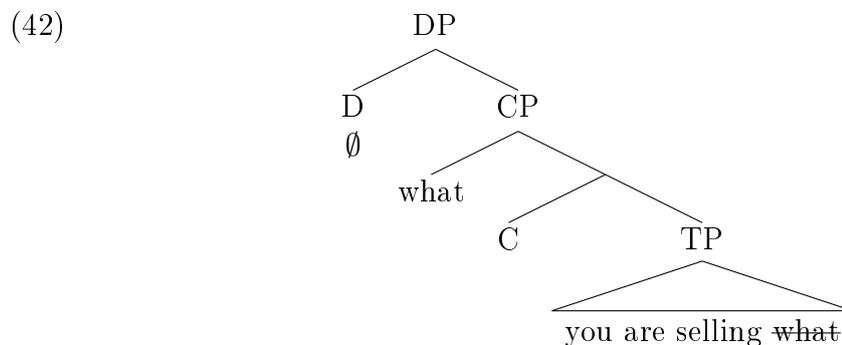
- **The Comp Account:** the *wh*- is in spec, CP in the RC

- RC is genuinely headless, no nominal layer above RC: the oldest idea, also pursued in Rooryck (1994)
- RC has a head, an empty nominal category, RC is an adjunct (Groos & van Riemsdijk 1981: adjoined to an empty NP, Assmann 2013: adjoined to an empty DP)

(41)



- RC has a head, an empty D; RC is a complement of D and involves *wh*-movement to spec, CP (and for Caponigro 2002, further on to spec, DP) (Kayne 1994, Alexiadou et al. 2000, Caponigro 2002, Takahashi & Hulseay 2009)



- **reprojection**: the *wh*- element raises to spec, CP; if it is a simple head, then it reprojects and turns the clause into a DP (Donati 2006, Chomsky 2008, Donati & Cecchetto 2011, a version of this is also found in Ott 2011) – this can be considered to be a version of the Comp analysis

5 Non-finite vs finite, pre-N vs post-N

So far we have talked about postnominal, finite RCs, but they can also be prenominal and non-finite ...

Examples of non-finite RCS (English examples from de Vries 2002):

- (43) *past participial RC*
- the washed clothes
 - a [tegnap János által véletlenül felfedez-ett] részecske
the yesterday John by accidentally discover-ed particle
the particle that was accidentally discovered by John yesterday Hungarian
- (44) *present participial / gerundival RC*
- the washing man
 - a [koszos ruhák-at vidáman mos-ó] ember
the dirty item.of.clothing-acc cheerfully wash-ing man
the man who is cheerfully washing dirty clothes Hungarian
- (45) *future participial RC*
- [holnap-ra elkészít-endő] jelentés
the tomorrow-subl prepare-fut.ptcp report
the report to be prepared for tomorrow Hungarian
- (46) *infinitival RC*
- the clothes to wash

5.1 Prenominal RCs: typological characteristics

Prenominal RCs

- are non-finite with a few exceptions; it is common for N-initial relatives to be finite (Keenan 1985, see de Vries 2002 for examples of postnominal participial relatives)
- feature no relative pronouns (Downing 1978, de Vries 2002, Kayne 1994)
- have no initial complementizer (Downing 1978, de Vries 2002)
- never feature a clause-final relative particle that is identical to the garden variety C of sentential complementation (Downing 1978, de Vries 2002, Kayne 1994)

5.2 Position in the functional hierarchy

Hungarian finite RCs are postnominal, much like in English.

Hungarian non-finite RCs are prenominal and can occur in 3 positions.

- (47) az én [tegnap talál-t] eme kavics-om
the I yesterday find-ed this pebble
this pebble of mine that was found yesterday Hungarian
- (48) az én eme [tegnap talál-t] három kavics-om
the I this yesterday find-ed three pebble
these three pebbles of mine that were found yesterday Hungarian
- (49) a három [tegnap talál-t] szép/fehér kavics
the three yesterday find-ed nice/white pebble
the three nice/white pebbles that were found yesterday Hungarian

Functional sequence so far:

- (50) K > AssplP > D > Poss(2) > **non-fin RC** > Dem > **non-fin RC** > Q > Num
> **non-fin RC** > Adj > Cl > Adj > (Dem?) > Poss > *n* > N

5.3 Pre-N to post-N in Udmurt and Khanty: a case study

Udmurt and Khanty:²

- agglutinative SOV
- one finite verb per sentence, widespread use of non-finite subordination
- minority languages in the Russian Federation → intensive influence of Russian
- diglossia, unidirectional bilingualism
- undergoing a change to SVO, finite subordination is spreading fast

²The Udmurt data in this section are from Dékány & Tánzos (in prep).

Original Finno-Ugric RCS:

- prenominal
- non-finite
- gap-strategy

(51) Sasha [pes'atajen puktem] korkan kyk ar ule in'i
Sasha grandfather.instr built.ptcp house.iness two year live.pres.3sg already
Sasha has been living in the house built by his grandfather for two years Udmurt

(52) [katüΛ-m-am] kuΛ put-nü kit'
catch-pst.ptcp fish pot-loc stay[pst.3sg]
The fish that I have caught stayed in the pot (Csepregi 2012) Khanty

Change only in the position of RCs (RelN → NRel):

- rejected by Udmurt speakers
- „highly infrequent” and is „eventually self-repaired into” a prenominal non-finite RC in Khanty (Filchenko 2007: 468)

(53) kuΛ, [katüΛ-m-am] put-nü kit'
fish catch-pst.ptcp pot-loc stay[pst.3sg]
The fish that I have caught stayed in the pot (Csepregi 2012) Khanty

Change in position + a relativizer is used in the RC:

- relativizers often grammaticalize from *wh*-pronouns or demonstrative pronouns (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Gelderen 2004; 2009)
- Udmurt has *wh*-based relative pronouns

(54) So korkan ul-i, [mar shöryn kvala pukt-ono] tynyd|
3sg house.iness live-pst.3sg what behind holy.house build-ptcp you.dat
He lived in the house behind which you have to build the holy house Udmurt

- Khanty has both *wh*-based and demonstrative based relative pronouns

(55) ju wül-wül qa-nü [qo mä wül-m]-äm|
3sg live-pres.3sg house-loc where 1sg live-pst.ptcp-1sg
He lives in the house where I lived (Potanina 2013) Khanty

(56) pirəš iki, [t'u lüw äwi-Λ-at ma nāmΛaγt-əγəΛ-t]-am|
old man that 3sg daughter-3sg-insf 1sg think-freq-pres.ptcp-1sg
the old man whose daughter I am thinking about (Csepregi 2012) Khanty

- the relative pronoun may later grammaticalize into a C head (and further grammaticalize into a higher C head), a process known as the Relative Cycle (Gelderen 2004; 2009)

Change in position + a relativizing strategy + finiteness:

- Udmurt: the relativizer is obligatory

(57) veras'ki todmo-nenym [kudiz jarat-i] kochysh-jos-ty]
talk-pst.1sg friend-poss.1sg.ins rel.nom like-pst.3sg cat-pl-acc
I talked to my friend who liked cats. Udmurt

- Khanty: the relativizer is 'near-obligatory' (Csepregi 2012)

(58) merəm-qən [muγulə-γən jateswe-wəl] aŋk-im]
tale-du which-du tell-pres.3sg mother-poss.1sg
the tales that are told by my mother (Filchenko 2010) Khanty

(59) mä amə-γal-əm qat [tʃu qaŋən-nə aməs-wəl]
1sg sit-pst-1sg house dem bank-loc sit-prs.3sg
I built the house which is on the riverbank (Potanina 2013) Khanty

Topicalization in Udmurt finite RCs:

(60) Mon todis'ko so pinalez, [tolon kudze Sasha uramish adziz]
1sg know 3sg child.acc yesterday who Sasha street.on see.pst.3sg
I know the child who Sasha saw on the street yesterday adverb topic

(61) Mon todis'ko so pinalez, [nyljös kudze uramish adzizy]
1sg know 3sg child.acc girl.pl who street.on see-pst.3pl
I know the child that the girls saw on the street subject topic

(62) ?Mon todis'ko so pinalez, [Sashajez kudiz uramish adziz]
1sg know 3sg child.acc Sasha.acc who street.on see.pst.3sg
I know the child who saw Sasha on the street object topic³

These data are not compatible with Kayne's (1994) analysis of headed RCs, in which the *wh*- element is in D and the head of the RC moves to spec, DP.

The data are compatible with Bianchi's analysis or the matching analysis.

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³The object topic is possibly degraded here because the head is the object of the main clause and 2 constituents with accusative case are adjacent. This requires further research.

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