Restrictive Relative Clauses Revisited

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0.   Introduction

Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (in press) (henceforth A&A) credit Stavrou (1984) for having observed that direct object clitic doubling in *pu* 'that' restrictive relative clauses in Greek is sensitive to the (in)definiteness of the *associate* of the relative clause.[1] More specifically, clitic doubling of the direct object associate of the relative clause is licit when the latter is indefinite and illicit when it is definite. This is illustrated in (1a) vs. (1b).

(1) a. Diavasa ena vivlio pu   to   pira apo ti vivliothiki. (from A&A 1997:1)
        read-I   a book   that it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I from the library
        'I read a book that I got from the library.'

    b. *Diavasa to vivlio   pu   to   pira apo ti vivliothiki.
        read-I   the book   that it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I from the library
        'I read the book that I got from the library.'

The pattern illustrated in (1a) vs. (1b) is also found in Albanian, as the examples in (2) indicate.

(2) a. Lexova   një libër që   e   mora   në bibliotekë.
        read-I   a book that it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I   in library
   'I read a book that I got from the library.'

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[1] Following Åfarli (1994), I use the term *associate* to refer to the nominal expression with which the restrictive relative clause is associated (e.g. the expression *the shoes* in: *I bought the shoes that I liked*).

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 b. Lexova libr-in që (*e) mora në bibliotekë.
   read-I book-the that $it_{cl,acc}$ got-I in library
   'I read the book that I got from the library.'

The question arises as to why the asymmetry illustrated above arises. A&A propose an account for this asymmetry in Modern Greek which crucially relies on Kayne's (1994) structural analysis of restrictive relative clauses. First, I present A&A's analysis. Then, I point to a set of facts that A&A leave unexplained. Finally, I show how the asymmetry under discussion is derived from the analysis of direct object clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek as a topic-licensing operation (cf. Kallulli 1999).[2]

1. The Head-raising Analysis of Restrictive Relative Clauses

Drawing on Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994) assigns to relative clauses involving a definite associate the structure represented in the diagram in (3).

(3)
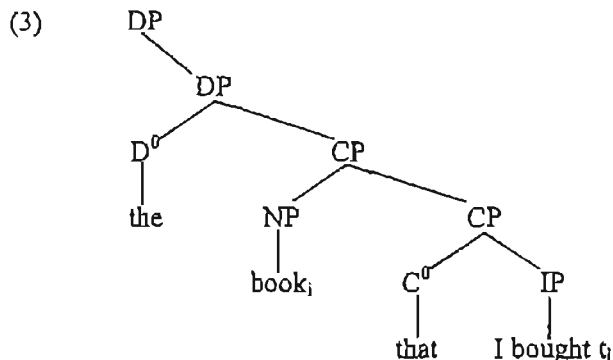
In (3), the relative clause is a complement of the determiner and what raises to Spec of CP is a bare NP and not a null Operator. A&A assume this structure and claim that when the relative clause associate is definite, what has raised to Spec of CP is a bare noun, meaning an NP, not a DP. In contrast, A&A claim, when the associate is indefinite, then what raises to Spec of CP is a QP. In other words, the indefinite determiner and the noun phrase *a book* (in (1a)) form a constituent (QP) and the external D slot remains empty, while *the book* (in (1b)) does not form a constituent, since the head *book* raises from inside the clause to Spec of CP and the determiner *the* is external. Consequently, definite associates of restrictive relative clauses are definite only by virtue of the fact that the raised NP surfaces as a complement of the determiner. (For arguments in favour of postulating that the determiner in restrictive relative clauses has an external source, cf. Schachter (1973), Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994).) The ungrammaticality of constructions involving clitic doubling of definite associates follows then from the generalisation that bare nouns cannot be clitic doubled.[3]

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 [2] I follow Kallulli (1999), where topic is defined as the counterpart of focus (cf. also Erteschik-Shir (1998)). That is, [+Topic] = [-Focus].

 [3] In Kallulli (1999) I argue that bare nouns in Albanian and Greek cannot be clitic doubled because of a feature-divergence between clitics and bare nouns in these languages. More specifically, in Kallulli (1999) I argue that while clitics carry a [+D] feature, bare nouns in Albanian and Greek are not DPs with a morphologically null D, but NPs altogether lacking a D-projection. (The syntactic distinction between NPs

A&A's explanation of the impossibility of clitic doubling the relative clause associate when the latter is definite is not unreasonable. However, their analysis does not provide an account for the fact that when the relative clause associate is indefinite it can be clitic doubled, an issue that is especially important in view of the fact that these authors claim that clitic doubling of indefinite direct object DPs is ungrammatical in Greek simple clauses. That is, A&A's hypothesis accounts for only half of the relevant data. In the following section, I will highlight some facts from Albanian, on the basis of which I will provide an explanation as to why clitic doubling of indefinite associates of restrictive relative clauses is possible.

2.   Two Types of Restrictive Relative Clauses

In Albanian, restrictive relative clauses are of two types: one type is introduced by the complementizer *që* 'that', as was illustrated above in (2), and the other type is introduced by a *wh*-relative pronoun, as is shown in (4) below.

(4)   Lexova   një libër të cil-in   *(e)   mora   në bibliotekë.
       read-I   a book agr which-the   it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I   in library
       'I read a book which I got from the library.'

Note that there is a definite determiner suffixed to the relative pronoun, so clearly the relative pronoun cannot be in the C^0 slot as it shows phrasal characteristics (for instance, it agrees with the indefinite head in phi-features) but not with respect to the definiteness feature. Therefore the relative pronoun in (4) has to be in some specifier position.[4] But if Spec of CP is already occupied by the indefinite relative clause associate *a book*, another Spec position lower than Spec of CP is needed for the relative pronoun. Like in English, the relative pronoun in Albanian involves a *wh*-element, which in this language is preceded by some agreement morpheme (glossed *agr* in (4)) which is lacking when the *wh*-word is used for question formation. This agreement morpheme, which also agrees with the associate of the relative clause in phi-features (number, case, gender) necessarily precedes genitive modifiers of nouns as well as a lexically idiosyncratic group of adjectives. Nothing may intervene between this agreement morpheme and the noun or adjective that it precedes. In view of these morphological facts, at least one (agreement) projection lower than the CP is needed.

Alternatively, the raised indefinite associate does not occupy Spec of CP but some higher position. The question of course arises what the trigger for such a movement would be, if movement is actually involved. I suggest that the associate of the relative

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and DPs contributes to a semantic distinction. Unlike DPs, NPs may not denote individuals. NPs denote properties and translate therefore not as arguments but as predicates at LF.)

   [4] It is also unclear how a Kaynian analysis would accomodate data like: *the boy whose father I met*. If the structure assigned to such data is something like the string in (i), it is unclear which position the wh-phrase *whose father* occupies.

   (i)   [$_{DP}$ the] [$_{CP}$ [$_{NP}$ boy$_i$] [$_{?P}$ whose father] I met t$_i$]

   Crucially, this string is also grammatical in Albanian.

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clause is indeed higher than Spec of CP when it is indefinite, but not as a result of movement.

Before I present the details of my analysis, let me draw attention to two startling facts: First, the relative pronoun cannot introduce a relative clause whose associate is definite. Relative clauses whose associates are definite are exclusively introduced by the complementizer *që* 'that'. These facts are illustrated in the examples in (5).[5]

(5) a. Lexova   libr-in   që   (*e)   mora   në bibliotekë.
         read-I   book-the   that it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I   in library
         'I read the book which I got from the library.'

    b. *Lexova libr-in   të cil-in   (e)   mora   në bibliotekë.
         read-I   book-the   agr which-the   it$_{cl,acc}$ got-I   in library
         'I read the book which I got from the library.'

Second, the doubling clitic is obligatory when the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun (in which case the associate of the relative clause cannot be definite), as was shown in (4).

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[5] The validity of this statement is restricted to constructions where the definite associate of the relative clause surfaces as the direct object of the matrix verb, though. In other words, in examples like (i), where what looks like a definite associate is not a direct object but a predicate nominal, the relative clause may be introduced either by a relative pronoun or by the complementizer. Moreover, while the doubling clitic may be present when the relative clause is introduced by the complementizer *që* but doesn't have to be, it is obligatorily present when the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun. I turn to the discussion of such examples later in this section.

     (i) Këta janë   libra-t   që   (i)   /   të cilët *(i)   solli   Ana.
          these are   books-the   that them$_{cl}$ /   which   them$_{cl}$ brought Anna
          'These are the books that Anna brought.'

What these facts suggest is that the position of the associates of restrictive relative clauses might indeed be different depending on their (in)definiteness feature, in line with A&A. I propose that the difference, however, lies in the fact that while the definite associate of a restrictive relative clause (cf. (5a)) is raised from the embedded clause to the matrix clause possibly in the way Kayne proposes, the indefinite associate in (4) is not raised from the embedded clause but is generated as the object of the verb in the matrix clause. Its reference is then picked up by a relative pronoun in the embedded clause. In other words, it is the relative pronoun moved to the initial position of the embedded CP and not the indefinite expression that is the complement of the verb *get*. The structural difference between the sentence in (5a) and that in (4) is depicted graphically in the tree diagrams in (6) and (7), respectively.[6]

(6)

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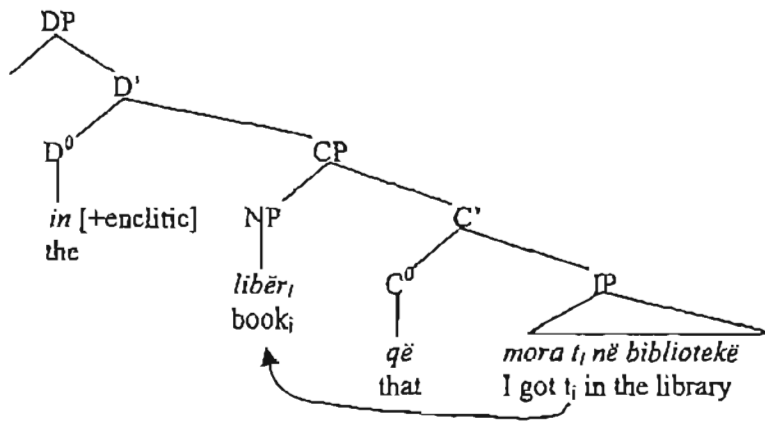
[6] Since the definite determiner in Albanian encliticizes on the noun stem, one needs to also explain how such an order obtains. I discuss the internal structure of the Albanian DP in some detail in Kallulli (1999). There I suggest that the [+enclitic] feature of the definite determiner in D^0 triggers overt movement of N^0.

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(7)
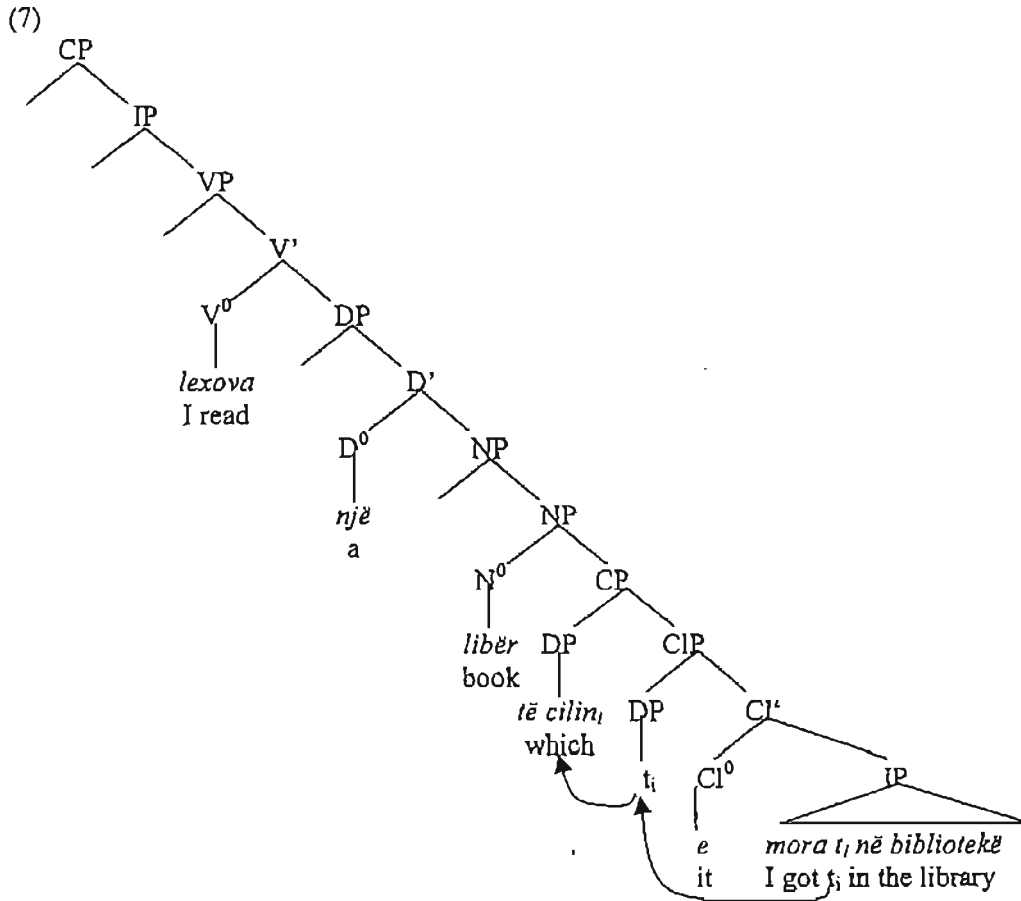
The analysis that I have proposed would explain among other things why the relative pronoun in Albanian and Greek has definite form (i.e. in Greek, it is preceded by the definite determiner and in Albanian it is suffixed with a definite determiner): it resumes the discourse referent that the expression *a book* establishes. Consequently, the clitic does not double the indefinite expression *a book*, but the relative pronoun that is discourse-linked with the indefinite. The obligatoriness of the doubling clitic in (4) follows from the requirement that in Albanian, direct object DPs need to be clitic doubled in order to be marked [+Topic] (cf. Kallulli 1999).

How can the analysis that I have developed so far account for the asymmetry observed in the examples in (1) and (2)? Note that in these examples the relative clause is introduced by a so-called complementizer, not by a relative pronoun. The analysis outlined above can account for the asymmetry in these examples only if a double-status is assigned to this element (that is, Albanian *që* and Greek *pu*). In other words, for Albanian, I must postulate that while in (2b), where the relative clause associate is definite, *që* occupies the C^0 slot, in (2a), when the doubling clitic is present, *që* occupies Spec of CP. That is, in (2a), when the doubling clitic is present, *që* is a relative pronoun. However, since the clitic in (2a) is not obligatory, it would be more accurate to state that while *që*

occupies the C^0 slot in (2b) with a definite associate, it *may* occupy Spec of CP in (2a). Recall that I accounted for the grammaticality of (4), where a doubling clitic is obligatory, by analysing the relative pronoun as a phrasal element in Spec of CP, which as a d-linked constituent, needs to be clitic doubled. If *që* were a phrasal element also in (2b), that is, if it occupied Spec of CP here, then there would be no reason why the presence of a doubling clitic in the relative clause would render the sentence ungrammatical. In other words, nothing would preclude the clitic from doubling a phrase in Spec of CP. Of course, if we were to maintain Kayne's analysis of restrictive relative clauses involving definite associates, *që* in (2b) can under no cirumstances be a phrasal element in Spec of CP, since this position is already occupied by the raised bare noun (see the tree-diagram in 3).

That *që* can be a complementizer, is confirmed by the fact that like *that* in English, it also introduces non-relative complement clauses. This is illustrated in (8).

(8) An-a   e   kuptoi   *që*   kishte   parë ëndërr.
     Ann-the$_{nom}$ it$_{cl,acc}$ realized-3s that   had-3s   seen dream
     'Ann realized that she had had a dream.'

However, the fact that *që* can be a complementizer (that is, occupy the C^0-position) is neither necessary nor sufficient evidence against the idea that it can also occupy a phrasal position. The fact that *që* is morphologically opaque (i.e. it is invariable, or does not encode overt phi-features) cannot be viewed as conclusive evidence that it is exclusively a head element. For instance, *que* in French is clearly a complementizer and just as clearly a pronoun (i.e. a phrasal element), as is obvious from the examples in (9).

(9) a. Je regrette que Marie   parte   demain.
        I regret   that Mary   leaves   tomorrow
        'I am sorry that Mary is leaving tomorrow.'

    b. Que   voulez-vous?
        what want you
        'What do you want?'

One of Emonds' (1976) arguments against the phrasal nature of *that* in English involves the fact that it cannot occur in non-restrictive relatives. However, this argument does not carry over to Albanian: *që* here can freely occur in non-restrictive relatives, as the example in (10) illustrates. This is also the case for *que* in French, as the example in (11) illustrates.

(10) Ana, *që* kishte   patur ditëlindjen një ditë përpara, nuk përgjigjej.
      Ann, that had   had birthday   a day before, not answered
      'Ann, whose birthday had been the day before, was not answering.'

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(11)   Cette maison, que nous préférons tous, est   trop chère.
        this   house   which we prefer   all   is   too   expensive
        'This house, which we all prefer, is too expensive.'

In sum, there is no evidence that *që* in Albanian cannot occupy a phrasal position.

This reasoning may also be extended to *pu*, the Greek counterpart of the Albanian *që*. Thus, we have a straightforward account for the asymmetry observed in the distribution of direct object clitic doubling in restrictive relative clauses in Albanian and Greek: while *që/pu* occupy the C^0 slot in relative clauses restricting definite associates, they *may* occupy Spec of CP in relative clauses restricting indefinite associates. In the latter case, they may be clitic doubled.

Another argument can be construed in favour of the status of *që* both as a complementizer and as a relative pronoun (that is, both as head element and as a phrasal element). In footnote 5 I pointed out that the asymmetry illustrated in the examples (1a) vs. (1b) and (2a) vs. (2b) is not replicated in Albanian when relative clauses restrict a predicate nominal DP. In other words, when relative clauses restrict a definite predicate nominal DP, a doubling clitic in the relative clause is licit. This is demonstrated in (12).[7]

(12)   Këta janë libra-t   që (i)   solli Ana.
        these are   books-the that them$_{cl}$ brought Anna
        'These are the books that Anna brought.'

Obviously, Kayne's approach does not readily account for the facts in (12). That is, if we were to extend A&A's analysis of relative clauses that restrict a definite object to relative clauses restricting predicate nominals, the clitic in (12) would be a counterexample. If, however, the predicate nominal *libra-t* 'the books' in (12) is generated outside the relative clause (that is, if it is generated in the matrix predicate nominal position), at least in the case when the doubling clitic is present in the relative clause, and the element *që* is indeed a relative pronoun and not a complementizer in this case, then we have a straightforward account for why doubling is possible: the clitic doubles the relative pronoun in Spec of CP, not the definite predicate nominal DP.

I have thus shown that a fully uniform analysis of restrictive relative clauses in Albanian is untenable as it cannot account for the asymmetries observed in restrictive relative clauses with respect to the distribution of direct object doubling clitics. While the promotion or head-raising analysis of restrictive relative clauses advocated in Schachter (1973), Vergnaud (1974), and more recently Kayne (1994) may account for a certain set

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[7] One could attempt to analyse examples like (12) as specificational sentences. As Higgins (1979) points out, a distinguishing mark of specificational sentences is the fact that the subject and the predicate complement can apparently change places. But as (i) shows, this is possible for (12) only in the absence of the doubling clitic. This might be taken to imply that the DP *libra-t* 'the books' in (12) is indeed a predicate nominal and not a subject, as it seems to be in (i).

(i)   Libra-t   që   (*i)   solli   Ana janë këta.
       books-the that   them$_{cl}$ brought   Anna are   these
       'The books that Anna brought are these (ones).'

If the structure of (1) is the one given in (ii), then the facts depicted in (i) are not that surprising.

(ii)   [$_{IP}$ [$_{DP}$ libra$_j$-t [$_{CP}$ [$_{NP}$ N$_j$]$_i$ që [$_{IP}$ solli [$_{VP}$ Anna t$_i$]]]] janë [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ këta]]].

of data, there is yet another set of data which the head-raising analysis fails to accommodate but which are accounted for in a straightforward manner under Chomsky's (1973, 1977) analysis of relative clauses, which construes the relative clause associate as generated in the matrix clause. In this context, cf. also Åfarli (1994), who crucially argues that while a promotion analysis of restrictive relative clauses must be assumed at least for some types of restrictive relative clauses in Norwegian, such an analysis does not account for all the data; there is a type of restrictive relative clauses in Norwegian where the relative clause associate is actually generated in the matrix clause, and where the relative clause is related to that associate along the lines of predication, as suggested in Chomsky (1982, 1986).

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be stated that the asymmetries in the distribution of direct object doubling clitics in restrictive relative clauses in Albanian and Greek derive from structural differences between two types of restrictive relative clauses. While in one type of restrictive relative clauses the associate or (its head) raises from inside the relative clause, there is yet another type of restrictive relative clauses whereby the associate of the relative clause is generated inside a matrix clause.

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