

# Squibs and Discussion

THE DIVERSE NATURE OF NON-INTERROGATIVE WH J.-Marc Authier Pennsylvania State University Lisa Reed Pennsylvania State University

# 1 Introduction

In recent years, head-raising/promotion analyses of English restrictive relative clauses (RRCs), whereby the head is moved directly from within the RRC, have gained popularity, in part because they offer a treatment of relativization that dispenses with mechanisms like predication and identification conditions on null operators. This type of analysis was originally proposed by Schachter (1973) and Vergnaud (1974), revived by Kayne (1994), and refined by Bianchi (2000) to answer a number of objections to Kayne's proposal raised by Borsley (1997). However, on the basis of empirical evidence pertaining to reconstruction possibilities, Aoun and Li (2003) have argued that in English, head raising is available only for non-wh-RRCs with type I determiners and that all other RRCs—that is, wh-RRCs and non-wh-RRCs with type II determiners— involve an external base-generated head that enters into a predication/agreement relation with a moved wh-operator originating within the RRC (see Chomsky 1977).

In this squib, the following two claims made by Aoun and Li (2003) with respect to RRCs will be examined in relation to other noninterrogative wh-constructions: (a) in English, a moved noninter rogative wh-phrase semantically combines quantification and restriction (Aoun and Li 2003:212); (b) in RRCs, the use of a wh-phrase indicates that the structure is derived by movement of a wh-operator that is in a predication/agreement relation with a base-generated head (Aoun and Li 2003:115-116). We will argue, on the basis of data pertaining to English nonrestrictive relative clauses (NRRCs), that

We are grateful to Julia Herschensohn, Barbara Partee, and four *LI* reviewers for helpful comments and suggestions. All remaining errors are, naturally enough our own.

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The relevant distinction between type I and type II determiners is that drawn by Carlson (1977:525) on the basis of whether or not the determiner can cooccur with a number expression.

- (i) Type I: the forty men, these few insects, every ten minutes, all lifty Vikings, etc.
- (i) Type II: \*ten many people. \*few several incidents. \*many twelve nounds, etc.

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movement of a noninterrogative *wh*-phrase does not always signal a predication relation, nor does it entail that the *wh*-element is quantification. We will further claim, given evidence from elefting phenomena in English, that a *wh*-phrase may occur in a structure derived via promotion provided that it is the optional spell-out of the *wh*-feature that attracts the "promoted phrase" to Spec,CP.

## 2 Aoun and Li's (2003) Account of Restrictive Relative Clauses

Aoun and Li's (2003) claim that both head-raising/promotion and head base-generation/operator movement strategies are available to derive RRCs rests primarily on the observation that some RRCs exhibit the full range of reconstruction effects while others do not. For example, there is a systematic contrast between wh-RRCs and non-wh-RRCs with respect to the reconstruction of V + O idioms (1a), anaphoric binding (1b), pronouns interpreted as bound variables (1c), and quantifier scope (2).

- a. The careful track (that)/??which she's keeping of her expenses pleases me.
  - b. We admired the picture of himself, (that)/\*which John, likes best.
  - The picture of his, mother (that)/?\*which every student, painted in art class was impressive.
- (2) a. I phoned the two patients (that) every doctor will examine.
  - (wide scope reading for ∀ possible)
  - b. I phoned the two patients who every doctor will examine. (wide scope reading for ∀ unavailable)

Aoun and Li point out that the head-raising analysis easily explains reconstruction effects in non-wh-RRCs and propose that they partake in the structure in (3). They also take the lack of reconstruction effects in wh-RRCs to indicate that the head in such constructions is basegenerated in its surface position and that the wh-operator they contain undergoes movement in the fashion illustrated in (4).

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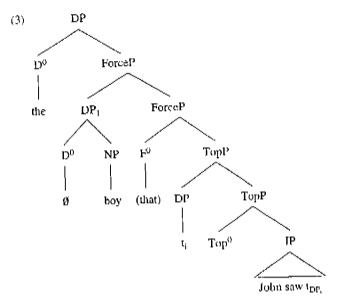
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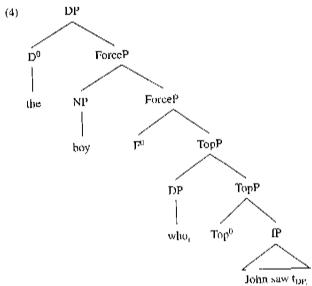
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Besides having the obvious advantage of accounting for the lack of reconstruction effects in wh-RRCs, the structure in (4) does not basegenerate phrases such as [who(m) NP] and [why NP], which are never found in other contexts. Having to base-generate such phrases was one of the disadvantages of Kayne's (1994) promotion analysis of wh-RRCs, illustrated in (5).

- (5) a, the person with whom I played tennis . . .
  - b. the [C<sup>0</sup> [I played tennis with whom person]]
  - c. the [with whom person [C<sup>0</sup> [I played tennis [e]]]]
  - d. the  $\{c_P\}_{PP}$  person, [with whom  $\{e\}_i\}\}\{C^0,\dots$

# 3 Nonrestrictive Relative Clauses

Unlike RRCs, NRRCs never appear without a wh-element, as (6) illustrates.

(6) This child, \*(who) my daughter played with, had the flu.

If we extend Aoun and Li's (2003) line of reasoning, this means that NRRCs do not involve head raising but instead are derived by operator movement (contra Kayne 1994). Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion. First, the head of an NRRC need not be a DP but can be, among other categories, an AP or a VP (to the best of our knowledge, this was first noted by Thompson (1971)).

- (7) a. Peter is thrifty, which I will never be.
  - Sue shook hands with the president, which Patrick did too.

In such cases, Borsley (1997) points out, Kayne's (1994) promotion approach would posit a structure in which the wh-element which has an AP-trace or a VP-trace as its complement. Interrogative which, however, never allows categories of this type as its complement.

- (8) a. \*Which thrifty is Peter?
  - b. \*Which shake hands with the president did Sue?

A second piece of evidence against a promotion analysis of NRRCs concerns their failure to exhibit reconstruction effects.

- (9) a. \*This is nothing but lip service, which Paul pays to civil liberties whenever he gets a chance.
  - b. \*Vera hated this interest in each other, which [Jared and Nicole], often showed at parties.
  - c. Two pictures of his, mother, which every student, had given Suc, were on the table.
  - d. I talked to two patients, who every doctor in town had examined.

(wide scope reading for ∀ unavailable)

We are thus led to the conclusion that NRRCs involve movement of the wh-element within the relative CP/TopP they contain.

We turn next to the semantic nature of the wh phrase that appears in NRRCs. Are such phrases quantificational, just like the ones that appear in RRCs? To answer this question, we must first take a closer look at the semantic feature specifications of the heads of NRRCs, which, regardless of one's theory of NRRCs, are in some way tied to those of their relative pronouns. As Rodman (1976:175) points out, given data like (10), these specifications appear to be much more

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restricted than they are in RRCs, leading him to propose that NRRCs "must be headed by a term which has a unique, identifiable referent."

(10) \*Every/No/Any man, who is a mammal, walks.

This characterization is inaccurate as it stands, however, since many NRRCs have quantificational heads.

(11) Some/Many/A few/All the/Exactly three knights, who wore chain mail, survived the attack.

Adopting Beghelli and Stowell's (1997) classification of quantifier phrases (QPs), we can describe the contrast between (10) and (11) by saying that only QPs that count individuals with a given property (which Beghelli and Stowell call counting QPs) and QPs that introduce individual variables—whether singular or plural individuals—(which Beghelli and Stowell call group-denoting QPs) are allowed as heads of NRRCs. Why should this be? The answer can be formulated on the hasis of an observation made by Cooper (1983:92–93), according to whom the facts concerning which QPs can head NRRCs "seem to bear some relation to ... discourse anaphora, i.e. the possibility of having a pronoun in a sentence related to a noun-phrase occurring in an earlier sentence." Simply put, his idea is that a QP is allowed to head an NRRC only if it can serve as the antecedent of a pronoun that it does not bind. An example of this parallel is given in (12)–(13).

- (12) a. \*Every/No knight, who wore chain mail, left the castle.b. All the/Many knights, who wore chain mail, left the
- castle.
- (13) a. \*Every/No knight, wore chain mail and he; left the castle.
  b. All the/Many knights, wore chain mail and they; left the castle.

The pronouns in the second conjuncts of (13a-b) are F-type pronouns (Evans 1977, 1980), that is, pronouns whose denotation is fixed by a description recoverable from the clause containing the quantifier antecedent (e.g., the denotation of they in (13b) is fixed by the description the knights that wore chain mail). Thus, the subclass of QPs that can serve as heads of NRRCs is the same as the subclass that can serve as antecedents for E-type pronouns. Again, why should this be? Suppose that we take the so called relative pronoun in NRRCs to literally be a (referential) pronoun, as proposed by Demirdache (1991). If so, then we immediately explain why only QPs that can be used as antecedents for pronouns can be heads in those constructions.

Other facts follow as well. First, this proposal explains why the head of an NRRC can be an AP or a VP (see (7)): there are pronouns that can substitute for such categories, as illustrated in (14).

(14) a. Peter is thrifty. Bill is anything but that. (that - thrifty)
b. Sue shook hands with the president. Patrick did it too. (it = shake hands with the president)

Second, it predicts the fact, pointed out by Safir (1986:667) and Postal

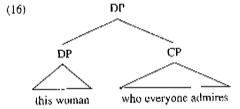
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(1993:540), among others, that NRRCs, unlike their RRC counterparts, do not display weak crossover effects.

- (15) a. Jack<sub>i</sub>, who, they convinced his<sub>i</sub> sister that you had called a coward, . . .
  - b. \*The kid, who, his, sister called a coward did poorly on

The contrast in (15) follows from the standard assumption that only quantificational elements trigger weak crossover effects together with our hypothesis that the *who* in (15a) is pronominal rather than quantificational.

Some intriguing questions remain. First, if the wh-element in an NRRC with a quantificational head is an E-type pronoun rather than a bound variable, then it must be the ease that it is not c-commanded by that head. The structure for NRRCs in (16), advocated by Demirdache (1991) and Hornstein (2001), is consistent with this fact. In this structure, the NRRC is base-generated adjoined to the head it modifies.



This is insufficient, however, because a pronoun inside an NRRC cannot be bound by a quantifier located entirely outside the relative construction. For example, Safir (1986:672) points out that a subject QP cannot bind a pronoun inside an object NRRC but it may do so inside an RRC.

- (17) a. \*Every student, forgave John, who he, liked.
  - b. Every student; forgave a man who he, liked,

To explain these facts, Safir (1986) claims that the nonrestrictive structure is invisible at LF and is later attached at the level of LF. It is unclear to us, however, how such an analysis can be restated in terms consistent with minimalist assumptions. Demirdache (1991) proposes that the CP component of an NRRC is represented as an independent clause at LF. Syntactically, this means that at LF, the CP adjoined to the NRRC head is lifted out of its constituent to attach to the highest node in the tree. Although this analysis is consistent with the facts in (17a), it is interesting to note that when overt movement targets an NRRC, it cannot separate the relative's head from its adjoined CP.

- (18) a. This car, which is equipped with a V6, I would consider buying.
  - b. \*This car. I would consider buying, which is equipped with a V6.
  - c. \*Which is equipped with a V6, I would consider buying this car.

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Why covert movement should be different in this respect is an interesting question, which we will leave open for future research.<sup>1</sup>

A second important issue concerns the nature of the relation between the head of an NRRC and its wh-element. Note first that this relation cannot be one of predication, the predicate being the CP component of the NRRC and the argument, its head, because the head of an NRRC can itself be a (VP or AP) predicate, as shown in (7). Since we took the position that the wh-element in NRRCs is a pronoun endowed with a wh-feature, its relation to the head must be that of discourse anaphora. But here an interesting complication arises in relation to quantificational heads. Consider in this respect the following paradigms:

- (19) a. Sarah owns a car<sub>i</sub>. She takes good care of it<sub>i</sub>.
  - b. \*Sarah is a cari-owner. She takes good care of it.
  - c. \*Sarah is a cari-owner, which, runs like a top.
- (20) a. \*John owns no sheep, and Harry takes care of them,
  - The professor saw no students in class Thursday. They had (all) gone to the beach instead.
  - \*The professor saw no students, who had gone to the beach.

The contrast between (19a) and (19b) shows that E-type pronouns are not licensed by just any salient expression picking out a referent in the context. Incorporated nominals like cur- in (19b) are not good enough; E-type pronouns need to be licensed by syntactic phrases, for example, the indefinite QP a car in (19a). As shown in (19c), the same is true of the wh-element found in NRRCs, a fact consistent with our analysis. Consider next (20a), an example in which an E-type pronoun fails to be licensed. Since the role of an E-type pronoun is to refer to the object(s) that satisfy the predicate in the antecedent clause and thereby make that clause true, the E-type pronoun in (20a) cannot have a no quantifier as antecedent since there are no sheep that are owned by John, But then, what kind of pronoun is the one in (20b)? It illustrates a type of pragmatic anaphora noted and discussed by Partee (1978).3 In such cases, the no quantifier does not serve directly as antecedent to the pragmatic pronoun: the referent of they in (20b) refers to all of the professor's students, that is, the group over which the quantifier no students is ranging. What is interesting is that the wh-element found in an NRRC can never function in such a way, as (20c) illustrates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A reviewer suggests that this objection to Demirdache's (1991) proposal is not entirely justified, claiming that if one changes (18b) to something like (i), its status improves.

This car, I would actually consider buying, which is equipped with a V6, leather scats, and a whole bunch of luxurious features.

Although the speakers we consulted found (i) easier to process, they still characterized it as being imprammatical.

We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer for bringing (20h) to our attention.

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Rather, its reference must be determined by the whole QP head. These observations make it clear that the wh-element in NRRCs is a pronoun that bears a very tight relation to the relative construction's head.<sup>4</sup> They also underscore the fact that there is a real distinction between E-type pronouns and pronouns of a more pragmatic nature.

### 4 Clefts

In a manner reminiscent of RRCs, eleft sentences may display, in the CP projection that follows the elefted phrase,  $\theta_i$  that, or a wh-phrase.

(21) It was Bill Ø/that/who they saw.

Clefts differ from RRCs, however, in that they allow reconstruction regardless of whether or not a wh-element is used.

- (22) a. It's herself, that/who she, hates the most.
  - b. It's this sort of story about herself<sub>i</sub> that/which no woman<sub>i</sub> would tell a man.
  - it's two cancer patients that/who every intern had to examine yesterday.
     (wide scope reading for ∀ possible)

These facts suggest that a promotion analysis of clefts along the lines suggested by É. Kiss (1998) and ourselves (Authier and Reed 1999, 2001) is warranted even when a wh-element is present in the structure. Thus, for concreteness, we will assume that clefted phrases enter the derivation in the embedded CP and move to the specifier position of a Focus Phrase that takes the embedded CP as its complement. Given these assumptions, the structure corresponding to a sentence like (23a) is (23b).

- <sup>4</sup> This relation does not necessarily follow from syntactic considerations. It might very well turn out to be the result of a discourse principle akin to the one that forces the parenthetical my sister in (i) to obligatorily corefer with Helen.
  - (i) Helen, my sister, is an architect.
- <sup>5</sup> Pinkham and Hankamer (1975) argue that the presence of clefted anaphors in sentences like (22a) cannot be taken as evidence for a promotion analysis of clefting because of examples like (i) and (ii).
  - (i) It was himself that Peter urged Ann to defend. (Compare: \*Peter urged Ann to defend himself.)
  - (ii) \*It's each other that Peter and Ann can't stand.

We contend that examples like (i) are in fact consistent with a promotion analysis of elefting if the elefted phrase is not an analytic but a nonnominative intensified pronoun of the type discussed by Baker (1995)—that is, a pronoun subject to two conditions that regulate intensive NPs like Peter howelf generally. (a) a contrastiveness requirement and (b) a requirement that the individual being referred to be more central than other individuals in the contrast set Note that if such conditions are met, a nonnominative intensified pronoun can.

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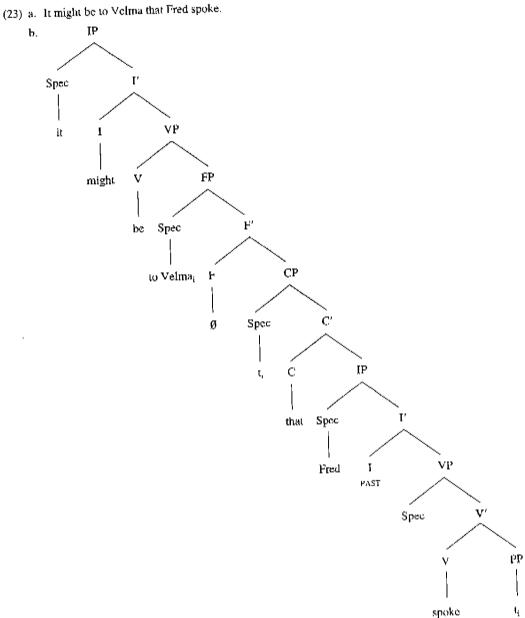
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in addition to the cleft position, appear in situ as in (iii), an example of the type discussed by Zribi-Hertz (1989).

<sup>(</sup>iii) Peter urged Ann to defend HIMSELF (as well as Martha/and only himself)

A promotion approach to elefting, however, needs to answer two important questions; what is the nature of the wh-element that sometimes appears in such constructions, and what is its syntactic position? Any attempt to answer these related questions must take into account the fact that the distribution of the wh-elements that appear in clefts differs markedly from that found in RRCs. Consider in this respect the following contrasts:

- (24) a. It's Velma who/??which Fred married.
  - b. The woman who/?which Fred married . . .
- (25) a. It was that year (?when) Fred decided to go to college.
  - b. The year when Fred decided to go to college . . .
- (26) a. It was in that city (??where) they held the tea party.
  - b. The city where they held the tea party . . .
- (27) a. It was on Smiley (\*on whom/\*whom) the sheriff placed the blame.
  - b. The man on whom the sheriff placed the blame . . .

As (24) shows, which seems more natural with a [+buman] head in RRCs than with a [+buman] clefted phrase; as (25) shows, when is fine in RRCs but more awkward in clefts; and as (26) and (27) show, if anything other than a DP has been elefted, the presence of a whelement appears to be ruled out. The peculiar distribution of whelements in clefts has prompted Rochemont (1986) to hypothesize that they are used "by analogy to relative pronouns" in RRCs and then only when the clefted phrase is nominal. In a similar vein, E. Kiss (1998) surmises that they merely signal the preposed nature of the elefted constituent and/or the incompleteness of the CP following it.

Here we will argue that the distribution of wh-elements in clefts can be accounted for on the assumption that the wh-element that some-

Turning now to sentences like (ii), we note, as Pinkham and Hankamer do, that the inability of each other to occupy a focused position is not restricted to clefts but is also found in topicalization constructions, which are almost universally assumed (in the generative literature) to involve direct movement of the topicalized phrase

<sup>(</sup>iv) \*Each other, William and Mary knew quite well.

Additionally, the anaption each other may be topicalized and elefted if it is part of a larger phrase.

<sup>(</sup>v) Private details of each other's lives, they always try not to talk about in front of strangers.

<sup>(</sup>vi) It's private details of each other's lives that they should try not to talk about in front of strangers.

This constraint may be related to Postal's (1993) observation that quantificational phrases can only appear in focused position if they are not "simple" (see footnote 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The judgments in (24) (27) are subject to a fair amount of dialectal variation and are therefore to be taken as contrastive rather than absolute.

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times appears in such constructions is the optional spell-out in C of the wh-feature that attracts the elected phrase to Spec,CP, prior to its further movement to Spec,FP. We will further hypothesize that this agreement takes place in a specifier-head configuration. This type of agreement phenomenon is by no means restricted to eleft constructions but can be found in other areas of the grammar as well—for example, in participle agreement in a variety of Romance languages. Consider in this respect the French data in (28).

- (28) a. La fenêtre qu'il a peint(e) ... the window which he has painted(FEM)

  "The window which he puinted ...'
  b. La brosse avec laquelle il a peint(\*)
  - b. La brosse avec laquelle il a pcint(\*c) co the brush with which he has painted(\*FEM) this mur... wall 'The brush with which he painted this wall...

For the RRC in (28a), we assume a slightly modified and updated version of Kayne's (1989) account of past participle agreement in Romance. That is, we assume that at some stage in the derivation, the feminine DP containing fenêtre 'window' is in the outer specifier of v, where it finds itself in the checking domain of the participial V and therefore able to check its  $\phi$ -features. This checking operation results in the optional morphological spell-out of (feminine) agreement on V. In (28b), on the other hand, the extracted phrase is a PP and therefore

no such agreement is possible.

Consider now the parallel between (28) and (29).

(29) a. It was Smiley who the sheriff placed the blame on.b. It was on Smiley (\*on whom/\*whom) the sheriff placed the blame.

We contend that the wh-element in (29a) is the (optional) morphological spell-out of the wh-feature that attracts the nominal clefted phrase to Spec, CP. Notice that who rather than which is the preferred form taken by wh, which suggests that this is an agreement reflex of wh under specifier-head agreement with a [+human] NP. The sentence in (29b) confirms that we are dealing with an agreement process since when the extracted phrase is a PP, the spell-out of wh becomes impos-

If the wh-element that sometimes appears in cleft constructions is the morphological spell-out of a wh-feature, as we have argued, then it has not moved to the position in which it appears in the course of the derivation. Rather, we assumed that it is the clefted phrase that moves to Spec,CP on its way to its ultimate landing site: Spec,FP, Taken together, these assumptions make an interesting prediction: if the elefted phrase is a nonquantificational DP, then it ought not to result in weak crossover effects since it, rather than the wh-element, binds a variable in argument position. On the other hand, we do expect

weak crossover effects if the elefted phrase is a QP. This prediction is indeed borne out by the facts in (30), uncovered by Postal (1993: 542).

(30) a. It was Jack, that I thought she described his; wife to t,.
 b. \*It was somebody, else that I thought she described his, wife to t,.

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- <sup>7</sup> For poorly understood reasons, quantificational phrases cannot be elefted (or topicalized) if they are "simple." As pointed out by Postal (1993), to be eleftable, a QP most include an exceptive phrase (e.g., somebody else/other than Bill) or a relative-type clause, as in (i) and (ii).
  - (i) It was somebody who was tall that they hired.
  - (ii) It was somebody taller than you that they hired.

Piokham and Hankamer (1975) argue with respect to NP-clefts, and Lasnik and Stowell (1991:715–716) assume for all clefts, that wh-movement takes place in the CP constituent of the cleft construction. This type of analysis is ill equipped to deal with the lack of a weak crossover effect in sentences like (30a). Lasnik and Stowell acknowledge this potential problem and attempt to eliminate it by hypothesizing that reconstruction applies optionally in clefts and that the principle responsible for weak crossover applies to the output of (optional) reconstruction. In our theory of clefts, nothing special needs to be said,

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